

Socialist Appeal

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NORWAY CRUSHED BETWEEN WARRING POWERS

Return to Two-A-Week Appeal Voted by S. W. P. Convention

Trade Union Reports Open Way to Growth Of Mass Work

The decision taken by the Third National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party—April 5-9 in New York City—to re-establish the *Socialist Appeal* as a twice-weekly summed up the determination of the delegates to expand the base of the Fourth International in the American mass movement.

And the delegates did not stop with a formal decision, but proceeded to carry it out. At the banquet to the delegates Sunday night, \$4,130 was raised in cash and pledges payable in sixty days, the time set for the reappearance of the *Socialist Appeal* as a twice-weekly.

This enthusiastic response followed inevitably from the stirring trade union reports by Farrell Dobbs, the new National Labor Secretary of the party, and union leaders in the field. It reflected the inspiration which worker-delegates gained from descriptions of the unconquerable courage and militancy of the American working class in struggles in many sections and various industries.

To the Workers!

Forward into the mass movement, more than ever into the trade unions as the most important single field for revolutionary activity, was the determination of the delegates. Comrade Dobbs stirred them with many experiences in great labor struggles, closing with an arousing call to action, an appeal to plunge increasingly into proletarian struggles against the bosses and to advance the S.W.P. in its role of vanguard of the workers' conquest of power.

Worker delegates from coast to coast fired the convention with reports of struggles and accomplishments in unions—in steel, auto, maritime, cannery, building trades, and other industries. They amplified Comrade Dobbs' general report, with additional vivid testimony that the S.W.P. is already a workers' party.

Decision to add a second issue a week to the *Appeal* was only the main point in the broad plan adopted to expand the party's work. With every worker's report this determination grew.

An Inspiring Example

One of the most inspiring reports—to single out one—was that by a young woman worker from the cannery union in California. Describing the miserable conditions of the migrant workers who divide their pitiful lives between agricultural and cannery factory work, this girl paid glowing tribute to the young S.W.P. workers who have helped to build some of the largest and most militant union locals in this industry.

Throughout the convention, between sessions, there were numerous trade union meetings for various industries. At each of these the workers discussed and outlined detailed plans for nationally-integrated campaigns in each industry. These plans assured that more than ever the workers in the Socialist Workers Party will be the best trade unionists, the best fighters for and with the workers in all their struggles.

No Exceptions To Rule

The trade union program dealt concretely with every phase of union work provided for the fullest possible use of all party members able to serve, whether they are trade union members or

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The closing salute of the Third National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, which met in New York City, April 5-9.

SWP Reaffirms Policy Of Defense of USSR

Insists Upon Basic Distinction Between Soviet Union and Imperialists; Upholds Lenin's Ideas of Building the Party

The decisions of the S.W.P. convention to re-issue the twice-weekly *SOCIALIST APPEAL* and to embark on an ambitious program for expanding the party's work in the mass movement—reported in detail in another story in this issue—could be made only because a decisive majority of the convention had rallied to uphold the fundamental program of the party and of the Fourth International. The vote was 55 to 34.

The attack of the minority upon the program, an attack which reflected the tremendous pressure of living under a government and a bourgeoisie which is actually a part of the "democratic-imperialist warring camp, revolved around two issues:

1. The basic distinction between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers. The minority had abandoned this distinction, which is a keystone of the program of the Fourth International, and unsuccessfully attempted to put the convention on record against defense of the Soviet Union. The majority upheld our fundamental program for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union as in no way incompatible with irreconcilable struggle for the overthrow of the Stalin bureaucracy.

2. Building the party on the doctrine of "democratic centralism"—the organizational principles elaborated by Lenin and embodied in the Russian Bol-

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S.W.P. ANSWERS RIVERA SLANDER

(Statement by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States.)

"La Prensa" of Mexico City, April 5th, carried an interview with Diego Rivera in which he is quoted as saying that "Trotsky will support Stalin in his attitude against Finland today at the Congress of the Fourth International which is now being held in New York, to which Trotsky has already sent his representative, the Spanish Mexican M. Grandizo."

There is not one word of truth in Rivera's statement. No Congress of the Fourth International was held in New York or any other place. The Convention of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States was in session from Friday, April 5th to Monday, April 8th. No representative of Trotsky appeared at the convention because Trotsky did not send anyone to represent him. The Convention affirmed the position of the Fourth International in defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and in condemning the counter-revolutionary policies of Stalin, amongst them the invasion of Finland.

The assertion that Trotsky supports Stalin in his attack against Finland is utterly false, as can be seen by a cursory reading of Trotsky's articles and statements within the last four months. Equally false and fantastic is the idea presented in the "La Prensa" interview that the Third and Fourth Internationals are coming closer together.

We have no doubt whatever of the presence of GPU agents in Mexico. Frequently have we warned the Mexican and American people of that fact. But these agents are there to assassinate Trotsky. If the falsehoods attributed to Rivera were actually uttered by him, then we can say that he has permitted his personal animosity to Trotsky to lead him far astray. Such falsehoods can only make it easier for the agents of Stalin's GPU to achieve their purpose of getting rid of the greatest living revolutionary devoted to the cause of emancipating mankind from the slavery of capitalist imperialism.

FINK 'CASE' AGAINST MPLS. DRIVERS OPENS

Lawyer Confines Self Strictly To Slander and Red-Baiting

MINNEAPOLIS, April 2—The fink suit against the General Drivers Union, Local 544, again got under way before Judge Paul Carroll, after a seven-weeks' period during which attorneys and accountants for the finks have been examining the books and records of the union.

Among the broadside charges from the attorney for the finks were the following: that the union spent "enormous amounts" on airplane rides and swanky hotels; that the union had paid to union members sick and death benefits without authority; that the union expended thousands of dollars for strike benefits; that the unemployed Federal Workers Section was organized "illegally"; that the union had encouraged threats, force and violence against employers to attain its ends; that the union had made donations to other striking unions.

The finks' attorney made much of a charge that the weekly paper of the Teamsters Joint Council, the *Northwest Organizer*, had shown "a general attitude of contempt for the courts and the judiciary," and that "the defendants have by all means in their power sought to foster among their members an attitude of contempt for, and disrespect of the courts, and to imbue them with the idea that justice can not be obtained in the courts."

Anderson repeatedly referred to articles in the *Northwest Organizer* and in the *Socialist Appeal*.

The finks' lawyer was particularly venomous against Local 544's Union Defense Guard, complaining that the union maintains a "standing army" of 300 men which holds military drill three times a week, and that stands ready to defend the union hall, union leaders and members, and union picket lines against attacks from fascists and vigilantes.

When Anderson read from the *NORTHWEST ORGANIZER* a headline that "Defense Guard Is Answer to Fascist Thugs," John Goldie, union defense attorney, jumped to his feet and asked what was wrong with that. "WHILE 544'S ENEMIES ARE ARMED, THESE UNION MEMBERS ARE NOT SUPPOSED TO DO ANYTHING," Goldie said.

What was obvious about Anderson's barrage of charges was that he had actually discovered not one thing wrong with the union's books and records, which the finks have howled about for over two years.

To cover up his failure to find any financial discrepancies in the union's meticulous book-keeping system, Anderson could only criticize the union for the very things for which workers all over the United States admire General Drivers Union, Local 544—for its militant defense of its members and of union contracts; for its uncompromising attitude to the bosses and their courts and their press; for a willingness to help other unions involved in struggles with the bosses; for the way it cares for its sick members, and the families of its dead; above all, for its grim determination to defend the union against the fascists and the vigilantes.

During the first days of the trial, Carl Skoglund, president of General Drivers Local 544, was under examination by Anderson. Skoglund's long record in the labor movement, from the time he came to this country from Sweden in 1911 and joined the I.W.W., was brought out by Anderson.

West Coast Crew Is Jailed in Port Said By Hull's Orders

The West Coast crew of the American freighter Ewa is in prison in Port Said, Egypt, by orders of Secretary of State Hull, it was officially reported Monday to the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

The crew—members of the S.U.P., the Marine Firemen and the Marine Cooks & Stewards—requested an advance on going ashore, and were refused by the captain. When a controversy resulted and the seamen persisted in their demand, the American consul was called in.

He communicated with Washington, and Secretary of State Hull thereupon gave full permission to the British authorities at Port Said to clap the crew in jail, which was done.

The British provided the American ship with an English crew which is now sailing the ship to Pensacola, Florida, where it is scheduled to arrive about May 1.

LEWIS SKIRTS MAIN ISSUES IN MICHIGAN TALKS

Workers Cheer Every Mention of 30-Hour Week Slogan

DETROIT, April 8—Twenty-five thousand militant auto workers poured out in Detroit and Flint on April 6 and 7th to hear an answer to their pressing needs from John L. Lewis and other national leaders of the CIO. But they got no answer.

The workers demonstrated by their attendance at the CIO rallies their enthusiastic loyalty to the CIO. The leaders responded to this loyalty with lip service to the fight against unemployment and war, but failed to offer a program of action for a solution.

Every time the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay slogan was mentioned the tens of thousands of workers cheered and stamped their feet. At every demonstration of the workers' enthusiasm for the slogan, which is the only answer for jobs and security in the automotive industry, Lewis Reuther and the other CIO orators were quick to throw on the dampers, saying that this was "only an aim for the future."

The workers showed their understanding by turning from cheers to stony silence when the leaders mentioned the 6 hour day only to explain in frightened voices that it was just something to think about.

The workers listened in vain for something with a true ring, some planned program of action, some serious directives aimed at achieving the demands which everyone recognizes are the only solutions to the workers' needs.

After Roosevelt, What?

