

False Passport of the Assassin of Leon Trotsky Traced To GPU

It Belonged To A Loyalist Soldier In Spanish War

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

MEXICO CITY, Oct. 7.—Stalin's GPU passport-forging factory supplied the false passport with which "Frank Jackson", the assassin of Trotsky, came to this continent, the Mexican government's investigation has revealed.

Jackson used one of the many passports which Stalin's GPU took from American and Canadian volunteers who enlisted in the Loyalist army in Spain. Taken from the volunteers in the course of their transportation to Spain through Stalinist-controlled channels, the passports were then sent in diplomatic pouches to the USSR from Spain. Walter Krivitsky, former head of the Soviet secret service in Western Europe, has told how bundles of these passports came to Moscow in every mail during that period. There, in the hands of the most skilled passport forgers in the world, the passports underwent the necessary alterations to make them usable by GPU agents.

The one which the GPU altered for Jackson's use was originally issued by the Canadian authorities to Tony Babich, resident of Canada and a naturalized British subject, born at Lovinac, Yugoslavia, June

13, 1905. Babich used this passport when he went to Spain, where he fought in the Loyalist army. On May 12, 1939 the Spanish government issued a death certificate for Tony Babich.

But Babich's passport, meanwhile, was skillfully altered in Moscow. The name of Tony Babich was erased and the name of Frank Jackson put in instead. The photograph of the dead man was removed and replaced by that of the man who had been assigned to murder Trotsky.

The assassin thought that he had prevented the possibility of tracing his passport back to the GPU forging factory from which it came. He told the judge he had burned the passport along with his other personal papers, before he went to Coyoacan the day of the murder. The burning of the passport was in itself a confession that Jackson was fearful that government experts would trace the passport back to those who falsified it.

However, the Mexican authorities have been able to trace the passport back to its source, and thus to establish another irrefutable proof that the murderer of Trotsky is an agent of Stalin's GPU.

Another Stalinist Jailed For Attack on Leon Trotsky

MEXICO CITY, Oct. 5.—David Alfaro Siqueiros, sought by the police since June as the leader of the machine-gun band which made the assassination attempt against Trotsky on May 24, was captured yesterday morning.

He was hiding out on a ranch in the state of Jalisco. He had grown a beard and mustache and was dressed like a typical ranchero.

From hiding, during the last months, he had sent four letters to the press, justifying the attempt to murder Trotsky.

To the police upon his arrest he made the following statement concerning the May 24th attack: "First—I will demonstrate that it deals with a crime of political order, and not against common law.

"Second—that it deals with the transgressions of revolutionaries against counter-revolutionaries.

"Third—that it deals with the transgressions of revolutionaries against a general headquarters of reactionaries, tolerated illegally by the Government of Mexico, and

"Fourth—that it deals with a

transgression independent of all organizations, international or national."

It is clear from this statement that Siqueiros will center his efforts on attempting to lift the blame from the Communist Party and Stalin's GPU, and particularly attempt to absolve David Serrano, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, who has been in prison for this crime since June. Siqueiros will seek to pose, at one and the same time, as a Stalinist in ideology but in no way connected with the Stalinist organizations.

In his last interview with the press before his death, Trotsky warned that Siqueiros, if seized, would attempt to pose as a "Trotskyist" who became disgusted with Trotsky—the same GPU formula which the assassin, Jackson, later used.

Siqueiros' statement will be made mainly for international consumption, for in Mexico itself any attempt by him to pose as a non-Stalinist is simply laughable. He has been a well-known figure in the Stalinist movement for many years, is president of the Stalinist Spanish civil war veterans' organization, and was a "major" in a Stalinist battalion in Spain.

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

(This column was formerly entitled "Behind the Lines." Every succeeding day, however has rendered that title more and more archaic. The front lines are everywhere. Modern technology has rendered meaningless the distinction between the worker in the war industries—which now means all industry—and the worker who operates the products of those industries. Which countries are at peace and which at war? One can speak only of the extent of participation in the war at any given moment. Hence the new title for this column. —EDITORS)

Signature of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo alliance was followed last week by fresh Anglo-American efforts to woo the U.S.S.R. into a new war combination. Great Britain announced the Burma Road would be reopened on Oct. 13 and Ivan Maisky, Soviet ambassador in London, was approached with a proposal that the Soviet Union buy British rubber and other goods and pay for it with arms for China. Simultaneously in Washington Summer Welles called in Soviet Ambassador Gromyko for a talk along similar lines. Steinhardt, U. S. ambassador in Moscow, went to see Foreign Commissar Molotov presumably for the same purpose.

Stalin will probably lean enough over toward the Anglo-American side to secure more speedy payment to him from the Axis for his acquiescence in the new alliance set-up. A TASS London report on Oct. 5, suddenly introducing a friendly tone about the participation of British workers in British defense, was undoubtedly

part of the leaning process. But Stalin will not lean too far. The entry of German troops into Rumania on Oct. 8 opened up the prospect of establishment of German forces on the Black Sea and offered direct and clear warning to Stalin to stay within the reservation.

The winter campaign soon to open in the Mediterranean and the Near East will doubtless reveal what new part of the reservation is to be temporarily opened to Stalin as part of the Axis strategy of dealing with first things first.

In the U. S. the new Axis alliance has produced a new and notable frankness, both official and unofficial. Secretary of the Navy Knox in a speech at Washington on Oct. 5 said: "An adequate Navy at this time demands that we be able to meet enemies far from our own shores and defeat them in both oceans, simultaneously if necessary." Col. Frederick Palmer, a military expert writing in the N. Y. Times, said on Oct. 6: "There are signs that we no longer shall have to depend upon the false scare of a land invasion to arouse our people to the need of preparedness. Our army... will be freed of a lot of motion for public effect, which will be waste when war comes." The best defense is the offensive and the ability to maintain it until victory is ours."

In other words, we are now told that the country has been deliberately prepared by "false scares" for the real thing: i. e. preparation of this country for an offensive war in the future.

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TROTSKY'S MONUMENT

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FOR MILITARY TRAINING-- UNDER CONTROL OF UNIONS!

This Wednesday over five million men must register for conscription. That day should be a solemn day for the masses of this nation. It should be a day of hard thinking about the future. For most of those five million who are able-bodied know, or they should know, that they are fated to undergo training in the use of arms—and they will use those arms in battle. That is already determined, the die is cast. Only pacifist fools can long delude themselves that it is not so.

About a million of those men will undergo military training this year, another million next year, and so on for five years. Five million trained soldiers! But that staggering thought merely records the government's admitted program. What are those men being trained for, what are fifteen billions of dollars already appropriated for? Not for dress parades and to stock museums with specimens of armament! These men and armaments will be used, make no mistake about it. That is already a settled question.

Some pacifist daydreamers, some voices of yesterday like the Norman Thomas "socialists", and the sinister puppets of Stalin like Browder, join in a chorus to call for repeal of the conscription law. And what do they propose to take its place? Nothing. In other words, they adopt a negative attitude toward all forms of mass military training. Fortunately, the workers do not listen to this pacifist clap-trap. The workers understand that in this age of universal war and militarism it is necessary for the workers to learn well the use of arms. The most "backward" worker who has grasped this fundamental thought is by that, infinitely far more advanced politically than the "socialist" Norman Thomas and the "communist" Earl Browder.

Yes, we say, it is a fortunate and hopeful fact that the great mass of the workers who are required to do so will go to the registration places on Wednesday seriously and without whining or empty regrets. They go to the army as they go to the factory. They do not like the exploitation to which the bosses subject them in the factory. They will not like the exploitation to which the bosses, in officers' uniforms, will subject them in the army. But they do what has to be done, in the army as in the factory.

Let them ponder deeply, however, what has to be done. Most of these five million men, between the ages of 21 and 36, are workers and poor farmers. A considerable number of them are union members, especially CIO members. They have learned that what has to be done in the factory includes not only what the bosses demand, but also what the workmen demand and can secure by organizing into unions. Because they are many and the bosses are few, they have won many concessions in the factories—union wage scales, working rules, shop stew-

ards, etc. Thus some ten million organized workers today have some voice in saying what has to be done in the factories. There is no reason why they should not have a voice in saying what has to be done in the armed forces.

Compulsory military training? Yes, certainly. But why must it be done in the open-shop atmosphere of the army, under the life-and-death control of utterly reactionary, capitalist-minded officers? It doesn't have to be done that way. If the workers insist strongly enough, it will not be done that way. Concessions can be won in this field from the bosses, their political agents and their army officers, just as they have been won in the factory. The open shop is no more eternal in the field of military training than it is in the field of industry!

All that the workers need to do away with it is a program around which to rally, and a firm leadership to fight for that program.

That program will vary in many of its details at different stages of the unfolding of this epoch of militarism and war, just as the program of any union varies with changing conditions. But the foundation of that program, in the military field as in industry, does not change. It is: the defense of the interests of the workers against all their enemies. That means: the defense of the working class against the capitalist class.

Concretely it means at this moment that the military training of the workers shall not be in the hands of the enemies of the workers. The workers do not want to trust their fate in the hands of capitalist officers any more than they want to trust their fate in the hands of capitalists in the factories.

Let the trade unions, the organizations which represent the workers, control the military training of the workers!

Let us demand federal military appropriations for the establishment and equipment of training camps which shall be run by the workers' own organizations!

Fifteen billions have been appropriated for armaments. At the very least, then, appropriate a half billion dollars to pay for training camps to be run by the unions!

