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Senate Loads Taxes On Workers; Corporations Are Handled Gently

The Imperialist War And The Road To World Socialism

Political Resolution Adopted by Convention of SWP

EDITOR'S NOTE

The resolution appearing on these pages was received by THE MILITANT and is published for the information of our readers. This resolution was unanimously adopted by the first war-time convention of the Socialist Workers Party, held in New York, Oct. 1-4, which also marked the tenth convention in the history of American Trotskyism. Every worker who wants to understand present world events should carefully read and study this document. We are informed by the SWP that it will soon be published in pamphlet form.

1. The basic position of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party on the imperialist war and the tasks of the proletarian world revolution have been set forth in a series of documents published during the past eight years. Beginning with the fundamental theses on **War and the Fourth International** (1934), they include the resolutions of the Foundation Congress of the Fourth International (1938); the S.W.P. convention resolution on the Soviet Union (1939); the S.W.P. Conference resolution on **Proletarian Military Policy** (1940); the Manifesto of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International on **The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution** (1940); the Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International on the fall of France (1940) and in defense of the Soviet Union (1941); the S.W.P. Manifesto on the Soviet-Nazi war (1941); the Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International on American intervention and our defense of China (1941); the statement by J. P. Cannon on the entry of the United States into the war (1942); and the statement of Grace Carlson as a candidate of the party in the St. Paul elections of this year.

2. All these documents contain a consistent line of principle which guides all our activities. We are equipped with a tested program of revolutionary struggle thought out and fought out over a period of many years. Our task today is to hold fast to these principles as the guiding line for all our activities and to apply the program based upon them to events and problems as they arise in the course of the class struggle.

OUR ATTITUDE TO THE WAR

3. This, in Lenin's words, is the epoch of imperialist wars, proletarian revolutions and colonial uprisings. The second world war is a continuation of the first on the part of all the imperialist powers on both sides. By 1914 world capitalism had already outlived its progressive stage. Its wars had become utterly reactionary, an expression of the impasse, stagnation and decay of monopoly capital. Since then, imperialism has assumed an even more reactionary, violent and oppressive character. This is true of both the fascist and "democratic" imperialisms. To support the wars of imperialist powers is to defend the fettering of the productive forces by the outlived frameworks of private property and national states. The claim that this is a war of democracy against fascism is a fraud. Like the first world war, the second is being fought for seizure of colonies, markets, sources of raw material and spheres of influence, except that this time the stakes are even greater, encompassing the entire world. This objective historical meaning of the war, and not the propaganda of the governments, determines our stand.

4. All these considerations apply in full force to the United States. Long before its advent we warned the workers of the inescapable participation of the United States in this war and stated that such a war could only be an imperialist war. The actual entry of the United States into the conflict has not altered our position, but confirmed it. We do not and cannot give any support to this reactionary war undertaken on behalf of America's monopolists to ensure their world domination of markets, foreign concessions, sources of war materials and spheres of influence. This is Wall Street's war, not ours.

5. Our struggle is the **Leninist** struggle against the war. We reject all forms of pacifism, including conscientious objection and draft dodging. The death agony of capitalism brings with it a period of uninterrupted wars and universal militarism when all great questions must be solved by military means. A "peace" concluded by imperialists could only be a breathing spell before a new war. Only a revolutionary mass struggle against the imperialism which breeds such wars can secure a real peace. Our task is to win the majority of the American workers and farmers to the program of socialist revolution. That is the only program of peace and progress.

6. That this is the epoch not only of imperialist wars but also of proletarian revolutions was confirmed in 1917 when the Soviets became the state power in Russia, abolished private property and nationalized the means of production, including the land. It then became a class duty for every worker to defend the Soviet Union. That remains our duty today. We remain today as we have been from its birth unconditional defenders and devoted partisans of the Soviet Union. The war of the Soviet Union is our war, the war of the workers everywhere. The Soviet Union remains a workers' state, although degenerated by the rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. To defend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and against Stalin, is to defend the nationalized property established by the October revolution. Only traitors to the working class can deny support to the workers' state in its war against imperialism, regardless of whether the immediate enemy be a fascist or bourgeois democratic government, and regardless of what temporary military alliances the Soviet Union may make with rival imperialist powers. In war, as in peace, there remains a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and its temporary military allies. We are Soviet patriots in war as in peace; we remain irreconcilable opponents of all the imperialists. All Trotskyists are united in this stand. The convention records the fact that Soviet defensism, as against the treacherous policy of "Soviet defeatism," recommended by the Burnham-Shachtman group at the last convention of the party, has prevailed throughout the Fourth International. Thereby the world movement of Trotskyism has demonstrated that it takes its revolutionary program seriously.

7. The war of China for national independence against the Japanese imperialists must likewise be ardently supported by every honest worker, above all by the workers of China whose fate is bound up with the struggle for the independence of the country. That China is compelled by practical considerations to enter into alliances with imperialist allies can present grave dangers for the future but does not alter the fundamental character of China's struggle today. The designs of Anglo-American imperialism to subordinate great China to their own predatory struggle are a long way from realization. In fact, the first results of the war in the Pacific have been to strengthen, not to weaken the independent position of China vis-a-vis her imperialist allies. A victory for China would be a tremendous blow against all imperialism, inspiring all colonial peoples to

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British C.P. and Strikebreaking

The British "Communist" Party is rapidly attaining its goal as assistant strike-breaker to His Majesty's Labor Leaders.

In the strike of the Tyneside shipbuilders, the C. P. has joined hands with the official labor fakers in an attempt to break the strike.

"Labor Minister Ernest Bevin stated in behalf of the government that there would be no concessions to the workers. His appeal for a settlement, like those made earlier this week by the local authorities and even by the Communist party seems to have fallen on deaf ears." (N. Y. *Times*, Oct. 12).

In the case of the Fife miners who struck in protest against the arrest of three union brothers for non-payment of fines (imposed for striking against underpayment of wages) the local union secretary, a prominent stalinist, made a motion to go back to work. "The miners thereupon walked out and left him standing." (*New Leader*, British, Sept. 5).

Negro People Support Indian Freedom Fight

The overwhelming majority of the Negro people in this country are supporters of India's struggle for freedom, the *Pittsburgh Courier's* Bureau of Public Sentiment concludes after making a nation wide survey and receiving replies from more than 10,000 Negroes.

The results of this survey, printed in the Oct. 10 issue of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, largest Negro weekly, show that 87.8% of the Negroes included in the poll answered Yes to the question, "Do you believe that India should contend for her rights and her liberty now?" Only 10.7% said No, and 1.5% had no opinion.

One of the most interesting aspects of the poll was the fact that Negroes in the South fully shared the point of view of Negroes everywhere on this issue, answering Yes in 87.4% of the cases.

This reaction by the Negro people is all the more significant because, as the *Courier* article points out, it was registered "despite the fact that nothing more than an ominous silence penetrated through the censorship from far off India."

What Roosevelt Didn't Say In His Columbus Day Speech

After almost two weeks of furore in the capitalist press over Roosevelt's censorship of the news of his Cooks Tour of the United States, the President took to the microphone to tell the people on Columbus Day what he had discovered in America.

Considering the silent acceptance by the press of the rigorous censorship of the news of the independence struggle in India, it was very comical to watch the fur of righteous indignation fly over the painful "conspiracy" of the President's tour.

But one paper really felt the heavy hand of the censors. A labor paper. When Roosevelt was in Seattle, the organ of the AFL Boeing aircraft workers published the news of Roosevelt's arrival and queried: We wonder what he's going to do about our demand for a wage increase? The FBI, the Secret Service and a whole army of cops swooped down on the union office seized that edition of the paper and in good Hitler style had them burned.

We don't know whether it was the publication of the news of the President's arrival or whether it was the embarrassing question they asked that was responsible for the suppression of the aircraft workers' paper. But whatever the reason, the question they asked has become even more pertinent after the President's "revelations" over the radio.

The President toured the country amidst great secrecy to discover, so he says, "Who are these millions upon whom the life of the country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts? What are their hopes?" He says he had "an opportunity to talk to the people who are actually doing the work." Let us see.

During the period that Roosevelt was on tour and for several weeks prior Congress has been busy grinding out some vicious legislation most of it at labor's expense, and most of it at Roosevelt's request. Did he talk to a solitary worker about his reaction to this raw deal he has been getting?

Did Roosevelt ask even one worker what he thought of the decree to freeze wages while prices keep rising?

Did Roosevelt ask the workers what they thought of the tax program where taxes are piled on the poor hot and heavy while the corporations and the wealthy get off with hardly a dent in their pocketbooks?

Did Roosevelt ask the workers what they thought of the run-around they get from his War Labor Board whenever they try to get a grievance settled?

Did Roosevelt ask the workers what they thought of the latest decree of his Economic Czar, Poll Tax Byrnes, which practically knocks the right of collective bargaining into a cocked hat and regiments the unions in totalitarian style while it gives the bosses the go-ahead signal to refuse to negotiate with the workers' organizations?

If Roosevelt asked the workers any of these questions he carefully omitted the answers from his speech.

The one practical proposal that emerges from Roosevelt's speech is his demand that 18 and 19 year old boys be drafted. But you will search in vain for this great democrat to likewise urge that these boys who will do the fighting and dying be given the right to vote on the draft and other questions.

Having seen the people the President now tells them with a flourish that his aim is the "restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope and peace throughout the world." Fine words! But just as Roosevelt is winding up his glittering New Deal promises by attempting to chain American workers to their jobs and destroy their unions, so this president of the government of America's 60 Families will try to wind up their war with enslavement of the colonial peoples and the crushing of the revolutions of European workers for freedom and Socialism.

