The Way of Lenin and Trotsky Is Still the Only Way Out!

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23 Years of the Russian Revolution

Twenty-three years ago this week, on November 7, 1917, the workers of Russia established their own power under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

It was the first great break-through in a war-weary and blood-sodden world. The triumph of the workers in Russia opened the road to the fight of workers everywhere for peace, bread, and freedom.

In the days of October 1917, Lenin and Trotsky warned a thousand times that the Russian Revolution would stand or fall upon the success of accompanying workers' revolutions in the the more advanced countries of Europe. In Germany, Austria, Hungary, and through the colonial empires of the great powers there was an answering surge of revolutionary struggle.

Trotsky welded the workers' power in Russia into the Red Army that crushed or expelled one after another the interventionist forces of Britain, France, the United States, and Japan, and defeated and dispersed the White Russian puppets of the interventionist powers—Kolchak, Deniken, Wrangel, Semenoff.

HOW STALINISM GREW

But elsewhere in Europe the power that fell to the workers was snatched from them in one country after another. Social Democratic agents of the capitalist rulers assumed the mantle of government only to preserve intact the capitalist order. Thanks to them, the capitalist order survived the war everywhere but in Russia. The victorious imperialists gained thereby the strength to put down by force or by guile the national and colonial revolutions in subject lands from Egypt to Korea. The Soviet power survived only in backward, war-exhausted Russia.

In this festering isolation, Stalinism germinated and grew. The broad workers' democracy under Lenin and Trotsky was replaced by the narrow petty bourgeois bureaucracy under Stalin. The firm, unequivocal revolutionary internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky gave way to the conservative nationalism of the Stalinist clique. Stalin set out to build "socialism in one country"—a regime in the image of the bureaucracy, a regime doomed, as Lenin foresaw, to be strangled between hostile imperialist camps unless the workers of the world successfully intervened by extending the revolution.

The steady degeneration of the Soviet State that followed under the rule of Stalin, produced grotesque deformities at home and weighed like a leaden yoke on the revolutionary movements abroad.

As the capitalist world went from crisis to crisis in the post-war decades, there came again opportunity after opportunity to check the capitalist plunge toward new and still more ruinous wars and to put the world back on the rails toward the new socialist order so brilliantly heralded by the Russian Revolution of November 7, 1917.

But in every case the narrow nationalism of the Stalinist clique sapped the revolutionary vigor of revolting masses and produced fresh defeats in country after country—in China, in Austria, in Germany, in Spain, in France and in Belgium.

THE PRICE WE PAY

The new world war of 1939-40 is the price the human race is paying for those defeats. The Soviet Union itself—in the name of whose security Stalin strangled revolutions in all those countries—stands today in the utmost peril of its very existence. Workers everywhere have been herded into the new slaughter which is the only way capitalism has left if its domination over society is to be maintained.

Has anybody in these fateful years shown the peoples of the world any other road than the road of Lenin and Trotsky?

Is there a way out in the program of bourgeois democracy? Nobody seriously believes that anymore, least of all the bourgeois democrats. In Europe they gave way supinely to Fascism. Now they are lashing us into this war on the strength of promises—the same false, empty, hollow, promises—that after it is all over they are going to erect some new kind of system. But we heard all that in 1914-18. The "democrats" were victorious then. They produced for us the shining, new world . . . of 1940.

Is there a way out in the program of the Social Democrats? Scarcely! They are the ones who helped the bosses fight the last miserable war and they are the same ones who are helping to fight this one and are mouthing all the old lies over again on behalf of capitalist rule.

Is there a way out in the program of Hitler? We know what Fascism means to the human race. We have seen it at work in Germany, in Italy, and in the countries conquered by Fascist armed might. We know that Fascism is the logical development of capitalist rule. We know it is the road back to barbarism.

Is there a way out in the program of Stalin? But it is the program of Stalin that strangled the revolution throughout the world, deformed and all but destroyed the revolution in Russia. It is the program of Stalin that produced the decay of the great revolutionary Communist movements that arose after the last war. It is the program of Stalin that has effaced all but the single remaining conquest of October—the collectivized means of production.