Lewis correctly condemned, in violent language, the failure of the Roosevelt administration to stop starvation in the midst of (Continued on Page 2)

Attacked by Both Allies and Germany

Becomes First Testing Ground of Powers' Military Strength as War Enters New Phase of Extension

By GEORGE STERN

The Allies and Germany have chosen in Norway the scene of their first great test of military strength.

Between dawn of Monday, April 8, and Tuesday, April 9, Norway was attacked, by the Allies and then by Germany.

By nightfall of April 9, Norway itself was laid prostrate. German forces were already in possession of its capital and its chief ports. Allied forces were on the way in an effort to expel them.

The German forces came in to "protect" Norway against the Allies. The Allies moved to "protect" Norway from the Reich. Norway, which wanted protection from neither, was not consulted by either. It has become the victim of both.

This is the fate that awaits the rest of the small states of Europe.

In accordance with the decision of the Allied Supreme Council on March 28 to speed up the tempo of the war, to extend the blockade and to squeeze the neutrals mercilessly in that process, British and French warships on the morning of April 8 invaded Norwegian territorial waters and mined three sections of the passage used by German ore boats bound from Narvik for the Baltic.

The day before, Sunday, the Norwegian foreign minister threatened that his country would "go to war" with either side if the country's sovereignty was infringed.

Protested Against Allies

Monday morning Norway filed a violent protest with the French and British governments, charging them with an "open breach of international law" and demanding withdrawal of mines

Blitzkrieg

At dawn Tuesday morning, April 9, Hitler's armed hordes gave a startled world another sample of the Nazi blitzkrieg technique.

The German army marched across the Danish border and within a few hours occupied the entire country. The Danish government, aware of the futility of resistance, "accepted" Germany's "protection."

Simultaneously German naval units sailed up through the Kattegat, the passage that separates Denmark and Sweden, into the Skagerrak, and began landing troops at Norwegian ports. By mid-morning of the 9th it became apparent that the Germans had slipped right through the British fleet and successfully landed at all the main ports on the West coast of Norway—Stavanger, Bergen, Trondheim, Kristiansund, and even Narvik, nearly 1,000 miles to the north. Some reports said that the landing party at Narvik came from Murmansk.

Other Neutrals Wait

Norway proclaimed "resistance" to the invader long enough to be seized upon as an "ally" by Britain and France. In London and Paris it was promptly announced that France and Britain would fight the German invasion of Scandinavia. The war machines of both powers were immediately put into gear for the struggle. At this writing the first engagements, in the air and at sea, were apparently already underway while German troops seized all important centers of Norway and Sweden, Holland, Belgium, waited fearfully for their turn to be sucked in.

From their own point of view the Allies have good reason to "aid" Norway. They were so ready to "aid" Norway that they probably would have taken possession of its coast themselves if Hitler had not beaten them to it. That was undoubtedly the meaning of the Allied act in mining Norwegian waters. Hitler's general staff showed that it understood the seriousness of the challenge by hurling its tremendous machine into action with such astounding speed.

No Neutrals Allowed

The Allies decided at their Supreme Council session last week to tighten the squeeze on Germany economically by tightening the blockade whatever the cost to neighboring neutrals. This was made publicly plain by Chamberlain and Churchill.

Britain and France were finished with the hypocritical game of "respecting" neutral rights. Their policy now more frankly became to force all neutrals still supplying goods to Germany to cease making those supplies available, and to become instead part of the Allied blockade system. (Continued on Page 4)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The same Allied policy that has set up a war front in Norway is going to lead in the near future to serious complications in the Pacific which will necessarily involve the United States. I refer to the policy the Allies have adopted of tightening up their blockade of Germany almost regardless of cost.

One of the "leaks" they propose to plug is the "leak" of war supplies which they believe are reaching Germany through the Soviet port of Vladivostok.

This is a sizeable job and involved ticklish Allied relations with Japan on the one hand and the United States on the other, as well as the USSR. Japan has already declared it will not tolerate British naval operations in what it regards as Japanese waters.

To make the blockade more palatable to the Japanese, the British have been holding out the possibility of a "deal" in China. This was the meaning of the speech of British Ambassador Craigie in Tokyo on March 28.

Washington appears to be ready enough to cooperate with the British in facilitating a Pacific blockade. But it will consider itself thoroughly double-crossed if Britain secures similar cooperation from Japan on the basis of a "deal" at the expense of American interests in China.

The London declaration that it "still" recognized the Chungking government offered no comfort to the Washington strategists. Nor did it silence the angry mutterings over the Craigie speech which identified the "ultimate objectives" of Britain and Japan. Lord Halifax, the British foreign secretary, said, indeed, that he fully

WORKERS' FORUM

Avenge the Death of This Auto Worker!

Editor:

Frank Clus was 58 years old, father of six children. He was an auto worker, a good one. He had the pleasure of making a home for his children, there was a garage in the backyard. When the 1929 crash came and the layoffs began, Frank was lucky. He didn't go in the first layoffs, or the second or third. But in 1931 he did go.

He never got his job back. Not in nine years, for never during all that time did all the workers go back to work, and Frank was a little older and they took back only the strongest. So yesterday Frank went into the garage in

the backyard of their home here on Solway Avenue, after he slashed his wrists, and he hanged himself to be sure of finishing the job. His 26-year old son, Frank Jr., came home and he saw a trail of blood through their home and he followed the trail of blood and at the end of it he found his father, dead.

Frank, the elder, was a fine man. He'd done his duty to society. God knows, raising a family of six children. And his reward was to die in that horrible state of loneliness that must be the lot of suicides. Is there any reason why his children, and every worker who knew him, shouldn't swear to avenge him?

Unemployed Auto Worker
Detroit, Mich.

Warning About Funds For Anti-Nazi Work

Editor:

Every local and central body affiliated to the AFL is now receiving letters from the Federation, signed by Green, calling upon all affiliated unions to back the underground German labor movement, morally and financially.

A splendid idea! International solidarity! Support the German revolution!

But alas, it turns out that the money is to go to the Vorwaerts group, that is, the "official" leadership of the Social Democratic party of Germany, who publish the Vorwaerts now in Paris. It is true that before Hitler suppressed it, Vorwaerts was the official organ of the German labor unions as well as of the Social Democracy, but it is also true, and easily verifiable:

1. Not a single group of socialists or trade unionists which remained in Germany to carry on the struggle against Hitler has recognized the leadership of the Vorwaerts group. On the contrary, all those who managed to get word out have re-

puted these bankrupts who, equally with the Stalinists, were responsible for the triumph of Hitler. All money received by the Vorwaerts people is expended outside Germany for their clique.

2. Vorwaerts is published freely in Paris today, when all other German refugee organs there are suppressed, as are suppressed all the anti-war papers of French labor. That alone tells the story. Reading Vorwaerts is like reading communiques of the French war propaganda machine. In a word, these "socialists" fight Hitler with French bayonets, and their sole perspective is to march home behind these bayonets.

For the purpose of making the principle stand alone, I do not add the names of those groups collecting money for anti-Nazi work within Germany which are worthy of support, groups which are genuinely anti-war against the French too. I hope, however, that I have indicated the principle by which these groups should be judged before one gives them money.

German Socialist
New York City

Auto Workers Listen Vainly to Lewis

(Continued from Page 1)

the greatest productive wealth ever accumulated by mankind. The workers cheered that, but their cheers were snuffed out as Lewis gave no direct word how to win jobs and decent living for the millions of locked-out toilers.

Lewis pointed out that there are 4,000,000 families in America with an income of about \$26 a month, and another 6,000,000 families with an income of \$63 a month. But he carefully avoided saying a word about how these millions of families are to fight and win from the multi-billionaire share of the national wealth.

Two-faced On War

The founder of the CIO warned the workers that there are many who would like to see the American workers shed their blood in an imperialist war and the auto workers massed and jammed in the halls roared their hate of war.

But the auto workers became uneasy and silent when Lewis said: "If you want the workers to fight, first give them a chance

to earn a living". The workers instinctively felt Lewis was promising the war mongers the unqualified help of American labor for imperialist slaughter, if only the American capitalists would give a bribe to labor now.

Silent On Labor Party

Lewis attacked the old parties, Democrats and Republicans alike. But the workers listened in vain for him to bring them to their feet with a declaration announcing the launching of a labor party, independent of both boss parties, a party which labor and only labor controls.

Then Lewis skirmished with every major problem facing the labor movement, but for none of these problems did he point a way out.

Reuther No Better

Walter Reuther, Executive Board member of the UAW-CIO spoke in precisely the same manner as John L. Lewis. He pointed out only what is known to every auto worker, that the UAW-CIO

is the only union in the industry.

He spoke vaguely about "a guaranteed annual wage" but gave not a shadow of indication how the union was to take definite organizational steps to achieve this demand. He mentioned the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, but did not explain the program of action to win this fundamental and necessary demand from the corporation.

Workers Mean Business

The mass meetings were a demonstration of the situation that has prevailed in the auto industry for some time. The rank and file auto workers are eager and anxious to fight for and with the CIO. But the leaders are hesitant and afraid to direct the workers' militancy in a definite direction, in an organized campaign to win security for the workers from the huge profits of the corporations.

The auto workers have demonstrated over and over that despite the vacillation of the leaders, the

workers are capable of starting and winning a fight against the corporations.

The 1937 sit downs are the eloquent testimony to the militancy and determination of the auto workers. What more do the leaders want?

"Ordinary" Demands Pointless

All auto workers are convinced today that to achieve any kind of security in the plants the ordinary demands of seniority, wage increase, and the like are not sufficient in themselves. With the daily introduction of new machines, new methods of decreasing the need for labor, the corporations are displacing more and more workers, condemning them to permanent unemployment.

Every year the auto worker produces more and more. The profits of the corporation get bigger and bigger with fewer and fewer men in the plants.