The workers would undergo military training far more confidently if their own union brothers, the militants from the picket line, the shop stewards, led them. Then let us demand federal to train worker-officers in union training camps!

As we register on Wednesday, let us resolve to go back into our unions and into our shops, in the time that is still left, and rouse our fellow-workers to join with us in pushing this workers' program for military training!

Local 544 Defeats Anti-Union Suit

Judge Concedes Baselessness Of Case Against Drivers Union in Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., October 2.—In a 54-page ruling, District Judge Paul S. Carroll today terminated the two-year old "fink suit" against the Minneapolis General Drivers Union, Local 544. The Judge denied to the plaintiffs, four tools of the Associated Industries gang, their main demands—for the removal of the union's officers, the appointment of a receiver for the union, and the holding of a special election.

The lengthy ruling conceded the contentions which the union has established in the nine-months' trial. Among the basic points which the judge conceded are that the union elections were fairly run, that the elected officers are honest and have not wasted union funds.

The judge also dismissed complaints of the finks against Local 544's policy of financing the Federal Workers Section, an unemployed workers union sponsored by the Minneapolis labor movement, and of giving contributions to the Farmer-Labor party and the North Central District Drivers Council. The judge declared such donations to be "well within the power of the union so to do."

He also conceded the right of the union to use the union's funds in the conduct of strikes and the legal defense of arrested union men, one of the plaintiffs' main complaints. On this issue, a focal point of the boss-instigated attack against the union, the ruling stated, "Usually, strikers have no money to pay fines or defend themselves, and it seems to me that it is entirely legitimate for the union to use this money in that way."

On the plaintiffs' demands for removal of the union's officers because they are revolutionists the judge was constrained to say: "If the members of this union desire men who are believers in the Trotsky movement to be their officers, and the Dunne brothers have not denied that they are friendly with and associated with this movement, they have a right to do so."

The finks had also bitterly attacked the role of the local in the organization of the over-the-road eleven state committee, which won a contract for 250,000 truck drivers.

The local's Union Defense Guard, established to protect the union against the Silver Shirts and other fascist gangs, was likewise assailed. But the court, in its final ruling, upheld the right

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All-India Congress Reports Vicious Repressions

ALLAHABAD, India, July 1 (by mail from the Foreign Department of the All India Congress Committee)—The intensity of repression is increasing every day. In the beginning, the government arrested Socialists and Communists. But gradually it has begun to round up all active workers. Arrests are most active in Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar, Madras and Punjab. Though it is not possible to know the exact number, in Bengal alone the number of persons detained, arrested or warned exceeds a thousand.

Hunger strikes have taken place in Allahabad and Lucknow prisons on account of bad treatment of political prisoners. The political prisoners are not given a special status and if their position is not improved soon, a conflict is bound to arise.

(Readers should note that this description of British imperialist policy in India comes from the leadership of an organization which pursues a conciliatory attitude toward Britain.)

OLSON BARS STALINISTS FROM CALIFORNIA BALLOT

Socialist Workers Party Offers United Front to Fight Ban

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 7 — While Governor Olson tonight was signing the bill of the California legislature to ban the Communist Party from the ballot, the Socialist Workers Party here awaited word from the Communist Party on a proposal for united front action against the ban.

In a state-wide radio broadcast following signing of the act, Olson lashed at his one-time allies—the Stalinists helped elect him. Progressive labor circles here view the ban as the beginning of a drive against the entire labor movement in line with the war preparations.

As early as September 24, the Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party sent a proposal for united action to the trade unions, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, declaring "We

believe in the principles of united front action against the attacks of the capitalist class in spite of the controversies within the working class movement."

A second appeal for united action was addressed to the Communist Party on October 3.

The S. W. P. here is undertaking an extensive drive to secure the repeal of this act. Protests have been wired to the Governor and the state legislature. A telegram was also sent to Assemblyman Paul Ritchie, Sacramento, commending his stand in opposition to the bill. This message stated, "While we have profound political differences with this organization (Communist Party) we give firm support to any action opposing such attacks on political freedom."

Thousands of leaflets have been circulated by the Trotskyists in Los Angeles and other parts of the state, urging the California workers and organized labor to rally against the ban. The leaflet warns that "In fact the law barring the Communist Party from the ballot provides that any party may be banned should the Secretary of State and Attorney General deem it 'subversive.'"

Auto Workers Strike Midland Steel Plant

Key Auto Parts Factory in Cleveland Is Closed Down By Militant Picket Line

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

CLEVELAND, Oct. 9.—1200 workers of the Midland Steel Products Co. manned the picket lines here today after weeks of fruitless negotiations. They are demanding a five cent hourly increase in base pay, upward revision of piece rates, the union shop and reemployment and back pay for Mack Cheek, local president fired two years ago for union activity.

Midland Steel produces auto frames for Studebaker, Hudson and Buick. The strikers belong to the United Auto Workers—CIO, Local 486. This is the second strike at this plant within the past year, the last one netting a contract and union recognition.

Large squads of mounted police, fully armed, swarmed on the scene as mass picket lines halted all production. The cops barricaded themselves behind all plant gates and attempted to intimidate the strikers. The company announced the formal closing down of the plant, and the union is employing skeleton shifts on the line now. Police outnumber the skeleton crews three to one.

Negro-White Solidarity
A conspicuous feature of the picket line is the solidarity of Negro and white workers. The former are among the most active and militant union members. A last-minute attempt to forestall the strike was made by David T. Roadley, local conciliator for the U. S. Dept. of Labor.

Other Plants Affected
James F. Dewey, "ace conciliator" of the government is being sent into Cleveland to attempt the same trick he pulled in December 1939. He maneuvered the Midland Steel workers, then new to unionism, back into the plant with a weak agreement. Continuation of the strike means a probable shut-down for Studebaker, Hudson and Buick, due to body-frame shortage.

The strikers are in high spirits, carrying fighting banners and an appeal to the truck-drivers not to drive through the picket lines. Hundreds of the strikers, while relieved of immediate picket duty because of the need for only skeleton crews at the moment, are remaining at the nearby union headquarters and in the vicinity of the plant, in the event the cops start any trouble.

Hillman Moving Into Flint Auto Workers' Fight With G.M.

FLINT, Oct. 8.—The International officers of the United Auto Workers met this weekend in Pittsburgh. The choice of city for the conference is reported to be for the convenience of Sidney Hillman, fresh from his exploits in putting a crimp into the Bethlehem Steel workers' upsurge.

One of the main issues confronting the UAW officers is the fight with General Motors over the firing of 19 key union men four weeks ago at Flint Fisher Body No. 1 plant. The local affected overwhelmingly voted strike authority to its local officers. The International officers stepped in to conduct negotiations with G. M., which have dragged on for four weeks now.

MILITARY POLICY OF THE PROLETARIAT

Speech By James P. Cannon At Chicago Conference of SWP

(The following is a stenographic report of the main speech made by Comrade Cannon at the September 27-29 Plenum-Conference of the Socialist Workers Party at Chicago.)

Our first word in formally beginning our deliberations today is devoted to the memory of our greatest teacher and comrade and our most glorious martyr. It is the proposal of the National Committee that we all stand for a moment in silent tribute to the memory of Comrade Trotsky.

We meet for the first time without him. I am sure that as we stood for a silent minute one common thought weighed upon us all. We all realize most poignantly that, whether we are quite grown up to it or not, we now face the appalling responsibility of leading and organizing the world movement of proletarian emancipation without the direct aid of the one who shaped and guided our movement, who instructed us, who raised us up and made men of us and prepared us for this great mission. It is up to us now to show that we have really learned what has been taught to us so patiently and so thoroughly. It is for us to take the tools that have been placed in our hands and use them no more as apprentices but as full-fledged journeymen.

We have confidence that we can do this because we have been left the greatest heritage that any political grouping in the history of the world was ever given. Never before did the workers' vanguard have such complete and thorough going preparation, in a theoretical and programmatic way, as we have received. Especially in the past eleven years since Comrade Trotsky was exiled from the Soviet Union, eleven years so rich in historic events, we have had from day to day and from year to year the aid of his great Marxist brain. With his aid and guidance we have unraveled the mysteries of this epoch and found in every case the strategical and tactical road that leads the proletarian movement to higher ground.

We not only have now the task of leading the movement in

this country. We also have on our shoulders a great international responsibility. In the nineteenth century, nearly seventy years ago, Marx and Engels transferred the center of the First International to the United States. Their action was then, so to speak, a symbolic intimation of the future international leading role of America. By a combination of circumstances the prophetic gesture of our great masters has finally been confirmed by concrete reality. The main political center and organizational base of the Fourth International, which is destined to complete the work begun by the First International of Marx and Engels, is in truth lodged here in the United States in the custody of those comrades who are gathered here and those whom they represent in all sections of the country.

A combination of circumstances, rather than any special merit of our own, has imposed upon us this international responsibility. First of all, we were fated to have the greatest amount of freedom for the open and legal development of our movement. While our valiant comrades in one country after another fell under the heavy flows of persecution, were stifled and repressed, we here in America have had now twelve years of uninterrupted preparatory work. We alone of practically all sections of the Fourth International were fortunate in beginning not entirely with new and inexperienced people. We carried over into the new movement of the Fourth International some substantial and experienced cadres who had been tested and who had learned in the Communist movement since 1918, and even before that. Our movement was thus prepared by its past and by these fortunate circumstances to establish an uninterrupted continuity between the movement of the present day and that which preceded it. All these things taken together have equipped and prepared us for the role which we must now play in aiding the further development of the Fourth International in all countries.