OURS IS THE ONLY PROGRAM

No, the only program that still stands is the program of Lenin and Trotsky, the program of the October revolution of the workers of Russia.

It is a simple program. It says that capitalism has outlived its usefulness as a way of organizing society. It says that capitalist powers can no longer produce for the needs of the world's people, can only build machines for war and can only wage war for division and control of markets, of wealth, and of labor. It says that the way out is the fight for a new socialist international order of society. It tells the workers to take power from their capitalist rulers. It calls for destruction of artificial national barriers on a socialist basis, their replacement by a rational world-wide production and exchange of goods. "To each according to his need, from each according to his ability." And it says that this can be achieved only if workers wrest the power from those that hold it today.

This is the banner of Lenin and Trotsky and of the Russian Revolution. This is the banner of revolutionary workers the world over. This is the banner of the Fourth International. Under this banner the program of November 7, 1917, will tomorrow become the program of all peoples on the face of the earth.

LEWIS DOES IT AGAIN; THIS TIME FOR THE REPUBLICANS

War Scene Shifts To Mediterranean

The shift of the main theater of war to the Mediterranean signifies the beginning of a new phase of the titanic world struggle between British and German imperialism.

Hitler has apparently abandoned for the present any attempt to crush Britain by direct assault, invasion of the British Isles. He is moving instead to isolate the British completely from the European continent and from the Near and Middle Eastern units of its empire.

To do this he has to make the Mediterranean an Axis lake. This is the ultimate objective of the drive begun by Italian forces against Greece early last Monday morning.

Presumably the Italian thrust at Greece is one point of a many-pronged attack. The Italian drive from Libya into Egypt and toward Suez is certain to be resumed. At the same time Hitler is dangling huge pieces of Africa before the nose of Franco to facilitate passage of German forces through Spain for an attack on Gibraltar at the western end of the Mediterranean. The Hitler-Petain and Hitler-Laval meetings of last week assuredly had as one of their objects the acquisition of Syria and other Mediterranean holdings of the French as bases for the seawide operations against the British.

A Lengthy Struggle

From the standpoint of the war in general, the Mediterranean offensive of the Axis opens what is certain to be a lengthy and costly struggle. Probable Axis victories on land will not decide the issue until British seapower has been destroyed or rendered useless. That will not be speedily or easily accomplished.

In more immediate particular, however, this new phase of the war brings Turkey and beyond it the Soviet Union once more to the crumbling edge of the precipice. The Dardanelles lie right in the path of the new Axis advance. The Turks face not only the Italians crossing Greece but even nearer home have to calculate on the likelihood of German attack from the Rumanian Black Sea coast and from Bulgaria.

What Will Stalin Do?

For "cooperation" in the present Axis strategy, Hitler has offered a "peace" treaty to France and a small share of the spoils to Spain. What, if anything, has he done to assure the continued immobility of the Soviet Union? Or, more exactly, has Hitler reached the point where he may take Joseph Stalin's services for granted?

As Nazi armed power approaches still another Soviet Frontier, Stalin may feel fearfully compelled to move again

(Continued on Page 2)

LOGIC OF A 'STATESMAN' OF LABOR

FIRST PREMISE:

"With this gold the Republican party attracts its spokesmen, it influences its newspapers. It loosens its flood of propaganda; it defiles the stream of public thought, and it seeks, by fair means or foul, to debauch and render helpless an electorate."

—Radio Address by John L. Lewis, Oct. 17, 1936.

SECOND PREMISE:

"In 1932 this party (Democratic) was ushered into power. This was not because of the virtues of the party, nor the talents nor policy of its leadership. It was an act of a despairing population; a population stricken by an economic depression of the first magnitude; a population sickened by the moral and intellectual bankruptcy of the Republican party."

—John L. Lewis, in N. Y. Times interview, Jan. 25, 1940.

THIRD PREMISE:

"As to the Republican party, Mr. Lewis said, it was not claiming to woo labor and was indeed frankly hostile to labor."

—Report of John L. Lewis speech, N. Y. Times, Jan. 28, 1940.

