

PACT MEANS U. S. WAR IN TWO OCEANS

Proletarian Military Policy Is Adopted At Socialist Workers Party Chicago Conference

TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND LAUNCHED BY DELEGATES

Expresses Determination of the Party To Carry Out Trotsky's Final Injunction to Go Forward

CHICAGO, Sept. 30—The three-day Plenum-Conference of the Socialist Workers Party closed last night, and the delegates and National Committee members were on their way home today, bringing back with them to the party branches in all parts of the country an inspiring program of political and organizational activity.

The plenary session of the National Committee on Friday had been followed Saturday and Sunday by a conference of delegates and activists from the branches, which prepared the party for the stirring times facing the working class.

It was the first national meeting of the party since the death of Leon Trotsky, and it was dominated by the determination to carry out his last words: "I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward." The Plenum-Conference honored the memory of Trotsky, not by empty grief, but by taking up his work and carrying it forward.

It was in that spirit and, indeed, under the direct inspiration of his thoughts in the last days of his life, that the main document of the Plenum-Conference, the "Resolution on Proletarian Military Policy," was formulated and adopted.

Fight Against Pacifism

The resolution boldly draws the necessary tactical conclusions from the nature of this epoch of war and militarism. Dismissing all pacifist delusions about the possibility of the United States remaining at peace in a world whose chief characteristics have

Full texts of the resolutions adopted by the Plenum-Conference appear on page 2.

become war and militarism, it declares that the workers' fight for power requires a positive program which takes the facts of war and militarism as the starting point for practical actions. The debilitating poison of pacifism must be drained out of the movement.

For only with the masses is it

possible to conquer power and establish socialism; and in these times the masses in the military organizations are destined to play the most decisive role of all. Our task is to protect the class interests of the workers in the army no less than in the factory, and thereby strive to win over the majority to the idea of transforming the war into a struggle for their socialist emancipation. This proletarian military policy has as its starting point, at this stage of war preparations of U.S. imperialism, the demand for federal funds for training camps under the control of the trade unions.

The need for a proletarian military policy was grimly underlined, the day the plenum opened by the news of the Axis pact with Japan, signaling the extension of the war to all the continents of the globe.

Cannon's Report

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the party, made the political report, stressing that all questions—the party's activities, work in the trade unions, attitude toward opponent organizations, etc.—are subordinated to the propagation of the proletarian military policy of the party.

The delegates found especially illuminating his emphasis on the

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SWP PROTESTS EFFORT TO BAN CP FROM BALLOT

Party in California Fights Issue of Civil Rights

SAN FRANCISCO—Vigorous protest against outlawing of the Communist Party in California was voiced this week by the Socialist Workers Party, San Francisco Branch, in a telegram to Governor Olson.

Despite its profound political disagreement with the Communist Party, the SWP branded the move a direct blow against the labor movement as a whole.

Utilizing the war scare to strike at the currently least popular section of the labor movement, California's reactionary legislature made the first open move toward chaining labor to the war machine by approving a bill denying a place on the ballot to any party using the name "Communist."

This destruction of a basic democratic right clearly reveals the nature of the "democracy" for which the workers are told they must give their lives.

Approved by both houses of the legislature just before the close of the recent special session, the measure declares:

"No party shall be recognized or qualified to participate in any primary election which uses or adopts as any part of its party designation the word 'communist' or any derivative."

Any organizations directly or indirectly affiliated with the Communist Party of the United States, the Third International, or "foreign agencies" which advocate a program of "violence against the United States" are denied a place on the ballot.

Under the guise of "pressing defense necessity," the reactionary bill was passed in a rush by the legislature, the assembly approving it 66 to 3 on September 21, and the senate the following day.

Once again, the rank and file of the Communist Party is being

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New State Guard Units Are Organized To Break Strikes

This little story is written entirely for the benefit of those innocent boys and girls who think that the government has soldiers only for the purpose of warding off a foreign enemy.

The government has now gotten from Congress the necessary authority to mobilize millions upon millions of soldiers. Included among these are the National Guard units of the 48 states.

But now Congress is considering passage of ANOTHER bill, to have the states raise, and the federal government finance, new regiments of the National Guard to take the place of those inducted into the regular army.

What for? The answer is provided in a circular letter now being sent by New York colonels to former members of Guard regiments, urging them to re-enlist. The key paragraph reads:

"The service contemplated for the New York Guard will be entirely within the state. Besides the drills necessary to prepare for service within the state, active duty will be limited to riots or other civil disorders."

"Riots or other civil disorders"—that means strikes and militant labor activity.

If Labor supports the formation of such anti-Labor guards, it is just cutting its own throat.

Workers Defense Guards, loyal to Labor's interests, are the only guards for the working class!

I.B.E.W. Local 3 Leaders Jailed In Strikebreaking Move

Harry Van Arsdale, business manager of the New York Electrical Workers Union, Local 3 of the I.B.E.W. (AFL), and four other members, were dragged out of their beds last Friday by police acting under instructions of Queens County District Attorney Charles P. Sullivan, in a crude boss attempt to break the nine-week-old strike of the union at the Triangle Conduit and Cable Company in Glendale, Queens.

The fantastic bail of \$50,000 each was demanded by the District Attorney. Van Arsdale and the others refused to permit the union to pay for such exorbitant bail, and remained in jail until Monday, when Judge Charles S. Golden set bail of \$7,500 each for Van Arsdale and Assistant Business Manager Hansen, and \$1,000 each for the other three.

The District Attorney had secured their indictment under an ancient statute against rioting, dating back to 1794, and having nothing to do with strikes. Pretext for application of the statute was a fight between pickets and armed strikebreakers.

The entire New York labor movement is roused by this outrageous strikebreaking move of the District Attorney. The CIO has joined with the I.B.E.W. in demanding dismissal of the case and cessation of attacks on the strikers.

Local 3 of the I.B.E.W. is one having jurisdiction for all electrical work in New York, and this frontal attack on it is a significant index to the growing boldness of the anti-labor forces, operating under cover of the "no-strike" declarations from Washington.

Nazi-Japan Alliance Has USSR In Its Pincers

PARLEY OVER FLINT FIRINGS DRAGGING ON

General Motors Stalls To Avert Walk-Out In Flint Plants

FLINT, Mich., Sept. 30—No settlement has as yet been secured by the International Executive Board of the United Auto Workers from General Motors on the company's suspension from work of 19 union members in the Fisher Body No. 1 plant.

Phillip Murray, CIO vice-president, was scheduled to meet with top officials of G.M. today in Detroit, but meanwhile union members are in the dark as to the progress of negotiations, for no report has come from the International officers.

Murray's appearance in the picture may mean either one of two things—that the UAW officers expect Murray, with the prestige of the CIO behind him, to get a favorable settlement; or that a poor settlement will require a good salesman to put it over with the local membership here.

Strike Preparation

Meanwhile, however, preparations locally are going on for strike action. Strike kitchen stoves, tables, etc., are being prepared by the suspended members. Buick workers directly affected are beginning to clamor for a strike vote in their local too.

The strike vote in the Fisher Body local totaled 3,000 votes which is one of the largest votes cast in a strike ballot at any time by any local in the International. The percentage that voted for strike was also one of the largest; 2100 voted for strike, 900 against with approximately 7,000 workers in the plant.

A benefit dance and party held for the suspended members Saturday night was well attended by all locals here and by many out of town locals.

Soviet Union Now Faces Threat on Two Frontiers Which Stalin Thought He Had Eliminated

In Berlin on September 27 Germany, Italy, and Japan entered into a formal political and military alliance, which is destined to have profound repercussions throughout the world.

The terms of the pact obligated the signatories to go immediately to each others' aid in the event that any power still uninvolved in the European or Asiatic wars took up arms on the side of Britain or China.

The pact's most obvious edge was directed at the United States which was openly warned that at a certain point its "aid" to Great Britain would involve it in war with Japan. This was Hitler's primary purpose in formalizing his deal with Japan at this particular time. On Japan's part, the pact was concluded as a warning to the United States that any attempt to interfere with Japan's expansionist drive in the eastern Pacific would involve it in war with Germany and Italy. The pact is primarily an attempt to immobilize the United States in the war by threatening it with the dire consequence of war in two oceans simultaneously.

Blow at USSR

The pact's other edge was a little less obvious but no less sharp. It was directed at the Soviet Union. In the treaty itself, the Axis diplomats took pains to explain that the tri-power arrangement did not affect relations "established or to be established" between the U.S.S.R. and the three signatories. This did not, however, conceal the fact that the treaty confronts the Soviet Union with the prospect of war on two frontiers if it fails to remain obedient to Hitler's dictation.

In Moscow the first reaction was one of frightened silence.

For two days Soviet newspapers abstained even from publishing news of the new Axis deal. They finally issued the text of the treaty. The first official comment, three days after the pact, tried to convey the impression that Stalin had been privy all along to the axis negotiations and that whatever they decided was all right with him.

But it is not all right by any means with the Soviet Union, as London and Washington have both been quick to point out. Despite all his super-weaseling, Stalin finds himself now precisely in the position he so desperately tried to avoid when he entered into his bargain with Hitler a year ago. The pact of Berlin of September 27 is the payoff of that bargain. Stalin thought in August, 1939, that he had smashed the anti-Comintern alliance and

what remains to be seen.

Two Jailed Drivers Union Leaders Now Cleared By Court

Howard Fouts and Ralph Johnson, Sioux City Drivers Union leaders, now in Leavenworth penitentiary serving two-year sentences, have just been cleared of the charges by the South Dakota Supreme Court to which their conviction was appealed. The court reversed the conviction on the grounds that the evidence was insufficient.

The charge was that they had destroyed a truck in March, 1939 during a Sioux City bakery strike. The FBI stepped into this local case and spent untold sums on engineering a frameup.

Other unionists framed in this case and now serving two-year sentences are Lou Miller of the Omaha Drivers Union, Jack Maloney, Sioux City drivers' organizer, Francis Quinn, organizer of the Des Moines drivers, and Shorty Stultz and Carpenter of the Omaha drivers.

completely confounded the Japanese by his pact with Hitler. But like all the ghosts Stalin thinks he has laid, the ghost of the anti-Comintern pact has come to life suddenly and fearfully—in the form of an ironclad military alliance. In effect, the secret clauses of the anti-Comintern pact have been brought out into the open.