OURS IS THE RESPONSIBILITY!

This movement is primarily the creation of Comrade Trotsky. He was responsible above all others for formulating its program and assembling its cadres on an international scale. But within the last few years our party has come to the front and played an increasingly important role. More and more Comrade Trotsky came to rely on us as the strongest pillar of the Fourth International. More and more the comrades in all parts of the world came to look at the combination of Comrade Trotsky and the American section as the main guarantee of stability in the leadership of the international party. And now, after the death of Comrade Trotsky, we can be sure that the comrades in all parts of the world—in China, carrying on their work in daily danger of their lives; the comrades imprisoned and in concentration camps in Germany; in illegality in France; in England; in Australia; in South America; in the Soviet Union; everywhere—they are now looking to the American section, to the Socialist Workers Party, to grow up to the level of its historic responsibility and assure the continuous functioning and development of our international movement. That puts a still greater responsibility upon all of us.

We cannot lag any more. Everyone of us, I am sure, in the past years felt that if we erred, we had the assurance that we could be corrected by someone wiser than we. All of us, including myself, felt that if we shirked or slumped a little bit now and then, our laxity would be compensated for by the untiring energy of the Old Man. We permitted ourselves more than one luxury. That we cannot indulge ourselves any more. The burden is on our shoulders. We must carry it. We must give the movement now more than ever in energy, in discipline in faithfulness and in efficient work.

We meet at a time of a great change in the world. Before our eyes, almost without our realizing it, there has been brought about a profoundly new world situation. A new period has opened up. The essence of the new situation is that capitalism in its unprecedented decay, in its death agony, has passed over completely from the relative stability and relative peace which characterized

MILITARY MEANS ARE NOW DECISIVE

The workers can indulge in no such daydreams any longer because the world is on fire with war and militarism. The one big conclusion the proletarian vanguard must draw is this: All great questions will be decided by military means. This was the great conclusion insisted upon by Comrade Trotsky in his last few months of life. In his letters, in his articles and in conversations he repeated this thesis over and over again. These are new times. The characteristic feature of our epoch is unceasing war and universal militarism. That imposes on us as the first task, the task which dominates and shapes all others, the adoption of a military policy, an attitude of the proletarian party towards the solution of social problems during a time of universal militarism and war.

The prospects of the United States remaining at peace are absolutely zero. You have before you the draft of our resolution on military policy. It has been printed in the internal bulletin and discussed in the branches for the past two months. We have elaborated in this resolution our conception of these new problems and tasks. In the very beginning we take up the question of America's participation in the war. It is completely absurd to imagine that there is some special policy—some legerdemain—that can make it possible for the strongest imperialist power in the world to escape participation in the struggle for the imperialist domination of the world. Nobody believes in this possibility except a few muddle-headed pacifists. And when I say muddle-headed pacifists I do not mean the bourgeois isolationists. I mean the fools, the people who belong completely to yesterday, like the Thomasites, the Lovestonites, the few religious fanatics.

That wing of the American bourgeoisie going by the name of isolationist are no less aggressive, no less military minded, than the wing which wants intervention right now in the present war.

The Chicago Tribune strongly criticizes the Roosevelt policy only because they have a different approach to the war. They think we should begin the struggle, the struggle of American imperialism for world domination, by conquering first the Western Hemisphere and proceeding next to the East by way of a war against Japan, postponing the clash with Hitler till a later time. The more farsighted, the more conscious and, I am sure, the strongest section of the American bourgeoisie, who are called interventionists, believe that we must begin the struggle for world domination by intervention in the European war. What divides the two camps at this time is only a matter of strategy. Now that they are confronted by an open military alliance of Germany and Japan their differences can easily be reconciled.

The only question will be how soon and at what point to begin open intervention. As a matter of fact, in all except the form-

it as a growing and healthy social system into a state of permanent crisis, and the permanent crisis is now expressed in permanent war.

At the mass meeting last night I mentioned the new and significant development of the German-Italian-Japanese pact. The announcement of this pact signifies above all other things that the war in Europe is due for an extension into Asia, Africa and into the Western Hemisphere of the Americas. There is no prospect whatever for any more considerable periods of peace in the capitalist world. Just conjecture for a moment that some kind of peace could be effected in the European war. Nobody could believe that this would be a peace of any stability. It would only be a preparation for a new war of continents, of hemispheres, embracing the whole world. If a sudden, smashing victory of Hitler should enforce a peace with England, as was the case with France, no one would believe this would be the end of the war. If a formal peace should be declared and there should be a lull, during which there should be no war, it would only be an interlude.

We are preparing—our imperialist masters are preparing—night and day to challenge Hitler for world dominion. And Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese imperialists are preparing to meet that challenge. The outcome can only be a whole epoch of uninterrupted militarism and war. The proletariat, which is the sole power capable of lifting humanity out of this bloody morass, must face this fact. It cannot indulge in any more daydreams about the peaceful solution of the social problem. The workers' movement was dominated by this illusion for decades, for generations. It was thought and felt that day by day work of organizing trade unions, building reformist parties, casting votes, gaining some social legislation—it was felt that along these lines, working from year to year and from decade to decade, they could gradually improve the conditions of the masses and glide over peacefully, without violent collisions or shocks, into a new social order called socialism.

alities of the situation, we are intervening in the European war now as much as we can. We are sending unlimited supplies of military materials to Europe. In my opinion the only reason we are not sending troops is that there isn't any place to land them. The Wall Street heroes and their political lackeys overslept the European situation. They underestimated the rottenness and weakness of the bourgeois democracies of Europe on the one hand, and the military strength of Hitler on the other. They waited too long, until the ports were occupied by the fascists. Nothing remains now but England. England has no room for troops, and there is a growing opinion among American capitalists and military experts that England itself is a lost cause.

When American participation in the war finally begins is only a secondary question. The very fact that we have appropriated approximately fifteen billion dollars in one year for military expenditures before any war was formally started; that we have instituted peace-time conscription for the first time in history—these facts can only indicate that the masters of this country are preparing for an explosion of military aggressiveness on a scale never seen in history before. Imperialist America is out to dominate the world. In its path stands Hitler Germany in the West. In its path stands imperialist Japan in the East. The conflict between these imperialist powers can in no case be resolved by diplomacy or good wishes or half measures, but only as all other things are decided in this epoch—by military force.

Now, confronted with these facts of universal militarism and permanent war, that the biggest industry of all now is going to be war, the army and preparation of things for the army—confronted with these facts, what shall the revolutionary party do? Shall we stand aside and simply say we don't agree with the war, it is not our affair? No, we can't do that. We do not approve of capitalist exploitation in the factories. We do not approve of this whole system of exploitation whereby private individuals can take possession of the means of production and enslave the masses. We are against that, but as long as we are not strong enough to put an end to capitalist exploitation in the factories, we adapt ourselves to reality. We don't abstain and go on individual strikes and separate ourselves from the working class. We go into the factories and try by working with the class to influence its development. We go with the workers and share all their experiences and try to influence them in a revolutionary direction.

The same logic applies to war. The great majority of the young generation will be dragged into the war. The great majority of these young workers will think at first that they are doing a good thing. For a revolutionary party to stand by and say, "We



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can tolerate exploitation in the factories, but not military exploitation,"—that is to be completely illogical. To isolate ourselves from the mass of the proletariat which will be in the war is to lose all possibility to influence them.

We have got to be good soldiers. Our people must take upon themselves the task of defending the interests of the proletariat in the army in the same way as we try to protect their interests in the factory. As long as we can't take the factories away from the bosses we fight to improve the conditions there. Similarly, in the army, adapting ourselves to the fact that the proletariat of this country is going to be the proletariat in arms we say, "Very well, Mr. Capitalist, you have decided it so and we were not strong enough to prevent it. Your war is not our war, but as long as the mass of the proletariat goes with it, we will go too. We will raise our own independent program in the army, in

THE ONLY ROAD TO THE WORKERS

The workers themselves must take charge of this fight against Hitler and anybody else who tries to invade their rights. That is the whole principle of the new policy that has been elaborated for us by Comrade Trotsky. The great difference between this and the socialist military policy in the past is that it is an extension of the old policy, and adaptation of old principles to new conditions. In our conversations with Comrade Trotsky he said he considered the great danger to our movement is pacifism. The taint of pacifism in our movement is in part due to the left socialist tradition of anti-militarism. In part it is also a hang-over from the past of our own movement. We said and those before us said that capitalism had outlived its usefulness. World economy is ready for socialism. But when the world war started in 1914 none of the parties had the idea that on the agenda stood the struggle for power. The stand of the best of them was essentially a protest against the war.

It did not occur even to the best Marxists that the time had come when the power must be seized by the workers in order to save civilization from degeneration. Even Lenin did not visualize the victory of the proletarian revolution as the immediate outcome of the war. Just a short time before the outbreak of the February revolution in Russia, Lenin wrote in Switzerland that his generation would most probably not see the socialist revolution. Even Lenin had postponed the revolution to the future, to a later decade. And a few months later it exploded in all its power in Russia. Acute revolutionary situations developed in one European country after another.