There is a way out. And that way is—ACTION on the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay!

Minority Resolutions On Organization, Rejected by Party Convention

MINORITY RESOLUTION ON THE ORGANIZATION AND TASKS OF THE PARTY

(REJECTED BY THE CONVENTION)

The main task of the party in the present period has been and remains to organize and orient itself in such a manner as to enable it to meet most effectively the decisive test of the war. The party, and above all the party leadership, has thus far failed to carry out this task.

The present party leadership revealed a complete failure to respond to the problems created by the outbreak of the war. Although the war has lasted for more than six months, this failure has yet to be overcome. For the proposal to set the party in motion on a new footing, corresponding to the new situation, the leadership substituted the policy of dead calm and indifference which has kept the party in a state of paralysis for half a year. The proposal for a plenum of the National Committee to meet the war situation promptly was resisted for weeks on the most absurd of pretexts. At the plenum and since it was held, not a single serious step has been taken to adjust the outlook and activity of the party to correspond to the war situation. The party press has virtually ignored the Second World War, has given no analysis of it, no analysis worthy of the name of the new Stalinist turn, no analysis of the succession of steps taken in the war by the Soviet Union. It is significant that of all the important radical labor organizations, our party is virtually alone in not having issued a manifesto on the war to this very day. To all intents and purposes, the party continues along its road as if the Second World War had not broken out at all.

This entirely negative reaction to the war crisis has clearly disclosed the existence of a party leadership permeated with routinism and conservatism. This spirit is communicated to the ranks with demoralizing effects. It is reflected in the passivity or rather in the haphazard direction and general lack of initiative of the leadership. It is concerned more with the preservation of its authority and with acting as a "court of appeals" over the branches than with launching and carrying through systematically the indicated campaigns of the party. It displays the greatest sensitiveness to healthy criticism from the ranks and little sensitivity to political events. It leaps readily from its state of passivity whenever it is confronted with such criticism.

The painful but all-important process of making the turn from the past of the movement as a propagandist group to a movement seeking to exert growing influence among the masses, is confined to episodic advances in isolated situations and, above all, to resolutions which remain on paper. The Transitional Program, upon every single letter of which the present leadership insisted when it was formally adopted, has been put into effect spasmodically or not at all. The taking of bold steps calculated to speed the party's intervention in political events, is frowned upon. All tendencies in that direction are usually attacked as "ultra-leftist" and "adventurist," although these are scarcely the most dangerous or widespread tendencies in the party. All the failures and shortcomings of the party are usually attributed to the "objective situation."

The results have been a condition that is little better than stagnation in the party, which would be worse were it not for the numerical contributions to party membership made by the youth, and a state of constant friction and bad relationships between the members of the party (and especially of the youth), and the party leadership, which resents all serious criticism and resists it with the stubbornness of a petty bureaucracy.

The more serious the criticism of the party leadership, its policy and its regime, the more clearly does it reveal that it is dominated in actuality by a clique which was never elected by the party membership and which has not justified its existence by a separate political platform of its own. Convinced that its permanent domination of the party leadership is for its best interests, and is predestined, regardless of the political or organizational question under discussion at any given time, it consequently pays only a verbal respect to party democracy and readily violates it when it conflicts with its own clique interests.

It is necessary for the party to lay the greatest stress upon this situation, not to the exclusion of or for the purpose of minimizing the importance of other defects and evils, but precisely in order to proceed to their correction. Without eliminating the stranglehold of bureaucratic cliquism which has imposed the present regime upon the party, it is impossible to adopt and carry out correct policies, to improve the composition and functioning of the party, or to remedy any of the other serious shortcomings of the party.

The Second World War, the war danger in the United States, and the struggle against it—these must constitute the central axis around which all our work revolves. The party must be organized and oriented in this spirit, because it must stand out in the eyes of growing numbers of workers as the party of militant struggle against war. It is therefore necessary to proceed along the following lines:

I — ROOT THE PARTY AMONG THE WORKERS

The change in the social composition of the party cannot be achieved by the mere assertion that such a change is needed. It is realizable only by planfully directing every branch, and every member in it, to concentration on the trade unions and other mass organizations, and on the factories. In this respect, the youth movement is our most important single instrument. It is composed of comrades with a relatively high political education who, unlike the youth of the "prosperity" period, are revolutionary-minded, militant and devoted to the cause. Despite the evident difficulties, they must be systematically directed to enter industry, in which they can acquire an experience and training

indispensable to their own development and at the same time become the most effective organizers for the movement.

II — A PARTY OF ANTI-WAR AGITATION

The idea of facing towards the unions and the factories can become—as it has been too often in the past—meaningless without a party activity which would realistically make possible contact with and success in these fields. Party activity in the trade unions means not so much the elaboration of grandiose "trade union policies" and maneuvers with other union groups—we are far too weak as yet to entertain such ambitions—but the popularization of our immediate demands and slogans among the masses of the workers. Chief among these must be, in the coming period, those demands and slogans which are directly related to the war danger which is so keenly and deeply felt by the working masses and the youth. This means the revival and extension of the campaign principle of party activity. It means, above all in the present stage, concentration upon the printing and distribution on a large scale of the simplest and most popular leaflets and cheap pamphlets, each confined to a single slogan expressing and popularizing our program. These must be written and disseminated with an eye towards the industrial workers, and be calculated to arouse them to political consciousness and action and above all to the consciousness that our party is the only militant anti-war organization. If the activity of the party and youth membership, and the columns of our press, are organized in this spirit, we shall accomplish far more towards rooting the party among the industrial workers than a dozen formal and detailed resolutions on trade union work. This is especially true of the work among the Negroes as a group which, as the most downtrodden and oppressed, must find in the party a consistent champion. The activity of the Negro Department has already shown how fruitful this work can be for the party, and the weak support thus far given the Department must be greatly increased.

III — CAMPAIGNS AND RECRUITMENT

Because of its essentially propagandistic past, which has fostered corresponding habits, the party has not developed the practice or technique of recruiting. Hand in hand with a far too high standard of political requirements for membership which has served to limit recruiting possibilities, has gone a low standard of activity requirements for those already in our ranks. The campaign principle of party activity can degenerate into a purely literary effort unless it is integrally coupled with systematic recruiting efforts. These efforts, in turn, would be nullified unless we eliminated from our minds the sectarian rigidity with which we tend to approach the potential recruit, that is, again, the far too high standard of political and theoretical qualifications we set for party membership. The development of the average recruit towards a full-fledged revolutionary position will take place during his membership and activity in the party rather than prior to it. It is not so much the program as it is written down in our fundamental documents that must—or can—attract recruits to the party, but the program as translated in the daily political activity of the party that will accomplish this end. In this sense the campaigns of the party must be recruiting campaigns as well. It is in this sense that the mass actions of the party must be conceived. An attitude of alertness and boldness, of seizing on appropriate occasions, can often make such mass actions possible and fruitful. This was demonstrated during the anti-Coughlin, anti-Bund campaign of the party. Such an attitude should not be derided as "baseless in the present objective situation" or as "adventurist," but should rather be encouraged.

IV — BUILD UP THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The most important single section of the movement in this country is our Youth organization. The fact that the party leadership has never paid attention to the problems and development of the Youth save, in most recent times, for purposes of factional advantage, is a standing indictment of this leadership. The importance of the Youth organization may be understood not only in the light of its comparatively large membership and the fact that it contributes the overwhelming majority of the party's new membership, but above all by the fact that it represents the generation that will do the fighting in the war and, therefore, constitute the main reservoir of revolutionary mass strength. The party must devote a hundred times more attention in the future than it has in the past to building and strengthening the Youth organization. This requires not an ignoring of its mistakes and defects, but, among other reasons, in order to remedy these mistakes and defects, a comradely and serious attitude towards it and its problems. Up to now the party leadership has had a bureaucratic and contemptuous attitude towards the Youth, on those occasions when it has bothered to concern itself with the organization. The critical attitude of the youth towards the political and internal problems of the party has been generally healthy and progressive, which is added reason why this attitude should be encouraged instead of rudely denounced and attacked. A party leadership can establish its authority with the Youth, and with the movement generally, only by a patient attitude and one which welcomes criticism. This in turn will enormously facilitate its task of educating and training the Youth for the revolutionary proletarian movement, its task of correcting the mistakes and straightening the line of the Youth.

V — POLITICAL EDUCATION OF THE PARTY

The course of the present discussion in the party has revealed the need of greatly intensifying the work of revolutionary Marxian education in fundamental principles among the party membership. The educational work of the party has declined noticeably in the past couple of years, which is especially dangerous in view of the newness of many party members and the prospect of gaining still other new members. The ability of the party leadership to base its case to so large an extent upon appeals to prejudice, to "faith," as well as the injurious effects of the

party leadership's theoretical and political helplessness in dealing with new problems or new manifestations of old problems, would be greatly reduced by planned training of all party and youth members in the basic principles of revolutionary Marxism, including, especially, the question of the nature of the party and its role in the revolution. The discussion has also revealed more clearly the ever-latent danger of the tendency to regard "politics" and political or theoretical discussion as a luxury, particularly as a "luxury" which is counterposed to "practical" work. At bottom, this expresses the tendency to remove the practical, daily activity of the party membership, especially in the mass organizations, from political direction and control, which can only mean in the last analysis from the direction and control of the party. While such a tendency is often understandable, in that it represents a reaction against dilettantism or permanent "discussionism," it is nevertheless necessary, by combating the latter, to resist and overcome the tendency referred to. It cannot be resisted, however, by demagogic attacks upon the democratic right, and need, of discussion which only fosters this tendency.