In respect to the United States, the pact of Berlin formalizes a set of conditions of which the rulers of the United States have long been aware. One of the factors which has been deterring Roosevelt & Company from hastening the pace into war has been the knowledge that American involvement in the Atlantic would give the green light to Japan in the Pacific. Hitler has simply exploited this fact. He and the Japanese now are hoping that their open alliance will keep the United States inactive long enough to allow Germany to complete a victory over Britain and allow Japan to gather in unhindered the Far Eastern holdings of the defeated Western powers.

Likely Next Steps

What are likely to be the immediate effects of the new pact? First of all, "appeasement" of Japan with respect to the China war will come to an end. Britain will no doubt re-open the Burma Road, which it closed three months ago at Japan's demand. President Roosevelt has already placed an embargo on iron exports to Japan and a new \$25,000,000 loan to China has been announced. Along that Burma Road the previous trickle of American aid is likely to thicken into more of a stream in the months to come. Across the Atlantic, United States aid to Britain will increase, rather than decrease.

The U. S. will thus stiffen British resistance to Germany and Chinese resistance to Japan. Whether and at what point such actions will bring the Pact of Berlin into operation is of course what remains to be seen.

Wooing The Kremlin

Finally, fresh efforts to deal a new hand in American-Soviet relations will now be made. The day after the pact of Berlin, the New York Herald Tribune's Washington correspondent reported that definite American efforts "to woo the Soviet Union" would follow on the heels of the Axis alliance. There has been a notable relaxation of export restrictions on vital materials going to the Soviet Union in the last few months and the recent signature of a new U.S.-Soviet trade agreement like-wise created the atmosphere for a new "friendliness".

Actually, however, Stalin will be guided in this as in his whole policy now by the calculation of relative strengths. So long as Hitler's star continues to rise, Stalin will ride along in Hitler's orbit, however much his own star is dimmed thereby, and whatever the consequences to socialist economic organization in the Soviet Union. The German alliance with Japan further narrows Stalin's freedom of action. It will take a decisive turn in the direction of the war to switch the policy of the Kremlin. Such a turn will never be taken on the Kremlin's own initiative. That it will leave, half-hopefully, half-fearfully, to Roosevelt.

Program To Break Labor's Back Is Drafted By Leading Economists Of The Country

The government at Washington is now engaged in the biggest business in the United States. This is the business of building the greatest war-machine the world has ever known. The whole economic life of the country is being reshaped to serve the needs of the military program.

From now on, the government regulates and controls national industry. Every decision, every measure taken by the administration directly and immediately affects the lives and livelihood of the mass of workers. The workers must, more closely than ever before, watch their rulers in Washington, to understand what is being planned.

At the request of the War and Navy Departments of the government, the Brookings Institution of Washington, a well-known organization of conservative capitalist economists, has made a study of wartime price control. The ostensible purpose of this "impartial, academic" survey was to suggest ways and means to keep prices down during war. Its real aim, however, is to prepare public opinion for the wage-cutting, and union-busting drive which has already been started in many war-industries and which will inevitably be expanded as militarization gains momentum.

LIVING STANDARDS MENACED

The important recommendations of the Brookings report are aimed at labor.

(1) Wages, it proposes, are to be controlled by the government. How? In the interests of the bosses. For wages are to be raised only in the last resort "to insure health and efficiency or

when other commodities fail to keep down the cost of living."

The truth is that commodity prices cannot be prevented from soaring under wartime conditions. In England they have increased over forty percent since the outbreak of the war. The cost of living becomes higher and higher; food, clothing, shelter, recreation grows more expensive with each passing week. If the worker's wages are not increased in proportion, it means that they suffer a real reduction in wages. The same amount of dollars buys less and less.

Unless the workers through their unions demand—and get—higher wages, their standard of living sinks lower and lower. Such is the automatic mechanism of price control under the capitalist system which always works to the advantage of the bosses and to the detriment of the wage-laborers. This means that the labor-unions must keep control of wages in their own hands and not surrender this power to government agencies which are in turn controlled by Big Business.

The best way for the unions to meet this danger is to provide in their contracts for a RISING SCALE OF WAGES to equalize the rising costs of living.

WIPING OUT LABOR'S GAINS

(2) The Brookings report goes on to urge that all restrictions upon production be done away with. Does this mean that the unemployed are to be given jobs, or that idle factories shall be turned over to idle workers for operation? No. On the contrary it means that all the existing laws which bring any benefit to the workers,

which limit hours of work or fix minimum wages (the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Wage-Hour Law, the Walsh-Healey Act, etc.) are to be scrapped for the duration of the war! Back to the sixty-hour week and the \$7 weekly wage! Restore paradise to the bosses; give hell to the workers! That's the advice given to the War and Navy Departments by the economists they chose to advise them.

Let there be no illusion about it. The hard-boiled Generals and Admirals are going to follow that advice, if they can. Bethlehem Steel, Electric Boat Company, and Douglas Aircraft will not be the only ones permitted to ignore the Walsh-Healey Act. All the big corporations will demand and receive that right on the pretext of producing for "national defense"—at labor's expense—unless the organized workers prevent them from getting away with it.

That's why the workers need a Labor Party of their own to fight in Washington and in Congress for the retention and extension of every law protecting labor's rights. But, even though lacking a powerful mass Labor Party, the CIO and the AFL unions are strong enough to curb this reactionary drive, provided they rely upon their own independent action, and not upon the empty promises of capitalist politicians.

TAX BURDEN ON WORKERS

(3) The Brookings report further recommends that the government get most of its war funds from taxes, and then warns that "excess profits taxes alone cannot prevent the adverse effects of inflation." In plain English, don't be too harsh on the war-profiters. Get the money

needed for the war-machine by levying hidden taxes upon the necessities of life.

Thus the workers and their families are to be doubly squeezed. First, by keeping wage-levels from rising while prices do and then by taxing vital commodities. "Heads we win; tails you lose": such is the new Army game!

The Brookings Report, initiated by the government, is only one of many similar indications that the government is preparing to clamp down on any struggles for higher wages and is considering the suspension of all laws protecting labor. This means that the trade-unions have a tough job ahead of them. They'll have to struggle against the government's attack upon all the standards and conditions won by labor in the past period, an attack undertaken for the sake of the war profiteers.

PREPARE TO DEFEND YOURSELVES!

Big Business is now in the driver's seat at Washington, supervising the war-machine. Knudsen, Stettinius and their associates are out to put the workers in their place, with the help of "labor" men in government service, like Hillman, Tracy and Tobin. If the trade-unions don't maintain their freedom of action, if the rank-and-file isn't on the alert to fight against every encroachment upon their rights, the Big Boys are likely to get away with it.

Here's one preparedness campaign the organized workers have a real interest in getting under way! Prepare to defend the workers against the war profiteers and their agents in Washington!

S. W. P. Resolution On Proletarian Military Policy

*Adopted At Plenum-Conference Held
In Chicago, September 27 to 29*

1. Capitalism has plunged the world into a horrible vortex of war and militarism. This testifies not to the vitality of capitalism but to its fatal weakness, its incapacity to regain stability. The epoch of the death agony of capitalism and the beginning of social transformation is an epoch of universal militarism. It can be brought to an end only by the definitive victory of the proletariat. This is the essential feature of the present world situation.

2. The intervention of the United States in the present war, or its clash with a victorious Germany or Japan at a later date, is predetermined by all the circumstances. All the realistic leaders of American capitalism clearly understand this. Only a few pacifist fools have the slightest doubt about it. The two main groups in the camp of U. S. imperialism—interventionist and so-called isolationists—differ only in regard to military strategy. Both are agreed on the policy of preparing to fight and grab. The stupendous arms program adopted by Congress has and can have only one meaning: military aggression in the near future on a world scale.

The question whether German imperialism, having conquered Europe, can or cannot "attack" the United States has nothing to do with the real issue. The very existence of one aggressive and expanding imperialist power in the modern world is an "attack" on the others. The United States, as an imperialist power having its foundations throughout the world, is "attacked" anywhere a rival power attempts to seize a market, a piece of territory or a sphere of influence.

Whether the United States directly intervenes in the present European war, or defers open military action for another point of attack is only a secondary consideration in evaluating the perspective. The real course is clear: U. S. imperialism is preparing with all possible speed to put its strength and its weakness to the test of war on a colossal scale.

THE FUNDAMENTAL LESSON

3. In the epoch of militarism great questions can be decided only by military means—this is the fundamental lesson of the developments of the present war.

The agents and apologists of democratic imperialism—the social democrats, the centrists, the trade union reformists and the pacifists—all the air with lamentations over the smashing military victories of Hitler and spread the sentiments of pessimism and prostration.

We Fourth Internationalists thrust aside these traitors and panic mongers with hatred and contempt. Our task is to ascertain what has been destroyed and what has been proved by the momentous events in Europe and to draw the necessary conclusions for the future struggle.

REFORMISM CANNOT LIVE TODAY

In the first place the victories of the fascist war machine of Hitler have destroyed every plausible basis for the illusion that a serious struggle against fascism can be conducted under the leadership of a bourgeois democratic regime. The war in Europe, as previously in the Spanish rehearsal, has shown up the hollowness, the rottenness and the contemptible cowardice and greed of the whole ruling stratum of the bourgeois democrats. They are unwilling to sacrifice anything but the lives of the duped masses. To save their personal lives and their property they were ready in one country after another to capitulate to fascism and seek its protection against the wrath of their own people.

No less complete and devastating has been the destruction of the traditional reformist labor movement. At best, this traditional movement—the parties and the trade unions—was pacifist in character. That is, it was designed for peace, not for war. Parties which confined themselves to protests against the horrors of war, and did not seriously conduct a struggle for power to end the system which causes war—such parties were completely helpless when submitted to the test of war. The same proved true of the outwardly imposing trade unions. All concepts of peaceful, gradual, reformist progress within the framework of capitalism, and all parties and organizations which represented these concepts in any degree, were smashed like a house of cards.

BOLSHEVISM ALONE STANDS UP

The war in Europe has once again, and more categorically than ever, posed the fundamental alternative of the epoch of wars and revolutions: either the dictatorship of fascist capitalism, or the dictatorship of the proletariat. The attempt of the European workers, under the influence of the reformist labor bureaucracies, to find in democratic capitalism a third alternative, led to catastrophe. The third alternative has been destroyed in blood and fire. But the program of the workers' fight for power has not been destroyed. When the workers of Europe rise again—and rise they will—that program will be their banner. These are the fundamental lessons of the war.