Breitman Speaks Over WPAT

The Breitman Campaign Committee today urged all workers to tune in on Station WPAT (930 kilocycles) on Saturday, October 17 at 5:15 P.M.

George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator from New Jersey will speak at that time. He will deal with Roosevelt's latest executive order freezing wages and limiting the rights of collective bargaining, among other things.

Breitman will also speak over Station WPAT on October 24th, 5:15 P. M.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party will make the final broadcast on October 31st. All speeches will be heard over WPAT from 5:15 to 5:30 P.M. Workers are urged to organize radio listening parties to hear these important speeches.

Economic Czar's First Order Hits Unions' Rights

By J. ANDREWS

Economic Czar James F. Byrnes, appointed on October 3 by President Roosevelt to head the newly created Office of Economic Stabilization, last week issued his first order which authorized the War Labor Board to freeze wages according to the "Little Steel" formula.

The "Little Steel" formula allows wage increases 15% above the January 1941 level, basing this upon government estimate that the cost of living has risen 15% between January 1941 and May 1942. **Increases in living costs since May 1942 are not taken into consideration.** The wages of over 75% of the workers are frozen by this formula at 15% over the January 1941 level.

NO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Byrnes also ordered the WLB not to authorize wage increases negotiated by the collective bargaining process which exceed the limit sent by the WLB formula. This order, based on Roosevelt's October 3 decree prevents unions from bargaining with individual employers or wage increases over 15% of the January 1941 level which in effect, seriously curtails the legal rights of unions to bargain directly with the employers.

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"Victory Loan" Cuts Wages As Lower Incomes Are Taxed

Boss Class Senate Ignores CIO Protest: Again Points Need for Building Labor Party

By C. CHARLES

The real meaning of the tax bill that was approved 77-0 by the Senate on Oct. 10 was most clearly illustrated by one action of that body:

As the bill, which will cut sharply and deeply into the income of the workers and farmers, was reaching its last few days of debate, a motion was presented to increase the taxes on champagne. The motion was overwhelmingly rejected by the Senators!

Trivial in itself the incident is characteristic of the tax bill. The lower paid incomes have to pay higher taxes than ever. According to the new tax bill, taxes will begin at $500 a year for single persons instead of $750 as at present; at $1200 for married couples instead of $1500. Credits for dependents have been reduced from $400 to $300. Those now paying taxes will find their tax rates increased by at least 50 percent.

While the rich man's champagne was being so staunchly defended a "Victory Tax" of five percent on all wages and salaries was adopted which will be collected out of the workers' pay envelopes before they receive their wages. This tax, in addition to others, will be extracted from all workers earning $12 a week or more ($624 a year) regardless of the number of dependents. The tax begins on Jan. 1, 1943.

Between 25 and 40 percent of the "Victory Tax" will be refunded after the war. However, since prices will be much higher after the war, the value of even this small concession is not to be overestimated.

While the poor man's pockets were being picked, the Senate openly and cynically favored the capitalist class. Every suggestion that the corporations and the higher income brackets pay a greater part of the tax bill was swiftly voted down.

The attempt of Senator La Follette to increase the normal corporation takes (to which is added surtaxes) to 50 percent was defeated after a brief debate.

The Senate found even the House tax bill too harsh on the wealthy. The House, which passed its bill a few months ago, was animated by a thorough pro-boss outlook. The House set a normal corporation tax rate of 45 percent. This was found too high by the Senate Finance Committee which stated:

"Your committee believes this rate (the 45 percent approved by the House) upon normal profits of corporations is too high and would result in many hardships on corporations crippled by priorities and other effects of our war economy." The Senate touched by the millionaire's plight passed the lower corporation taxes.

Among other measures defending the wealthy, the Senate refused to vote taxation on state and local bonds. By buying these tax-free bonds the large corporations and investors can find a refuge even from the present generous (to them) tax laws.

MORE TAXES COMING

A few days before passage of the bill by the Senate, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau announced that he would present soon a plea to add $6,000,000,000 in taxes to the present tax figures. Judging by past performances the burden of these taxes also will inevitably fall on the workers and dirt farmers.

The Senate-approved tax bill means that the low-wage workers who earn $12 a week if single or $23.50 if married will be paying at least 24 cents out of every dollar in wages for taxes, both direct and indirect (such as sales taxes). As the wages of the workers climb a little the total taxes go up much more rapidly.

The tax bill is now going to be discussed in negotiations between the House and the Senate with the object of ironing out differences between the bill passed by the Senate and the previous version passed by the House.

CIO PROTEST IGNORED

The Congress of Industrial Organizations, thru its President, Phillip Murray, protested against this tax bill. The protests went unheeded.

The brusque treatment received by the CIO stands in glaring contrast to the grovelling attitude displayed before the Manufacturers Ass'n, the Chamber of Commerce and similar organizations. Labor is completely without representation. LaFollette does not fight for labor and the toiling masses as can be seen from the fact that he did not vote against the bill.

77 Senators (the total vote) rushed forward, willing and eager, to alleviate the "hardships on the corporations." But not one even spoke a word (let alone vote) in defense of the workers and dirt farmers who will do the real suffering under this new tax bill. *What else could be expected of the stooges of Big Business, Republicans and Democrats alike?*

LABOR PARTY NEEDED

Against the boss parties, the workers must organize a Labor Party to fight for them on the political field. The contemptuous treatment accorded the CIO proves again that the policy of supporting the boss parties is not only treasonable but also ruinous to the interests of the workers. The bureaucrats who stand in the way of independent political organization of the workers are helping the stooges of the corporations to bring back depression standards to the American workers.

OPA Okays New Food Price Rises

Food prices are still going up.

In spite of the decrees, the speeches and the promises, the Office of Price Administration announced on Oct. 10 that prices on numerous food necessities would increase a cent or two.

The foods covered by OPA's statement included breakfast cereals, canned fish, cooking and salad oils, sugar, canned vegetables, coffee, rice, shortening, dried fruits and lard.

The food rise represents a surrender by the OPA to the food manufacturers and to the wholesalers and retailers. They had refused to sell the articles because their profits were not large enough. As a result these commodities were not to be had by consumers.

It is expected that with profits increased by higher prices these articles will again be available in larger quantities.

Labor-Haters Sound Keynote At Toronto AFL Convention

By MILTON ALVIN

Vicious attacks upon labor featured the American Federation of Labor convention during the past week. A parade of labor-hating spokesmen for big business-government interests came before the assembled delegates in Toronto to pour their venom on the American and Canadian workers.

Most savage of this crowd was Roane Waring, an official of the Memphis Street Railway Co., recently elected Commander of the American Legion. Addressing the convention last Friday, Waring threw all caution to the winds as he branded any workers who went on strike during the war as traitors, criminals and saboteurs and stated that if it were in his power, he would have such workers shot.

Waring drew courage for his Hitlerite attack on the American workers from the cowardly, retreating policy of the official labor leaders and their failure to answer the threats made earlier in the week by various government-big business spokesmen. Admiral Moreell of the U. S. Navy, who threatened the American workers with fascism and the elimination of their unions if they did not accept docilely everything the bosses propose, set the tone for what has followed.

MRS. PERKINS' PET

Appearing before the convention as the official representative of the U. S. government, Secretary of Labor Perkins proposed that the strike-breaking War Labor Board be retained after the war. She said: **"Let us not scrap the War Labor Board process when peace comes. Let us change its name, retain the experience and the habit which has served a useful purpose."** Even if Mrs. Perkins changes its name to the Board for Christian Charity it will still be a government stick with which the corporations beat down the unions.

Following Mrs. Perkins, L. Metcalfe Walling, administrator of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division of the Department of Labor told the delegates that **anyone who strikes is helping Hitler.**

A few months after the official entry of the U. S. into the war, when the anti-labor offensive had reached a new peak in Washington, William Green painted a picture of the American working man dutifully bending over his machine while the knife of the labor-haters was aimed at his back. Now, however, that the knife is already plunged, Green and his cronies who head the A. F. of L. are silent about the danger to the union movement from government attacks. The officialdom of the A. F. of L. has pledged itself to "national unity" which, in practice, means giving up all of labor's rights in favor of the demands of the bosses.

LABOR HANDCUFFED

The AFL leadership by its policy is handcuffing its five million members, thereby preventing them from protecting themselves from the boss offensive. Green and Company have provided a convenient forum for the labor-baiting reactionaries to come and vent their reactionary spleen. Only the rank and file worker is silenced and gagged at the AFL convention.

The very presence of a Roane Waring, threatening striking workers with shooting is an indication of the low level that the grovelling AFL leadership has reached. Fully aware of the fact that the present leadership of the unions has no intention whatever of putting up a fight in the interests of the workers, the bosses and their spokesmen do not hesitate to carry out the attack all along the line.

But the AFL membership, five million strong, together with the other six million organized American workers in the CIO, R.R. Brotherhoods and independent unions are NOT blind to these attacks nor to the treachery of their "leaders." Once this understanding is translated into action nothing will stop these millions from regaining their lost rights. The Warings, Moreells, Perkinses and all the other spokesmen for America's Sixty Families will not prevail against the organized might of the American labor movement which will sweep them aside together with the accumulated rubbish of the out-lived, reactionary labor bureaucracy typified by William Green.

The Second Imperialist World War And The Road To International Socialism

Political Resolution Unanimously Adopted By Convention Of The Socialist Workers Party

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throw off the imperialist yoke. The bourgeois regime of Chiang Kai-shek, subservient to the "democracies" and oppressing and restraining the Chinese masses, prevents the Chinese masses from conducting a bold war for independence; but that does not alter the essential fact that China is an oppressed nation fighting against an imperialist oppressor. The struggle of the oppressed peoples for national unification and national independence is doubly progressive because, on the one side this prepares more favorable conditions for their own economic development while, on the other side, this deals blows against imperialism as a world system. Only the Chinese proletariat can mobilize the masses and insure their victory over imperialism. The Fourth Internationalists of China, understanding this, are fighting in the front ranks against Japanese imperialism while maintaining their political independence and their irreconcilable opposition to the regime of Chiang Kai-shek. Thus they assure their great future at the head of the Chinese proletariat. Any other course would doom them to political annihilation.