FOURTH PREMISE:

"I am serving notice upon the political parties in this country—and I don't expect anything from the Republicans—that America cannot be permitted to drift, drift, while politicians merely hope, hope."

—Speech by John L. Lewis, April 2, 1940.

FIFTH PREMISE

"Labor has no cause to feel any confidence in the Republican party in recent years."

—John L. Lewis, Republican Convention, June 24, 1940.

CONCLUSION:

"Why, OF COURSE, I recommend the election of Wendell L. Willkie as the next President of the United States."

—John L. Lewis, Radio Address, Oct. 25, 1940.

As You Go to the Polls

An Editorial

As you go to the polls this Tuesday, fellow-workers, what real choice do you have in casting your ballots?

In a few places you can vote for candidates who represent the independent political action of the labor movement. In New York you can vote for a number of local and Congressional candidates of the American Labor Party who are running on that ticket and on no capitalist ticket—for that reason they deserve your support. In Minnesota you can similarly vote for some candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party. In New Jersey you can vote for George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for United States Senator. In Minnesota you can vote for our party's candidate, Grace Carlson, for United States Senator. And there are a few scattered candidates here and there who are also running as representatives of labor groups and do not appear on any capitalist ticket.

But this list of candidates that you as a worker can conscientiously vote for is pathetically small. It doesn't include the presidential ticket, nor the gubernatorial tickets, nor—in a word—does it cover more than a tiny fraction of the offices for which votes are to be cast.

Isn't it a pretty shameful picture that, at this hour of the clock, you can't go into a ballot booth and cast a straight ticket for Labor's own, independent party and a labor program? You wouldn't dream of voting for the bosses' man in an NLRB election in your plant, or in a union election. You're not a company union man, you're a loyal union man. Yet you're being told on all sides to be a company union man in national politics, you're told to vote for one bosses' man or another—Roosevelt & Co. or Willkie, Inc.

And loudest among those who're selling you company union politics are the "labor statesmen." Hillman and his crew are yelling for Roosevelt, Lewis and his boys are yelling for Willkie. The Stalinists, Lewis' henchmen, are trying to make it appear that his supporting Willkie is somehow more praiseworthy than Hillman's supporting Roosevelt. We say that there is little to choose between these two crimes. Both Hillman and Lewis are selling you company union politics.

And at this hour of the clock! At this moment in the greatest crisis that has ever faced the human race! When, after eight years of the New Deal, it has become clear to the naked eye that no capitalist politician, party or government can lead us out of this epoch of war and militarism.

This is the epoch of the death-agony of capitalism. But like a dying monster convulsively threshing about, capitalism can deal us terrible blows in its death-agony. It can even, if we let it, destroy modern civilization in the course of the Second World War, and plunge the remnants of the human race back into barbarism. The class that embodies capitalism can lead us to total destruction—and to nothing else.

To vote for representatives of this class—Willkie, Roosevelt or Zilch, it doesn't matter what his name is—is to vote in favor of death and destruction. That is what Hillman and Lewis and Green and Tobin are telling us to do.

Let us resolve, before it is too late, to change our course, and change it fundamentally. Let this be the last election in which Labor isn't represented by its own party. Let us turn our backs on company union politics. Let us, from this moment on, dedicate ourselves to building Labor's own, independent party. And let us build it, not as just another party, but as the party of the CLASS that represents the only salvation for humanity. For only the rule of the working class can put an end to this epoch of war and militarism.

"Neither To Laugh Nor To Weep"

Within the hour in which Secretary of War Stimson drew the first fateful number of those who will be called for the draft, the news spread through all the back tenement halls, down into the dime "flops" of the Bowery, back and forth between the dark windows in narrow air-shafts. "158!"

The mother of David Nathan Goren, 23, of the East Side was on the way to a tailor to get her David's suit pressed. The news came to her on the street. The suit fell to the sidewalk. She wept hysterically. "I'm just a poor widow, and they have to take little David. That's what Roosevelt is doing to the country."

Into the streets ran George Gonzales, of Brooklyn, when he heard that he held the "lucky" number. "Whoopee! I'm in the army now!", he shouted gleefully. George is 25, single, and has been jobless for over a year. Regular meals and a place to sleep look good to him.