PARTY DEMOCRACY AND COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

The pressing problems of the party cannot be solved independently of the question of the party leadership and its regime. Rather, the first big and serious step towards solving them can be taken only frankly and fearlessly facing the question of the party regime and by changing this regime.

The passivity, routinism and conservatism of the party regime, its political helplessness which borders on paralysis, is only the other side of its bureaucratism. The party leadership is concerned above all else with its "authority" and "prestige." It seeks to maintain these primarily by a clique formation which sedulously nurtures the reactionary idea of the Leader cult, presumably on the theory that an outstanding leader is superior to a collective leadership. Leadership is tested not so much and not in the first place by its policies and actions but, in this conception, by the degree of loyalty to the individual leader. Leading committees officially and solemnly installed by the representative institutions and bodies of the party become hollow and decorative, and have a function only in so far as they agree with or accept the policies of the clique. In consequence, criticisms of the leadership, regardless of their degree of validity, are fiercely rejected as personal attacks upon the clique, above all, on its leader. A healthy relationship between the party membership and the party leadership is impossible under such conditions. Equally impossible is the normal and healthy elaboration, application, checking and revising of party policy. Under the best conditions, party democracy thus becomes a set of essentially meaningless formulas.

The sound principle of democratic centralism has been perverted in practice into a super-centralism in defense of the party leadership, that is, the clique which dominates it, and anything but centralism in the direction of the daily activity of the party. The best traditions of the revolutionary Marxian movement in this realm, especially the traditions of Lenin, are defied in the name of a "Bolshevism" which is equated with the particular interests and needs of the dominant clique.

PROTESTS LIMITATION OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION

The preservation of democratic centralism, of party democracy, requires the free and collective elaboration of party policy by the entire membership and a correspondingly free selection of a collective leadership; and, in turn, complete solidarity and discipline in action once a policy is decided upon. The present party leadership has repeatedly violated the principle of democratic centralism. The auto crisis in the party, for example, revealed the existence of a closed clique actually dominating the party leadership, deciding party policy and organization, and making it clear that the regularly elected leading committee was essentially decorative and formal. The suppression of the point of view of the minority in the present dispute, by excluding it from the regular pre-convention discussion in the columns of the Appeal, and also from the pages of the party's theoretical organ, is a violation of the best traditions and practices of our movement, representing at bottom a bureaucratic fear of confronting a revolutionary opponent before the militant workers.

It is imperative that the deadly grip of this group, which is a typical clique because of the fact that, apart from the present dispute, it has continued to maintain itself without a separate political platform, be broken in the party, its monopolistic control of the party leadership eliminated, and the regime it has established replaced by a regime of party democracy. Collective leadership in the party is a meaningless phrase in the present concrete circumstances unless these steps are taken.

Above all, these steps are unoppositely urgent in view of the war danger. The war will put the party to decisive tests. Among them will be the test of the leadership's ability and desire to maintain the utmost loyalty, and the utmost party democracy compatible with war conditions. The party and youth membership must have a greater assurance than it now feels that its leading committees will not abuse their positions and power and reduce genuine party democracy to an even greater mockery than it is today, in time of peace. The elimination of the dominance of the present clique leadership, or its replacement by the minority faction, is not sufficient. It is necessary to introduce into the leadership fresh elements, primarily genuine proletarians and the most qualified youth; and we must not substitute for genuine industrial workers those who, on the most superficial grounds, try to parade as such merely on the grounds that they are part of the "proletarian" faction in the party.

WANTS DISCUSSION TO BE ENCOURAGED

It is necessary, furthermore, to have more specific assurances in the party that discussion in the party, far from being curtailed and looked upon as a "luxury," will be encouraged in the future. The fact that discussion must always be regulated by

the party and its leading committees, must not be used as a pretext for suppressing discussion on the demagogic grounds that "there is work to be done." All party work will be done better and more effectively and correctly if party democracy is jealously maintained. The revolutionary party cannot be a "discussion club," but neither must it be converted into a Stalinist "monolithic" organization. Only a rich inner life can make possible a fruitful life of activity in mass work. The party must therefore adopt the following rules: (a) an internal party bulletin shall be published regularly and be made available to the membership for the discussion of daily problems of party work and policy; (b) the party leadership shall be bound to open the columns of the Socialist Appeal from time to time for the discussion of new policies of the party, not in the sense of a factional dispute, but in order to acquaint the sympathizers of the party with our problems and the manner in which we solve them; in such discussions, party sympathizers should be invited to take part; in pre-convention periods, the Appeal should be thrown open to a discussion of all convention problems, with a censorship exercised essentially only over confidential party affairs or irresponsible polemical exaggeration; (c) the pages of the New Internationalist shall be open the year round to discussions of theoretical and scientific problems of Marxism, of such questions as, for example, dialectical materialism, or the class nature of the Soviet state—discussions in which, it goes without saying, the party shall expound and defend its own view on all those questions on which it has adopted an official position.

The special technical preparation of the party for war, though decided upon some time ago, has gone the way of most of our decisions, more accurately, it has remained a decision on paper. Regardless of what else is done, the first blows of the war can scatter us all in a hundred directions unless this preparation is actually set on foot. Collectively and individually, from top to bottom, the party and youth membership must be impressed with the key importance of this question, and be given the necessary preliminary training and instructions.

Only if the party is organized and oriented along the lines indicated in this resolution will it be able to pass the test of the war crisis and utilize it to build up the mass revolutionary party of socialism.

MINORITY RESOLUTION ON PARTY UNITY (REJECTED BY THE CONVENTION)

The dispute and discussion on the Russian question has revealed the existence of two politically irreconcilable tendencies in the party. As the discussion develops in other sections, it is clear that these two tendencies exist throughout the Fourth International.

In the Socialist Workers Party, the struggle between the two groups has led to accusations by each side that the other is preparing a split. Whatever opinions may be on the validity if these accusations, it is quite clear that the danger of a split in the American section of the Fourth International is a real one. It is also clear that a split would prove disastrous to the American section and to the International as a whole. Every possible political and organizational step, compatible with the fundamental principles of the Fourth International, must therefore be taken to avert such a split. Despite the sharpness and profundity of the differences, it is still necessary to allow the further intervention of events to exert an influence on both groups, to test their positions, and thus to make possible a much closer political and organizational collaboration at a subsequent stage without the risk of a split in the meantime.

It must, however, be recognized that the nature of the differences is such that it does not permit of solution merely by the procedure, normal in the movement, of having the convention minority submit to the convention majority. Although both groups acknowledge the irreconcilability of their positions, they both nevertheless declare that the conflicting tendencies are compatible with membership in the Fourth International, that is, neither group proposes to expel the other for its political views.

MINORITY WANTS ITS OWN PUBLIC PAPER

Under these exceptional conditions it is therefore necessary to take an exceptional measure in order to preserve the unity of the party. The party must extend to whichever group is the minority at the convention the right to publish a public journal of its own, defending the general program of the Fourth International and at the same time presenting in an objective manner the special position of its tendency on the disputed Russian question. Under the conditions of the present factional fight, that is, given the views which each faction holds concerning the other, such a journal can only be published upon the responsibility and under the control of the tendency itself.

While recognizing that this is an exceptional measure, the party, which has nothing in common with Stalinist monolithism, must call attention to the fact that the Leninist party and our own Fourth International has on similar exceptional occasions found it necessary to take such a step in the attempt to preserve the unity of the movement. Minorities of the Bolshevik party, both before and during the first World War, exercised this right under unusual conditions, thus often reducing the danger of a split; the history of the Fourth International contains many similar instances, most recently in the case of the French section.

Such a solution of the threat of a violent split in the American section is the only concrete one that can be made in the present factional fight.

Resolutions On Organization Adopted by the Convention

(ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION)
I.

THE ORGANIZATION PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THE PARTY WAS FOUNDED

The third convention of the Socialist Workers Party reaffirms the resolution adopted by the Founding Convention of the S.W.P. "On the Internal Situation and the Character of the Party," as follows:

The Socialist Workers Party is a revolutionary Marxian party, based on a definite program, whose aim is the organization of the working class in the struggle for power and the transformation of the existing social order. All of its activities, its methods and its internal regime are subordinated to this aim and are designed to serve it.

Only a self-acting and critical-minded membership is capable of forging and consolidating such a party and of solving its problems by collective thought, discussion and experience. From this follows the need of assuring the widest party democracy in the ranks of the organization.

The struggle for power organized and led by the revolutionary party is the most ruthless and irreconcilable struggle in all history. A loosely-knit, heterogeneous, undisciplined, untrained organization is utterly incapable of accomplishing such world-historical tasks as the proletariat and the revolutionary party are confronted with in the present era. This is all the more emphatically true in the light of the singularly difficult position of our party and the extraordinary persecution to which it is subject. From this follows the party's unconditional demand upon all its members for complete discipline in all the public activities and actions of the organization.

Leadership and centralized direction are indispensable prerequisites for any sustained and disciplined action, especially in the party that sets itself the aim of leading the collective efforts of the proletariat in its struggle against capitalism. Without a strong and firm Central Committee, having the power to act promptly and effectively in the name of the party and to supervise, coordinate and direct all its activities without exception, the very idea of a revolutionary party is a meaningless jest.

It is from these considerations, based upon the whole of the experience of working class struggle throughout the world in the last century, that we derive the Leninist principle of organization, namely, democratic centralism. The same experience has demonstrated that there are no absolute guarantees for the preservation of the principle of democratic centralism, and no rigid formula that can be set down in advance, a priori, for the application of it under any and all circumstances. Proceeding from certain fundamental conceptions, the problem of applying the principle of democratic centralism differently under different conditions and stages of development of the struggle, can be solved only in relation to the concrete situation, in the course of the tests and experience through which the movement passes, and on the basis of the most fruitful and healthy inter-relationship of the leading bodies of the party and its rank and file.