8. The only correct program in this war is the Marxist program which combines revolutionary opposition to all the imperialists with the defense of the Soviet Union and China. Those petty-bourgeois and sectarian phrasemongers who "simplify" matters by renouncing support of the Soviet Union and China are in reality deserting the proletarian world revolution, the furtherance of which is integrally connected to support of the Soviet Union and China, as well as to opposition to all the imperialists in this war.

9. Events have fully confirmed the correctness of the program of the Fourth International. This can be verified by drawing the balance-sheet of the most important developments of the war.

10. Four world-shaking events have taken place since the Manifesto on **The Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution** was issued by the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International in May 1940. A month later Germany crushed France and with it bourgeois democracy on the European continent. The Third Republic collapsed, giving way to the Bonapartist dictatorship of the senile Petain and servile Laval. A year after France fell, Hitler unleashed his assault upon the Soviet Union. In December, 1941 Japan, in answer to Roosevelt's ultimatum, smashed at Pearl Harbor and gave Roosevelt the looked-for occasion to enter the war. By January 1942 all the imperialist powers and all peoples had been drawn into the war arena. In the First World War the countries were divided between actual participants and spectators. Today the whole of humanity has become directly involved in the slaughter. There are no innocent or unaffected bystanders in the Second World War This applies with full force to the Asiatic colonial peoples who played a relatively passive and insignificant role in the last war. Now they stand in the very center of the conflict and will have a decisive part in determining its course and outcome. This upsurge of national self-confidence of the colonial peoples of Asia is the fourth great event of the present period.

The Events In Europe

11. The fall of France not only testified to Germany's economic and military superiority on the European continent; it exposed the rottenness of French bourgeois democracy as well as the inability of the French bourgeoisie to defend their own nation against the fascist invaders. After crushing the workers' bid for power in 1936, the capitalist politicians and their Stalinist, Socialist and Syndicalist lieutenants in the labor movement called upon the French workers to fight for the capitalist fatherland in order to defend democracy and national independence. Duped by the bourgeoisie and betrayed by their leaders, the French workers suffered the loss of their democratic rights and their class organizations together with national unity and independence. The main section of French capitalism has entered into collaboration with the fascist conquerors; another group has gone over into the Anglo-American camp.

12. The fate of France contains a great political lesson for the workers of the whole world. It has again demonstrated that the bourgeoisie puts its profits and privileges above either national independence or democracy. Whenever their social and economic interests and their political predominance are imperiled by the proletariat, the bourgeoisie will give up national independence, destroy democracy, substitute their naked class dictatorship and collaborate with the foreign oppressors. For the sake of preserving private property, privileges and profits, or even in the hope of preserving some of them, the bourgeoisie will turn against their own people. Official patriotism serves simply as a mask to conceal the class interests of the exploiters. The subsequent capitulations of the French bourgeoisie to Hitler have proved this to the hilt.

13. The aspiration of the masses of France and the other occupied countries for national liberation has profound revolutionary implications. But, like the sentiment of anti-fascism, it can be perverted to the uses of imperialism. Such a perversion of the movement is inevitable if it proceeds under the slogans and leadership of bourgeois nationalism. The "democratic" imperialist gangsters are interested only in recovering the property which has been taken away from them by the fascist gangsters.

This is what they mean by national liberation. The interests of the masses are profoundly different. The task of the workers of the occupied countries is to put themselves at the head of the insurgent movement of the people and direct it toward the struggle for the socialist reorganization of Europe. Their allies in this struggle are not the Anglo-American imperialists and their satellites among the native bourgeoisie, but the workers of Germany. Peace, security and prosperity can be assured for the people of Europe only by its economic unification based on the socialist collaboration of the free nations. Only with this perspective is national liberation worth talking about, still less fighting and dying for. The central unifying slogan of the revolutionary fight is "The Socialist United States of Europe" and to it all other slogans must be subordinated.

14. The German proletariat made a revolution in 1918, only to be robbed of its fruits by the bourgeois Social-Democratic coalition. For fifteen years thereafter the proletariat remained loyal to the parties avowing workers' socialism. A revolutionary situation in 1923 was lost by the incapacity of the German Communist Party leadership disoriented by the Comintern, already then in the first stages of its Stalinist degeneration. In the last regular election (1932) the workers' parties polled 13,000,000 votes. Hitler came to power only by the help of the rottenness, incapacity and treachery of Social Democracy and Stalinism. Betrayed by their own parties the German workers were crushed by Nazism. It may be assumed that Hitler's diplomatic and military victories created a certain amount of chauvinist intoxication among the masses for a time. Now, however, they gaze on the ruin of Europe — and the ruin of Germany. They mourn millions of dead and wounded, the masses grow hungry as in 1916-18, and the end is far away. Chauvinist intoxication must begin to give way before the grim realities. The fear of a new and worse Versailles is the most potent weapon in Hitler's hands. But that weapon will fall from his hands with the first serious revolutionary developments in the "democracies" or in the occupied countries. The mighty German proletariat will say the most decisive word in the socialist revolution of Europe.

15. The workers of Britain are being impelled toward proletarian revolution by the collapse of the British Empire. The reformism of the British Labor Party and the trade unions was based on the crumbs thrown to a privileged section of the workers by a sated imperialist power; that reformism is losing its foundations. Therewith the road is being cleared for the stormy development of a revolutionary party of the Fourth International. Only the Socialist United States of Europe offers the British proletariat a perspective for hope. All the objective pre-requisites for proletarian revolution are now present in the British Isles. The British Trotskyists stand before their great historic task of organizing and leading the British workers to their revolutionary destiny.

The Soviet Union At War

16. The events affecting the Soviet Union during the last year, as well as previously, are incomprehensible except to those who are guided by the Trotskyist analysis of the character of the Soviet Union. We alone have accurately explained the course of the USSR, we alone do not have to conceal what we said yesterday. While Stalin boasted of the "irrevocable victory" of socialism achieved in the Soviet Union, we warned that Germany had become the spearhead of imperialist assault against the workers' state, and that only successful proletarian revolutions in one or more advanced countries could safeguard the Soviet Union. When the League of Nations expelled the Soviet Union and the entire "democratic" world cheered on Mannerheim's Finnish Army against the Soviet Union, petty-bourgeois deserters turned their back on the USSR which they suddenly termed "imperialist", but we remained firm defensists of the workers' state, partisans of its victory over the Finnish outpost of world imperialism. We explained that by the seizures of the Finnish, Polish and Baltic territories the Kremlin bureaucracy was not pursuing imperialist aims but was in its own bureaucratic and reactionary way seeking to safeguard the defenses of the Soviet Union. We condemned the Stalinist bureaucracy for these land seizures precisely because the strategic advantages secured by the seizures were far outweighed by the discredit they brought upon the workers' state in the eyes of hundreds of millions of workers and peasants who considered them joint operations of the Nazi and Red Armies.

17. Stalin sought to avoid involvement in this war, first by an alliance with France and England against Germany, and then by an alliance with Germany and Japan against France and England. Neither maneuver succeeded in accomplishing its aim of keeping the Soviet Union out of the war. Stalin's diplomatic maneuvers, and all the deceitful propaganda and treacherous actions flowing from them, served only to disorient the workers in capitalist countries, to alienate them from the USSR, and to leave them unprepared for Hitler's inevitable assault upon the USSR. Stalin's foreign and domestic policies did not strengthen the USSR, but weakened it immeasurably.

18. While Stalin was swearing undying friendship with Hitler, whitewashing the Nazis' crimes, and camouflaging their imperialist aims, Trotsky issued his prophetic warning: "Hitler's war in the West is only a preparation for a gigantic move toward the East — against the Soviet Union." When that move came on June 22, 1941, the workers under Stalinist influence were caught completely off guard. On the eve of the attack, TASS, the official Stalinist news agency, issued a statement from Moscow, denouncing reports of the impending invasion as false rumors inspired by the Anglo-American war mongers. Thus, after shielding Hitler's crimes from the start of the war, Stalin helped to hide from the working class Hitler's preparations for assaulting the USSR. While the Trotskyists warned the workers in advance of the inevitable attack of German imperialism, the "all-seeing" Stalin led them blindfold to the edge of the abyss.

19. To Hitler's initial advantage of surprise was added the damage to the Red Army wrought by Stalin's purges which had decimated the general staff and officers' corps. The plans and fortifications of Tukhachevsky and his staff had to be put to use by new people. Surprise may have accounted for the first month's German victories. But the German victories of the next months, when both sides were relatively equal in material and manpower, and the Soviet troops superior in morale, can be accounted for primarily by the inferior staff work of the Red Army due to the purges. Hence the loss of the Ukraine, the Dnieper basin, the German advance to the gates of Moscow and Leningrad and the successes of the 1942 German drive into the Caucasus culminating in the assault upon Stalingrad. Thus Stalin and his bureaucratic gang are responsible for the catastrophic defeats of the Red Army, the terrible losses and privations which have brought the Soviet Union to the verge of destruction.