"It's tough getting a job these days," bitterly exclaimed John Guerin, of Amsterdam Avenue, when he heard his number was first called. "The employers are holding off, you know, on men of draft age. They surely won't give me a job now."

Mrs. William Karachine, of the East Side, was widowed four weeks ago. Her only son, Joseph, 22, holds the draft number, 158 "I just lost my man," she wept, "I don't want to lose my boy".

But the tears are in vain. Vain, too, the laughter mostly hysterical, invoked by the monstrous jest that here at last is a "job".

Before the war is ended, there will be heaped up mountains of personal agony for hundreds of millions. For them, the wretched and disinherited of the earth, there is no hope of individual justice.

But there is another justice on the way, not a personal but a class justice.

Leon Trotsky saw his sons and daughter die, the victims of a bloody reaction. He wandered the face of the earth, and lived in dungeons and prison camps. He sought no personal justice, but fought only for his class. To all the anguished people of the world caught in the whirlpools of historical destiny, he gave this simple message of wisdom:

"Neither to laugh, nor to weep. But to understand."

And then to act.

Deals Blow To Labor's Freedom

John L. Lewis has done it again. The tawdry lies and artificial enthusiasm that he worked up for Coolidge in 1924, Hoover in 1928, Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936, he has now served up on behalf of Wendell Willkie.

Up to the last moment, many militants in the labor movement hoped that Lewis would not do it. They hoped that Lewis would support neither of the candidates of the two old capitalist parties. They hoped that Lewis would utilize this dramatic occasion to call upon the workers to begin right now to build Labor's own, independent party.

"Halfway through Lewis' speech", reports the organizer of an SWOC lodge, "the whisper went around the hall: 'Lewis is turning thumbs down on both of them.' And there was a ripple of strong approval, even from those who have been wearing Roosevelt buttons handed out by the SWOC leadership. That's what they wanted to hear—that the head of the CIO wasn't taking either one of them."

But if these men were bitterly disappointed, it was only because they had harbored illusions about Lewis. They had come to think that Lewis was different from Hillman or Murray or R. J. Thomas, because Lewis had not joined the others in singing Roosevelt's praises. But what did the difference between Lewis and the others really amount to? A question of price. The others sold cheap. Lewis held out for a bigger price. And when Roosevelt wouldn't pay more for Lewis than he had paid for Hillman, Lewis decided to sell his wares to Wilkie.

Lewis shares with Hillman and the rest of these "labor statesmen" the same outlook; they all acknowledge the capitalists as their masters, not one of them appears in the political arena as a working class fighter against all the bosses. Like Hillman, Lewis dislikes strikes and militant trade union methods, and prefers "good relations" with the bosses. Like Hillman, Lewis wants above all "good relations" with the capitalist government. Essentially they think of gains for labor as crumbs from the master's table.

That mentality of Lewis was especially revealed during his speech when, after declaring for Willkie, he added: **". . . it is a reasonable hope that these gentlemen (Willkie's supporters, Girdler, Weir and Grace) acting in their corporate capacity, will soon execute collective bargaining contracts with the CIO." Thanks to my support of Willkie—that was Lewis' plain meaning!**

What of the many martyrs who died on the picket lines? Presumably they died in vain—if what is really necessary is to support Roosevelt or Willkie, as Hillman and Lewis tell us.

One beneficial result of Lewis' speech for Willkie can be recorded—many a union militant will now understand that Lewis is no better than Hillman.

(Other articles on Lewis' speech appear on pages 2 and 3)

Negroes Good Enough to Draft But Not to Vote, says Governor

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Oct. 25—Negroes have done nothing to aid or build up the United States, according to Governor Prentice Cooper, and they are lucky to be able to live in this country.

Such was the reply given to a committee of colored citizens that called upon the governor to ask him to appoint some Negroes to the draft boards. He added, "This is a white man's country."

The majority of the working population of Tennessee are Negroes.