The Responsibilities of Leadership

The leadership of the party must be under the control of the membership, its policies must always be open to criticism, discussion and rectification by the rank and file within properly established forms and limits, and the leading bodies themselves subject to formal recall or alteration. The membership of the party has the right to demand and expect the greatest responsibility from the leaders precisely because of the position they occupy in the movement. The selection of comrades to the positions of leadership means the conferring of an extraordinary responsibility. The warrant for this position must be proved, not once, but continuously by the leadership itself. It is under obligation to set the highest example of responsibility, devotion, sacrifice and complete identification with the party itself and its daily life and action. It must display the ability to defend its policies before the membership of the party, and to defend the line of the party and the party as a whole before the working class in general.

Sustained party activity, not broken or disrupted by abrupt and disorienting changes, presupposes not only a continuity of tradition and a systematic development of party policy, but also the continuity of leadership. It is an important sign of a serious and firmly constituted party, of a party really engaged in productive work in the class struggle, that it throws up out of its ranks cadres of more or less able leading comrades, tested for their qualities of endurance and trustworthiness, and that it thus insures a certain stability and continuity of leadership by such a cadre.

Continuity of leadership does not, however, signify the automatic self-perpetuation of leadership. Constant renewal of its ranks by means of additions and, when necessary, replacements, is the only assurance that the party has, that its leadership will not succumb to the effects of dry-rot, that it will not be burdened with deadwood, that it will avoid the corrosion of conservatism and dilletantism, that it will not be the object of conflict between the older elements and the younger, that the old and basic cadre will be refreshed by new blood, that the leadership as a whole will not become purely bureaucratic "committee men" with a life that is remote from the real life of the party and the activities of the rank and file.

Responsibilities of Membership

Like leadership, membership itself in the party implies certain definite rights. Party membership confers the fullest freedom of discussion, debate and criticism inside the ranks of the party, limited only by such decisions and provisions as are made by the party itself or by bodies to which it assigns this function. Affiliation to the party confers upon each member the right of being democratically represented at all policy-making assemblies of the party (from branch to national and international convention), and the right of the final and decisive vote in determining the program, policies and leadership of the party.

With party rights, the membership has also certain definite obligations. The theoretical and political character of the party is determined by its program, which forms the lines delimiting the revolutionary party from all other parties, groups and tendencies in the working class. The first obligation of party membership is loyal acceptance of the program of the party and regular affiliation to one of the basic units of the party. The party requires of every member the acceptance of its discipline and the carrying on of his activity in accordance with the program of the party, with the decisions adopted by its conventions, and with the policies formulated and directed by the party leadership.

Party membership implies the obligation of one hundred percent loyalty to the organization, the rejection of all agents of other, hostile groups in its ranks, and intolerance of divided loyalties in general. Membership in the party necessitates a minimum of activity in the organization, as established by the proper unit, and under the direction of the party; it necessitates the fulfillment of all the tasks which the party assigns to each member. Party membership implies the obligation upon every member to contribute materially to the support of the organization in accordance with his means.

A Party of Revolutionary Workers

From the foregoing it follows that the party seeks to include in its ranks all the revolutionary, class conscious and militant workers who stand on its program and are active in building the movement in a disciplined manner. The revolutionary Marxian party rejects not only the arbitrariness and bureaucratism of the Communist party, but also the spurious and deceptive "all-inclusiveness" of the Thomas-Tyler-Hoan Socialist party, which is a sham and a fraud. Experience has proved conclusively that this "all-inclusiveness" paralyzes the party in general and the revolutionary left wing in particular, suppressing and bureaucratically hounding the latter while giving free rein to the right wing to commit the greatest crimes in the name of socialism and the party. The S.W.P. seeks to be inclusive only in this sense: that it accepts into its ranks those who accept

CANNON REPORTS ON ORGANIZATION



National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party Reporting on Problems of Party Organization at the Convention. Sitting Below Him is Farrell Dobbs, National Labor Secretary of the S.W.P.

its program and denies admission to those who reject its program.

The rights of each individual member, as set forth above, do not imply that the membership as a whole, namely, the party itself, does not possess rights of its own. The party as a whole has the right to demand that its work be not disrupted and disorganized, and has the right to take all the measures which it finds necessary to assure its regular and normal functioning. The rights of any individual member are distinctly secondary to the rights of the party membership as a whole. Party democracy means not only the most scrupulous protection of the rights of a given minority, but also the protection of the rule of the majority. The party is therefore entitled to organize the discussion and to determine its forms and limits.

All inner-party discussion must be organized from the point of view that the party is not a discussion club, which debates interminably on any and all questions at any and all times, without arriving at a binding decision that enables the organization to act, but from the point of view that we are a disciplined party of revolutionary action. The party in general not only has the right, therefore, to organize the discussion in accordance with the requirements of the situation, but the lower units of the party must be given the right, in the interests of the struggle against the disruption and disorganization of the party's work, to call irresponsible individuals to order and, if need be, to eject them from the ranks.

The decisions of the national party convention are binding on all party members without exception and they conclude the discussion on all these disputed questions upon which a decision has been taken. Any party member violating the decisions of the convention, or attempting to revive discussion in regard to them without formal authorization of the party, puts himself thereby in opposition to the party and forfeits his right to membership. All party organizations are authorized and instructed to take any measures necessary to enforce this rule.

II.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONCLUSIONS OF THE PRESENT DISCUSSION

The Bolshevik party of Lenin is the only party in history which successfully conquered and held state power. The S.W.P., as a combat organization, which aims at achieving power in this country, models its organization forms and methods after those of the Russian Bolshevik party, adapting them, naturally, to the experience of recent years and to concrete American conditions.

The S.W.P. as a revolutionary workers party is based on the doctrines of Scientific Socialism as embodied in the principal works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and incorporated in the basic documents and resolutions of the first four Congresses of the Communist International and of the Conferences and Congresses of the Fourth International.

The S.W.P. rejects the contention of social democrats, skeptics and capitulators disillusioned in the Russian revolution, that there is an inevitable and organic connection between Bolshevism and Stalinism. This reactionary revision of Marxism is a capitulation to democratic imperialism. It is capable of producing only demoralization and defeat in the critical times of war and revolution.

The rise of reaction on a world scale, accompanied and produced by the disastrous course of Stalinism in the working class movement, has catapulted all centrist groups and parties (Love-stoneites, Socialist party, London Bureau) away from Bolshevism and in the direction of social democracy. In whole or in part, all of these groups attempt to identify Bolshevism with Stalinism. Without exception these groups are all in a state of collapse and passing over to the side of the class enemy.

Petty-Bourgeoisie Transmits Skepticism

This tendency (Sovvarinism) has manifested itself in leading circles of our party (Burnham) and in certain sections of the membership. Their skeptical criticisms of Bolshevism express their petty bourgeois composition and their dependence on bourgeois public opinion. The petty bourgeoisie is a natural transmission belt carrying the theories of reaction into the organizations of the working class.

Those who seek to identify Bolshevism with Stalinism concern themselves with a search for guarantees against the Stalinist degeneration of the party and the future Soviet power. We reject this demand for insurance as completely undialectical and unrealistic. Our party, in the first instance, is concerned with the struggle for state power, and therefore with creating a party organization capable of leading the proletarian struggle to this goal. There are no constitutional guarantees which can prevent degeneration. Only the victorious revolution can provide the necessary preconditions for preventing the degeneration of the party and the future Soviet power. If the party fails to carry through and extend the revolution the degeneration of the party is inevitable.

Insofar as any guarantees are possible against the degenera-

tion of the proletarian party, these can be obtained only by educating the party in firm adherence to principles and by a merciless struggle against all personal and unprincipled clique combinations within the party. The outstanding example of this clique formation is the Abern group which is based solely on personal loyalties and on rewards of honor and place within the party for those whose primary loyalty is to the clique. The history of the Fourth International in this country amply reveals that such a clique, with its utter disregard for principles, can become the repository for alien class influences and agents of enemy organizations seeking to disrupt the Fourth International from within. The S.W.P. condemns the Abern clique as hostile to the spirit and methods of Bolshevik organization.

REVOLUTIONARY CENTRALISM

To overthrow the most powerful capitalist ruling class in the world, the S.W.P. must be organized as a combat party on strong centralist lines. The resolution adopted at the founding convention, gave a correct interpretation of the principle of democratic centralism. Its emphasis was placed on the democratic aspects of this principle. The party leadership has faithfully preserved the democratic rights of the membership since the founding convention. It has granted the widest latitude of discussion to all dissenting groups and individuals. The duty of the incoming National Committee is to execute the decisions of the convention, arrived at after the most thorough and democratic discussion, and to permit no infringement upon them.

Conditions, both external and in the internal development of the party, demand that steps now be taken towards knitting the party together, towards tightening up its activities and centralizing its organization structure. For the work of penetrating into the workers' mass movement, for the heavy struggles to come against capitalism, for the onerous conditions of war, it is imperative that a maximum of loyalty be required of every leader and every member, that a maximum of activity be required, that a strict adherence to discipline be demanded and rigidly enforced.

THE PRESS

The party press is the decisive public agitational and propagandist expression of the Bolshevik organization. The policies of the press are formulated on the basis of the fundamental resolutions of the congresses and conferences of the International, the conventions of the party, and decisions of the National Committee not in conflict with such resolutions. Control of the press is lodged directly in the hands of the National Committee by the convention of the party. The duty of the editors is loyally to interpret the decisions of the convention in the press.

Control of Public Discussion

The opening of the party press to discussion of a point of view contrary to that of the official leadership of the party or of its programmatic convention decisions must be controlled by the National Committee which is obligated to regulate discussion of this character in such a way as to give decisive emphasis to the party line. It is the right and duty of the National Committee to veto any demand for public discussion if it deems such discussion harmful to the best interests of the party.