20. But the Kremlin bureaucracy is not the Soviet Union, any more than Murray, Green and Company are the CIO and the AFL. The vast moral and material resources created by the nationalized property established by the October revolution poured into the breach. The Red Army and war production were free from the fetters which private property imposes upon "national defense" even in wartime; no profiteers existed to limit war orders to monopoly corporations. The "scorched earth" policy could be applied by a land without private property with a determination and planfulness which are impossible to capitalist countries. The moving of industrial plants from endangered areas to places deep in the interior, the building of a second railroad across Siberia — such gigantic economic actions in wartime were made possible only by the system of nationalized property. Bureaucratic mismanagement could dissipate much of the superior resources provided by the nationalized property, but the decisive superiority of this property system was proved in war, as it had already proven itself in peace by the increase in productivity.

21. Above all, the system of nationalized property provided the basis for the unprecedented morale of the Soviet workers and peasants. The Soviet masses have something to fight for. They fight for their factories, their land, their collective economy. They fight to preserve the remaining conquests of the October revolution against the imperialists who would reestablish private property. After five months of terrible defeats, workers from the factories joined the heroic Red Army warriors at the gates of Leningrad and Moscow and helped recover Rostov in the dark days of last winter, in an outburst of proletarian revolutionary endeavor. There is nothing like this in the imperialist countries. Those who deny that the Soviet Union is a workers' state cannot explain the unprecedented morale of Soviet workers and peasants. But great sections of the workers throughout the world have grasped the fact that, unlike the people of the imperialist countries and colonies, the Soviet masses are fighting for their own conquests achieved by the October revolution. Soviet resistance has given the workers everywhere renewed strength and hope and has helped restore confidence in their own capacities as a class. These expressions of the strangled and desecrated Russian revolution, fighting for its life under treacherous leaders and the most adverse conditions, indicate what miracles the coming international revolution will achieve once it unfolds its real program and exhibits its full power.

22. The tremendous advantages of the Soviet Union are not, however, sufficient in themselves to assure victory against the powerful imperialist adversary. The fact remains that the economy at the disposal of Hitler is greater in production than that of the Soviet Union, for despite Stalin's boasts the nationalized production, built on the backward economy inherited from Czarist Russia, could not in its isolation outstrip the imperialist world in efficiency and technique. What the Soviet Union requires to assure victory is the **political arsenal** by which Lenin and Trotsky saved the young Soviet republic from world capitalist intervention in 1918-1921. It requires the revival of the Soviets, the organs which mobilized the masses in all spheres and made possible the victory in the Civil War. It requires the release from the jails and concentration camps of the tens of thousands of pro-Soviet political prisoners, restoring them to their rightful place in industry and the Red Army. Workers' democracy in the trade unions! And, as part of the restoration of workers' democracy in the USSR, the legalization of all pro-Soviet political parties and their right to present their programs to the masses. These internal steps would guarantee the maximum mobilization of the energies of the masses for the struggles ahead. Instead, however, the Stalinist bureaucracy is attempting to tighten the hold of its totalitarian apparatus, suppressing the initiative of the masses and striving to restrict their struggles within completely bureaucratic channels.

23. Stalin's foreign policy is an extension of his reactionary domestic policy. Just as he stifles the revolutionary spirit of the aroused masses at home, so he fears to evoke revolutionary action of the workers in capitalist countries. Yesterday he leaned upon Hitler; today Stalin relies upon the aid and goodwill of Roosevelt and Churchill. Instead of summoning the workers, above all, the German workers, to a joint struggle against their common enemy, world imperialism, Stalin entrusts the defense of the USSR abroad to the Anglo-American section of the imperialist bourgeoisie. But the bourgeoisie are deadly enemies of the working class, concerned with aiding Stalin only insofar as and so long as such aid coincides with their own national aims and class interests. They fear a decisive victory of the Red Army over Hitler far more than Hitler's triumph over the USSR.

24. In his Order of the Day issued on May first, 1942, Stalin represented the struggle of the Soviet people as a purely nationalist war for the maintenance of national independence and the recovery of the conquered territory. This is a falsification. The present war of the Soviet peoples is an integral part of the international struggle of the working class and the oppressed nations against world imperialism, of which Hitler is only the most vicious representative. In deference to his Anglo-American imperialist allies, Stalin depicts Hitler's aggressions, not as an action undertaken on behalf of German and world capitalism, but as a medieval reversion. "The German Fascists," he states, " are feudalists and the German army is an army of serfs." He lies on both counts. The German Fascists are capitalist imperialists, and their army is composed of conscripted workers and peasants.

25. Stalin's falsehoods help undermine the defense of the USSR. The Soviet Union cannot be effectively defended unless its real allies and its true enemies are known, recognized and distinguished from one another. The Nazis must be overthrown from within as well as combatted from without. How can Hitler's forces be disintegrated and won over? By arousing the German workers and peasants inside the army and on the home front against Nazism, by calling upon them to struggle in fraternity with their Soviet comrades against the fascist enslavers for their own Soviet Republic. Only the truth, and not Stalinist lies, only a revolutionary program and not a blind dependence upon Anglo-American imperialism can inspire the German workers to overthrow Hitler and, together with the Russian workers and soldiers, go forward to create the Socialist United States of Europe.

26. The Stalinist bureaucracy will not and cannot carry out this revolutionary program. The overthrow of this thoroughly degenerated gang has become more urgent than ever. While fighting in the vanguard against the fascists and doing everything possible to strengthen the military front, the Fourth Internationalists in the USSR maintain their irreconcilable hostility to the Stalinist bureaucracy, wage an unceasing struggle against it, and aim at its overthrow by means of a political revolution. The Fourth Internationalists throughout the world stand in full solidarity with their Soviet comrades in this combined struggle.

27. The beleaguered Soviet workers cannot hold out indefinitely under attack unless the workers of other countries come to their rescue. Unless the revolution rises and conquers in the capitalist world and the Soviet workers throw the Stalinist usurpers off their back, the Soviet Union will inevitably be crushed, either by the Nazi invaders, or by the present imperialist "allies" who remain irreconcilably hostile to the first workers' state, or by a combination of the two. Lenin and Trotsky's program of world revolution and international Socialism which gave birth to the Soviet power and safeguarded the young Soviet Republic against the interventionists on 21 fronts in its first four years is the sole means of saving the USSR for the Socialist future. We Trotskyists remain faithful to that program; we alone propagate its ideas, and work toward its realization. That is why we are today the best defenders of the Soviet Union.

The Colonial Peoples Of Asia

28. The collapse of the British and French Empires in the Far East and the continuing conflict of the rival powers in the Pacific have destroyed the myth of imperialist invincibility and awakened the colonial peoples of Asia to new hopes of national freedom. A new note of national self-confidence is heard in China and India, the decisive countries of the Far East. While the imperialist vultures claw at each other, their prey seeks to escape from their clutches. The Chinese people are fighting against Japan to avoid the fate of India under Great Britain. The Indian people are seeking their liberation from Great Britain.

29. What do the colonial peoples of Asia want? They seek national independence. The peasants want land and an end to the usury which grinds them into the dust. The workers in the factories and on the docks, on the plantations and in the oil fields, want living wages and tolerable working conditions. They want the right to organize their trade unions and their political parties. They want to have a say about their own destiny. They want the right to live, to work, to better their lives, and provide a brighter future for their children. They want the elementary rights of every people, of every individual.

30. But the imperialist slaveholders are waging the war to hold colonies or to seize them. They cannot afford to free their colonial slaves, satisfy their demands or needs, or even to make any substantial concessions to them. They prefer to risk the loss of their colonies rather than arm the native population, hoping to recover their lost possessions with a new turn of events, or else to conclude a deal with the new possessors after the war. So the Dutch calculated in Java; so the British in Malaya, Burma and India. All the imperialists are trying, each in its own way, to dam the rising tide of colonial revolt or to sluice it into their own channels. England, while holding down India, tries to stir up revolt against Japan in Korea. Japan, while holding down Korea and occupied China, seeks to provoke uprisings in Burma and India. Each side has willing agents amongst the native bourgeoisie, landlords and princes.

31. But neither the imperialists nor their native tools will be able to stem the flood of national revolution which keeps rising to higher levels as the war unfolds. The leaders of the native bourgeoisie, despite their inherent tendency to compromise with the imperialists, are compelled to take a more aggressive position in order to avoid isolation from the insurgent masses. Thus the growing resistance and independence of the masses is manifested in the Indian Congress rejection of Cripps' proposals and in the repeated declarations from Chungking that there can be no reversion after the war to extra-territorial rights and privileges.

32. The major portion of humanity lives in Asia, two-fifths in China and India. Their struggle for national freedom and social liberation is one of the most revolutionary factors in the present world situation. Their's is a genuine fight for freedom, for democracy, for progress. We unconditionally defend the Chinese and Indian peoples in their fight for emancipation against their imperialist enslavers. The current struggles of the popular masses of China and India should be regarded as the first stage toward arousing and organizing the popular masses for a genuinely revolutionary solution of their social problems. These problems cannot be successfully fulfilled under bourgeois leadership. The deepening and broadening of the peoples' revolutions will inevitably accentuate the counter-revolutionary role of the reactionary colonial bourgeoisie, bringing them into irreconcilable conflict with the insurgent workers and peasants. Their revolutions can finally triumph only under the leadership and through the revolutionary program of the youthful proletariat who will lead their peasant allies toward a Soviet China and Soviet India, keystones in a Socialist United States of Asia.

Latin America In The War

33. Since the outbreak of the war, Latin America has more than ever become the private preserve of American imperialism. The blockade against the Axis powers and the growing weakness of Great Britain has enabled the United States to climb to a virtually unchallenged position. The United States has dragged with it into the war, either as actual participants or as non-belligerent allies, its retinue of vassals among the ruling classes of Latin America. Through Export-Import Bank and private loans the Yankee imperialists have succeeded in buying the support they could not secure through diplomatic pressure. Their hand has been strengthened by the fact that the United States is today the main market and chief source of machinery and manufactured goods for many Latin American nations.