Governor Cooper's remarks, reported to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, included the following:

"This is a white man's country. America was settled by English, Scotch and Irish settlers who came here and shed their blood for it. White men cut down the trees, plowed the fields and developed America. The Negro had nothing to do with the settling of America. Of course Negroes worked some, but they came to the scene later, after New England was settled. You fellows ought to feel proud that you are in a great country like America. It is the best place for you and your people. Now, one important thing you preachers ought to tell your boys is to go to the stations and register for military service, because if they don't they will be arrested and fined $10,000 or put in prison until they work it out. I have a job to do as Governor of Tennessee and that is to see that all men of draft age register, white and colored, and I don't intend to have any trouble or confusion doing it."

Governor's Ignorance

The Governor reveals not merely the blood-thirsty bigotry of his class, but his profound ignorance of historical facts as well.

The Negroes played a leading part in the building up of the early colonial empire in America. African slaves were among the crew on Christopher Columbus's first voyage to the New World. From 1520 on, Spanish, Portugese, Italian, Dutch and English vessels poured Negro slaves into the West Indies.

The first Negro slaves arrived on the mainland of America at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1620, less than a year after the first settlers arrived in New England. From that time on, the Negro people have played a great role, and particularly in Governor Cooper's South, in doing the most toilsome work in developing the country. The importance of the Negro slave to the economy of the South was one of the prime factors in the background of the Civil War. In this war, as well as the World War, the Negro workers, as the official records show, played a truly brave role.

As a "hewer of wood and drawer of water,"—something which Governor Cooper's lily-white hands would not deign to do,—the Negro has poured his sweat and blood into the deepest foundations of this country.

The N.A.A.C.P. reports that last June in Brownsville, Tenn., Negro citizens tried to register to vote in the November 5 elections and one was lynched for his efforts. Others were driven out of town by mobs. Governor Cooper did nothing to try to catch the lynchers.

"Governor Cooper thinks it all right for Negroes to register to die for America, but all wrong for them to register to vote and help choose the people who will rule over them", the N.A.A.C.P. statement declares.

WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Worker Finds Soldiers Have Little Faith In Holy War

Editor:

Last Sunday while attending a non-political picnic in the County Park, I got in with some soldiers from a regiment of the regular army camped in the park.

After having a round of beer together, we got into a conversation, and the boys were pretty open about their opinions of army life. I gathered that most of them had joined the army only because they couldn't find jobs elsewhere. They all expressed the idea that they would rather have any kind of "half-decent" job than be in the army.

They seemed certain that war will come and that they will be among the first under fire. I asked whom they expected to fight and what they thought they would be fighting for. They answered resignedly that they didn't know—that they could only do just as they were ordered. One thing they seemed to be sure of—they would not be fighting to save democracy.

When I asked then whether they believed that the coming war would create jobs for them to come back to or help the working class in general, they were in agreement that there was little hope of jobs when—and if—they returned.

At this point one of the soldiers broke in with a reference to "fifth columnists." Another immediately told him to "shut up," that he had been six years in the army and knew what he was talking about. The latter then went on to tell of his bitter experiences while he was unemployed. After the discussion, he had a private conversation with me on the whole question of what the war was about and what it would lead to, and insisted that I contact him again.

It seemed unusual to me to find soldiers so open to this type of discussion. It made me think that possibly the army ranks will not be the quiet sheep in the coming war that they appeared to be in the last.

R. L.

Political Prisoners Must Not Separate From Others In Jail

Editor:

Last week's *Appeal* has an account of hunger strikes in the prisons of India over a demand for better treatment for *political* prisoners. I don't know much about the situation there, but I immediately wondered what would be the correct policy here with respect to the conduct of political prisoners, especially since we can expect an increasing number of political prisoners with the development of the war situation.

In my opinion, the political "offender" in prison should *not* distinguish himself from the "common criminal" in any social sense. There are class lines in prison also, and "better treatment" often means association with grafting politicians, jailed cops, forgers, stool-pigeons—the "rats" gallery—and ostracism by the "population."

The political prisoner should be especially careful *not to demand the soft jobs* like working in the warden's office, or waiting on table in the guards' mess. A demand for reading and writing material comes under a different heading, but here again, the demand should be raised not as a special one for political prisoners, but as the right of any prisoner.