Trotsky pointed out to us that even such valiant and honest anti-war fighters as Debs and others like him conducted a fight against the war as a protest, but never once did it occur to them that the war was directly posing the question of the struggle for power. This protest against the war had a semi-pacifist character. Our movement was affected by this, especially when it was afflicted with the petty bourgeois element in the party. You can recall that when we were discussing and arguing with them, the prevailing tendency among them was expressed about as follows: "We want to know, how can we keep out of the war, if the war starts how can we keep out of military service." They were primarily concerned about the various ways of evading the draft. More than one expressed the idea of escape to Mexico.

A group of heroic minority students in Chicago bought a small boat and sailed for Tahiti or some such place to hide out there until the war would be over. While millions of young proletarian youth are on the battle fields getting all kinds of experiences, facing all kinds of dangers, becoming hardened and ready for anything, these heroes will be basking in tropical sunshine and waiting for their day of destiny. I suppose when the time comes to make the revolution these people will probably sail back from Tahiti and say: "Here we are boys, ready to lead you." It is not difficult to imagine the answer they will get from the boys who have already selected their leaders in the test of blood and fire.

Only those who go through hell with the soldiers will ever get close to their hearts and be able to influence them. All those with experience in the labor movement know it takes more than fancy speeches to gain influence with the workers. You must be with the workers. And nine times out of ten, I think every trade unionist will testify, the best asset you can have is to be a good worker in the shop. If the workers say, "He is the best mechanic among us; he does his full share of the work, not because he loves his boss but because he doesn't want to load the work on his fellow workers, etc."—if the workers say that about a man his influence is transferred over into the union, and when he gets up to say a word on the union floor he is listened to.

the military forces, in the same way as we raise it in the factories."

We say it is a good thing for the workers now to be trained in the use of arms. We are, in fact, in favor of compulsory military training of the proletariat. We are in favor of every union going on record for this idea. We want the proletariat to be well trained and equipped to play the military game. The only thing we object to is the leadership of a class that we don't trust. We don't want stoopigeons of the boss as officers in our unions. Just as we don't want them as officers of our unions so we don't want them in the military forces. We are willing to fight Hitler. No worker wants to see that gang of fascist barbarians over-run this country or any country. But we want to fight fascism under a leadership that we can trust. We want our own officers—those who have shown themselves most devoted to their class, who have shown themselves to be the bravest and most loyal men on the picket line, those who are interested in the welfare of their fellow workers. These are precisely the type of people we want as officers. In the period when the whole working class youth is mobilized for war, those are the ones we want at the head of our battalions.

So we simply make our independent demands upon the government. We will join the war as long as the workers do. We will say frankly to the workers in the unions and shops: "We would like to throw over this whole business of capitalist exploitation—military as well as industrial—right now. But as long as you are not ready for that logical solution we will join with you, fight by your side, try to protect the men from useless waste of lives. All that we will do, but we retain one privilege—the right to express our opinion day in and day out: that you must not trust the leadership of your enemy class. Don't forget that the government in Washington is a concentrated representative of the same bosses that you have to fight every day in order to live. It is nothing but the Executive Committee of all bosses who, together and individually, act as the exploiters and oppressors of the working class. Put no more trust in that bosses' government than you do in the individual bosses at home."

We will fight all the time for the idea that the workers should have officers of their own choosing. That this great sum of money that is being appropriated out of the public treasury should be allocated in part to the trade unions for the setting up of their own military training camps under officers of their own selection; that we go into battle with the consciousness that the officer leading us is a man of our own flesh and blood who is not going to waste our lives, who is going to be true and loyal and who will represent our interests. And in that way, in the course of the development of the war, we will build up in the army a great class conscious movement of workers with arms in their hands who will be absolutely invincible. Neither the German Hitler nor any other Hitler will be able to conquer them.

We will never let anything happen as it did in France. These commanding officers from top to bottom turned out to be nothing but traitors and cowards crawling on their knees before Hitler, leaving the workers absolutely helpless. They were far more concerned to save a part of their property than to fight the fascist invader. The myth about the war of "democracy against fascism" was exploded most shamefully and disgracefully. We must shout at the top of our voices that this is precisely what that gang in Washington will do because they are made of the same stuff as the French, Belgian and Norwegian bourgeoisie. The French example is the great warning that officers from the class of bourgeois democrats can lead the workers only to useless slaughter, defeat and betrayal.

Absolutely the same psychology will prevail in the army. A man scared, ready to run—he will never be able to lead the worker-soldiers by making a few speeches from his retreat. It is necessary to go with the workers through all their experiences, through all the dangers, through the war. Out of the war will come the revolution, not otherwise. The War Manifesto of the Fourth International declares: We didn't want the war—we are not in favor of the war—but we are not afraid of the war. In this very war we will hammer out the cadres of revolutionary soldiers who will lead the struggle.

We must remember all the time that the workers of this epoch are not only workers; they are soldiers. These armies are no longer selected individuals, they are whole masses of the young proletarian youth who have been shifted from exploitation in the factories to exploitation in the military machine. They will be imbued by the psychology of the proletariat from which they came. But they will have guns in their hand and they will learn how to shoot them. They will gain confidence in themselves. They will be fired with the conviction that the only man who counts in this time of history is the man who has a gun in his hand and knows how to use it.

The great advantage of the workers is their mass strength. "Ye are many, they are few," said the poet Shelley. All the oppressed masses need is the will to power. All that is necessary to transform this madhouse of capitalism into a world of socialism is for the mass of the workers and the poor farmers to get the one simple general idea in their heads that they have the power and it is time now to use it. The capitalist class puts arms in the hands of the working class. That will, in the end, prove their undoing.

Now war, as I remarked in my speech last night, destroys a lot of things that are useful and valuable. It is a terrible overhead cost humanity has to pay for the delay in instituting socialism after capitalism has outlived its usefulness. This delay of the revolution has visited a terrible plague upon mankind that is going to destroy not thousands but millions of human lives. It will destroy great accumulations of material culture that took decades of human labor to create. As one small illustration take the city of London today. Here is a great city with centuries of accumulated achievements of mankind being pounded to dust. Nineteen consecutive days of bombing, and it stands to reason that the city is already partially in ruins.

The war destroys a great many things which will take much labor to replace. But war destroys some bad things also. War puts an end to all ambiguity and poses every question point blank. There might have been room in the past for doubt as to how the workers can best solve the social problem. There were whole generations of workers deluded with the idea that the best way was the gradual peaceful, inch by inch trade union and parliamentary struggle. By that method they built up great trade unions and political parties with millions of members and tens of millions of votes. These organizations looked very imposing in times of peace. They were very important. But what happened to them, to these organizations, that hadn't learned how to do anything but pay dues one day and vote the next day? The moment they got one violent military blow they were simply finished. They were designed for peace, not for war.

How can anyone expect reformist parliamentarians and vulgar trade unionists after what happened in Belgium, Norway and France? Millions of people organized, the whole proletariat virtually organized; paying their dues; contracts signed with the bosses; all equipped with full staffs of well-paid officials and business agents in the unions; many of the officers of long stand-

(Continued on Page 3)

The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

Jim Crow in the Galley

In this week's issue of the Pittsburgh Courier there is a letter from 15 colored men now serving on the U. S. S. Philadelphia, stationed at Pearl Harbor, in which they bitterly condemn the Jim Crow system in the Navy, and sound a warning to all Negro youth considering entering this branch of the service.

Consider how they must have been driven and aroused, before they would write and sign a letter of this kind—when they are still in the Navy, and still under control of the southern officer caste who run the ship!

They write: "On enlisting, we are given the same mental and physical examination as the white sailors and given to believe that we have the privilege of choosing any branch of the service the Navy offers. This is not true.

"With three months of training in making beds, shining shoes and serving officers completed, we are sent to various ships and stations of the Navy.

"The white sailor, after completing his training period, is not only eligible for the branch of service he has chosen, but he is automatically advanced in rating and his pay is increased to \$36 a month without even having to take an examination.

"In our case, we have to be in the service a full year at \$21 a month before we are eligible for advancement rating. It is also necessary for us to take a competitive examination. Even if we pass, it doesn't mean necessarily that we will be rated and have our pay increased to \$36 a month.

"On this ship, out of a crew of 750, there are 18 colored boys, ranging in ages from 18 to 25. They are fresh out of high school and some have a year or two of college education.

"Their work is limited to waiting on table and making beds for the officers.

"In the last nine months there have been nine mess attendants given solitary confinement on bread and water.

"Five of the nine were given brig time because of fighting and arguments with other enlisted men. From this you will probably think we are a pretty bad bunch. We are not.

"With the treating on and kicking around we receive here (without being able to do anything about it), every last one of us becomes bitter enough to fight a member of our own family.

"We, the mess attendants of the Philadelphia, are not merely stating these facts because of our own plight. In doing so, we sincerely hope to discourage any other colored boys from joining the Navy and make the same mistake we did.

"All they would become is sea-going bell hops, chambermaids and dishwashers.

"We take it upon ourselves to write this letter, regardless of any action the Naval authorities may take or whatever the consequences may be.

"We only know that it could not possibly surpass the mental cruelty inflicted upon us on this ship." And the letter ends with their signatures.

The same bitter story is told in an anonymous article in the July issue of The Crisis, monthly magazine of the N.A.A.C.P., written by a colored man on a warship whose home station is Long Beach, California.

U. S. Government's Color Line

It points out that contrary to popular belief, "Negroes cannot become petty officers or chief petty officers. The highest rank that can be obtained is officers' cook or steward, and even though a steward, one is still looked upon as a mess attendant."

"After all, he is a mess attendant. Just a mess attendant. Or shall we say 'officer's boy'. His duties consist of serving officers' meals, cleaning officers' rooms, shining their shoes, checking their laundry, running errands for them, caring for their uniforms, etc."