Thus far Argentina alone among the leading countries still continues to resist pressure to enter the war on the side of the dollar diplomats. The present neutrality of the Argentine bourgeoisie arises from its relative industrial strength, its lesser dependence upon American money and markets, its efforts to build up an independent Argentine economy by taking advantage of the antagonism between British and American capital, and finally fear of the consequences of an open break with the Axis.

The economic consequences of the war (shortage of commodities, mounting inflation, deterioration of the conditions of the people, etc.) are bound to impel the already impoverished and oppressed Latin American masses into conflict with imperialism and its war. The military, political and economic support of Yankee imperialism is today the principal prop of the hated dictatorships of Vargas, Batista, etc. Since, with the temporary exception of Argentina, all sectors of Latin American capitalism — from the pro-fascist Vargas to the formerly anti-imperialist Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana — have become the vassals of American imperialism, any mass movement against imperialism and its war must inevitably clash with these native ruling classes.

In alliance with the peasants, and in opposition to the venal Latin American bourgeoisie, the industrial workers will lead the struggle against imperialist domination and clear the road for the Socialist United States of Latin America. While the Stalinist agents of the Kremlin uphold American imperialism together with such dictators as Vargas and Batista, the Trotskyist parties of South and North America alone propose a revolutionary program of emancipation to the Latin American peoples.

(Continued on page 3)

"The Workers And Colonial Peoples Will Conquer Power And Make A Socialist Peace"

(Continued from page 2)

34. Long before its advent the Fourth Internationalists warned the workers of the inescapable participation of the United States in this war. As long ago as 1933 Trotsky wrote: "The superiority of the United States must find its expression in new forms, the way to which can be opened only by war. American capitalism is up against the same problems which pushed Germany on the path of war in 1914. The world is divided amongst the great powers. It must be redivided. For Germany it was a question of 'organizing Europe.' The United States must organize the world. . . History thus brings humanity face to face with the volcanic eruptions of American imperialism."

35. This volcanic eruption, predicted in 1933, has now begun. United States entry into the war was hastened by the failure to overcome the crisis of American capitalism by the "New Deal." Roosevelt's October 5, 1937 "collective security" speech marks the open turn from the New Deal to the War Program. The unity of the Democratic and Republican parties in supporting the war, along with the complete collapse after Pearl Harbor of all varieties of isolationism, signify the total triumph of the Roosevelt War Program. The object of the War Program is to attain political mastery and economic monopoly of the globe. Nothing less will satisfy the aims and ambitions of American Big Business.

The United States At War

36. The outbreak of war between Japan and the United States came as a surprise to no informed person. The contest for supremacy in the Pacific has been brewing since these allied rivals crossed-swords in Siberia at the close of the first world war. Presented with an ultimatum to get out of China, the Japanese imperialists refused to yield to threats alone. Like the Nazis they operate with the boldness and desperation of those who have nothing to lose.

37. American capitalism faces the gravest difficulties in undertaking to crush its rivals and conquer the world by military means. The United States can achieve its imperialist objectives only at the cost of millions of lives and hundreds of billions of dollars and only after an indefinitely prolonged struggle. Were it to achieve such a victory it then would have to shoulder all the tasks involved in Secretary of War Knox's declaration that "the United States must police the world for the next hundred years."

38. The internal problems of American capitalism present equally great difficulties. The war is dislocating the national economic structure, twisting it into grotesque militarized forms. Already more than half of the national income is devoured by the war, and this proportion is bound to increase. Scarcity and rationing of goods on the one hand and soaring prices on the other are symptoms of the contractions of American consumption, of the collapse of normal capitalist economy. Unlike the last war, when American economy grew plump and powerful, American economy is today becoming disorganized and distorted. Even the strongest and richest of the capitalist nations is sliding into the abyss of bankruptcy.

39. As the war places stresses and strains on the economy the forces of the market are no longer sufficient to assure the working of the system. The government steps in more than ever before as an arbiter, regulator and economic dictator. The government becomes the chief market, it becomes an important factor in fixing of prices, it assigns productive capacity and raw materials, it fixes wages and regulates conditions of work. The government in its expanded functions operates more openly than ever as the executive arm of Big Business, directed first of all against the labor movement, as well as against weaker sections of the capitalist class.

40. Capitalist apologists have ridiculed the Marxist contention that capitalism must inevitably ruin the middle classes. They asserted that under American capitalism, the middle classes must bloom. Now the Marxist prediction is being realized at an accelerated pace under the war economy. Entire segments of the middle classes are being wiped out, not individually as in peace time, but in wholesale lots. Small merchants, filling station proprietors, small manufacturers, grocers, along with owners and operators in innumerable other occupations, are economically annihilated by a single decree from Washington.

41. The war economy enormously accelerates the concentration of capital. The government gives the handful of great corporations over 80 per cent of all war orders, guaranteeing them markets and profits for the duration of the war. The government buys or builds huge new plants for them, allots them priorities in raw materials and transportation. In 1941, many corporations earned higher profits than in 1929. The war is not only being waged to save the markets and sources of raw materials of the American monopolists throughout the world; the war itself is likewise an extremely profitable enterprise for them. The preparations for the war revived their flagging, heavy industry; throughout the conflict they fill their treasuries and strengthen their competitive positions.

42. The recent revelations concerning cartel arrangements and patent agreements between the international monopolies and the Nazis have exposed the sham contention of Big Business and its political agents that they are waging this war to destroy fascism. Rockefellers' Standard Oil, Mellon's Aluminum Trust, DuPont's arms and chemical trust, Morgan's General Electric and the other monopolies did business with the Nazis before the war; they set aside royalties and profits for them during the war. While demanding that the workers sacrifice wages and hours for the war effort, Big Business always places profits before patriotism.

43. It would be foolish to expect that the government or any Congressional Committee will make the punishment of the monopolists fit their crimes. They have been forced to divulge information about the Nazi-Big Business tie-ups because they were hampering the prosecution of the war and imperiling the basic interests of the entire capitalist class and because of the wrathful pressure of the little business men who are being crushed out of the war economy. The same men who head the monopolies infest the government and head the War Production Boards as dollar-a-year men. A few corporations caught red-handed are being let off with light fines. High administration figures have intervened openly to forestall anti-trust prosecutions of the big monopolies. It is already generally understood that there will be no prosecution of the big trusts during the war. The government and its supporters bow before the monopolists whose interests they serve.

44. The working people of this country cannot entrust the struggle against fascism at home or abroad to Big Business or any of its political agents. The workers need a program and leadership of their own to clear the field for a fight to the death against fascism. As the first step in this direction, they should demand the expropriation of the war industries, and their operation under workers' control!

45. Roosevelt's war economic policy strikes terrible blows at the workers and their families. The steeply mounting cost of living has already caused great suffering. Wage controls and compulsory bond buying are designed to cut the workers' living standards. More consumers goods are to be rationed or withdrawn entirely from the market. Taxes, especially hidden taxes, will slash more and more deeply into the workers' income. Working hours will be increased. There will be no effective control over speculators, who will inevitably take advantage of the price-fixing provisions to fleece the people more mercilessly.

46. The administration has imposed its policy in the name of a fraudulent equality of sacrifice. But whatever formal restrictions are placed upon them, the corporations will pile up profits and hide them by depreciation reserves and other financial devices. The rich will buy what they want, if not on the open market, then on the black market. The workers and their families, however, will feel the pinch from all sides. They will be able to buy less and less with steadily diminishing earnings. Roosevelt's slogan of equality of sacrifice is a fraud. It is a cover for the program whereby the rich make the poor pay for their war.

47. Big Business is using the war as a cover for an all-out offensive against organized labor. The National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce have openly demanded that Congress reestablish the open shop by law. The anti-labor drive instigated by Big Business, promoted by the administration and Congress, and supported by the capitalist press, is endangering the very existence of the trade unions. As yet the trade unions have only been crippled, but the bosses will not be satisfied until they are completely wiped out. The main immediate task before the American workers today is to fight for the independence of their trade unions, for the right to strike, for the right of collective bargaining free of governmental interference.

48. In the face of the attack upon the trade unions, the official leaders of the AFL and CIO are retreating step by step. Under pressure from the administration, they have given up one position after another to the employers without a struggle. They have sworn away the strike weapon, they have given up double time pay, and they are ready to surrender much more—if the workers permit them to get away with it.

49. The worst offenders among the sell-out artists are the Stalinists. Under the Stalinist theory of socialism in one country, the revolutionary interests of the world working class have long been subordinated to the state diplomacy of the Kremlin. This criminal policy has led to a long series of working class defeats on the international arena and has disoriented a great section of the proletarian vanguard. For the sake of maintaining the Kremlin's present alliance with Washington, the Stalinists are now executing their greatest betrayal of the elementary interests of American labor. They call upon the workers to support the war, unite with the bosses and sacrifice to the limit, deluding them with the assertion that this will aid the Soviet Union, defend democracy and crush fascism. Their arguments are all false to the core. The stronger the American labor movement is, the more independent and class-conscious it becomes, the better will it be able to defend the Soviet Union against present or potential enemies. Those who weaken the working class and its organizations in any way directly undermine the defense of the USSR. The weakening of the labor movement opens the door for the entrance of domestic fascism.

The Fight For Democracy

50. In order to camouflage its imperialist policies and objectives, the Roosevelt regime claims that the war is being waged to defend democracy at home and extend the Four Freedoms throughout the world. Roosevelt's slogan of the Four Freedoms is as false as Wilson's slogan in the last war 'Make the World Safe for Democracy.' While Roosevelt spouts phrases about democracy, he seeks to set aside even the forms of the democratic process in favor of government by decree. This effort to substitute dictatorial rule by decree on the part of the executive head of the capitalist government has paved the way for the total destruction of democracy and the rise to power of fascism or Bonapartism in Italy, Germany and France.