Perhaps the demand for better treatment for the political prisoners in India is a result of their receiving *worse* treatment than the others. That is most likely. It will be the case in America. The prison guards were particularly brutal to "conscientious objectors" and radicals imprisoned during the last war. In every instance, however, the political prisoner should attempt to solidarize himself with the other prisoners, and be carful to raise no barrier between himself and them.

V.

Buffalo, N. Y.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

War Scene Shifts To Mediterranean

(Continued from Page 1)

as he moved in Poland, in Finland, in the Baltic States, and in Rumania, to push that frontier a little outward to gain whatever defensive advantages he can against eventual Nazi attack.

In each of those previous instances, Hitler graciously acquiesced in Stalin's moves. As far as he was and is concerned we may be certain that these concessions to the Soviet Union are written down in the page of his private ledger under the heading: "To be rectified later."

Stalin Frozen Out?

In the present case the obvious object of Stalin's concern would be the Dardanelles, the straits that join the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. The total silence out of Moscow and the evident uncertainty in Ankara as the Italian attack on Greece began suggested strongly that in this instance Hitler may well have told Stalin to keep hands off the straits and to seek his leavings in the northeastern provinces of Turkey, in Persia, Afganistan, or on the moon, while the Axis takes over the vital Dardanelles and moves beyond them.

Whether this is the case, the coming days or weeks will have to show. Meanwhile the press is filled again, as in every other like situation since the war began, with speculation over the possibility of a switch in Kremlin policy. Wish-fulfillments die hard. In terms of his reactionary policy, Stalin will not, dares not, cannot move against Hitler. He has put himself and his regime in Hitler's straitjacket and cannot quite so easily loose himself now.

The Turks will at best meet a blank wall in Moscow when they ask—as they must be urgently asking right now—what they can expect if they fight. They may be urged to give in while they can or may be bluntly told that if they fight, it's their own funeral, not Stalin's.

Pact With Japan

If Hitler appears to be agreeable, Stalin will move in on the Dardanelles. In any case, he will likely accept the new Japanese bid for a non-aggression pact to gain as much insurance as that offers of a "pacified" eastern front while he uneasily watches Hitler on his western, and perhaps soon, his southern frontiers.

The projected Soviet-Japanese pact would then be followed by a speed-up in Japan's Asiatic parallel to the Axis drive. Part of the preparations for fresh Japanese moves toward Singapore and the Dutch East Indies include a new effort to strike a peace bargain with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and in this effort the Kremlin is obviously already playing its part. If by threat of withdrawing support, Stalin could get Chiang to come to terms with the Japanese it would spare the Kremlin the embarassment of openly abandoning its support of the Chinese cause.

China Will Fight On

But Chiang is not likely to nibble, not at a time when he can actually see a Japanese-American clash in the offing and can look for more effective Anglo-American support than he has hitherto received.

For the time being, however, the center of the stage has moved to the Mediterannean and there it is likely to remain for some months to come.

Choice of one or two rooms furnished or unfurnished in Bronx, kitchen privileges—refrigerator. Single or double—Excellent opportunity. Write S. W. P., 116 University Place, c-o Kellner.

Fort Dix Soldiers Win Demand For Better Chow

FORT DIX, N. J., Oct. 26—Recruits of the National Guard regiments, in training here, have won the first round of the classic "beef" of the privates over bad army food.

They forced recognition of their complaint against the poor preparation of the food, and in a number of cases secured better cooks of their own choice.

A number of the complaints were backed by the threat of a "letter home to my Congressman", which apparently proved a powerful-enough suggestion to some of the officers, who want to keep in good with the politicians for promotion's sake.

The ranks are not too backward in objecting to the new non-commissioned officers recently appointed. A National Guardsman, talking to several of his buddies, was heard to declare, "Why the captain must be off his nut to appoint such a s—o—b for sergeant. He should have asked some of us guys beforehand for our idea of the guy. We know the men from before they were in the army."