The petty bourgeois opposition in our party demonstrates its hostility to Bolshevik organization by its demand that the minority be granted the right to transform the press into a discussion organ for diametrically opposite programs. By that method it would take the control of the press out of the hands of the National Committee and subordinate it to any temporary, anarchistic combination which can make itself heard at the moment.

By the same token, the demand of the petty bourgeois opposition for an independent public organ, expounding a program in opposition to that of the majority of the party, represents a complete abandonment of democratic centralism and a capitulation to the Norman-Thomas type of "all-inclusive" party which is inclusive of all tendencies except the Bolshevik. The granting of this demand for a separate organ would destroy the centralist character of the party, by creating dual central committees, dual editorial boards, dual treasuries, dual distribution agencies, divided loyalties and a complete breakdown of all discipline. Under such conditions the party would rapidly degenerate into a social democratic organization or disappear from the scene altogether. The convention categorically rejects the demand for a dual organ.

LEADERSHIP

To build the combat organization capable of conquering state power, the party must have as its general staff a corps of professional revolutionists who devote their entire life to the direction and the building of the party and its influence in the mass movement. Membership in the leading staff of the party, the National Committee, must be made contingent on a complete subordination of the life of the candidate to the party. All members of the National Committee must devote full-time activities to party work, or be prepared to do so at the demand of the National Committee.

In the struggle for power, the party demands the greatest sacrifices of its members. Only a leadership selected from among those who demonstrate in the struggle the qualities of single-mindedness of purpose, unconditional loyalty to the party and revolutionary firmness of character, can inspire the membership with a spirit of unswerving devotion and lead the party in its struggle for power.

The party leadership must, from time to time, be infused with new blood, primarily from its proletarian sections. Workers who show promise and ability through activity in the union movement and its strike struggles should be elevated to the leading committees of the party in order to establish a more direct connection between the leading committee and the workers' movement, and in order to train the worker-Bolshevik for the task of party direction itself.

The party must select from its younger members those qualified, talented and promising elements who can be trained for leadership. The road of the student youth to the party leadership must not and cannot be from the class room of the high school and college directly into the leading committee. They must first prove themselves. They must be sent without high-sounding titles into working class districts for day-to-day work among the proletariat. The young student must serve an apprenticeship in the workers' movement before he can be considered as candidate for the National Committee.

PROLETARIANIZE THE PARTY

The working class is the only class in modern society that is progressive and truly revolutionary. Only the working class is capable of saving humanity from barbarism. Only a revolutionary party can lead the proletariat to the realization of this historic mission. To achieve power, the revolutionary party must be deeply rooted among the workers, it must be composed predominantly of workers and enjoy the respect and confidence of the workers.

Without such a composition it is impossible to build a programmatic firm and disciplined organization which can accomplish these grandiose tasks. A party of non-workers is necessarily subject to all the reactionary influences of skepticism, cynicism, soul-sickness and capitulatory despair transmitted to it through its petty-bourgeois environment.

To transform the S.W.P. into a proletarian party of action, particularly in the present period of reaction, it is not enough to continue propagandistic activities in the hope that by an automatic process workers will flock to the banner of the party. It is necessary, on the contrary, to make a concerted, determined and systematic effort, consciously directed by the leading committees of the party, to penetrate the workers movement, establish the roots of the party in the trade unions, the mass labor organizations and in the workers neighborhoods and recruit worker militants into the ranks of the party.

Steps to Proletarianize the Party

To proletarianize the party, the following steps are imperative:

1. The entire party membership must be directed towards

RESOLUTION ON DISCIPLINE

(ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION)

Having heard the declaration made to the convention by the representative of the minority to the effect that, regardless of the decision of the convention, the minority will publish a paper of its own in opposition to the press of the party, the convention states:

1. The threat is an attempt of a petty-bourgeois minority to impose its will upon the party in opposition to the principles of democratic centralism which alone can assure the unity of a revolutionary combat party. The convention categorically rejects the ultimatum of the minority and declares that any attempt on the part of any individual or group to execute it and to issue or distribute any publication in opposition to the official press of the party is incompatible with membership in the party.

2. All party organizations are instructed to expel from the party any member or members violating this convention decision. The National Committee or its Political Committee are empowered and instructed by the convention to expel any regular or alternate member or members of the N.C. or P.C. who may participate in any such violation. The N.C. or the P.C. is instructed to immediately expel and reorganize any party unit or executive committee failing to act promptly in the execution of the above instructions in regard to any member or members under its jurisdiction who may violate the convention decisions.

rooting itself in the factories, mills, etc., and towards integrating itself in the unions and workers' mass organizations.

2. Those members of the party who are not workers shall be assigned to work in labor organizations, in workers' neighborhoods and with the worker-fractions of the party—to assist them and learn from them. All unemployed members must belong to and be active in organizations of the unemployed.

Those party members who find it impossible after a reasonable period of time to work in a proletarian milieu and to attract to the party worker militants shall be transferred from party membership to the rank of sympathizers. Special organizations of sympathizers may be formed for this purpose.

Above all the student and unemployed youth must be sent into industry and involved in the life and struggles of the workers. Systematic, exceptional and persistent efforts must be made to assist the integration of our unemployed youth into industry despite the restricted field of employment.

Lacking connection with the workers' movement through failure or inability to get jobs in industry or membership in unions, the student and unemployed youth are subject to terrific pressure from the petty bourgeois world. A large section of the youth membership of the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. adopted the program of the Fourth International, but brought with them the training and habits of the social democratic movement, which are far removed from the spirit of the proletarian revolution.

These student elements can transform the program of the Fourth International from the pages of books and pamphlets into living reality for themselves and for the party only by integrating themselves in the workers movement and breaking irrevocably from their previous environment. Unless they follow this road they are in constant danger of slipping back into their former social democratic habits or into complete apathy and pessimism and thus be lost for the revolutionary movement.

3. To attract and to hold workers in the ranks of the party, it is necessary that the internal life of the party be drastically transformed. The party must be cleansed of the discussion club atmosphere, of an irresponsible attitude towards assignments, of a cynical and smart-aleck disrespect for the party.

Organizing Real Campaigns

Party activity must be lifted out of dragging, daily routine and reorganized on the basis of campaigns which are realistically adjusted to the demands and direction of the workers movement. These campaigns must not be sucked out of the thumb of some functionary in a party office, but must arise as a result of the connections of the party with the workers' movement and the indicated direction of the masses in specific situations.

All party agitation campaigns, especially in the next period, must be directed primarily at those workers' groups and organizations in which we are attempting to gain a foothold and attract members. General agitation addressed to the working class as a whole or the public in general must be related to those specific aims.

The press must gear its agitation into the activity conducted among specific workers' groups so as to transform the party paper from a literary organ into a workers' organizer. The integration of the party into the workers' movement, and the transformation of the party into a proletarian organization, are indispensable for the progress of the party. Successful achievement of this internal transformation is a thousand times more important than any amount of empty phrases about "preparation of the party for war." This transformation is, in fact, the only real preparation of the party for war, combined of course with the necessary technical adjustments in organization forms.

The S.W.P. must adhere to the principles and program of the Fourth International, transform itself into a democratically centralized-Bolshevik organization, integrate itself into the workers' movement. On that basis, and on that basis alone, can the party meet the test of the war, survive the war and go forward to its great goal—the establishment of a Workers Republic in the United States.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION ON THE ORGANIZATION QUESTION

(ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION)

In order to assure the concentration of the party membership on practical work under the most favorable internal conditions, to safeguard the unity of the party and to provide guarantees for the party rights of the minority, the convention adopts the following special measures:

1. The discussion in the party branches on the controversial issues is to be concluded with the convention decisions and the reports of the delegates to their branches. It may be resumed only by authorization of the National Committee.

2. In order to acquaint the party sympathizers and the radical labor public with all aspects of the disputes, and the opinions of both sides, the N.C. shall publish in symposium form the most important articles on the Russian question and the organization question. These symposia shall be jointly edited and each side may select the articles it wishes to publish.

3. As an exceptional measure in the present circumstances, the discussion may be continued in literary form if the representatives of either side, or both, so desire. Articles dealing with the theoretical-scientific aspects of the disputed questions may be published in the New International. Political discussion articles are to be published in a monthly Internal Bulletin, issued by the N.C., under joint editorship of the convention majority and minority.

4. The N.C. shall publish all resolutions considered by the convention, those rejected as well as those adopted. Editorial comment shall be restricted to defense of the adopted positions.

5. The decisions of the party convention must be accepted by all under the rules of democratic centralism. Strict discipline in action is to be required of all party members.

6. No measures are to be taken against any party member because of the views expressed in the party discussion. Nobody is obliged to renounce his opinions. There is no prohibition of factions. The minority is to be given representation in the leading party committees and assured full opportunity to participate in all phases of party work.

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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—\$0.30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar 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.

This Is Not Our War

The decision of the Anglo-French Supreme War Council, last week, to cut off supplies from Germany at all costs, meant the arrival of a new stage in the war.

That this was the consequence of the Anglo-French decision was well-understood. Even the pro-Ally American press made no bones about it. Monday's New York Times said it plainly enough in its editorial:

"Like a roll of distant thunder, the new Allied blockade policy portends a stormy time for the neutrals. There is no telling when or where lightning will strike in the form of a serious dispute with the Allies."

The most the Times could say in smoothing the matter over was that "the Allies have not yet exhausted the possibilities of diplomacy in dealing with the iron ore shipments from Scandinavia." That "not yet," from an ardent Anglo-ophile paper, has a world of meaning! And in conclusion the Times was constrained to say quite frankly:

"It is an Allied variant of the game of 'peaceful' intimidation which Germany has been playing in Rumania; the next few weeks should show which of the two will score the first success."