The war is being used as a pretext to trample upon democratic institutions and violate civil rights. The workers, who constitute the most devoted and determined defenders of democracy, must oppose these attacks upon democratic rights and institutions through their own organizations and class action.

51. The fight for real democracy begins at home in the fight to preserve the existence of independent and democratic trade unions. The labor lieutenants of the capitalists are coupling their program of capitulation to the bosses with a campaign to stifle free expression within the trade unions. While they demand support for the war for the sake of democracy, they try to stifle democracy within the trade unions themselves. The Stalinists in particular are acting as bloodhounds for the bosses. Full democracy is necessary for the effective functioning of the unions and is the best guarantee for the preservation of democratic rights within the country at large.

52. The rights of free speech, free press and free assembly must be vigilantly guarded by the labor movement in war time. The sentencing in Minneapolis, on the day war was declared, of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO, first victims of the Smith "Gag" Act, can be the forerunner of similar prosecutions against other labor militants. The Minneapolis convictions must be reversed in the appeal to the higher courts and the defendants freed, if a dangerous precedent is not to hover over the entire labor movement.

53. Against collaboration with the bosses! For the independence of the trade unions from governmental interference or control! For the maintenance and extension of democracy in the trade unions! No surrender of the right to strike! Against wage-freezing! For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living! Smash the anti-labor and union busting offensive of the bosses by the militant action of united labor! This is the kind of program the workers need.

54. The bosses' anti-labor campaign is being waged not only in civilian life but also in the army. By lying stories about fabulous wages in the war industries, blaming the workers for the lag in war production, brass-hat lectures about labor's "unwillingness to sacrifice," etc. the draftees are being incited against their fellow-workers. Unfortunately this vile campaign is meeting with some success, particularly because the trade unions have failed to take up the cudgels on behalf of the needs of the worker-soldiers. The unions must come forward for union wages for draftees, their right to hold meetings and to elect their own officers, a moratorium on all debts owed by draftees, training camps financed by the government but under control of the trade unions, including special camps to train worker-officers. Therefore we raise the slogan: For the democratic rights of the men in the armed forces! For military training camps under control of trade unions!

The Negro Struggle And The War

55. Far from arousing enthusiasm among the Negro people, the entry of the United States into the war has intensified their determination to utilize the crisis engendered by the war to win the struggle against Jim Crowism and for full social, economic and political equality. Official government propaganda about fighting for "democracy" and the "four freedoms" serve only to emphasize to the Negroes that they themselves are denied the most elementary democratic rights, discriminated against in the war industries and in the armed forces. "After-the-war" promises only remind the Negroes that they got the same promises during the first imperialist war, and that none of these promises was kept. Furthermore, the Negro people today derive inspiration and self-confidence from the struggles of the colonial peoples for liberation from imperialism. While the ruling class demands postponement of the Negro struggle for the sake of "national unity," the will of the Negro masses to struggle is greater than ever. This is reflected in the fear of the petty-bourgeois Negro leadership to openly counsel the Negro masses to abandon their struggles until after the war—as they did in 1917—and above all in the emergence of the militant Negro March-on-Washington Movement. Such an independent Negro movement has been made historically necessary by the betrayals and indifference of the trade union bureaucracies, by the failures of the traditional workers' parties and Negro organizations, and by the weakness of the revolutionary party. We support the March-on-Washington Movement, despite the vacillations of its leadership, and seek to mobilize the whole working class in support of its objectives.

56. The struggle against Jim Crowism is as much the problem of the white workers as of the Negro people. Labor with a white skin cannot be free so long as labor with a black skin is branded. The great contribution of the Negro workers to the growth of unionism—in the auto plants, packinghouses, coal mines, steel, etc.—is but the beginning of what can be done if the workers of all races firmly unite. As one-tenth of the population, the principal oppressed minority in the United States, the Negro people cannot achieve their freedom without the active and whole-hearted support of the white workers. A struggle of the Negro masses unsupported by the white workers can be deflected by the ruling class into a tragic racial clash between white and Negro workers. The cementing of a firm alliance between Negroes and white workers has been hampered by the Stalinists and other groups who speak in the name of equality but have betrayed and embittered the Negro masses time and again.

57. It is therefore above all necessary for revolutionists to demonstrate **in practice** in the trade unions and in the factories that they champion the rights of Negroes and battle against all forms of racial prejudice and discrimination. One such demonstration is worth a thousand articles and speeches on the need for unity! The principal task of the party's Negro work in this period is to build the Negro cadres of the party. These cadres will be recruited primarily from Negro unionists whose joint struggles with the white workers against the employers provides them with the necessary experiences and background for revolutionary leadership of the Negro masses.

Democracy And Fascism

58. Just as Roosevelt's administration seeks collaboration with Petain, Franco, Vargas and sundry monarchists-in-exile in the field of international diplomacy, so at home it conciliates all ultra-reactionary forces so long as they support the fundamental policies of American imperialism. As the war unfolds and the workers strike out to defend their interests, the capitalists will tend to supplement government persecution with the use of extra-legal agencies, vigilante mobs and fascist gangs, to beat down and terrorize the workers. In Italy, Austria, Germany, France and Spain, democracy and the labor movement were annihilated thanks to those labor leaders and liberal spokesmen who taught the workers to entrust the struggle against the fascists to the "democratic" capitalists. No capitalist government can be depended upon in the fight against fascism either at home or abroad. The organized workers must form their own Defense Guards in order to smash fascist gangs and get rid of all anti-labor, anti-Semitic vermin. This kind of class action will lead to the formation of a Workers and Farmers Government, the only government that can carry through to victory the fight against fascism on all fronts.

59. The most elementary economic problems facing the workers today are **political** problems. The questions of food, rent, the price of clothing and other necessities, the owning and operating of automobiles are controlled directly by political authorities and agents. Wages and hours of labor and working conditions are routed through War Production and Labor Boards, etc. Wage-freezing is a major political threat. All these issues, affecting millions of workers, requires their united struggle by all the toilers, including the unorganized and white-collar workers, against the government of Big Business. Yet organized labor lacks the elementary instrument to carry on such a political struggle. While Congress is the sounding board for the anti-labor drive, American labor has not a single representative of its own in Congress. What a mockery of democracy it is in which over twelve million organized workers and their families are without one elected voice in the government! It is time the workers ended company unionism on the political field and proceeded to organize an Independent Labor Party based upon the trade unions.

Perspectives Of The War

60. The war has hurled everybody and everything into the crucible. The oldest empires are collapsing; long-established states and governments are being overthrown; economic structures are being shattered and reshaped; workers' parties and Internationals are being sunk without a trace. Everything is being submitted to the test of fire.

61. The imperialist rulers of both camps are fighting tenaciously to maintain the existing system which has brought about the prevailing slaughter, misery, chaos and hopelessness. The rival monopolist cliques want to reconstruct the world for their selfish ends. They have not the slightest concern for the welfare of their own peoples or the oppressed in other lands. Each strives to conquer the world or a larger share of it for their own enrichment and power. Both imperialist blocs have the same predatory aims, although they employ different terms and slogans to justify their role in the war. Hitler's "New Order" is simply German capitalism's reedition of the old capitalist anarchy and oppression. The Anglo-American combine has no more radiant prospect to offer than a new and more monstrous Versailles treaty that can only lay the groundwork for a Third World War.

62. Imperialism holds out the perspectives of interminable war, deepening reaction, impoverishment and misery for the masses at home, enslavement for the conquered and colonial peoples. The capitalist system has become so decadent, so bankrupt, so retrogressive that it can no longer give the most meagre reforms or improvements. This malignant tumor must be removed before it completely ravages and destroys humanity.

The Revolutionary Outlook

63. Only the direct intervention of the masses themselves can accomplish this imperative task. Reactionary to its core, the imperialist war, despite itself, is uprooting the old order and speeding up the processes of revolutionary renewal. The Second World War, preceded by a protracted period of reaction is today preparing the conditions for a new revolutionary wave. The coming revolution will be far more profound than the pre-war political reaction and as universal as the present war. The imperialist world war will inevitably turn into its own opposite: the proletarian world revolution.

64. At present workers the world over are on the defensive before international imperialism. But this is only a passing phase of the war. Just as the earth turns on its axis, so does our society rotate around the class-struggle between capital and labor. There are alternating periods of light and darkness for the workers in the course of this struggle. The present encircling darkness will not endure. Already the first rays of revolution in the East herald the approach of a new dawn.

65. We Trotskyists are the heralds of that new day. We summon it; we await it; we prepare ourselves and the working class for it. Before the outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1917 there were the dark days of 1914 and the even darker days of 1915-16. We must do today what Liebknecht and Luxemburg, what Lenin and Trotsky did then. We alone propagate their ideas and carry on their traditions of struggle against imperialist war and for international socialism.

66. We Trotskyists base our program, our perspectives, our strategy upon the optimistic revolutionary perspective. We have far more confidence in the power of the workers to create a new society than the capitalists themselves have in their ability to maintain their outlived system. We are sure that out of the present inferno will emerge liberating movements of the masses on the model of the Russian Revolution of 1917. The workers and the colonial peoples will rise up against imperialism; conquer political power; make a Socialist peace; reorganize industry and the war-torn economies on a rational basis. The coming revolution will usher in the Socialist society of peace, security, human solidarity and unlimited progress.