4. Bolshevism alone, which aims to direct the workers' movement to the seizure of political power by revolutionary means, stands up and gains strength under the test of the great new events. War and militarism which crush all other organizations and discredit all other programs, only provide a new verification of the premises of Bolshevism. The military epoch has room only for parties which inspire the workers to scorn all half measures, to stop at nothing, and to carry their struggle through to the very end. These are parties of a new type having nothing in common with the reformist-pacifist parties of the traditional labor movement. Such a party is the Socialist Workers Party. Its program can be described in one phrase: dictatorship of the proletariat.

RIDDING OURSELVES OF PACIFISM

5. The certainty that the United States also will be dominated by militarism confronts the party with the categorical necessity to purge itself of all remnants of liberal, petty bourgeois pacifist tendencies and conceptions carried over from the past, in particular from the left social-democratic movement. Pacifism is a debilitating poison in

the workers' movement. Pacifism, in all its forms, is no more than a protest in time of peace against war; in the face of actual war, it thrusts the workers like sheep, unarmed and defenseless and without a program, into the slaughter. In our epoch, which is completely dominated by militarism, negative protests against war are of no avail whatever. The proletariat requires a positive program which takes the facts of war and militarism, the characteristic features of decaying capitalism, as the starting point for practical actions.

The first impact of the war in Europe revealed a petty-bourgeois centrist tendency in the Socialist Workers Party which took shape as a faction. Under the leadership of Burnham and Shachtman this minority faction waged a disruptive struggle in the party and attempted to overthrow the Marxist doctrines in favor of journalistic improvisations. The disruptive struggle of the Burnham-Shachtman faction culminated in their desertion of the party in a typical petty bourgeois recoil against the discipline of the proletarian majority of the party. The open repudiation of socialism by Burnham within less than two months after he had deserted the party was only the logical sequel to the course he followed in the party struggle. Burnham's betrayal of socialism confirmed to the hilt the party's characterization of this pretentious mountebank and the petty bourgeois faction he organized and maneuvered into a split.

Since the party convention the seceding faction has evolved consistently in the direction of traditional left socialist anti-militarism which at bottom is only a form of pacifism. The resolute struggle of the party majority against the Burnham-Shachtman faction, and its decisive victory in the struggle, were the necessary conditions for the survival of the party. An unrelenting antagonism to the deserters on every point is no less necessary. The party cannot have the slightest reason for conciliation on any point with the faction of deserters inspired by petty bourgeois fright before the stern realities and complexities of the developing war.

ADAPTING OUR TACTICS TO WAR

6. The imperialist war is not our war and the militarism of the capitalist state is not our militarism. We do not support the war and militarism of the imperialists any more than we support the capitalist exploitation of workers in the factories. We are against the war as a whole just as we are against the rule of the class which conducts it, and never under any circumstances vote to give them any confidence in their conduct of the war or preparation for it—not a man, not a cent, not a gun with our support. Our war is the war of the working class against the capitalist order.

But only with the masses is it possible to conquer power and establish socialism; and in these times the masses in the military organizations are destined to play the most decisive role of all. Consequently, it is impossible to affect the course of events by a policy of abstention. It is necessary to take capitalist militarism as an established reality which we are not yet strong enough to abolish, and adapt our practical tactics to it. Our task is to protect the class interests of the workers in the army no less than in the factory. That means to participate in the military machine for socialist ends. The proletarian revolutionists are obliged to take their place beside the workers in the military training camps and on the battlefields in the same way as in the factory. They stand side by side with the masses of worker-soldiers, advance at all times and under all circumstances the independent class point of view, and strive to win over the majority to the idea of transforming the war into a struggle for their socialist emancipation.

WE GO WHERE THE WORKERS GO

Under conditions of mass militarization the revolutionary worker cannot evade military exploitation any more than he can evade exploitation in the factory. He does not seek a personal solution of the problem of war by evading military service. That is nothing but a desertion of class duty. The proletarian revolutionist goes with the masses. He becomes a soldier when they become soldiers, and goes to war when they go to war. The proletarian revolutionist strives to become the most skilled among the worker-soldiers, and demonstrates in action that he is most concerned for the general welfare and protection of his comrades. Only in this way, as in the factory, can the proletarian revolutionist gain the confidence of his comrades in arms and become an influential leader among them.

The total wars waged by the modern imperialists, and likewise the preparations for such wars, require compulsory military training no less than the appropriation of enormous funds and the subordination of industry to the manufacture of armaments. As long as the masses accept the war preparations, as is indubitably the case in the United States, mere negative agitation against the military budget and conscription cannot, by itself, yield serious results. Moreover, after Congress had already appropriated billions for armaments and was certain to pass a conscription bill without serious opposition, such negative agitation against conscription was somewhat belated and easily degenerated into mealy-mouthed pacifism. This proved to be the case with the organizations (Thomasite Socialists, Lovestonites, etc.) affiliated with the preposterous conglomeration which calls itself the "Keep America Out of War Committee"—a vile and treacherous tool of the "democratic" imperialists. The hypocrisy of their pacifism is indicated by the fact that, simultaneously, they declare themselves in favor of the victory of Britain. Equally treacherous is the purely pacifist agitation of the Stalinists, employed today on behalf of Stalin's foreign policy

under the Hitler-Stalin pact; and certain to be abandoned tomorrow when Stalin so orders, if he finds it necessary to switch partners. The pacifism of Browder and the pacifism of Thomas stem from different roots but are identical in their betrayal of the interests of the working class. Under the rule of a modern imperialism which is already crumbling to the teeth, an abstract fight against militarism is at best Quixotic.

OUR PROGRAM FOR THIS PERIOD

The revolutionary strategy can only be to take this militarism as a reality and counterpose a class program of the proletariat to the program of the imperialists at every point. We fight against sending the worker-soldiers into battle without proper training and equipment. We oppose the military direction of worker-soldiers by bourgeois officers who have no regard for their treatment, their protection and their lives. We demand federal funds for the military training of workers and worker-officers under the control of the trade unions. Military appropriations? Yes—but only for the establishment and equipment of worker training camps! Compulsory military training of workers? Yes—but only under the control of the trade unions!

Such are the necessary concrete slogans for the present stage of the preparation of U. S. imperialism for war in the near future. They constitute a military transitional program supple-

menting the general political transitional program of the party.

7. U. S. imperialism prepares for war, materially and ideologically, without waiting to decide in advance the date when actual hostilities shall begin or the precise point of attack. The workers' vanguard must likewise prepare for war without dependence on speculative answers to these secondary questions. The militarization of the country in preparation for war is taking place before our eyes. All our work and plans for the future must be based on this reality.

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO US

The first stages of militarization and war present enormous difficulties to our party because we have to swim against the stream. The party will be tested in a preliminary way by its capacity to recognize these difficulties and hold firm when the struggle is hard and the progress slow. Only a party fortified by the great principles and world associations of the Fourth International will be able to do this.

We are not a party like other parties. We alone are equipped with a scientific program of Marxism. We alone retain an unshakable confidence in the socialist future of humanity. We alone are ready to meet the universal militarism of decaying capitalism on its own terms and lead the proletarian struggle for power accordingly.

The war in its course will utterly destroy all other workers' parties, all half-and-half movements. But it will only harden the bona fide party of the Fourth International and open the way for its growth and eventual victory.

The future belongs to the party of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party of the Fourth International. It needs only to be true to itself, hold firm, dig in and prepare the future.

PLENUM-CONFERENCE RESOLUTION

On the 1940 Elections

Participation in the November elections is dictated to us by our Marxist conceptions of the tasks of a revolutionary party. Although the main energies of the party are devoted to the mobilization of the proletariat in mass action against the capitalist class and its state apparatus, that mobilization is served by participation in electoral activity. Revolutionary electoral activity takes the form of tribunes of the people, summoning the masses to struggle, not merely at the polls on election day, but everywhere at all times. Electoral activity is a secondary, but nevertheless important form of revolutionary activity.

RESTRICTIONS PREVENT US

One of the results of the capitalist preparations for the war has been the further development of almost insurmountable restrictions to prevent minority workers' parties from finding a place on the ballot, especially for candidates for the presidency. The National Committee was compelled to recognize that our party is too small to expend the funds and forces necessary to secure a place on the ballot for our presidential candidates because of these restrictions.

If our party did not itself formally participate in the elections, it might under certain conditions give critical support to the candidate of another party. Such a candidate would never be that of a bourgeois party. We no more support a Willie or Roosevelt than support an employers' representative in a union election. The only candidate we could conceivably support is that of a party representing a section of the working class whose augmented vote would be generally understood to signify progress for the labor movement. Unfortunately, however, no such party is participating in the present election campaign.

NO OTHER PARTY TO SUPPORT

The Socialist Party is not such a party. It is a hopeless anachronism, a fading vestige of the past, a petty-bourgeois pacifist sect. It has scarcely any influence in any section of the labor movement. It would indeed be absurd for us to support in the elections a party which has far less influence in the labor movement than we have. Norman Thomas is rightly understood to be a personality with a personal following which represents neither socialism nor the labor movement. Any form of support for his candidacy cannot, therefore, aid the labor movement in any way.

PLENUM-CONFERENCE RESOLUTION

On the Shachtman-Abern Group

By decision of the April, 1940 convention of the party, the National Committee was instructed to take disciplinary action against the Burnham-Shachtman-Abern group if that group failed to abide by the decisions of the convention.

In accordance with those instructions, the National Committee on April 22 suspended those members of the Burnham-Shachtman-Abern group who, following the convention, refused to accept the decisions of the convention. The National Committee by suspending rather than expelling the undisciplined members of the petty-bourgeois opposition, gave them an opportunity to reconsider their refusal to abide by convention decisions and to return to the party. In the course of the ensuing months a number of the suspended comrades have reconsidered their refusal, have declared their adherence in action to convention decisions while remaining free to defend their political views in subsequent party discussions, and have on this basis been restored to full membership rights.

The Emergency Conference of the Fourth International, convened in May, 1940, endorsed the decisions of the April convention of the S.W.P.

The same considerations hold for that grotesque sect, the Socialist Labor Party.

It is also impossible to give critical support in the elections to the Communist Party. Its union-smashing policies—which continue in its present pseudo-left period as in its openly pro-Roosevelt period—its role as Stalin's agent under the Hitler-Stalin pact, the subordination of the various Communist Parties to the GPU as was glaringly revealed in the assassination of Comrade Leon Trotsky, make the Communist Party the object of hatred to many of the most progressive workers. The hatred of the honest progressive workers against the Communist Party must be distinguished from the patriotic hostility of the chauvinists against the Communist Party. The hatred felt against the Communist Party by many honest progressive workers testifies to their profound class instinct. These factors make impossible any electoral activity in support of Stalinist candidates.