"The white officer is usually the type to persecute. He can and does make your career difficult for you, because he knows that you cannot defend yourself.

"Our Negro sailors should be warned never to show a spark of intelligence if they want to spend four years in the navy. Everyone does his best to keep a smart Negro 'in his place'. If one doesn't mind being insulted by his superiors, if he is the kind that wants to be the rag under the white man's feet, if he is willing to stand by while others make ratings, then he is the type the navy wants. He is the type that will make a success as a messman.

"Most Negroes find that four years in the navy is much too much for them. Proof of this fact is evident in the fact that only 1% re-enlist for another four years. This shows conclusively the attitude of the modern Negro toward white supremacy and bigotry."

"I would like to offer one suggestion, as this situation deeply concerns every Negro in America. Let's not sit and talk, and wait for sympathy. The Navy department, and the government, can and will give you your equal rights when, and only when, you have fought and successfully demanded them."

Fight against Jim Crow in the armed forces by demanding workers' control of military training and service!

ARCHITECTURAL NOTE

Says a Minneapolis Star-Journal editorial: "L'Enfant, architect who laid out the city of Washington, platted it with circles and diagonal streets not because he foresaw that this would be a convenience more than a century later, when the automobile had been invented, but because that design enabled a minimum of artillery to command the city in case of popular uprisings."

S. W. P. Candidate For U. S. Senate, Grace Carlson, Goes On Minnesota Ballot

MILITARY POLICY OF THE PROLETARIAT

(Continued from page 2)

ing, substantial people in the community both physically and socially; everything going fine until the situation changed from peace, which is outlived and outmoded, to war which is the logic of the present day. All these organizations for peace were crushed like egg shells. Nothing of organization remains but the small body of revolutionary people who realized that war was on the agenda and prepared themselves to function accordingly. There is nothing left of the Joughaux unions in France. Of all his contracts, his business agents, his treasury and his pseudo-importance—nothing is left. One decree of a decrepit General Petain, "We don't want these unions any more," and the game was up.

And that great socialist party of Leon Blum, the party that mobilized millions of votes and looked so big in times of peace. The war struck one paralyzing blow, and the French Socialist Party went down and out like a sledged ox in a slaughter house. Leon Blum winds up under arrest at Vichy practically like a vagrant picked up on the street and thrown into jail. They are finished people these reformists, men of the past. Now times call for new men and a new type of party, a party built for war.

They used to make fun of the Fourth International—this little group talking about war and revolution, which looked so insignificant beside their numerically imposing organizations. They boasted of their own importance when their movements were already marked for ignominious death. The Fourth Internationalists, on the other hand, had an idea which contemplated the coming events and they prepared to survive them. I have the great pleasure to report to you that we have received word from our comrades in France—we were all greatly disturbed about the fate of our comrades—we received word that they survived the war up to now, that our comrades had slipped through the nets and were not only safe but were functioning in little groups and in contact with each other. Even those in jail during the war, made their way out at the time when everyone was running, including the jailors. They took advantage of the general exodus and mixed themselves with it and are still there. I am sure the same thing is true in other countries. Those who prepare in their own minds for the war are best qualified to survive and grow stronger. The Philistines used to sneer: "The Trotskyites—there are only a few hundred of them." True, but they still exist, more confident than ever. Leon Blum could not today rally together a few hundred social democrats in the whole of the occupied and unoccupied territories of France. They were not organized for war. That is why they succumbed to the first blow. Only those parties adapted for war, ready to carry things through to the very end, to a military solution of the problem, only they will be able to survive and conquer.

THE FUTURE OF THE TRADE UNIONS

Now I come to another phase of this problem—the transformation of this society from a peace to a permanent war basis as it affects the trade union movement. One thing is absolutely clear: The days of the old routine reformist trade unions are numbered. They will not be able to survive the war as independent organizations. The trade union movement will be able to survive only insofar as it takes the road of resolute struggle against the capitalist system. The traditional non-fighting trade union in the United States will suffer the same fate as those in France, Belgium and Norway, unless the revolutionary elements are able to vitalize them from within and inspire them with a spirit of revolutionary struggle.

And similarly the work of our own comrades in these unions has to undergo a change. We ourselves have been affected by the whole general perspective of long years of slow progress. Ninety per cent of our trade union activity in the past had to do with little agreements and combinations with progressive and non-progressive elements in order to gain a few inches in the economic struggle. We have to continue the struggle for immediate demands in the trade unions. It is necessary to continue all the patient day to day work, to guard every gain, watch every contact. In this work we collaborate with everybody—whether progressive or reactionary—in the daily interests of the workers.

But at the same time we have to realize, and make the workers realize increasingly, that there is not going to be the possibility in America for a long period of growth and stability of conservative trade unions. Such visions of the trade union bureaucrats represent a mirage. They are thinking in terms of the world of yesterday. America is going into the war with express train speed. The unions will be confronted with this alternative—they will either turn sharply, develop a revolutionary policy, begin a struggle for power hand in hand with the revolutionary wing of the army, or they will cease to exist. At best they will be relegated to mere appendages of the government, having no independent power. It is in this tone that we must speak louder in the unions and in the factories.

WE MUST TIGHTEN OUR OWN RANKS

We have to look over our own party. All those comrades of the party who are in the conservative trade unions, who have in one way or another begun to succumb to that stifling atmosphere, who have begun to develop tendencies to avoid struggle and let well enough alone—all those party comrades who are sinking in to that quagmire must be pulled up short. They must be reminded that the one most important thing in this epoch is to build a revolutionary party. Only a revolutionary party can inspire the unions to meet the test of the new times. We have to insist more than ever upon the party responsibility of every comrade.

Your strength in the unions is the strength of your party. Don't forget it. All these collaborators of the day; all these trade union militants who look so good in normal, peaceful times, who are good enough for a local strike but have no general concepts—how quickly these people can be transformed under the pressure of the social crisis. Only those will be able to stand up in the coming period who are fortified by great general ideas—not otherwise. You will have some bad disappointments if you believe for one moment that a man who has not yet broken his allegiance to capitalism in general will be able to stand up under the pressure of war. Not at all. Some of our comrades have already had some very painful experiences along this line. Those people can stand up under pressure who have anticipated pressure and can see beyond it to the goal of the new society.

Above all, we have to develop our party as a party of a new type. All the old party organizations were built for peace. They can't survive in this new epoch of universal militarism. The only party that can survive is the one that adapts itself to universal militarism and aims at the struggle for power. It can't be a sprawling, slow-moving, undisciplined organization. It must be highly centralized, with iron discipline in its ranks. It must be able to function, if necessary, under all kinds of persecution. It needs a strong leadership. We have to select out of the ranks tested and trusted people for leading positions and give them full authority. Only so will we be able to move fast and strike hard as a united, disciplined organization.

During the past year we made gains of historic significance.

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 6.—Petitions bearing over 2,600 signatures—600 more than legally required—were handed to the Secretary of State of Minnesota yesterday by the campaign committee for Grace Carlson, running for United States Senator on the Trotskyist Anti-war Party ticket. Election restrictions ruled out Comrade Carlson's use of the party's official name, the Socialist Workers Party.

The program of trade union control of a universal military training program, central plank in the Trotskyist platform, has gained the interest and sympathy of thousands of Minnesota workers and farmers. Scores of members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party participated in the signature drive and received a uniformly friendly response. Signed petitions came in not only from the workers' neighborhoods in the Twin Cities, but also from outstate farm communities.

Speaks to Negroes

Dr. Carlson delivered her first campaign speech after filing, on Sunday afternoon at a forum sponsored by the Minneapolis Negro Youth Council, to which representatives of all political parties were invited. Representatives of the Republican, Democratic, Farmer-Labor, Socialist and Communist parties also participated.

Stressing that the emancipation of the Negroes was part of the struggle of all workers to free themselves from capitalist exploitation, Comrade Carlson urged the Negro workers in the audience to prepare to participate in the revolution which will do away with the system that oppresses them. In contrast to the purely pacifist program of the representative, William Herron (who called for support to the Marcantonio bill to repeal the Burke-Wadsworth bill), Dr. Carlson gave a militant working-class program for trade union control of military training, and for union wages and conditions in the army and navy and on all national defense work.

While Comrade Trotsky was still alive to help us we had the possibility of fighting out in our ranks a fundamental struggle which prepared us to build the party of a new type. We had people who set up a great howl about "bureaucratism." They wanted a party where one could do as he pleased; have the honor and badge of the Fourth International without any personal responsibility. And if the party at any time demanded anything of them, they raised a hue and cry about the injustices they were suffering. When these milk-sops cried about "bureaucratism" they really meant to protest against centralism and discipline. I thought many times, and I said many times to comrades, that the grievance the real proletarian revolutionists in the party held against us was that the accusations of the petty-bourgeois minority were not even half true.

The workers in the party want discipline. They want centralization. They want a party that doesn't permit anybody to make a fool of it. They want a party that demands of every leader that he put his whole life, his whole time, including his personal life, at the disposal of the party. Our movement is not playing for fun. It aims to take power in this country. For that we need a hard party, a firm party. It is a great advantage for us that we got rid of this petty-bourgeois opposition. We improved the composition of our party; we got rid of a lot of windbags. We got rid of a lot of deadwood and are now in a position to take some real steps forward.