Quite clear—on Monday. Instead of weeks, however, the explosion took hours. British violation of Norwegian neutrality, culminating in the taking over of Norwegian waters for British mining operations, was countered by Nazi occupation of Denmark and the march into Norway. Whereupon what was clear on Monday became very much muddled on Wednesday.

For then the American press proceeded to scream to high heaven about Germany's "crime against civilization" and to whitewash the plain and simple facts about the role which Britain had played in transforming Norway into a battlefield.

We single out for particular comment the leading editorial in the New York Herald Tribune of Wednesday, April 10. It is especially significant because the Tribune is the leading Republican daily and the Republicans have not been averse to posing as being opposed to Roosevelt's headlong drive to carry America into the Allied war camp. Entitled "A Crime Against Civilization," it wrings such tears as it can out of a contrast between Scandinavia now and yesterday; in the process, the yesterday becomes a fantastic picture: "Nowhere else in the whole world had learning and well-being been so widely shared. . . . There man lived a complete life. . . ." etc., etc. But all this is merely preparation for this ominous declaration:

"If these acts (of Germany) can go unpunished, what security remains for any people? What hope is there for the survival of liberty or civilization, as we knew it, anywhere?"

"... With their eyes single to their national interest, Americans must once more take sights, fix their position and determine their course. . . . Calmly and steadily the country must decide."

Decide for war, of course—that is what the

Tribune wants. By this extraordinary declaration, the leading Republican organ gives Roosevelt a free hand. "Partisan" politics is subordinated to the interests which they hold in common—the interests of the American ruling class. That class, the capitalist class, driven by the permanent economic crisis at home, is impelled to seek a "way out" by gobbling up more and more of the markets of the world. Finland, Norway, tomorrow Belgium or Holland—these are the pretexts; the reality is the desperate, all-consuming need for expansion.

Thus, it becomes clear, the needs of the American ruling class are in direct conflict with the needs of the American working class. There is the soil of the class struggle, of class war, and not in the mind of any "agitator."

The intelligent American worker doesn't care, and shouldn't care, whether England or Germany "first" invaded Norway. The intelligent American worker doesn't care, and shouldn't care, which gang of imperialist bandits wins. "America's needs" mean one thing to the boss and an entirely different thing to the workers. The boss needs foreign markets, control of foreign raw material and new spheres of influence abroad, but the worker needs nothing more than this gigantic production machine and granary which America is.

We, the workers, the producers in factory and field, we don't need to send abroad that which is not ours. We want for ourselves everything which this, the most productive country in the world can produce. Let the workers take over control of the factories, expropriate the Sixty Families, cut the hours of work to a 30-hour week, give every man and woman a job and a decent living—and there'd be no economic crisis, there'd be no drive to "solve" the crisis by expansion—and war—abroad.

Roosevelt, backed by the entire capitalist class—that is the meaning of the Tribune editorial—will drive toward war now at an entirely new rate of speed. He cannot be stopped merely by "anti-war" propaganda. He can be stopped only if the American working class breaks the political and economic power of the capitalist class. The struggle against war is the struggle against capitalism, nothing more or less.

Lewis' Auto Speeches

John L. Lewis has a reputation for being a bold man afraid of nothing. But John L. Lewis played "possum" in Flint and Detroit last week end.

He talked a lot about the war and unemployment and bad economic conditions. Yet he never said a single word about how the auto workers will find a way out of the blind alley of low annual wages, unemployment and insecurity.

What was John L. Lewis afraid of? The auto workers or the auto bosses or both? Or didn't he know what to say? Every man that works on the line in the General Motors plants in Detroit and Flint knows what the answer is to unemployment: THE THIRTY HOUR WEEK AT FORTY HOURS PAY.

The last convention of the UAW adopted that demand unanimously. The auto workers' campaigning paper for the NLRB elections, called *GM Facts*, says the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay is the only answer to the auto workers problems. Why didn't Lewis talk about how to get it in his speeches?

Was he afraid that the auto workers are too weak to get into a scrap for the 30 hour week? Well, the tens of thousands of auto workers in Flint and in Detroit who turned out to hear him were the same fighting men that licked General Motors in 1937 and have kept them licked all these years and will wipe out Mr. Martin and his AFL in the forthcoming election. Didn't Lewis know that? Is John L. losing his eyesight?

Was Lewis scared of the big-front stuffed shirts that claim to own the General Motors? If he was frightened at the thought of going to the mat with General Motors for the 30 hour week he must have been a pretty lonely man at those meetings. We can't prove by legal evidence what was in the hearts of the sit-down veterans, who fought the National Guard to a standstill, who made the famous battle of Bull's Run, as they listened to Lewis dodge all around the basic issue. But we'd bet our bottom dollar they were pretty disappointed at his speech. We bet they wanted to hear him say: "Now we fight."

The time is coming when Lewis will have to quit playing "possum." The auto workers are going to sweep the elections in GM. But the auto workers want something more than paper ballots—they can't feed their kids on that kind of soup.

The auto workers want jobs. That means the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. And they know General Motors is the place to start. Lewis will have to make up his mind whether he's going along.

The handwriting is on the wall. It spells: THIRTY HOURS WORK AT FORTY HOUR PAY

The leaders of the CIO and the UAW better learn how to read.

Return to Two-A-Week Appeal Voted by S. W. P. Convention

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not yet directly connected with mass organizations. The convention granted no exceptions to the rule that party members must link themselves to the workers. If not in unions, they can serve as helpers to trade unionists.

How the youth, women, unemployed and non-professional members may thus expand party work was amply demonstrated in the inspiring reports from various centers. One group of non-worker members specializes in selling the Appeal to workers at a labor temple and a power house. Another group were "colonized" in an industry and built a powerful union. Several opportunities for more such avenues into industry for non-proletarians were cited by the trade union reporters.

Plans for workers defense guards, for recruiting women workers, for expanding the Negro department of the party, for active workers conferences to coordinate work by districts, and many other concrete details were elaborated. That the expansion of all these details necessitated expansion of the party's popular press was felt instinctively. The

workers found the answer in the spontaneous demand for doubling the issuance of the APPEAL.

Other demonstrations of the same spirit came in other fields. The most moving moment of the convention was the ovation accorded Comrade Munis, veteran of the Spanish civil war, and representing the Mexican section of the Fourth International and the Spanish refugees now in Mexico or in French concentration camps. The entire convention jumped to its feet in spontaneous tribute to a fighter who symbolizes international solidarity of the proletariat.

Again, the proletarian cadres of the party thundered applause at the reading of a greeting sent from the convention to Comrade Leon Trotsky.

Again and again, the convention reached a high pitch of revolutionary fervor when fraternal delegates from the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Chile and the Socialist Workers League of Canada told how oppressions had served only to spur those parties to greater struggles against capitalist imperialism, in staunch adherence to the Marxian principles of the Fourth International.

Rising enthusiasm of the work-delegates was only fired the more as the trade union discussions drew an ever clearer line of distinction between the proletarian majority of the party and the petty-bourgeois minority.

Already the majority has seen this petty-bourgeois minority defeated on the theoretical plane, in a day and a half of debate on the Russian and organization questions. This debate is described in detail in another story in this issue.

Convention decisions were thus the answer not only to world imperialism but to revisionist elements within the party. The 28-page trade union resolution clearly aimed the SWP toward "an aroused proletariat, fighting on a class struggle basis," as the only movement capable of smashing the campaign to plunge American workers into another blood-bath of imperialist war.

"Every party member," states the resolution, "must find his place in the mass movement" to prepare against M-day, to assure against degeneration of the party, and to build for the eventual seizure of power by the workers.

SWP Reaffirms Policy Of Defense of USSR

(Continued from Page 1)
The majority and minority resolutions on the Russian question have already been published, together with discussion articles, in the last two issues of the New Internationalist, and will be reprinted in next week's Socialist Appeal. All the resolutions of both majority and minority on the organization question are printed in this issue.

Seven Months' Discussion
The convention concluded a seven-months' discussion on these questions. The dispute flared up after the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact, when the minority initiated an attempt to revise our program.

Toward the pact and its consequences, the majority held, the same principles were valid as had been elaborated by the Fourth International toward the Franco-Soviet pact and the preceding reactionary steps in foreign policy taken by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Petty-Bourgeois Opposition
The proposal to revise the program following the Stalin-Hitler pact could only be characterized, the majority pointed out, as a capitulation to the pressure of "democratic" public opinion, which approved the Franco-Soviet pact but denounced the Hitler-Stalin pact. The petty-bourgeois composition of the minority, it was pointed out, made it particularly susceptible to such pressure.

The seven months' discussion in the party was conducted with the utmost democracy. All articles submitted by any member of the party and the official representatives of the contending factions either were printed in the 13 issues of the Internal Bulletin distributed throughout the party or were issued in mimeograph form by each of the factions—in all hundreds of thousands of words.

When the issues had become fundamentally clear to the membership, the pages of the New Internationalist were opened to the discussion in order to acquaint the sympathizers of our party with the issues involved in the internal struggle.

In addition, weekly discussions were organized at branch meetings, with speakers from the contending factions and with the floor open to discussion by every member of the party.

Burnham Minority Spokesman
The position of the minority upon the question of the class nature of the Soviet Union and

its defense by the working class was presented at the convention by James Burnham. He maintained that the class nature of the USSR is irrelevant, and that it does not affect the political position of defense or defeatism one way or the other.

The position of defense as held by the majority of the party, Burnham argued, was nothing less than a "left cover for Stalinism and Hitler's ideological northern front."