At the same time, especially in the present election campaign, we have the elementary class duty to defend the rights of the Communist Party against the chauvinists who are attempting to rule it off the ballot, hound its election campaign workers, etc. Against the capitalist class and its agents, we unconditionally defend the Communist Party. A firm policy of defending the democratic rights of the Communist Party will also go far to separate the red baiters from those progressive workers whose hatred of the Communist Party stems from their class consciousness.

OUR LOCAL CAMPAIGNS

So far as formal participation in this election is concerned the S.W.P. is participating in this election mainly through those state and local candidates whom some sections of the party have been able to place on the ballot. Our main activity on a national scale is to put forward our program on all the burning issues of this epoch of war and militarism.

We must recognize, however, that the 1940 election campaign means a lost opportunity for our party. The only way to prevent the loss of similar opportunities, not merely in the electoral field, but in others as well, is the speedy mobilization of our party to transform it from its present size and strength into a mass party of the working class.

It recommended to our party that only a limited period should remain in which suspended members would have time to reconsider their refusal. At the end of that period those still refusing to accept the convention decisions should be unconditionally expelled from the party.

The period recommended by the Emergency Conference has now elapsed. Meanwhile, since their suspension, the Burnham-Shachtman-Abern group has undergone a political evolution which has widened the chasm between them and the Fourth International. Burnham has drawn the final conclusion to the position he elaborated for his group, and has openly deserted to the class enemy, Shachtman and Abern lead a petty-bourgeois semi-pacifist sect. After the passage of nearly six months it is, therefore, time to draw a conclusion to this question and put an end to any possible ambiguity or confusion.

The plenary session of the National Committee declares that those suspended members who have not up to this time signified their willingness to abide by the decisions of the April convention are hereby unconditionally expelled from the party.

TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND LAUNCHED BY DELEGATES

(Continued from Page 1)

analogy between exploitation in the factory and exploitation in the army. "We're against the exploitation of the workers in the factory," said Comrade Cannon, "but as long as we can't end it, we go into the factory, adapt ourselves to reality, we go with the masses and share all their experiences in order to influence them in a revolutionary direction. We must defend the interests of the working class in the army as we do in the factory. We counterpose our program to that of the boss—in the factory, in the army

"Just as we don't want stoop-pigeons as officers of our unions, so we don't want them as officers in the military formations in which the masses are exploited. The firm, bold militants in the unions—men like the picket captain—are the men we want as officers of the worker-soldiers.

"We didn't want this war, any more than we want exploitation in the factories, but so long as the workers aren't ready to end it, we'll fight by their sides, we'll be the best soldiers as we are the best workers in the factory. We ask only the right to express our opinion, to have the right to win a majority to our opinion.

"Only those who go through hell with the soldiers will be able to influence them. We didn't want this war, but we are not afraid of the war."

The question of military policy had been discussed in the branches for nearly two months, on the basis of a draft resolution offered by the National Committee. The discussion at Chicago showed that the question had been thoroughly clarified and that complete agreement prevailed in the party. The vote on the resolution was unanimous.

The organization report, made

SWP Protests Effort to Ban CP From Ballot

(Continued from Page 1)

reminded forcibly that chickens do come home to roost.

During hearings on the measure, Bill Schneidermann, state secretary of the Communist Party, whiningly reminded Governor Olson that the governor had been elected with the active aid of the Communist Party. To his charges that Governor Olson had solicited the C. P.'s assistance in his campaign two years ago, the Governor replied coldly the next day that he didn't know Schneidermann, wouldn't recognize him if they happened to meet.

Despite telegrams of protest far outnumbering those of approval, the Governor declared immediately after the special session adjourned that he would sign the bill if it met with his idea of "what such a measure should be like."

The bill had the backing of both bourgeois parties, explicitly in an endorsement by the State Democratic Central Committee, implicitly through a plank in the platform of the Republican state organization.

"Fourth International" Trotsky Memorial Issue Out Next Week

Trotsky's last letters and articles make up most of the Trotsky Memorial Issue of the "Fourth International", monthly magazine of the Socialist Workers Party. It is the October number, out next week.

Joseph Hansen, secretary to Trotsky, has written for this memorial issue the moving story of the last days at Coyoacan. His article, "With Trotsky to the End," will undoubtedly remain the most authoritative account of the death of Trotsky.

Sixteen of Trotsky's letters, written in the last weeks of his life, include three which he wrote on August 20, the day that Stalin's murder machine struck him down.

An unfinished article, which he had been dictating that day, is published in its rough form; for despite the fact that it was never finished, it contains some of Trotsky's most profound and novel thoughts on the menace of fascism. It is especially important, as Trotsky pointed out in the text, "for the workers of the United States.

Questions put to Trotsky concerning the new problems arising under the conscription law in the United States, and his answers, never before published, make another feature of this issue of the "Fourth International."

by Farrell Dobbs, National Labor Secretary, showed that the party was prepared to carry the new policy deep into the ranks of the working class. The systematic work of the last five months, since the April convention, in transforming the party into a proletarian organization, showed its good results. Perhaps the most striking example was the change in New York City, which before April had been the stronghold of the petty-bourgeois opposition, but which now has 43% of its membership in the trade unions, half of them worker-youth. The 148 participants in the Plenum-Conference, a cross-section of the party throughout the country, predominantly activists in the trade unions, were vivid evidence of the progress reported by Comrade Dobbs.

The party membership is the stuff of which revolutions are made—not only in its class composition but in its age. The average age is 29½ years. The party has experienced a 23% growth in the last five months.

One of the most heartening facts which Comrade Dobbs was able to report is that the circulation of the SOCIALIST APPEAL has been doubled during the period since the April convention.

Trotsky Memorial Fund

After a thorough discussion of the organizational problems faced by the party, the delegates decided to launch a Trotsky Memorial Fund to underwrite a realistic program for expansion of the party's work to carry out Comrade Trotsky's last words.

A total of \$3,195 was pledged on the spot by the various branch delegations, many of them stating that their branch quotas would probably be revised upwards when they returned home and explained the program of expansion to their branches. In addition, there were some branches which were not represented or did not name a quota. The final figure for this stage of the Trotsky Memorial Fund will, therefore, hit \$5,000 or more when all reports are in. The National Committee recommended that the fund drive be completed by the end of the year.

Not the least of the signs of the new stage of the party was the splendid efficiency with which the Chicago branches executed their duties as host to the Plenum-Conference. Arrangements for housing and feeding the delegates and halls for the Plenum and the Conference, a well-attended mass meeting Friday night to greet the delegates and a banquet Sunday night which gaily concluded the week-end—everything went off like clock-work.

Back to the Branches

Scattering to the four corners of the country to bring the new program of activity, first to their branches, then to the working class, the delegates went off with heads held high and minds and hearts resolved to carry out our enormous responsibilities in the spirit in which Leon Trotsky lived and died. "It is all on our shoulders now," Comrade Cannon had reminded us. But in truth no one among the delegates and participants needed that reminder. They had come to take it upon their shoulders. And they went off carrying that historic responsibility, not as a burden but a privilege.

Still another recent article by Trotsky is one, "We Do Not Change Our Course," written immediately after the capitulation of France.

Trotsky had devoted most of his time during the last period of his life—from the May 24th attempt on his life until August 20th—to exposing the murder machine of the GPU. Some of his letters and comments on the May 24th attempt are collected in the October issue of the "Fourth International."

TOLEDANO OUT AS MEXICAN LABOR CHIEF

MEXICO CITY—In a sudden reversal of forces in the Executive Committee of the Mexican Confederation of Labor, Lombardo Toledano, Stalinist-backed secretary, was forced out.

He was succeeded by Fidel Velazquez, who has been waging a struggle against the Toledano clique for some time.

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN
CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF
WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK
SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL
MARX.

The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

(Continued from last week)

Divide and Rule

The reason for Jim Crow and Judge Lynch is to be found in the desire of the bosses to protect and increase their profits. They do this by paying their workers as little wages and making them work as long hours as possible. The workers form unions in an attempt to improve their conditions. The bosses spend a lot of time, energy and money trying to prevent formation of unions and to weaken and smash them where they exist.

The best way they know to accomplish this is by keeping the workers divided. Each worker alone is weak, and if he raises his voice, can be kicked out easily. United, all the workers are strong—much stronger than all the bosses put together. This explains the strategy of the bosses: keep the workers divided and fighting among themselves so that they will be unable to fight their real enemy, the bosses. And so the boss pits white worker against colored in the same way that he stirs up Christian against Jew, and "citizen" against "alien". He doesn't do this because he likes the white worker better, but because he dislikes both.

Unite and Fight

Many white workers don't recognize this because the bosses spread their Jim Crow propaganda skillfully. These backward workers accept these lies about their colored brothers and permit themselves to be used by the bosses in spreading discrimination and segregation. In this way they not only hurt the colored workers, but they also hurt themselves. As a result, colored workers not only have to fight the bosses, but they have to fight against the prejudices of many backward workers and to try to educate them.

Difficult as this job is, still it is what the colored workers have to do with the help of the advanced white workers who understand these things. There is no other way. They cannot turn their backs on the unions, because the only way they can end Jim Crow as well as the evils of capitalism is by fighting side by side with the white workers, their natural allies in the fight against the common enemy. Alone, they can never defeat the bosses.

If they turn away from this hard and often unpleasant task, they will only be helping the bosses keep the workers divided. Into the unions the Negroes must go, and they must be the best fighters against the bosses, so that the backward workers will learn from real life how they have been misled and tricked.

Unite and fight! Unite with the white workers and fight against the bosses and Jim Crow!

Build a Labor Party

The Democrats and Republicans defend and preserve the system of Jim Crow that is used to maintain capitalism. This explains why neither party has done anything in all the years they have been in office to abolish or even weaken Jim Crow. It would be foolish to expect anything different from them this year.

What the Negro workers must do now is turn their backs on both these parties, the same way that these parties have turned their backs on them when it came to the Anti-Lynch Bill and similar measures.

What they must do now, together with the white workers, is build a new party, a Labor Party, controlled and run by the workers in it, presenting an independent program defending the interests of all workers, and running labor candidates, Negro and white, against the candidates of big business.