It is time now to bring the struggle with the petty-bourgeois faction to a definitive conclusion. You know the minority refused to accept the decisions of the convention. In order to be perfectly fair and give them time to think it over we allowed them a period of nearly six months of suspension, not expulsion, to accept the decisions of the convention majority and restore their party standing. They haven't availed themselves of this exceptional concession. In the meantime they have developed politically far away from us as a typical left-Socialist, pacifist clique. Their ideological leader, Burnham, has renounced socialism. We haven't anything in common with them politically. They have more than used up the credit balance of probation we allowed them. We don't want any ambiguity and confusion in the public mind regarding them and us as two wings of the same movement. It is the unanimous recommendation of the National Committee that the suspension of the convention minority be changed to unconditional expulsion at this conference.

A WARNING AGAINST SUPER-CAUTION

Our second recommendation is that we begin a closer checking up of party responsibility, discipline and loyalty without permitting any panic in the ranks. We have two things to fear now, and we must steer a course between them. One is carelessness and irresponsibility, and the other is super-caution, a spy hunt and general jitteriness in the organization. The second is by far the greater danger. We are proposing a measure that will tend to eliminate both of them. I have talked about a party that says it will stop at nothing short of the struggle for power and will fight to the end to overthrow capitalism. Such a party cannot exist with a leadership that is scared for itself or afflicted with nervousness of any kind.

We are under great pressure and will be under still greater pressure. We know that we are dealing with a murderous machine in Stalin's GPU. We know that Comrade Trotsky was not the first, and probably will not be the last, victim of this murder machine. Our party must also expect persecutions from the Wall Street government. Realizing all this, some comrades have wondered if we couldn't do something to preserve our leaders from danger—perhaps put them on ice, I suppose. From the very first hour since the assassination of Trotsky we have conducted a resolute struggle against this psychology. Scared people are not going to be able to lead anybody. One who takes part in the revolutionary movement by that fact has to encounter certain risks. Millions of young American workers are going to be thrown into the war. Many of them will lose their lives. These are dangerous times. But they are dangerous for everybody, not only for us. Revolutionists must face the hazards of our time, and not fear them. A good one-half or three-fourths of

(Continued on Page 4)



Grace Carlson, S.W.P. Candidate in Minnesota Senatorial Race

"In a world in flames, with every continent an armed camp, he who puts forth a pacifist program as a solution to the problem of war and fascism BETRAYS THE WORKERS," she stated. "Only armed workers can lay the foundation for a society of the free and equal."

She scored heavily with the audience when reminding them that less than two years ago the Communist Party and its Minnesota spokesmen were the most ardent supporters of Roosevelt and of the

war they now term imperialist. The audience laughed appreciatively as she prophesied a new turn in the Communist Party line when and if Stalin again draws closer to the United States and Britain.

Will Speak Sunday

Sunday, October 13th, Dr. Carlson will speak at the Sunday Forum at 919 Marquette avenue, Minneapolis. The forum starts at 3:30 p. m. the admission is 10c. and all workers are welcome to attend.

"Socialist Appeal" Is Banned in British West Indies

Editor:

According to pronouncement made by the Government here, the Socialist Appeal Newspaper which you send me is banned. I am asking you to cease sending me any more as according to laws recently passed if they continue coming it will be a great offense against the Government.

Wishing your press all that is good and grandest of success,

KEMUEL GRAHAM
Kingston, Jamaica,
British West Indies

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912 and March 8, 1933 of Socialist Appeal, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1940, State of New York, County of Manhattan.

I, before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Ruth Jeffrey, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of the Socialist Appeal and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 8, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, pointed out on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher, Socialist Appeal Publishing Assn., 116 University Place.
Editor, Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, 116 University Place.
Managing Editor, None.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual owner, must be given.)
Socialist Appeal Publishing Assn., 116 University Place.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state, None.)

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing and affirming the full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders own or hold the stock, bonds, or other securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 7 day of Oct. 1940.

Irving J. Bard, Commissioner of Deeds
N. Y. Co. Clerk's No. 198, Reg. No. 6380
Kings Co. Clerk's No. 96, Reg. No. 140
Commissions Expire December 20, 1940.

Child Labor Ii Revived By Stalin

On October 3, the TASS released a dispatch stating that: "For the purpose of establishing State labor reserves for industry, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has found it necessary to train annually for subsequent transfer into industry State labor reserves numbering from 800,000 to 1,000,000 persons by training urban and rural youth to certain industrial professions at professional schools... All persons who have terminated (courses in) professional, railroad and industrial schools will be considered mobilized and must work four consecutive years at State enterprises." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 3).

The mobilized youth falls into two groups, ages 14-15, and ages 16-17, and "cannot be used by people's commissariats and enterprises without government permission."

While the original text of this decree is not yet available—if it ever will be—the thinly veiled terminology of the TASS dispatch reveals just what is involved in this latest decree, namely, the legalization of child labor. Children will work in industrial enterprises as a conscript army, "with government permission only."

Soviet industry has been suffering from an increasingly acute shortage of labor. With the growth of individualistic tendencies in the villages, and the worsening of the working conditions in recent years in the cities, the flow of peasants into urban centers has dwindled. The labor force has been further depleted by army mobilization and the heavy losses of lives in the Finnish campaign. Last year an attempt was made to draw women into industry. But this campaign suffered a miserable fiasco. To compensate for the labor shortage, harsher and harsher labor legislation has been introduced. The regime thought that it had solved the problem with the passage of the June 26 laws which abolished the 35-hour week, decreed in its stead the 48-hour week, made it a criminal offense to quit one's job or to absent oneself without leave—crimes punishable by forced labor terms to be served at the same place of employment at 25% less pay, etc.

In July, Pravda indulged in wish-fulfillment, by stating: "The loophole—tardiness of workers, missing of workdays and labor turnover—which was often used by many as an excuse for the failure to fulfill the plan-norms, has now been plugged up." (Pravda, July 26.) The masses, however, are resisting the June laws. Hence the latest decree.

In the struggle against the masses the bureaucracy needs sharp weapons, especially, a "labor reserve." It now proposes to construct this reserve out of child labor. That is the meaning of Stalin's latest, anti-labor decree.

FRENCH SOCIALISTS SUPPORT THE PETAIN GOVERNMENT

There seems to be no limit to the political degeneracy of the "socialists" of the Second International. We may have thought that they hit bottom when their Reichstag group gave a vote of confidence to Hitler's foreign policy in March, 1933, in the hope of saving their skins. (Hitler kicked them out the next day.) Like the Bourbons these "socialists" learn nothing.

Of the 150 Socialist deputies and senators present when the National Assembly voted abolition of the parliamentary regime and granted full power to Petain, 125 voted for the new "constitution". Some 85 of these Socialist parliamentarians, led by Spinasse, are actively supporting the Petain government and are favoring the project for the creation of a single united French party.

The ideology of the Socialist majority supporting Petain was formulated as follows, at the time of the armistice:

"We are ready to accept the most radical changes if they would only alleviate the condition of shattered France. The Petain government, the abolition of the old democratic system, the new constitutional regime, will make easier negotiations with Germany and must, therefore, be supported by the Socialists." To fight Germany, "we" must support the bourgeoisie; to make peace and subordinate ourselves to Germany, "we" must support the bourgeoisie. In a word, always support the bourgeoisie. That was and remains the ideology of these lickspittles.

One of these "socialist" scoundrels, writing in the organ of his American similars, the New Leader (Oct. 5) says in further explanation of this ideology:

"To this we may add, by way of elaboration of this view, that in proportion as the new regime begins to develop into a system which may last a long time, it will not be an elective but a selective regime. The cause for which we have always struggled requires that Socialist elements be represented in the new 'national elite.'"

To comment on this would be gilding the lily.

NO MINIMUM WAGE FOR PUERTO RICO

The workers of Puerto Rico will be excluded from the benefits of the Wage-Hour Act because the House passed on an exemption for the industries of Puerto Rico as a rider to the conference report on the relief bill. The rider was introduced to the relief bill by Senator William King of Utah. Senate and House conferees agreed to leave the provision in the relief bill and the House vote assured the needle and sugar industries of Puerto Rico of their exemption. The workers in these industries in Puerto Rico have been paid starvation wages and this action again permits the bosses to lower wages and further exploit the workers.

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Fight with the Socialist Workers Party for:

1. A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER.
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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.

It's Up to the CIO

A week's intensive activity in Washington has resulted in complete clarification of the government's policy toward corporations which violate the Wagner Act and decisions under that act by the National Labor Relations Board. A series of statements by Secretary Knox of the Navy Department, Assistant Secretary Patterson of the War Department, the Controller General (who O.K.'s all payments by government agencies), Attorney General Jackson, and a spokesman for the National Defense Advisory Commission, have all taken the identical position. That position is that the government will continue to give contracts to corporations found guilty of violating the labor laws!

Not even Sidney Hillman can now pretend, even for a moment, that the governmental policy is not crystal-clear. As a matter of fact, when the government spokesmen whom we have listed had all put in their unambiguous statements, Hillman added one of his own. He was asked, at a hearing Tuesday of the Smith committee investigating the N.L.R.B., whether he agreed with the statements made by the War and Navy Departments. And he answered:

"I've got to agree. The army and navy have the power. Questions of all kinds come up every day, requiring sensible and constructive solutions. In every case the first consideration is whether it will help or harm national defense."