Goldman Majority Speaker

For the majority position, Albert Goldman was the main speaker. He attacked Burnham's position as anti-Marxist, in view of the fact that Marxists determine their attitude toward a given state by analyzing its class nature and its relationship to the world proletariat in the struggle against capitalism.

The Soviet Union he characterized as a "degenerated workers' state," based on nationalized property, the basic conquest of the October revolution, which we defend against imperialism while carrying on the most determined struggle to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Workers' Arguments

In the discussion, Manny Mills, a Mid-West steel worker delegate, opposed Burnham's conceptions by likening the Soviet Union to a trade union. "The revolutionary worker always and at all times fights the corrupt and class-collaborationist leaders of a union. But at the same time we are the best fighters in defense of the union against any boss attack."

One of the most significant speeches in the discussion was delivered by a Negro worker delegate from Oakland, California.

"There are those who try to tell the Negro workers that Stalin or Hitler are our main enemies," he declared. "The oppressed colonial peoples of Africa and Asia, who have had the experience of 200 years of English and French exploitation, are not so easily swung into line by the cry of 'Hitler' or 'Stalin.' So far as the colonial masses are concerned, they cannot see any real difference between the imperialist policies of Hitler or Chamberlain. The Negro workers in America know who oppress them—the American bosses. And the colonial workers know that the

enemy they must fight first is the one already on their backs."

The position of the proletarian majority upon the important problem of the party's organizational structure and activities was presented by James P. Cannon.

The organization question, he maintained, is for Leninists subordinate to principled political questions. Always Bolsheviks look for the differences in principle in taking a position in a struggle. Anything else, such as placing organization problems above principled political differences, he branded as anti-Marxist and completely unprincipled. He contrasted this with the minority method of forming its ranks through agreement upon organization questions while suppressing principled differences among themselves.

The principled differences nevertheless broke through, he declared, as they always do, and cut through all these organizational issues like an icebreaker through an ice-choked bay.

But in the organizational field, too, Marxists have a basic conception. Burnham's views, he maintained, are in fundamental conflict with the Marxist views from the field of theory and politics right down to the field of organizational methods.

This convention, Cannon declared, marked a turning point in our 11-year struggle to build a party. The convention majority is the proletarian wing of the party seeking to drive deeper into the working class. The minority represents the petty-bourgeois remnants of the past who are struggling against this drive and who responded to the democratic war bourgeois pressure by attacking our basic program and our Bolshevik form of organization.

He ended his speech by outlining the guarantees offered by the majority to preserve the rights of the minority in the coming period, these guarantees including the right to continued existence as a faction, expression of its viewpoint in a monthly Internal Bulletin under joint control, and a discussion of the theoretical differences in the New Internationalist.

The position of the minority on organization was represented by Max Shachtman. He declared that the present regime in the party has succumbed to bureaucracy, that while this bureaucracy has no economic base, indeed even being self-sacrificing and at times half-starving, nevertheless it is a bureaucracy. It reflects, he declared, two features of the American environment: (1) The bureaucracy of the trade union fakers at the head of the American labor movement. (2) The "boss" system of politics in America.

After developing these points he called for still more democracy in the party than that which has obtained in the past, and then demanded that the minority have the right to set up a separate public organ.

The convention did not, however, preoccupy itself with such threats. The proletarian majority had already given its answer to threats of split. It had found time enough to dig deep into the problems of mass work and to hear reports of progress in the various proletarian centers. And it had declared: we are ready for another great step forward: concretely, for the twice-a-week APPEAL and a program of expansion of our work in every field. And that was the real content of our convention!

German 'Socialists' Take Position In Anglo-French Camp

By H. DAVID

It has become exceedingly difficult for revolutionary socialists to receive information in 1940. Thus we have received only now a resolution drawn up in the name of the German S.A.P. (Socialist Labor Party) by Jakob Walcher and dated November 1939. This resolution deals with the role of the Soviet Union in the war. We read there the following:

"Thus the Soviet Union has not only left the international Anti-Fascist Front, but as long as this government remains in power it ceases to be an international, revolutionary socialist factor." And further: "We cannot today adopt a principled position toward Soviet Russia different from that toward the other great powers."

This last sentence obviously can only have meaning for us if we know exactly what "principled" position the S.A.P. actually takes with regard to the "other great powers."

In the pamphlet, "The Coming World War" (Der Kommende Weltkrieg), which was published jointly by the "Revolutionary Socialists of Austria," the group "Neue Beginnen" (New Beginning) and the S.A.P., the authors express themselves about as follows: To be sure the war is an imperialist war on both sides; nevertheless the interests of the working class, of democracy and of socialism, coincide with the interests of the imperialists on the opposing side up until a decisive military victory. And so that no room will be left for doubt the authors declare expressly: "We stand for the defeat of Fascism, we stand for the victory of the opposing front!"

"The international anti-Fascist front" in Walcher's meaning of the words, are obviously the imperialist powers, England and France and their eventual allies of tomorrow. "The Soviet Union has left this front," he says, and "we cannot take a different principled position with regard to it than towards other great powers (that is, those who don't belong to this front)."

In plain and simple English this means: "We are for the victory of British-French imperialism in this world war and for the defeat of the Soviet Union." Walcher and his many spiritual kin in the camp of the German emigration have reached a pretty pass indeed!

Their Treachery Foreshadowed

In our thesis on the civil war in Spain, published in Unser Wort (organ of the German section of the Fourth International) we defined the role of the Soviet bureaucracy as unequivocally counter-revolutionary. Walcher and his followers went into an uproar over the "dangerous nonsense" and "methodical madness" of our thesis, and formulated eight far-reaching and illuminating verities of which the fifth is worth quoting today:

"In spite of everything that has happened in the Soviet Union in the past few years, the fate of the Soviet Union remains bound up with that of the international working-class movement and the latter must stand at its side with all the forces at its command." (Neue Front, March, 1938).

We replied: "To be sure, that is also our opinion. However, it is necessary not to confuse the Soviet bureaucracy, the grave-digger of the revolution, with the Soviet Union itself. The power of the Soviet bureaucracy is an interregnum between the revolution and the counter-revolution."

"In advancing by means of its counter-revolutionary policy the progress of the counter-revolution, the Soviet bureaucracy is preparing its own downfall, its own replacement by the counter-revolution. Only when the international labor movement will have liberated itself from the embrace of reformism and Stalinism and carried out the victorious social revolution in the capitalist world, will the Soviet Union really be saved and brought back on to the road toward socialism. Therefore, whoever defends the Spanish policy of Stalinism, is in spite of all lip service to the Soviet Union the open enemy of the Soviet Union and helps in the strangling of the Soviet state by the advancing counter-revolution." (Unser Wort, May, 1938).

At that time we were not yet in a position to know that we would get such a striking confirmation of this sentence as the present Walcher resolution on the role of the Soviet Union in the war.

Why They Changed Their Position

As long as the counter-revolutionary policy of the Soviet bureaucracy coincided with the policy of Anglo-French imperialism, Walcher defended Stalin's politics by pointing to the socialist foundation of the Soviet Union.

Today, when Stalin's policy has come into contradiction with that of Anglo-French imperialism, the same Walcher makes Stalin's policy a pretext for surrendering the Soviet Union to imperialism.

We are hard put to find a proper expression to give adequate vent to our contempt for this type of "socialist."

We see no reason for changing our principled position towards the Soviet Union because of the Stalin-Hitler pact. As before, we remain the most irreconcilable opponents of the Stalinist bureaucracy whose counter-revolutionary role we—and in the first place Comrade Trotsky—recognized long before the whole crummy crew of Walcher, Muenzenberg, Lovestone, et tutti quanti became so piously and haughtily outraged by the Stalin-Hitler pact. As before, we refuse and will continue to refuse to identify the Soviet Union with the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Just as we excoriated Stalin's role as agent of Anglo-French imperialism yesterday, and remained prepared at the same time to defend the Soviet Union against attack by German imperialism; so we regard it today a duty of the Russian workers to combat the Stalinist bureaucracy wherever it appears, as an agency of Hitler imperialism, but at the same time continue to defend the Soviet Union against any attack on the part of the "democratic" imperialist powers.

"Hands off Soviet Russia" remains as before our slogan in all capitalist countries. The overthrow of the criminal Stalin regime is the task of the Russian and the international proletariat, and not of Anglo-French bayonets.

Our companions in the struggle against the robber gang of Hitler are not the brigands of Paris and London, who between them keep half a billion people in the same conditions of oppression and slavery as Hitler keeps his hundred million, but the revolutionary proletarians and the oppressed colonial slaves of all countries. To be sure, the friends of Hitler are our foes. But the friends of the imperialist rivals and colleagues of Hitler are no less so. Between us and the Muenzenbergs and the Walchers stand the barricades of the coming German revolution. March 8, 1940 (Reprinted from Unser Wort, April-May 1940)

NORWAY CRUSHED BY POWERS

(Continued from Page 1)
tem whether they liked it or not.
Why Scandinavia First

Scandinavia was chosen as the first testing ground for this policy because the Allies considered they had a good chance of enforcing their policy with military means if Germany should seek to resist it. And that is just what has happened.

Only Germany has certainly moved faster than the Allies could possibly have expected, because for Germany the stakes are undoubtedly great. Economically, if it can control Scandinavia, it as-

ures itself important supplies of ore, timber, furs, and other foodstuffs. Strategically, it acquires a coast and bases for direct attack on England and Allied shipping lanes.

Neither side can afford to let the other win control of the northern peninsula. The Allies failed to seize the opportunity afforded by the Soviet-Finnish war. They dabbled uncertainly until that war came to an end and the opportunity passed. This time they have deliberately created a new opportunity and Germany has taken them up on it.