The Socialist Workers Party

The Socialist Workers Party calls on the Negro workers to join with it in the struggle against the bosses. It calls on them to support its candidates in the elections in those places where they are on the ballot. It calls on them to fight for its program on election day and every other day in the year.

Against Jim Crow! For full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people!

For the right of Negroes to sit in the movies and restaurants when they want to. For their right to vote, and to run for office. For their right to belong to trade unions and other organizations of their choice. For their equal right to jobs in industry, at equal pay. For an end to the "deportation to the South" laws which deny them relief. For the passage of the Anti-Lynch and Anti-Poll Tax Bills.

Against the war! Against the Jim Crow practices in the Army! For military training under control of the trade unions!

For the government to appropriate money for a system of military training under control of the trade union movement, to teach the workers the use of arms so that they will be able to protect themselves against their enemies at home and abroad. For the right to the soldier-workers to elect their own officers from out of their own ranks, colored and white. For an end to the discriminatory practices which give Negroes the flunkie jobs in the Army and deny them the right to advance themselves.

Against the profit system that breeds Jim Crow! For a workers' government that will forever end discrimination and segregation.

An AP dispatch from Chicago states that the world wheat supply is ample for the world's needs, but that due to the war the gulf between the wheat supply and the potential consumer demand has never been so wide. One veteran trader observed: "Mother Nature has seen to it that there should be plenty of bread for all, but man has forbidden their eating it."

ORGANIZE FORD:

This Is Still The
Biggest Job In Auto

By JOHN ADAMSON

The star of the C.I.O. shone brightest in the days following the great General Motors strike. As never before, the workers were aroused out of their lethargy and imbued with new daring and confidence. In those days, anybody with a batch of application blanks in his coat pocket and a lead pencil could organize workers. They streamed into the unions by the thousands, displaying a passion long pent up to destroy the tyranny of the open shop.

Defeat in "Little Steel"

Then came the disastrous strike in "Little Steel." No proper preparations were made nor systematic plans devised how to fight the determined masters of Little Steel. But the C.I.O. thought they did not need any plans or preparations. Roosevelt was their ace in the hole who would win the steel strike for them in a pinch. When Tom Girdler and his minions declared war on the union, the leadership became bewildered and helpless under the assault. The incompetent and pusillanimous leadership of Phil Murray left the steel workers defenseless before the cruel blows of the vigilante gangs and the National Guard. The unions in the plants of Little Steel were, for the time being, wiped out.

With its prestige heavily shattered by the ignominious defeat, the C.I.O. lost the momentum of its splendid offensive. The faith of the workers was shaken in the organization they had believed invincible. Fear for their jobs, the deadliest of all poisons with which the rulers keep their slaves in subjection, again obsessed them. The C.I.O. began its slow retreat before the employers' offensive and has been retreating ever since.

New Upswing; New Tasks

The Committee for Industrial Organization was first established for the avowed purpose of organizing the workers of the hitherto unorganized mass production industries. The economic crisis, which put all of its unions on the defensive, is beginning to lift and will continue to lift, buttressed as it is by the new armament program of the Roosevelt administration. The shops are beginning to call back their workers and the latter

A joint statement by John L. Lewis and R. J. Thomas, President of the United Auto Workers Union, announced the opening of a new drive to organize Ford. It is not the first time that such an announcement has been made. The following article was published in the SOCIALIST APPEAL of November 12, 1938 at the time of such announcement. It is written by a prominent auto unionist. It is as pertinent as the day it was written, and we can find no better way to comment on the latest announcement than to reprint this excellent article.—EDITORS

are again regaining their old confidence and ability to resist the offensive of the employers.

All the recent events dictate to the C.I.O. the stern necessity of returning to its great unfinished work—temporarily halted by the loss of the steel strike and the depression of the fall of 1937—of organizing the remaining army of America's unorganized workers. Looming in greatest importance and significance is the organization of the 150,000 automobile workers employed at the Ford Motor Co.

Ford remains the only manufacturer of automobiles who has successfully obstructed the formation of a union among his workers, recognizes and deals with no committees and has signed no agreement with the union. Ford stands today as the symbol of reaction, industrial autocracy and the open shop. His anti-union utterances have attracted nationwide and world-wide attention. Almost naturally, the organization of the Ford plants stands as the necessary next step in labor's program of action.

Cracking the Ford fortress and bringing the overlord of River Rouge to terms would have far greater significance than the mere numerical enlargement of the United Automobile Workers Union or of the C.I.O. Just recall what the signing of a union agreement with General Motors meant for the labor movement: how that accomplished more in one day than all the speeches and routine activity of a whole army of organizers in the previous year.

The Great Job at Ford's

Organize the Ford workers, sign a good union contract with the company!—and the G.M. victory will pale by comparison. The G.M. strike occurred when the mass production industries were still largely unorganized and the mass movement for labor political action was almost non-existent. That

strike electrified the workers sufficiently to call forth millions of them out of indifference and timidity to economic and political life. A successful Ford drive would grip America's organized millions and hurl them in a new attack against the citadels of capitalism in a more profound manner than ever before. The threatened reaction on the part of the manufacturers would be abruptly stopped and the labor movement, more resolute and self-confident, would launch an offensive all along the line.

At the Milwaukee convention of the United Automobile Workers of America, held August, 1937, the officers vied with each other in eloquent speeches pointing to the necessity of organizing the Ford workers and every one of the orators pledged his undying support towards its accomplishment. A one dollar assessment was unanimously approved by the convention to finance the drive. Immediately after the convention, Richard Frankenstein, union Vice-President, was appointed Director of the Ford Drive and amidst much publicity the national campaign was launched. Today, a year later, the campaign has completely bogged down; the Ford workers are still unorganized.

What has been wrong with the Ford Drive launched with so much noise and fanfare a year ago?

Workers Want Union

The Ford workers know the necessity of being organized. They want a union in their plant. They want to abolish the pitiless blacklist and the shame of the system of espionage. On every side they are surrounded by automobile workers who work in union shops, who enjoy the protection of union contracts, who are represented by union stewards and committees. The automobile workers union, young, vibrant and full of optimism,

is in addition a major factor in the life of the city of Detroit. But the Ford workers are held down by long years of submission to a ruthless despotic power.

They know that for years Ford has successfully crushed all that would not bend to his will. They know that practically all the officials of the City of Dearborn are controlled body and soul by the Ford Motor Co. They know of the deadly spy system in operation at his plant and the hundreds of Ford workers who have summarily been fired out of their jobs for union activity and they know that all the hearings and tomfoolery of the National Labor Relations Board have not yet returned these men to work. The Ford workers have submitted too long to spontaneously rise up and challenge the autocracy of Ford.

What they needed to arouse them out of their apathy was a demonstration of power from the outside: a demonstration that the U.A.W. was strong enough to take on Henry Ford.

In view of all this, what was obviously on the order of the day, was a hurricane drive that would catch the imagination of the Ford workers, sweep them into the union in spite of anything Ford could do. After some giant mass meetings that would build up the spirit and morale of the workers, the drive would be brought to a head by the election of committees to formulate the grievances of the men; a union contract would be written up embodying the main points and presented to the management. Everything favored a bold plan of this kind. The U.A.W. was at the high water mark of its career. The auto workers union had not yet tasted defeat. The whole labor movement was on the move and Detroit especially was literally swamped with the U.A.W. members and their activities.

Why the Drive Failed

Precisely this boldness, this conception of a swift dramatic attack that would sweep everything before it, was lacking.

First, the organizing staff of the Ford drive was woefully incompetent for the strenuous tasks the drive imposed. The union's ace organizers, men who were enthusiastic about the prospect of participating in this great work should have been placed in the Ford organizing office; instead, the Ford drive was overhauled with incompetents, petty maneuverers and opportunists. The few sincere young men were lost completely in the noise, confusion and disorder.

At the head of the drive stood Frankenstein, inexperienced for such a difficult task, but consumed with an undying ambition to carve out a career for himself. Even as a careerist, however, he did not possess the imagination and the sweep of thought to realize the vast opportunities that the Ford drive offered.

Secondly, there never was a well-thought-out and well-defined plan as to how the Ford workers would be organized. Everyone went about his own way, doing what he thought best. Added to the disorganization and confusion was the factional strife that was beginning to eat away at the vitals of union activity. Everyone was anxious to prevent the opposing faction from getting the credit for a successful drive and getting control over the Ford workers.

High Point Missed

The high point of the drive, such as it was, was reached when the U.A.W. representatives were mercilessly beaten by Ford service men at the gates of the River Rouge plant, in open sight of newspaper photographers and reporters. That day thousands of Detroit automobile workers were aroused to a white fury at this brutality; the Ford drive had become national news and the Ford workers, stirring uneasily, were watching with bated breath the next union move. If 25,000 workers were mobilized the next day to march on Dearborn, it is an almost foregone conclusion that a real drive would have been made among the Ford workers and the Ford drive would have been definitely on its way.

But the golden opportunity was missed. Nothing of any importance was done for several days. The psychological moment was allowed to pass by. At the end of the week, a demonstration was finally organized, poorly prepared and poorly led. Then the Ford drive again reverted to the grinding routine of collecting names, visiting individuals, a drive without prospect and without hope.

The factional fight which flared up again during the summer of this year put the finishing touches to what remained of the Ford Drive. Several weeks ago, the Ford men were chartered as a separate local union of the U.A.W.

The local's Executive Board, composed for the most part of

fired Ford workers, inexperienced and new to unionism, is struggling as valiantly as it can with the Herculean task dumped into its lap.

The C.I.O. is scheduled to hold its first convention on November 15th. Of paramount importance stands of course the question of fusing with the A.F. of L. to form one united labor movement in America. The U.A.W. delegation should, however, insist that the organization of the 150,000 workers employed in the plants of the Ford Motor Co. be placed on the agenda. The U.A.W. itself has not the financial resources at the present time, nor the experienced organizers, to properly launch a new major drive for the Ford workers. If Ford is to be organized now, the other C.I.O. unions will have to put in some real money for the job.

Proposals are in order to elect a representative committee from the key unions to furnish moral and financial aid to the great drive. It is most important to impress the Ford workers that a new gigantic effort is being made by the whole labor movement, in order to overcome the feeling of helplessness and skepticism which has seized the Ford workers.

A Plan of Organization

Then it is up to the U.A.W. to get into action. Assigned to the drive should be a crack regiment of field workers, who are inspired with the determination to see the Ford plants organized. At the head of the drive should be placed a person with experience and authority, a person whose presence would constitute a partial guarantee that the Ford drive will this time proceed in an energetic and serious manner.