Less than a week previously, Hillman had sent a telegram to the Pittsburgh meeting of 125 steel workers' representatives who were considering the problem of Bethlehem Steel, which has been convicted of violating the labor laws but which has, nevertheless, received well over a billion dollars' war orders. Hillman had transmitted an "informal" opinion from Attorney General Jackson which Hillman interpreted to mean that all government agencies must refuse war orders to corporations violating the labor laws.

Yet five days later Hillman was telling the Smith committee that the army and navy could do as they pleased. "Of all the backtracking Hillman's was the most startling, causing gasps among committee members and spectators," the New York Post reported.

Hillman is a vice-president of the CIO. But he doesn't take orders from the CIO. He takes his orders from the army and navy: "I've got to agree," he whined. It was a very clever, foxy maneuver that he had cooked up—sending that message to the Pittsburgh conference of the SWOC to stymie any move toward a strike. But the men who wield the power in the government and the big corporations for whom they wield it, could not let Hillman's move leave behind any ambiguity about the government's position.

It's up to the CIO now—squarely up to the CIO leadership. The government isn't going to push the law-breakers into line. On the contrary, the government is going to join hands with those law-breakers in pushing the unions out of the way.

Three years and more of lobbying in Washington have proved utterly fruitless. It is time now for the CIO leadership to do the job where it has to be done—in the plants, organizing and preparing the workers for struggle. The fight henceforth must be a direct collision between the unions and the law-breaking corporations. Direct action of the unions to push the corporations into line—that is the only possible road for the trade union movement.

Congratulations to 544

The Minneapolis General Drivers Union merits the warmest congratulations for the unyielding 32-months' battle it has waged against a frame-up. (The detailed story appears on page 1 of this is-

sue.) During the past six years of epic labor struggles, Local 544 has been unsurpassed in the field of direct action. In this latest battle, fought in the treacherous quagmires of boss courts and laws, Local 544 acquitted itself with admirable courage, devotion to union principles, and class-conscious intelligence. The begrudging acquittal wrung from a hostile judge is but an added measure of the splendid achievements of Local 544, a hard-won testimonial to its unsullied record.

For the labor movement to view the outcome of this case as an unqualified victory, however, is to invite disaster. The one real victory would be the complete rejection by the boss courts of any jurisdiction in this case. This alone might have guaranteed the elementary right of the labor movement to conduct its own affairs free from the threat of legal intervention by employer-dominated courts.

The fact of the suit constitutes in itself a sinister precedent. Through this precedent, we may be sure the bosses will soon again stretch their slimy fingers toward militant labor in Minnesota and elsewhere. Now any fink or stool-pigeon who succeeds in weaseling his way into a local union may concoct a "case" against its members and officers and drag them before an enemy court.

The removal by court order of Carl Skoglund, Local 544 president, is sheer judicial malevolence, a token of Judge Carroll's eagerness to salvage in retreat any brick from the wrecked edifice of the finks' case to hurl at organized labor.

The anti-alien clause in the International Teamsters constitution, which Judge Carroll used to oust Skoglund, is an archaic remnant of the early beginnings of the International. It is as much a living law as the Minneapolis ordinance, still on the statute books, forbidding the driving of an auto faster than 15 miles per hour on Minneapolis streets unless preceded by a runner waving a red flag. We might regard in better light the Judge's concern for upholding the strict letter of union law, had he instructed the fink plaintiffs to first seek redress for their alleged grievances through the channels of the International, as laid down in the International Constitution. While resurrecting a single discarded clause, the judge summarily tossed into the waste basket the entire constitution of the Teamsters International. That fact alone should put the workers on guard against the precedents established by this decision.

The Sky's the Limit

Congress has approved an "Excess Profits" Law which gives Wall Street iron-clad guarantees that many millionaires will become billionaires and the billionnaires will just stop counting. The sky's the limit. The scoundrelly business is wrapped around by 350 or more pages of technical monkeyshines, but the raw meat of it drips right through. This law makes all previous blood-profits seem like mere marble-snatching.

The law accomodatingly provides two alternative methods of freeing profits from government taxation. Corporations with high profit levels between 1936-1939 can take those profit levels as their "normal" income. Industries like steel, with low rates of profit on huge capital "investment", are provided with a minimum percentage of profit so high that they will never have to disgorge more than a meager fraction of their billions of profit.

General Motors, for example, which has averaged hundreds of millions yearly in profits during the last three years, will not have to pay the excess profit tax on 95 per cent of this amount. For the rest, it will only pay a maximum of 25 to 50 per cent tax on profits ABOVE this already tremendous figure of "average" profits. U. S. Steel will not pay the tax except on profits exceeding 8 per cent of its total capital "investment", which means a guarantee of tax-free profits running into a half billion dollars yearly. Older workers, who recall how U. S. Steel and similar monopolies were put together, need not be reminded that the capital "investment" of such combines is largely a matter of slick accounting.

And in return for submitting to these "excess profits" Wall Street is rewarded with two pieces of candy: (1) an "amortization" clause which permits profiteers to divert all taxable profits within a five year period to pay for the entire cost of new plants and equipment and (2) there is no longer any limit to the amount of profit which the fat boys can make on war orders.

As *Barron's*, the Wall Street weekly, so aptly put it, "Probably the worst business can be justly accused of is the normal practice of trying to drive the best bargain possible."

Well, they drove it.

Butler's Edict

The president of Columbia University, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, has told the students and faculty of the largest educational institution in America what is expected of them in the coming war period. Academic freedom, he declared, is not for students, and extends, so far as the faculty is concerned, only to the limits defined by millionaire university trustees.

According to the Butler definition, the ideal student is one who uses his head for the sole purpose of supporting a steel helmet. The job of the ideal teacher is to convince the student that no better use has yet been devised for the abode of the brain.

Butler's pronouncement was greeted with well-nigh universal approval by the capitalist press. It is this eager approval, rather than the words of the individual Dr. Butler, which reveals how far along the road to the complete suppression of democratic rights the ruling class is prepared to travel.

The political and technical requirements for imperialist war wipes out all distinctions of front or rear. Totalitarianism seeks to rule equally the battle-field, production line, or college campus.

WEST COAST FIREMEN GO OUT ON STRIKE

Steam Schooners Tied Up By Walkout

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 7.—Crews of Pacific Coast steam schooners walked off the ships this week as members of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Wipers and Waterenders, went on strike following refusal of the employers to consider any of the union's demands in negotiating a new agreement.

Effective at 5 p. m. Friday, the strike took men off 12 steam schooners, and crews of 20 more were to hit the bricks as rapidly as the ships reached port.

Secretary V. J. Malone of the MPOW said 246 members of the union on steam schooners controlled by the Shipowners Association of the Pacific Coast would be affected.

With members of other unions, a total of about 2,000 men are affected.

The bosses' last offer was renewal of the present agreement or, as an alternative, submission of the "entire matter" to arbitration. This would involve arbitration of gains already made by the union and was refused.

The Union's Demands

Basic demands of the MPOW are:

1. Adjustment of wage scales to restore the differential that has existed for five years between steam schooners and offshore vessels. (Work on steam schooners has always been better paid.)
2. Saturday afternoon off. This is enjoyed by the firemen under all other agreements.
3. Handling of working rules and penalties while vessels are in port (this matter was raised by the shipowners) under the same regulations prevailing on the offshore vessels.

"During the last four years," Secretary Malone wrote in a letter to R. W. Myers, president of the Shipowners Association, "there has been a differential in the wages between offshore and steam schooner firemen amounting to \$7.50 per month.

"In the last year, however, with the raise of \$5.00, granted by the steam schooner operators, when the offshore people granted a raise of \$10.00, this not only reduced the differential of the firemen to \$2.50 per month but widened the gap of the oilers on offshore vessels and steam schooners to \$7.50 per month in favor of the offshore oilers."

"National Defense" Bunk

That the employers are going to utilize a phoney "national defense" issue became apparent when San Francisco newspapers reported some of the lumber on the steam schooners had been headed for "vital defense industries." Under this pressure, Malone, in an interview, offered to operate those steam schooners carrying lumber to "national defense" projects.

Meanwhile the Sailors' Union of the Pacific has voted to open the steam schooner agreement for amendment, and with the SUP the employers also have refused any concessions.

Principal demands of the sailors are for Saturday afternoon off, hourly rate on working cargo, eight men in the hold while working cargo, raise in wages, and clarification of various clauses in the agreement which have been the source of confusion and individual beefs.

Arbitration Danger

Malone declared to the press that the MPOW was not in favor of arbitration because "it had not worked out in the past." What will happen when the steam is turned on from Sidney Hillman's office remains to be seen. The firemen, however, will soon have an opportunity to clarify their position on this question. What they do will not only affect conditions on steam schooners, but will have serious consequences for the future of all seamen.

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Local 544 Defeats Anti-Union Suit

(Continued from Page 1)

The spearhead since 1934 in establishing Minneapolis as the best organized town in the country, began on February 16, 1938. It was filed in the name of five independent truck owners, who at one time held membership in Local 544's Independent Truck Owners Section. These finks, for a considerable period prior to filing the suit, had been associated with an employer-sponsored "Independent Union, Local No. 1," financed by the Associated Industries and closely tied to the Silver Shirts, a fascist organization.

The funds poured into the case over a two-year period by the plaintiffs revealed they had powerful financial backing.

The first move of the plaintiffs was to secure the union records. Their attorney, Arthur Anderson, complained that, "We cannot prepare our case without examining the union's records"—an admission from the start that the suit was instituted without any real evidence and solely as a means of smearing the union and its militant officers and of exposing its internal business and membership lists to the Associated Industries.