67. We American Trotskyists have every reason to place confidence in the power and prospects of the American working class. The workers who built the strongest and most militant union movement in the capitalist world during the past decade in unremitting struggle against the bosses and their agents, are only at the beginning of their creative career. They will build even greater economic and political organizations. They will move forward to the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government as the keystone of the Socialist United States of North and South America. They will conquer the power and the means for these achievements through the program and under the guidance of our Trotskyist Party, the banner-bearer of international socialism.

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John L. Lewis Quits CIO

John L. Lewis' departure from the CIO is not news; it was freely predicted far in advance of the recent action of the United Mine Workers convention in formally withdrawing from the organization it was so instrumental in building. The injurious effects of this rupture on the industrial union movement are not at all mitigated by the fact that it was generally anticipated.

The miners' organization played a progressive role second to none in helping to enroll the mass production workers under the banner of the trade union movement. But they could play that role only by championing the program of industrial organization for these workers. From the first day, the opposition to the craft union bureaucrats within the AFL to the time when the CIO was firmly established (having fought and defeated the bosses in rubber, steel and auto) the question of industrial unionism was the central issue of the struggle within the labor movement. The entire course of the unity negotiations between AFL and CIO has been dominated by this question. The refusal of the CIO (under Lewis) in the past to submit to any settlement that would jeopardize the industrial union structure was both necessary and justified.

In splitting from the CIO, the mineworkers are not only departing from the policy they followed since 1935 but they are seriously weakening the CIO *vis-a-vis* the AFL. That is a crime against the labor movement, responsibility for which rests squarely on the shoulders of John L. Lewis, initiator of the split.

There are no principled issues which vitally concern the welfare of the American workers motivating this split. Lewis did not and does not challenge the policy of Murray and Co. in capitulating to the war machine, in abandoning the strike weapon for the duration and in surrendering hard-won gains without a struggle. Neither in his speech at the UMWA convention nor in any of his actions since Pearl Harbor has Lewis indicated the slightest difference with the CIO chiefs over the policy of retreat and surrender. Such differences as existed in this recent period have been largely over the question of who should sit on the government's boards and offer the interests of labor as a sacrifice to the war program of Big Business.

The reasons Lewis gave for the split to the miners' convention were of a strictly personal nature. He has been attacked and slandered by the leaders of the CIO. And to soothe his injured feelings he demands that 500,000 workers quit the organization they founded and helped build. Only a labor bureaucrat could display such criminal lightmindedness and place his own personal interests and prestige over the interests of thousands and millions of workers.

To secure support for his move Lewis dragged in the favorite device of the trade union leaders: the question of funds. One of the charges against Murray and Co. was their failure to acknowledge or pay back the money "loaned" the CIO by the UMWA. Lewis tried to make this incident appear as a financial transaction in which the CIO was welching on an honest debt.

In reality, the issue is far more fundamental and throws discredit on Lewis both for raising it and for breaking with the CIO. The money "loaned" the CIO was for the purpose of organizing the mass production workers. Their organization was the best manner of paying this debt and far more important than the actual repayment in dollars and cents. Without the organization of these strong unions, the UMWA would have been isolated and probably severely weakened if not destroyed by mineowner attacks on them as an isolated union. Moreover, the wave of CIO organization brought thousands of hitherto unorganized miners into the ranks of the UMWA.

Lewis has delivered a blow at the industrial union movement. But the industrial unions will recover from this blow long before Lewis recovers from the ignominy of his disgraceful actions.

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Roosevelt Very Generous With China's Property

By WILLIAM E. WARDE

The declaration of the United States and English governments to Chungking that they are ready to abolish the extra-territorial privileges they have enjoyed in China for nearly 100 years is being trumpeted forth in the official press as a token of the non-imperialist character of the allied powers' aims in this war. How much is this declaration worth and what are the motives behind it?

First of all, the United States and Great Britain have agreed to give up something which they do not now possess. So long as these two powers were able to enjoy and exploit their extra-territorial rights in China, they were deaf to all demands to give up the least part of them.

The Western Powers used their concessions not only to rob the Chinese people but also to suppress their attempts to achieve national independence and social liberation. **In the great Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927, the foreign settlements were bases of the counter-revolutionary conspiracies which drowned the popular revolt in blood.**

Now that the Japanese have occupied the English and American concessions in Shanghai, Hongkong and elsewhere and have taken over the privileges formerly exercised by these two Western Powers, they have at last renounced them. This is nothing more than an acknowledgement of an already accomplished fact. When one set of bandits announce that from now on they will give up all their rights to the stolen goods hi-jacked from them by another bandit, one does not award them a certificate for honesty. That is precisely what the liberal press is doing for Roosevelt and Churchill.

If They Were Sincere . . .

If the United States and Great Britain or their imperialist satellites like Holland want to give real proof of the relaxation of their imperialist hold upon the colonial peoples, they would withdraw from those colonies that they today still hold and oppress. Great Britain would immediately grant the independence which the Indian people are now fighting for. The United States would grant independence to Porto-Rico, Cuba, Hawaii and stop bludgeoning the Latin-American peoples with diplomatic pressure and military might. Queen Wilhelmina, who rules the Dutch Empire today from Washington, would renounce all claims to the Dutch East Indies.

But none of these powers will forfeit even in words, any of the possessions they now hold, unless they are compelled to do so by superior force. This force can come either from a rival imperialism as in the case of Japan, or from the insurgent peoples themselves, as in the case of India. The peoples of India and China can in fact learn from this episode that their right to self-determination will be recognized by the Western Powers **only after they achieve it by their own independent might.**

Does the renunciation of their non-existent extra-territorial privileges in China contradict their imperialist aims, as the supporters of Roosevelt and Churchill are now contending? Not at all. In reality, this empty declaration is designed to serve the imperialist objectives of the United States and Great Britain at this particular difficult point in their war for world domination. The flagrantly imperialist character of their policies has spread the deepest distrust of the Roosevelt-Churchill partnership not only among the peoples of Asia, South America, Europe and the Soviet Union but also amongst their own masses. This distrust has been accentuated by the British repressions in India which are comparable to Hitler's in the occupied countries of Europe. It was imperative for these governments to make some gesture to dispel this suspicion.

Moreover, the Chinese masses who fought for five years against Japan, while the United States supplied war materials to Japan and Great Britain cut off the Burma Road, had to be given some reassurance that a victory over Japan would not mean a restoration of the status quo ante **in China.**

Such are the real diplomatic motives behind the declaration to Chungking. It is an absolutely empty gesture, designed to throw dust into the eyes of the unsuspecting masses and to conceal the far-reaching plans of the Allied imperialists. The imperialists cannot wage war or win it without making such promises, any more than they can operate machines without oil. **Remember the first World War:**

Promise And Performance

England made promises of independence to the Arabs in the Near-East at the same time that it promised the very same territory of Palestine as a home-land for the Jews. Great Britain promised independence to India. Woodrow Wilson in his Fourteen Points stated that there would be no annexations and no indemnities in the peace treaties. The Treaty of Versailles, however, imposed tremendous indemnities upon defeated Germany. Instead of the promised free self-determination of nationalities, there was a multiplication of oppression within Europe and throughout the colonial world.

These public promises made to the people were nullified by secret treaties which alloted to each of the contending powers their share of the spoils. We can be sure that similar agreements have been and are being made between Roosevelt and the representatives of the "United Nations" today. But the peoples are told nothing about them.

The peoples of the United States and of the colonies should not place a particle of confidence in Roosevelt or Churchill's promises. When conditions change and the opportunity opens, they will tear up these scraps of paper upon one pretext or another, as they have done in the past. How can the American people expect Roosevelt to fulfill his promises to China when he has already violated his promises to them?

The mass of Americans have no interest in exploiting the colonial peoples and sympathize with their efforts to attain national independence. That is one of the reasons why they greet with such enthusiasm and are so easily deceived by the false declarations issued by Washington and London. But they cannot rely upon the capitalist governments of these countries to put an end to imperialism and its wars. These governments will do everything for the colonial peoples — except get off their backs.

New Labor Federation Fills No Real Need

Independent Unions Without Program Or Unity

By E. R. FRANK

A new independent labor federation, the "Confederated Unions of America," was organized this week in Chicago under the leadership of Matthew Smith, Secretary of the Mechanics Educational Society of America (MESA).

Delegates attending the convention held at the Sherman Hotel represented such widely divergent organizations as the MESA, an independent union of auto and metal workers, the United Brotherhood of Welders, Cutters & Helpers, lawyers who represented various small plant unions and representatives of the Grand Rapids Christian Labor Association.

While the MESA Executive Board has already approved affiliation of its organization to the new federation, the rest of the unions participating at the convention will have to submit the question of affiliation to their respective organizations. The big question at the convention was whether the National Federation of Telephone Workers, which claims a membership of 150,000 would affiliate to the new organization. This question will be submitted to a special convention of the union on Oct. 19th in Cincinnatti.

The delegates at the Sherman Hotel set up a formal organization and elected Matthew Smith president and representatives of the other organizations officers.

Other than the desire to form some kind of central organization in order to receive recognition from the various governmental boards there was little unity of purpose or agreement on general labor principles or philosophy among the delegates. The widest kind of disagreement was revealed on almost every question tackled by the convention.

WAR OR PEACE

A formal statement issued by the convention on the relationship of the new "Confederation" with the other unions of organized labor states. "The consensus of the delegates is not to declare war on the AFL of the CIO, for to do so they would be declaring war on their brother and sister workers. Our aim is to protect the rights and interests of labor and to give the millions of unorganized workers, through bonafide democratic labor organizations, of their own creation, an opportunity to have a true voice in the factors that control their standard of living." But Matthew Smith, the President, declared that the confederation already was at war with the CIO and AFL and added that "any pantywaist who thinks it isn't is wrong."