The presidents of all local unions in the Detroit area should be constituted as a special action and advisory committee, who will make the Ford drive a special order of business in their local unions and will involve every active union member in the great union campaign.

Especially important is the setting up of a special Negro committee of prominent Negro educators and leaders, who will aid the union in winning the good will and faith of the Negro workers in the drive and its purposes. Once the colored workers are set in motion at the great River Rouge plant, they will constitute one of the steel girders of the Ford union as well as the battering ram towards organizing the rest of the Ford workers.

The whole drive must be given shape and continuity by the establishment and the regular issuance of a weekly Ford Drive Bulletin, REGULARLY recording the plans, the aims and the achievements of the campaign. The Bulletin can become the most effective organizer of Ford workers and the means of infusing the new membership with zeal and enthusiasm.

As the drive begins to take form, giant mass meetings held in Detroit and Dearborn will enthrall and inspire the great masses of Ford workers and will begin a mass recruitment of members into the union. The campaign can be brought to a head by the election of rank and file committees to formulate the grievances of the men and demand a conference with Henry Ford to negotiate a union agreement.

While the campaign must be national in scope, obviously all organizational work must be centered and concentrated on the River Rouge plant, the heart of the Ford empire.

The Job Must Be Done

As everybody knows, the best-laid plans are worthless unless properly executed. It is impossible on paper to lay out a blueprint for an organizational campaign, especially one so difficult and on such a gigantic scale as the Ford Drive.

What is important, however, beyond this or that detail, is to overcome the handicap of the unsuccessful first drive and the discouragement and moods of pessimism engendered thereby.

What is important is that the Ford workers be impressed that this is not just another petty ineffectual stab but a bona fide large scale campaign, behind which all organized labor has pledged its unstinting support. If a drive of this character is launched, and properly carried through, it has every chance of success. The Ford workers can be organized.

With the final smashing of one of the last of America's open shop fortresses, new vistas will open up for the C.I.O., as for the labor movement as a whole. A successful Ford Drive will unquestionably usher in a new era for all organized labor in America.

What Officer Rule Means In the Army

Editor:

When Congress passed the Draft Law, I began to take a very personal interest in the army. It looked as though I'd be one of the sheep, so I wanted to get a preliminary idea of what army life would be like. Here is what I have found out so far.

The daily newspapers discuss army life in one way. They describe the physical benefits of military training—guaranteed to build good, strong Americans. They always speak in generalities calculated to take the sting out of life.

Newspapers have to hold on to their readers and therefore give us such hypocritical sugar coating. Generals don't. General O'Ryan, writing on the same subject in Life many years before the present war crisis, said this among other things:

"We must get our men so that they are machines, and this can be done only as a process of training. We have to have our men trained so that the influence of fear is overpowered by the peril of an uncompromising military system, often backed up by a pistol in the hands of an officer... The recruits have to put their heads into a military noose."

A private in the American Army hasn't the right of appeal. If his superiors make a decision, that's that. The private must address his officer in the third person. When an officer commands him to do something, he does not ask, "What do you want?" but "The officer commanded me to do this?" Even in these everyday forms, the private is made to feel the tremendous gap that exists between himself and his officers. The private may not sit down or relax in his officer's presence unless he is permitted to.

A buck private has to carry out all orders without question no matter how degrading he may think they are. In peacetime, a private may be tried for insubordination before a military court-martial. One officer prefers the charges against him; another officer acts as "defense attorney."

The private may even be punished without cause. In peacetime or wartime, a soldier may be selected for punishment as an example to the rest. When the French troops were retreating in droves during the World War, a certain number in each division were executed in order to terrify the remainder of the troops into submission. While such extreme measures have not, as yet, been resorted to in the American Army, the principle upon which they were based is present in the American Army.

The officer regulates the private's reading material and determines the way in which the private may use his leisure time. In France, at the very time that Leon Blum was premier, the French soldiers were forbidden to read the paper published by Blum's party. The army officers, having seen the word "socialism" on its masthead, were probably taken in by appearances. They should have known better.

In wartime, a private may be transferred from one section to another, regardless of his wishes. It was a common practice during the World War to send radicals into dangerous sectors to isolate them from the other soldiers... permanently.

EXPLANATION FOR ARMY REGULATIONS

It seems to me that Army regulations can be explained in three ways. First, the nature of war itself demands a very high degree of discipline. It would be suicidal, for example, to have an army pause to discuss its strategy in the heat of battle. But not all the regulations are designed to promote military efficiency. Some are expressions of the vast social differences that separate the rank-and-file soldier from the officer caste. In Trotsky's Red Army, an officer was addressed as "Comrade Lieutenant," "Comrade Sergeant," etc.; that was because the officer was a comrade, a fellow worker who had risen from the ranks. In the American Army, however, it is the favored sons of West Point, the specially trained Plattsburg business men, who command. These have nothing in common with the buck private.

A third explanation for Army regulations is that the war which the American government is preparing will not represent the interests of the American people who will do the fighting and the dying. That is why the army forbids the soldiers to read those revolutionary and labor newspapers which expose Roosevelt's fraudulent "anti-fascist" pretenses.

The very nature of war, I have said, makes it necessary for armies to be keyed to a high pitch of discipline. There must be people who command and people who obey. But this is posing the question too abstractly. Who commands and who obeys? That is what we want to know, and that depends on what class is in control.

If the American workers want to fight a genuine war against fascism, then, of course, they must have arms and the ability to use them. Of course, they must have an army united by discipline. But this army will be an anti-fascist army only if it is an army controlled by the main enemy of the fascists, the workers themselves and not by the best friend of fascism, the reactionary militarists now in command. To prepare the way for the creation of such an army, the workers must demand that military training be placed under trade union control.

Fraternally,
EUGENE VARLIN

An inventor in Santa Rosa, California has invented a mousetrap from which the bait can't be stolen. Probably built on the lines of the capitalist system.

Negro Condemned to Death For Murdering His White Boss

RICHMOND, Va., Sept. 28.—An application for a writ of error will be made by attorneys in the Waller case which ended yesterday at Chatham, Va., when Odell Waller, Negro sharecropper, accused of the murder of his former employer, Oscar Davis, white farmer of Pittsylvania County last July 15, was sentenced to die in the electric chair at the state penitentiary on Friday, Dec. 27. Waller was convicted after a trial lasting less than two days.

Odell Waller, who is about twenty-three years old, was defended by Attorneys Thomas H. Stone, white, and J. Bryon Hopkins Jr., Negro, both of Richmond. The case for the prosecution was handled by Commonwealth Attorney Joseph Whitehead, who asked for a death verdict in his final argument if the jury felt that Waller shot the white farmer deliberately or without justification.

Judge Prejudiced

Soon after the trial got under way the defense made a motion that Judge Turner Clement of the Pittsylvania County Circuit Court disqualify himself and have Governor James H. Price appoint another judge on the ground that the judge had made prejudicial and illegal inflammatory remarks in the presence of the jury panel at the Sept. 19 hearing. The motion was denied.

The defense then asked the dismissal of all members of the jury panel who had attended the hearing on Sept. 19, but this motion too, was turned down by the judge.

The defense had previously contended that there should be a change of venue because the accused could not get a fair trial in the county. To prove their point they had Edmund Campion make an investigation of the case.

Campion, who lives in Richmond, spent considerable time in the county to determine the sentiment on the case. Campion testified that he had heard a garage owner of Gretna, named Franklin say "the damn nigger ought to be killed." On Sept. 25, he said he heard three men in a restaurant in Chatham say, "the nigger ought to get the chair who shot Davis in the back while he was going to eat his breakfast." Campion

explained that he didn't know these persons personally.

While returning from Danville to Chatham, Sept. 26, Campion said he stopped at a gas station about four miles south of Chatham and overheard the station manager say "Waller has a 'nigger' lawyer from Richmond and a Community Lawyer from Chicago—they ought to be lynched."

During the hearings Commonwealth Atty Whitehead put five state witnesses on the stand, four of whom were police, who said in their opinion Waller could get a fair and impartial trial and that they had heard no one discuss the case one way or another.

Sheriff Archer Overby, however, one of the state witnesses, admitted that after he had brought Waller back from Ohio where he fled after the shooting, he was informed by telephone that a lynch mob was being formed, but he said he had taken the necessary precaution to prevent a lynching. On this testimony the judge denied the motion of the defense for a change of venue.

Bosses on Jury

Lawyer Stone asked the first member of the jury panel when called, if he had any land out on shares and found that he did. He challenged the method of selecting members of the jury on the ground that such men would naturally have economic and social interests opposed to those of the accused and similar to those of the white employer-farmer and that as such Waller could not get a fair trial and would not constitutionally be tried by his peers. The defense made the same objection relative to other members of the jury who had land out on shares.

Judge Clement denied the motion for a change of jury with the remark that the hearing was conducted according to law and not on any economic or social theory.

The most astonishing testimony, according to defense lawyer Stone, was given by the two sons of the victim. The day after the shooting they said they saw their father in a Lynchburg hospital for about an hour and that he said was "I am going to die. Odell shot me without any cause."

Dr. Risher of a Lynchburg hospital testified that Davis was operated on at the hospital which stopped the bleeding but that he died from a collapsed left lung. He said he couldn't say positively whether death was due to the shooting since the collapse of the lung could result from other factors. Under cross examination the physician testified that none of the bullets had touched the victim's left lung.

The Real Story

Waller's mother, in her testimony before the court, spoke of bad economic treatment of herself and Waller at the hands of Davis.

Archie Waller, the accused man's uncle, told the court that he had gone to the Davis farm with his nephew and had never heard any threats by Waller against the victim, and other defense witnesses made similar testimony.

The accused man, in simple and earnest words, told the court the story of his association with Mr. Davis. He said he began working for Davis in January, 1939 and got along until the government reduction crop program set in and cut his acreage. He then told Davis he couldn't get along on one acre and asked for two. Davis said he couldn't give him two acres whereupon Waller around April 1st went to Maryland to work. During his absence Davis evicted his wife and mother.

When Waller returned he asked the white farmer for his share of the wheat crop and Davis told him he could get it later. On Waller's insistence Davis is reported to have said "Hell no, you can't have it," and reached in his right pocket where Waller said he usually kept his gun. Waller then took out his gun and shot the farmer.

The defense indicated that the case will be appealed and that if necessary it will be carried to the U. S. Supreme Court.