This move was blocked by the union for over a year with the challenge, "We do not propose to allow the filthy and bloody thumbprints of the Associated Industries to soil our clean records, nor permit their foul noses to pry into the internal affairs of organized labor."

The final result of this phase of the fight was the Minnesota State Supreme Court ruling, in October, 1938, against the union's plea, but instructing the district court to modify considerably its order to turn over the union records to the finks. The finks'

attorneys were enabled to examine only the "most pertinent" records, and under certain limitations.

After a long fishing expedition by the finks into the union records, the suit came to trial on January 2, 1940, before Judge Carroll of the district court. From the start it was clear from the testimony of the complainants that they came into court with dirty hands. All admitted their hostility to the union and confessed to organizing an "Independent" outfit with the express purpose of fighting Local 544 and chiseling down the wage scales. In addition, it was revealed that the financing of the fink "union" came from the open-shop Associated Industries.

The fink attorney had pored over the mountain of union receipts and records for weeks seeking any tiny foothold on which to build a case. For months in the court he wrangled over and disputed every little item, while the case dragged on interminably. The Associated Industries had millions to smash Minneapolis labor; but the Local 544 treasury was limited.

Minneapolis labor, which has given its unqualified support from the start of the suit to Local 544 and its officers is jubilant over the outcome of the suit. It is recognized that an adverse ruling might have established legal precedents in every sphere of progressive labor union policy nationally, which would have immediately crippled the entire Minnesota labor movement and wrecked all the magnificent gains of six years of bitter struggle, gains which have won Minneapolis the title from the U. S. Department of Labor of the "best organized city in America."

MILITARY POLICY OF THE PROLETARIAT

(Continued from page 3)

the objective of persecutions and assassinations is to terrorize others. Nobody can terrorize us. We will try to be careful, but not afraid.

I had an interesting talk with Comrade Dobbs about these two dangers of nervousness and carelessness. He agreed with me that jitteriness is worse than carelessness. "A careless man," he said, "is good as long as he lasts, but a jittery man is no good at any time." That is profoundly true. We must use the necessary caution and save ourselves as much as possible. But if you create an impression in front of the workers that you fear the hazards of the struggle you can never lead them. You can do without a lot of things in a revolutionary party but you can't get along without courage.

Now then, on the other hand, we have to check up on carelessness. We want to know who is who in the party. We don't want to have any universal spy hunts because that is worse than the disease it tries to cure. Comrade Trotsky said many times that mutual suspicion among comrades can greatly demoralize a movement. On the other hand, there is a certain carelessness in the movement as a hangover from the past. We haven't probed deeply enough into the past of people even in leading positions—where they came from, how they live, whom they are married to, etc. Whenever in the past such questions—elementary for a revolutionary organization—were raised, the petty bourgeois opposition would cry, "My God, you are invading the private lives of comrades!" Yes, that is precisely what we were doing, or, more correctly, threatening to do—nothing ever came of it in the past. If we had checked up on such matters little more carefully we might have prevented some bad things in the days gone by.

We are proposing that we set up a control commission in the party. We are fully ready for that now. This will be a body of responsible and authoritative comrades who will take things in hand and carry every investigation to a conclusion one way or the other. This will do away with indiscriminate suspicions on the one side and undue laxity on the other. The net result can only be to reassure the party and strengthen its vigilance. We think the whole party now, with the petty-bourgeois riff-raff out of our way, is ready for the appointment of such a body.

We have to strengthen our professional staff. We don't pretend to be a party of glorified rank and filers. The only reason we haven't got ten, twenty, thirty, or forty more people devoting their whole time, their whole energy, to the party is that we lack the resources for it. We need more money to engage more functionaries full time. This conference has to decide how big a forward step in this direction it feels able to take. We are not coming here with a proposal for specific quotas. We want each delegation to confer and decide what they can raise in, say, two months' time. Our general plan is that, as several branches have suggested, we raise a "Trotsky Memorial Fund" to build the party. We think it is a good plan. If it meets with the approval of the conference we can adopt a resolution to that effect.

We want to build the party henceforth in a more balanced way than in the past. In the past we gave an inordinate amount of our resources to the press. We had to do that. Propaganda had to go ahead of organization and prepare the way for it. In the next period we want to bend the stick a little for organization on the general principle of dollar for dollar—one for press and one for organization.

Since the last convention we have taken certain steps in this direction. You comrades in the auto field know we maintained qualified comrades in the field continuously. The same is true in other fields. The important step taken in St. Paul will have a national meaning for all of us. It shows the growing tendency of serious comrades to regard the party as the most important thing of all. I refer to the action of Comrade Carlson in resigning her civil service job and accepting a post as party organizer. This is a good example. We should raise as much money as possible to put to work for the party on a full-time basis a great number of qualified party workers. It is appalling how many capable people we have who devote only a small portion of their time to the party because the necessary job of making a living takes so much of their time and energy. That is all right for the old party, but not for us.

Nazi Pressure Outlaws Our Swiss Comrades

We have just learned that many of our comrades in Switzerland have been arrested, and the Swiss section of the Fourth International outlawed, by the Swiss government. The Swiss Trotskyists were active predominantly in the German-speaking section of Switzerland, their publications were in German, etc., and they constituted a base from which our exiled German comrades were able to carry on revolutionary work reaching into Germany. Undoubtedly this led to heavy Nazi pressure on the Swiss government to persecute our comrades and outlaw their organization. The following account of the arrests appeared in the bourgeois daily, the NEUE ZUERISCHER ZEITUNG, of August 26, 1940:

Shortly before the news of Trotsky's death arrived from Mexico this well-known name appeared in a resolution of the Swiss Bundesrat. It enacted a law on August 6, outlawing all Communist organizations, the Trotskyites, partisans of the Fourth International, are explicitly mentioned.

A group of 8 accused (Trotskyists) were, consequently, brought before a military tribunal for preliminary investigation concerning breaches of military and civil law. Moreover, punishment will possibly come to more people concerning the violation of military affairs in question. The facts about the intensive activities of the Trotskyites was the result of 15 house-raids conducted by the federal police in collaboration with the local police. On June 11 twenty people were arrested and the group most guilty is still in prison.

The beginnings of the foundation of the Swiss section of the Fourth International is traceable back to the year 1933, in which year the Left Opposition became independent of the Communist International and founded an international secretariat in Paris. The leading personality, (in Switzerland) was from its inception Walter Nelz, originally a German, who in 1916 became a citizen of Zurich. In 1931 Nelz entered the Left Opposition with a few of his comrades. His organization was first called "Marxistische Aktion der Schweiz" and published a newspaper called "Marxistische Aktion", which appeared irregularly until 1939. The real meeting place of the M.A.S. in 1937 was at Pfingsten, near Aarau. Branches of the M.A.S. existed in various places: Zurich, Genf, and Basel. They had sympathizers and literature was distributed at the following: Luzern, Solothurn, Biel, and Engadin. Besides their newspaper, they had a weekly discussion magazine.

After the outbreak of this war, the (Trotskyite) propaganda began to express itself in sharper and more concrete terms.

REACTIONARY REGIME IN ARMY

An article entitled "Frontbericht" (News of the Front) characterizes the Swiss army as "a great national concentration camp." The soldier honored with a barrage of glowing phrases, is in reality among the most oppressed people of the country. "He is a slave!" "The majority of the soldiers possess nothing and have nothing to defend. Our military command isn't much better than the Polish military command. The organization is bad. The equipment is bad. The orders thwart and contradict one another. The officers corps has become demoralized to a considerable extent."

Some remarks on discipline appear in the following sentences: "The most severe breach of discipline is mutiny. Therefore the main aim of keeping discipline is to hinder mutiny. The officers' corp is absolutely powerless against united troops held together by firm will. Troop solidarity has the power to strike the whole oppressive state apparatus to fragments." A further passage from the "Frontbericht": "Our position toward the bourgeois army is one of unconditional defeat. Our i.e. Swiss army is part of the imperialist war..."

"Our aim is to generate a feeling of troop solidarity on a proletarian class basis. Such troop solidarity reduces to ruins the whole bourgeois spectre. The aim is to tear the armed troops from the bourgeois state structure and to lead them over into the camp of revolution. This process, in general, will take place as a battle between the cadres of the soldiers and the officers corps, whereby we shall witness a few officers joining the ranks of the revolution and a few soldiers deserting to the ranks of the bourgeoisie."

Propaganda in the army, dangerous to the state, the formation of groups who seek to undermine military discipline and who insult military dignitaries should, after the result of the criminal proceedings be allowed to be punished under the military code.

The followers of the Trotskyite International come from a varied milieu. Workers, functionaries, emigrants, also a few women accused in the action and also young intellectuals. Trotsky has more attractive power on young people with higher education than the Stalinists, who have fared badly in their propaganda with the Swiss social democrats.

The criminal proceeding against the Trotskyites was ended the later part of July.

In San Francisco a woman got a divorce from her sausage manufacturer husband when he threatened to cut her up and make sausage of her. Ever since I read Sinclair's "Jungle", I'm ready to believe anything—when it comes to making sausage.

In Minneapolis over 75 percent of the volunteers for navy service have been rejected for "various reasons". The bosses are certainly in a predicament: if they feed the unemployed adequately this cuts into profits; if they don't the unemployed are too weak to hold a rifle.

You cannot hope to bribe or twist—
Thank God!—the British journalist.
But seeing what the man will do
Unbribed, there's no occasion to.