SWP Broadcasts to Minnesota Workers

Grace Carlson, Candidate For Senator, Puts Our Military Program On the Air

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 28—In the second of a series of radio broadcasts, Grace Carlson, SWP candidate for U. S. Senator from Minnesota, gave "The Socialist Answer to War and Fascism." Speaking over Station WLOL tonight Comrade Carlson charged that the senatorial candidates of the other parties had no realistic program against war. "Their feeble anti-war declarations, lacking the necessary economic interpretations of the causes of war, are as futile in this period as the action of a man who tries to hold back the tide with a broom."

Quoting at length from the Manifesto of the Fourth International, she urged listeners "to compare this forthright program against war with the confused, misleading and utterly inadequate declarations of the other candidates."

On Monday, November 4th, at 7:45 P. M. Comrade Carlson will again speak over Station WLOL on other issues of the campaign.

At a meeting to be held in the Odd Fellows Hall in St. Paul on November 1st, Comrade Carlson will speak on "A Proletarian Military Policy." She promises if elected to introduce a bill into the U.S. Senate providing the trade union movement with military equipment and instructors so that the workers might receive their military training, not under the labor-hating army machine, but under their own auspices.

Two election rallies have been planned for Sunday, November 3rd. V. R. Dunne will speak at the meeting at 919 Marquette Avenue in Minneapolis at 3:30 P. M.

Comrade Carlson will be the speaker at the Duluth Election Rally which will be held in Foresters Hall at 3:00 P. M.

Ten thousand copies of a special Minnesota Campaign Issue of the SOCIALIST APPEAL were distributed in working class neighborhoods of St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth.

C. Johnson, Campaign Manager, said "The workers received our election issue very enthusiastically. Our only regret is that we did not have another 40,000 for distribution. All signs point to a great wind-up of the campaign."

SUGARING THE DRAFT

HARTFORD, Conn., Oct. 24 The State Joint Executive Defense Committee of Connecticut has finally hung a sex angle on military conscription.

It has ruled that the draft registrants' girl-friends may wear the draft pins, given all draftees in this state. This is to encourage the replacing of fraternity pins by draft pins in the ritual of campus love. Sweet and glorious it is to lay down one's life for love's young dream and Wall Street.

Stalinists Supporting Pro-Willkie Stand of John L. Lewis

John Llewellyn Lewis, Master Opportunist, has taken his stand. And all the lesser and cheaper Opportunists are dancing around the huge black hole he made in labor history, hoping to be able somehow to break the fall they face when, in a moment, they leap in after him.

Noisiest and most frantic of these filthy and cowardly followers of false leaders is the Communist party, now confronting the logical outcome of its policy of tagging along behind the heftiest and most unprincipled of labor big-shots. This Stalinist caricature of a workers' party has for so many years wantonly tossed aside all consideration for the basic interests of labor that now, as it faces the necessity of openly supporting the most brazenly advertised candidate for Wall Street that American politics has ever seen, it needs only toss three formulae about in the air for a day or two and then pull out the one it wants for the line.

It is of course from the labor stooges of the Communist Party that the statements emanate. There are two alternative lines used by these "labor leaders." The first is reported extensively in the October 27 issue of the *Daily Worker* in the form of letters, telegrams and public statements made in the name of a number of CIO unions securely under the domination of the C. P.

"MERELY" SUPPORT LEWIS

This line presents an equivocal support of the great John L. but pretends, with a very delicate accent, a hesitation about endorsing his choice of candidates in this election. A few samples of this line are all that are needed, since the rest of them follow the formula represented with such rigidity that the C. P. must have sent out a sample statement and carefully restricted the liberties to be taken with it.

From the farm equipment workers' union in Chicago (located in what is known to Chicago workers as the Little Kremlin on Oakley and Ogden) comes a statement which expresses "Complete support for John L. Lewis' leadership of the CIO" but also declares that "the CIO affiliate would 'refrain from endorsing any political candidate.'"

Another such item reports that "New York leaders of CIO unions wired John L. Lewis approval for his sharp criticism in Friday's broadcast of the Roosevelt administration on its pro-war program, but most of them made no endorsement of either Willkie or Roosevelt."