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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—30-HOUR WEEKLY MAXIMUM FOR ALL WORKERS ON ALL JOBS.
5. \$30 WEEKLY OLD-AGE AND DISABILITY PENSION.
6. EXPROPRIATE THE SIXTY FAMILIES.
7. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED.
8. A PEOPLE'S REFERENDUM ON ANY AND ALL WARS.
9. NO SECRET DIPLOMACY.
10. AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.
11. WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS AGAINST VIGILANTE AND FASCIST ATTACKS.
12. FULL SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

A Military Policy

We ask every reader of the SOCIALIST APPEAL to take the necessary time to read carefully the "Resolution on Proletarian Military Policy" which we publish on page 2 of this issue.

Our paper, we are happy to say, is read weekly by thousands of workers, trade union militants, and not a few trade union officers, who are neither members of our party nor do they consider themselves in agreement with our basic outlook. They read our paper for its information about the labor movement, here and abroad, and as an expression of one of the tendencies in the labor movement.

We should like to ask this group of readers, after they have read our statement of proletarian military policy, to write to us and to tell us where in they disagree with us and what alternative they have to our policy. We shall be glad to publish all such letters from our readers, no matter how sharply they disagree with us.

In their letters, however, we should like to see them grapple with this key question: *What shall the unions do to protect the interests of their members, and of the workers generally, who are inducted into the armed forces?*

Let us all unitedly see to it that every union's contracts shall provide that conscripts be reinstated in their jobs without loss of seniority at the end of their term of service. Let us see that the conscript's family has a roof overhead and does not go hungry. But that is not enough; that does not answer the key question we have posed.

What about the conscript himself? What about the conditions under which he trains and lives? What about the powers which the officers have over him—powers of life and death? What about the danger that, under those powers, the officers will order him to fire on or to terrorize strikers, as the National Guard has so often done?

These are some of the questions we should like our readers to answer. We have an answer: Workers' control of military training. We want the entire labor movement to fight for that; if a united working class fought for it, it would become a reality.

But you don't agree? What alternative do you propose, then? We welcome your letters. We will publish them, together with our answers to them.

Stalin's "Victories"

The Nazi-Mussolini-Japan pact is of sufficient importance to every country and every class to require lengthy discussion and analysis. It unquestionably constitutes the most important development since the fall of France, if not the most important since the beginning of the war.

One would think, therefore, that the big press of the Communist Party would be filled with discussion of the pact after it was signed last Friday. But no. Until Tuesday the two New York dailies of the Stalinists—the *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit*—had not had one word to say about it beyond printing the capitalist United Press reports (more accurately, only the most perfunctory news paragraphs from those reports).

And on Tuesday they printed the text of the editorial from Stalin's organ, *Pravda*, nothing else. On Wednesday, the story is a 3-paragraph reference to an editorial in *Izvestia*, official governmental organ of Stalin's regime. And that's all.

This phenomenon is worth commenting upon. It reveals once more the utterly slavish relationship between the Stalinist parties and the Kremlin. The Communist parties, which are neither Communist nor parties, but mere instrumentalities of the Kremlin, dare not utter a word on any important question until the Kremlin tells them what to say. And on all very important questions of inter-

national relations the Stalinist press abroad dares not do anything except reprint editorials from *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. Browder and his associates are as independent of the Kremlin as a muzzled dog firmly held on an unbreakable leash is independent of his master.

But that is only part of the story. One must first read the *Pravda* editorial to understand the bottomless degeneration of the Kremlin and its lackeys abroad.

In the face of universal recognition that the new pact represents a revival of the anti-Comintern pact to which the same powers were signatories and, moreover, a revival on a much more dangerous basis, including provisions for military collaboration of these powers; in the face of the fact, which everybody understands, that this pact means that Stalin's pact with Hitler of August, 1939 has proved to be a trap for the Soviet Union—in the face of all this, Stalin's lackeys must continue to repeat that Stalin is infallible. The *Pravda* editorial concludes:

"Further it should be understood as a confirmation of the strength and significance of the non-aggression pact between the USSR and Germany and the non-aggression pact between the USSR and Italy."

The ordinary mortal, reading such brazen tripe, will undoubtedly rub his eyes to make sure he is reading what is actually there. How can these people make such gestures which no one can possibly believe? The ordinary mortal will wonder.

But this is the Stalin school of falsification. In it what is not palatable to Stalin is always turned into its opposite. Thereby are victories invented to chalk up to Stalin's credit.

Every defeat which Stalin organized and imposed upon the workers' parties and the masses—in China, in Germany, in Britain, in France, in a word, throughout the world, including the latest crisis in the Soviet Union which we describe elsewhere in this issue—all these defeats are transformed by Stalin's pen prostitutes into "victories."

Let us hope and let us work to see to it that before it is too late, before he carries the Soviet Union over the abyss into total destruction, before he destroys the remaining sections of the organized working class, the Communist workers come to realize that Stalin and the Kremlin clique and its lackeys are the most dangerous obstacle in the way of the working class. The road that Stalin points is always the road of defeats. He will go down in history with the name which Trotsky branded him with: "organizer of defeats."

SWOC "Leadership"

On Friday, September 13, a spontaneous walkout took place in the Bethlehem Steel plant at Lackawanna, near Buffalo, New York. Most of the men in the ore dock, blast furnace and coke ovens downed tools; by Saturday morning 4,000 men were out. The immediate occasion for the walkout was company discrimination against two union men, one a Negro and one a white foreman, reduced to a laborer's job because of union activity. But of course this was the last of a long series of grievances, the sheer accumulation of which led to such an explosion as a completely spontaneous walkout.

We wish to underline that the walkout was unauthorized, and never became an official action of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. As a consequence, the less militant CIO members remained on the job in the blast furnace; and the union men in the rest of the plant were still awaiting the strike call from the S.W.O.C. With the exception of a few knots of men, there was no picket line. After work those who had stayed at work were loud, in the neighboring saloons, in their self-justification that there had been no official sanction of the action by the union. And there hadn't been.

Nathan Cowan, S.W.O.C. sub-regional director, addressed a mass meeting of the strikers that Friday night in Croatian Hall in Buffalo. He was reported by the press as saying and he didn't deny it, that "there had been no strike called by the CIO—the CIO calls a strike only as a last resort to obtain the legal rights of the men."

Well, in spite of all this, the sheer scope of the spontaneous walkout made the company think twice about getting tough at this moment, and the company beat a retreat on the specific grievance which caused the walkout; and since then the company has been careful not to rouse the men too much.

So, having laid back in the bushes and waited to see what would happen, the CIO leadership is now prepared to take the credit for whatever improvements have come about in Lackawanna. Under the heading, "CIO strike Changes Bethlehem," the *CIO News* of October 1 (which is the first issue which recognizes that anything has been happening up there) proudly reports: "The Bethlehem Steel Corp. has been settling grievances regularly with a delegation of the SWOC since the recent one-day strike of 4,000 workers." And so on including a boastful statement by the same Nathan Cowan that wouldn't O.K. the strike.

Every labor skate is perfectly ready to take credit for a strike if it is successful, after it's over. That's what happened in this minor incident in Bethlehem's Lackawanna plant.

But organize the strike? Really prepare the strike? Really carry it out? That, Mr. Cowan and his superiors, Messrs. Phillip Murray and John L. Lewis, aren't doing much of, and especially these days when the patriotic ballyhoo has them running for cover.

The end result is that the workers at the Lackawanna plant had to expend the same amount of courage and energy to win a picaresque grievance that, had that courage and energy been combined with official action by the union and a little courage on the part of the SWOC heads, would have won from Bethlehem a contract covering the entire field of wages and working conditions.

The New Purge In The Soviet Union

Extends Once More Into Industry As a New Caste of Generals Is Created By Stalin

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

(This is the fourth of a series of articles on the present crisis in the Soviet Union)

The 1940 purge penetrated by the end of July and the first week in August—later issues of Soviet papers haven't arrived—into four Commissariats: The Ship Building Industry, Electrical Industry, Non-Ferrous Metallurgy, and the Oil Industry.

In the first two, only the deputies of the People's Commissar and the members of the Collegium have been purged to date. In the Commissariat of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy, the People's Commissar Samokhvalov was removed together with his deputies. In the case of the Commissariat of the Oil Industry, the personage lopped off was none other than L. Kaganovich, Stalin's own "Iron Commissar," "Chief Trouble Shooter," etc.

In the People's Commissariat of War, matters have progressed several stages beyond the initial and preparatory move made several weeks ago: the replacement of Voroshilov by Timoshenko, Marshal Shaposhnikov has been retired ("ill health") from his post and General K. A. Meretskov appointed in his place as head of the General Staff.

Marshal Budenny, the third of the three Marshals who survived the 1938 purge has been relieved of his post as Commander of the Moscow Military District.

Zhdanov has been removed from his position as chief of the Department of Party Propaganda and now occupies the decorative position of "supervisor."

MOLOTOV IS SURROUNDED

With Kaganovich, Zhdanov, Budenny and Voroshilov skidding to oblivion, the question naturally arises: Is Molotov immune?

Within the recent weeks Stalin has surrounded his Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars with three brand new deputies: Voroshilov, Vyshinsky and Mekhlis. Voroshilov, as is well known, was kicked upstairs for the time being which explains his presence on the premises. But the promotion of Vyshinsky and Mekhlis?

The whole world is familiar with the character and role of Vyshinsky, the Prosecutor of the infamous Moscow Trials. Mekhlis is not so well known outside of the Soviet Union. He first took his orders direct from Stalin in the capacity of personal secretary. Stalin then promoted him to the editorship of the *Pravda*. When Stalin undertook the purge of the Red Army, the man he selected, as head of the Army's Political Department in place of the executed Gamarnik, was this same Mekhlis who upon direct orders from Stalin massacred the flower of the Red Army (the estimate of victims ranges from 20-40,000). In August of this year, Stalin decided that the job in the Red Army had been completed. In June came the appointment of more than a thousand new generals; in August the undivided authority of the officer corps was restored and the Political Department abolished altogether.

But Mekhlis was not abolished. Stalin promoted him to two posts: Molotov's deputy in the Council of People's Commissars, and head of the newly created State Control Commission. Nobody knows as yet just what are the powers and functions of this new Commission. But the mere fact that Mekhlis heads it cannot fail to arouse unpublished thoughts in Molotov's head. No! With such three deputies Molotov can hardly be classified among those whom the insurance companies designate as "good risk."