TURN OTHER CHEEK

The representatives of the Grand Rapids Christian Labor Association proposed to the convention that the Confederation strive to bargain with employers on the basis of "christian principles." This was countered by a delegate from the MESA who declared that he "would have been killed if I tried to depend on those tactics with my boss."

On Smith's recommendation, the delegates tabled a resolution pledging use of arbitration in all disputes. Smith stated that this was for the autonomous unions to decide, adding that some present opposed strikes and favored arbitration while his own union, the MESA, had not surrendered the strike weapon even during the war.

A resolution on political action, proposing that labor support its friends and oppose its enemies, regardless of political affiliation was likewise tabled after another fiery appeal from Matthew Smith: "God protect us against the friends of labor; we will take care of our enemies." In another resolution the convention then proceeded to vote continued support to Roosevelt and the war effort.

On the question of relinquishing labor's rights during the war, one of the lawyer delegates proposed that we "give up our rights willingly and be good soldiers." This brought a heated rejoinder from George White, Secretary of MESA local No. 6 that "President Roosevelt took away our premium rights to appease the UAW-CIO, but we haven't relinquished any rights, including the right to strike."

Even if all the organizations that participated in the convention vote to affiliate, the numerical strength of the new "Confederation" will be very small compared to the memberships of the AFL or the CIO. The principal difficulty for the new "Confederation" however is its lack of unity on program as the convention proceedings clearly revealed.

THEY STAYED OUT

Why did all these small organizations decide to remain independent and stay out of the main stream of the American labor movement for the past few years? The MESA, a very militant organization of auto workers and the first union to be organized in the auto industry during the NRA period, stayed out of the CIO primarily for sectarian reasons; because the UAW leadership was too conservative.

Practically all the other organizations represented at the convention, however, refused to join the ranks of the CIO for precisely opposite reasons. The little shop unions, the plant organizations, the Christians from Grand Rapids, did not join because the CIO was too militant, too "radical" for them. As the convention sessions demonstrated it is indeed difficult to fuse organizations of such widely divergent viewpoints and philosophies.

WANT SQUEAK ALSO

The immediate cause which forced all these little independent unions to huddle together and attempt to form a united organization is the drive of the war. The recent decisions and actions of the Roosevelt War government, coupled with the subservience, and capitulation of the AFL and CIO leaderships, has partially destroyed the independence of the union movement. What little bargaining power these small unions possessed with their few individual employers has now been nullified by the sweeping anti-labor legislation that has come out of Washington. They feel that the AFL and CIO, at least, have a voice in the Washington councils of the mighty; a place or two on the various committees and governmental boards. These small independent unions have thus banded forces in an attempt to gain some recognition for themselves.

In a larger sense, however, this Chicago convention is a symptom of the same tendency in the labor movement as was the withdrawal of the Miners' Union from the ranks of the CIO. In its halcyon days, when the CIO was organizing the key industries of America and bringing the barons of auto, steel and rubber to their knees, the CIO was the greatest unifying force in the labor movement. All independent unions, all groups of workers felt a compelling urge to tie up with the new crusade. The name of the CIO was magic.

MARCHING BACKWARD

Today, on the contrary, the leadership of the CIO, not to mention the AFL, are daily trudging from one governmental bureau to another, giving away labor's hard won rights, giving away the gains achieved by the effort and sacrifice of fifty years of labor struggles. Naturally, they are not a very inspiring sight. As a result, the cohesion, the authority of the organization is not what it was in 1937.

Even with the withdrawal of the Miners' Union, however, the CIO is an organization of some four and a half million workers with large unions in America's key mass production industries, composed of the most militant, experienced and advanced workers of America. These auto, steel and rubber workers will play the decisive role in the coming days in striking powerful blows for the emancipation of labor. It is not through the formation of small independent union organizations, but rather through continued political education of America's industrial proletariat, the adoption of a militant program of labor action and the election of a new union leadership that will carry through such a program that the cause of labor will advance.

Economic Czar's First Order Is Blow At Unions Rights

(Continued from page 1)

This is a long step in the general government campaign to take away the democratic rights and independence of the labor movement and a signal to employers to refuse to deal with unions directly on the question of wages, but to insist that all negotiations go through the WLB.

In addition to setting wage policy, Czar Byrnes, a former Supreme Court Justice and poll-tax Senator from South Carolina, set up the Economic Stabilization Board.

This new board includes William Green, AFL president, and Philip Murray, CIO head, representing labor. There are two official representatives of the employers, Eric A. Johnston, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, and Ralph E. Flanders, president of the Jones and Lamson Machine Company. In all the board is composed of 15 members, with Murray and Green the only union representatives.

TAKE HILLMAN'S MANTLE

The functions of Murray and Green on this board will be similar to those of Sidney Hillman on the discredited OPM. They will serve to create the illusion that labor has a voice in the board, which is as boss-dominated as was OPM. They will serve to cover up its anti-labor policy and will do the dirty work for the bosses in their drive to smash the living standards of the workers and force the huge costs of the war onto the backs of the working millions.

Like Hillman on the Dollar-a-year controlled OPM, Murray and Green will have no real power on the Economic Stabilization Board. Like Hillman, they will serve out their terms as stooges for Wall Street, until they too have earned the contempt of the organized labor movement.

Czar Byrnes has only begun his program dictated by Roosevelt, to drive down the living standards of the workers and to hogtie the labor movement. The full implications of Roosevelt's October 3 executive order will unfold in the coming months.

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Stalin Abolishes The Commissars In Soviet Army

By M. MORRISON

What is the significance of Stalin's decree abolishing the institution of military commissars in the Red Army?

The Moscow correspondent of the New York **Times** offers the official explanation: the new officers' cadres created by the war have proved in action their devotion and their political and military maturity. In addition, so the official explanation runs, the commissars have gained military experience and are therefore capable of themselves holding military command.

Both of these statements may be correct but do not in the least offer a valid explanation for the decision to do away with political commissars in the army.

Was there any doubt about the devotion of the officers prior to the war? If so, why? What sense is there in the statement that the officers have proved their political and military maturity?

Why is the question of military maturity dragged into the picture? One would think that the political commissars were placed in charge because of their superior military training. But that is a patent absurdity and contradicted by the second half of the explanation to the effect that the commissars have now gained military experience.

The statement that the officers of the Red Army gained political maturity implies that, before the institution of political commissars in the army was put into effect, they were politically immature. How is it possible to believe that in June 1941, twenty four years after the Revolution and the month when Hitler launched his attack, the officers of the army were politically immature? That would indicate either that they received no political education in the Soviet Union or that all the officers were formerly in the Czarist army.

Since officers of the former Czarist army are insignificant in number and since the officers as a group have received the most thorough education in politics (Stalinist, of course) the suggestion that they are politically immature cannot be given the slightest consideration.

It is of course possible to have special political instructors in the Red Army, not because the officers are politically immature but because they are either too busy with military matters or are not specially qualified to serve as political instructors. Political commissars in the army, however, are much more than mere instructors in politics. Their function is to watch the officers.

* * *

The system of political commissars was understandable and necessary when instituted during the Civil War. Many of the officers had to be watched because they had come over from the army of the Czar. It was not an ideal system but so long as the Revolution had not had sufficient time to train its own officers and to test the reliability of those who came from the Czar's army this system was unavoidable. It was taken for granted that it was a temporary measure to be dispensed with in any future war when all of the officers could be relied on to defend the Soviet regime.

Both in the war with Finland and in the war against Hitler Stalin sent his political commissars into the army. Only one explanation is possible for that measure. The Stalinist bureaucracy did not trust the officers nor the soldiers. The purges carried out by Stalin in the Red Army, murdering the oldest, best-known and most trusted officers, resulted in a widespread resentment. That certainly can be assumed. Stalin had to send his commissars, who are nothing but agents of the G.P.U., into the army to assure him of its complete obedience. He was not at all certain that the army could be relied on to do his bidding.

That the Red Army has fought so bravely is not proof that it is loyal to Stalin; it is proof only that the soldiers understand that they must first of all conduct the struggle against Hitler.

* * *

Colossal defeats were suffered by the Red Army in spite of the heroism of the soldiers. In the great struggle against the imperialist invader real merit could not be stifled by the bureaucracy. Those with initiative and ability had to be recognized. It is not the danger to the Soviet Union but the danger to the bureaucracy that permitted young and able people to rise to officers' ranks.

We can well imagine that the soldiers, fighting, suffering and dying, were not in a mood to stand for any nonsense from the commissars of the G.P.U. Resentment both on the part of officers and men against the meddling of the commissars must have reached substantial proportions in order to induce Stalin to retreat and loosen his hold on the army. Soldiers in war can not be trifled with so easily.

It is safe to surmise that a feeling of extreme bitterness has penetrated the hearts of the intelligent soldiers. They understand that their duty is to guard with their lives the conquests of October against Hitler's armies. With incomparable courage they continue this struggle. But why the defeats? The soldiers know, contrary to the bourgeois hypocrites who refer to the execution of the best commanders of the Red Army as the liquidation of fifth columnists, that the defeats are to be attributed in good part to the murder of these generals.

To the soldiers and officers, the system of G.P.U. commissars is the symbol of the regime that killed the best officers of the army and executed the leading cadres of the Revolution. They resented that system and Stalin had to yield to their resentment.

Because of the heroic resistance of the Red Army, Stalin's prestige has grown in the pages of the capitalist press and in the eyes of some workers who do not understand the real reason for the heroism of the Red Army. But the workers and soldiers of the Soviet Union who understand the reason for their defeats in spite of all their bravery have a different feeling towards Stalin and the bureaucracy.

Should Hitler be defeated we can justifiably look forward to seeing the Soviet masses settle accounts with the Stalinist regime. This is certain to follow if the German workers take power into their own hands or if socialism should be victorious in England or the United States.