RED ARMY "RE-ORGANIZED"

The army is the quintessence of a regime. "The army is a copy of society and suffers from all its diseases, usually at a higher temperature" (Trotsky). How is the internal crisis of the Stalin regime mirrored in the army?

The transfer of Voroshilov, the shift of Budenny, the replacement of Shaposhnikov, the abolition of the Political Department in the Army, the restoration of undivided authority of the officers' corps, has been supplemented by the appointment of hundreds of Admirals and Generals. The new officers' corps has been raised to Czarist splendor. Titles abhorred by the Russian masses as the very symbols of the Czarist autocracy have been legalized by ukase.

The appointments in the Navy include:

RANK	No.
Admirals	3
Vice Admirals	8
Rear Admirals	63
Lieutenant Generals	4
Major Generals	30

Total: 108

The appointments in the Army are as follows:

RANK	No.
Generals	3
Colonel Generals	7
Lieutenant Generals	116
Major Generals	827

Total: 953

Of the thousand-odd appointees in the Army and Navy not a single one, to our knowledge, played a role of even tenth-rate importance either in the October revolution or the Civil War. Many of them, as appears from the photographs carried by *Pravda* in issue after issue in June, are youngsters; most of them are in their thirties or early forties. They are men of the Stalinist conception; they owe everything to Stalin. The same thing applies to the lower officer ranks.

Of the three full-fledged Generals at the apex of this newly appointed military hierarchy only one, I. V. Tulenev, is credited with a Civil War

record. This nonentity is now provided with a synthetic record: "one of those who helped forge the First Cavalry Corps." His subsequent achievements are on the same level as these forged Civil War credentials: He participated in the "emancipatory advance into Western Ukraine" in 1939.

One of his colleagues, G. K. Zhukov, reportedly played an important role in the clashes with the Japanese on the Manchurian and Outer Mongolian borders. The other, K. A. Meretskov, the Commander of the Leningrad Military District, fell into disrepute last winter during the dismal failure of the first offensive against Finland and is now acclaimed as the hero of the "break through the Mannerheim line" (*Pravda*, June 5). Meretskov is the new head of the General Staff.

PREPARING A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP?

Pravda explained the appointment of this veritable army of Generals as intending to "elevate the authority of our commanding staff, and still further to reinforce the complete authority of army commanders." (*Idem*).

The aim pursued by Stalin is, by giving a new social weight to the summits of a hierarchical military caste, to bind the Generals to himself.

When the news of Voroshilov's removal as Commissar of War was first reported, we concluded that "Stalin is staking everything on the new officers' caste which now acquires an enormous specific weight, and a degree of power and independence never before attained by the Soviet officers' corps, and this—under war-time conditions" (*Socialist Appeal*, May 18, 1940). This has been corroborated by Stalin's latest moves. In the light of these developments, the question now poses itself: Is Stalin preparing the ground for a military dictatorship?

THE PURGE IN INDUSTRY

The administrative personnel of the Soviet industry is confronted with a fate similar to that suffered by the personnel of the trade union bureaucracy. They are being purged much in the same manner as were the trade unions. Industry, too, it is now declared, has been operating in an "office-bureaucratic manner," with vast padded staffs, embezzlements, graft, etc. etc.

The complete picture as depicted by Stalin's own press and on Stalin's own orders is not yet available to us—the papers haven't "arrived" yet—but we are in position to sketch the background.

Pashin, the People's Commissar of the Machine-Building Industry, in his "exposure" of the office-bureaucratic way in which his particular Commissariat has been functioning, revealed that according to official computations "the central office of (his) People's Commissariat has issued 40,000 different orders, regulations and directives in the space of a single year." This represents, so to speak, the volume of export. The inflow from the main departments under this central office amounted to "more than 180,000 various instructions which arrived by mail" (*Pravda*, June 15).

Why this deluge? Who writes these letters? *Pravda* replies: "People who are afraid of responsibility; people who seek to insure themselves against any contingency with all kinds of documentary alibis."

On July 10th the Kremlin issued a ukase prohibiting the "production of defective goods" by the Soviet industry. "It is a crime equivalent to wrecking," reads the ukase. The directors, the chief engineers and the heads of technical control are held directly responsible for the quality of manufactured goods, machines, output of coal and metal mines, etc. The crime is punishable by prison terms of five to eight years.

What a commentary on the quality of Soviet industrial production!

There is hardly a plant in the Soviet Union today whose directors, engineers, etc., would not immediately be liable under the law. Thus, it provides the most convenient formula for the purge. With this decree as a whip over the "technical cadre" Stalin hopes to supply the necessary quota of scapegoats.

Several trials have already been held and a number of administrators and engineers are already serving their prison terms. The reason given for the "denotion" of Samokhvalov, former People's Commissar of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy, was that he had allowed "violations of fixed standards and the worsening of the quality of certain forms of production" (*Izvestia*, July 10).

The immediate effects of this decree, as *Pravda* itself was compelled to report, were that many factories actually shut down; machine plants did not produce a single machine; directors of coal mines instructed that their impure daily output be stored in warehouses. (*Pravda*, July 13).

DO YOU WANT TO HELP YOUR FELLOW WORKERS UNDERSTAND THE WORLD SITUATION TODAY? YES!

Buy a bundle of

"THE IMPERIALIST WAR and the Proletarian World Revolution"

and distribute it among them.

Pivert Swaps Courtesies With Gen. De Gaulle

By J. GERLAND

On June 25, Marceau Pivert, emigre leader of the French "Socialist Party of Workers and Peasants" (PSOP) wrote a letter to General De Gaulle, chief of "free" France in London. After hearing the voice of the General on the radio, Pivert could not resist the call, and offered to enroll in the troops of De Gaulle, his only stipulation being to be assigned to a special mission: "revolutionary" propaganda addressed to the German proletariat.

In order to justify his enlistment, Pivert cites the case of a French monarchist who offered his technical knowledge to Lenin to carry on the struggle against the Germans. That a bourgeois forgets for a minute the class borders in view of what he considers his national interest, is indeed an exception rare enough to be worth while mentioning. Fortified by this episode, exceptional example, Pivert offers General De Gaulle the particles of "revolutionary dynamite" that he thinks he possesses. To make himself more convincing, he declares while presenting his merchandise: "Perhaps it won't leave you indifferent." Pivert only forgets that revolutionary "dynamite," the genuine kind, and not its centrist counterfeit, cannot be peddled today, from door to door, yesterday to Leon Blum, today to De Gaulle.

Pivert tells us that his aim is to "make an attempt of a political character against the totalitarian powers." And as Churchill and De Gaulle "have not the slightest authority to take charge of this propaganda," he comes to their help, he Pivert, who knows how these things are done, and brings them his "revolutionary dynamite". Here, clearly, is the cynical blueprint of the social-patriots, always ready to consider the revolutionary energy of the workers as a subsidiary force which has to be chained to the chariot of either of the imperialist bandits.

THE STALINISTS TRIED THIS TOO

Perhaps Pivert, with his so "acute sense of reality," hopes to "use" De Gaulle as a temporary instrument of revolutionary propaganda. We know the outcome of the mode, so dear to the Stalinist rascals in the last years, to "use" some broken reeds of imperialism. As for De Gaulle, Pivert asks him to spread the manifesto of the centrist agency, the International (!) Workers (?) Front, by all the means at the disposal of the General.

What can these means be? Leaflets thrown from British bombing planes, appeals in German over the English radio. It is assured beforehand that the German workers will remain deaf to this propaganda. Revolutionary "dynamite," that is to say proletarian propaganda, is a formidably powerful explosive matter, but a fragile one. If one drop of chauvinist poison dampens it, this dynamite immediately loses all of its explosive force. One nationalism cannot be disintegrated by opposing to it an adulterated internationalism which bears the mark of another nationalism. If Pivert should obtain some "practical" possibilities from De Gaulle, he would bring to the German workers nothing but an ersatz (substitute) of internationalism. That is to say, the most malignant form of chauvinist poison. Pivert's appeals, spread with the help of De Gaulle-Churchill, would be an excellent weapon in Hitler's hands to denounce the collusion of the revolutionary forces and foreign imperialism. Pivert would place the greatest obstacle in the way of the genuine German proletarian propaganda.

Finally, Pivert patiently explains to De Gaulle, probably in order that he repeat it to his friend Churchill, what the real policy of British imperialism should be in order to win the war. It should grant a few democratic reforms to its colonial slaves, and these would support it heartily in its struggle against Hitler and Mussolini. And he who preaches such twaddle calls himself a "revolutionary militant"! Better that he take the title of King's counsellor in colonial affairs. However, he is so embarrassed playing this role that he declares that his communication "runs the risk of being misunderstood." It's really a great pity that Churchill cannot attain an "understanding" of Pivert's views.

DE GAULLE'S "FREE" COLONIES

The character of General De Gaulle's organization appears most clearly in the question of the colonies. Before the defeat, France had a colonial empire of sixty million men, that is to say, that for every two Frenchmen there were three colonial slaves submitted to the most rapacious economic exploitation and to the most brutal political oppression. This was the basis of the imperialist "democracy."

Since the military collapse some colonies have rallied to De Gaulle, leader of "free" France. Exactly what does this "rebellion" mean? Would it be the emancipation of the natives? Cables published in the bourgeois press soon give us the key to the mystery. The British fleet is blockading the coasts of French colonies, commercial relations with the metropole become impossible, thus the imperialist clique in each colony finds itself obliged to look for another "motherland," and turns its eyes towards London, tomorrow towards New York. This emancipation is but a change of address in the mail of the white slave-holders.

A still luminous star attracts to its orbit fragments of extinguished stars. So De Gaulle's organization, debris of French imperialism, has come to gravitate around London and may gravitate tomorrow around Washington. This is a very clear phenomenon of the mechanics of imperialism. But what can we think of the "revolutionary militant", wanting to do "what Lenin did in 1917," partisan of the "revolutionary fraternization," etc., etc., which comes to teach this debris of French imperialism how he can draw from the colonies "his real reserves of political projectiles"? What an infamous role!

The centrist is always ready to intoxicate himself with radical phrases: proletarian revolution, revolutionary defeatism, etc. That does not cost him very much. But at the first occasion he sinks up to his knees in the swamp of social-patriotism. For many years Pivert tried to teach Leon Blum how to make the proletarian revolution, until Blum finally bored by this chattering, showed him the door. Today Pivert, in quest of another would-be pupil, finds De Gaulle and prepares to give him a few lessons in the method of emancipating colonies and succeeding thus in beating Hitler.

September 13, 1940.