Still another item indicates the fear the C. P. has that Lewis' act of treachery will have inevitable and serious repercussions in the ranks of the CIO. It quotes Allan S. Haywood, national director of the CIO and Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union and ardent C. P. stooge, as having "warned 200 delegates of the Third Annual Convention of the Connecticut Industrial Union Council, against permitting political differences to divide union ranks."

ONE STEP FURTHER

In another set of statements, appearing in the October 28 issue of the *Daily Worker*, the development of the line along its logical course toward open support of Willkie can be seen. Lewis Merrill, president of the CIO United Office and Professional Workers and C. P. mouthpiece, has this to say:

"If there is any man who has earned the right to counsel the workers of this country, it is John L. Lewis. The vigorous application of the policies of the CIO is more important to labor than the question of who occupies the White House for the next four years. (This from the spokesman of a party which is supposed to have as its chief function the politicalization of the experiences of workers!—Ed.) The tremendous contribution of John L. Lewis to the creation of these policies and to their fulfillment in real life is the best answer to his critics.

"Efforts to interpret his decision as determined by anything other than his desire to better the lot of those who work for a living and of every inhabitant of our country are resented by workers regardless of their political opinions."

Six national officers of the National Maritime Union, headed by Joseph Curran—all Stalinists—offered by telegram their "full and unswerving support" to Lewis when he "called for the defeat of President Roosevelt and the election of Wendell L. Willkie." (*Daily Worker*, Oct. 28). Their statement said at a further point: "We are sure that the great number of organized and unorganized workers and their families will recognize your (Lewis') sincere motives in their behalf and give you their support and loyalty which you deserve in this fight." And they conclude with the pious hope that Lewis' action will "bring about an overwhelming defeat to Franklin D. Roosevelt."

C. P. ALIBI FOR LEWIS

But the official statement of the C. P. itself, carried editorially in the issue of October 27, takes the cake. It does not go to the length of its stooges in the labor movement but it makes up for that by a thoroughly disgusting cover-up of the real implications of the Lewis statement.

Totally disregarding the fact that Lewis did nothing of the kind, it claims that "the Myth of the New Deal, now abandoned and betrayed, had to be dispelled. Some one had to stand up and cry out the obvious truth: 'The King is naked!' Lewis did it, and thus far performed an historic service."

Forgetting that Lewis, precisely because he has played a role of tremendous importance in the development of the American Labor movement, is guilty in his support of Willkie of a greater act of political treachery than a lesser figure would have represented, the *Daily Worker* can find nothing better to do than turn the scorn which should have fallen upon Lewis on those in the labor movement who, though not one whit better then he, are certainly no worse. The *Daily Worker* says:

"There can be nothing but contempt for the howls and cavilling against Lewis, which come from the camp of Roosevelt's 'Labor' lieutenants. Among these Lilliputians, Lewis has stood forth as a giant. They have grovelled at the feet of the War Machine and would deliver Labor in chains for the reward of Roosevelt's smile. Lewis has at least tried to bargain for some definite gain as the price of Labor's vote, even though such bargain is dubious and unsound, and dangerous for the future."

THE REAL LINE

Toward Willkie the Stalinists are performing the same function as they did in 1936. Then it was "Defeat Landon at all costs"—i.e., elect Roosevelt. Now it is "Uphold Lewis at all costs," i. e., elect Willkie.

What scoundrels!

Hillman Merely Helped to Break Boeing Strike

Editor:

It was with considerable interest that I read your article in the Appeal of Sept. 21, analyzing Sidney Hillman's job as Knudsen's stooge on the Defense Council. As I am working at the Boeing Plant, your use of our recently liquidated strike situation as an example struck home. It is probably true that the role that has been cut out for Hillman is as you say: To Give (to the employers). However, as you uncover the complete story of the Boeing negotiations, there appear other facts which may throw some additional light upon Hillman's work, or at least upon the *actual stage of development* of his job.

Your story says (after describing the situation at Boeing) "Hillman and Knudsen, working together with the president of the International Association of Machinists, first put through a ten-day truce and then maneuvered the Union back to work with its unmet demands to be thrown to arbitration."

Hillman's Local Helpers

What actually happened was that the Local Officials of the Union had been for some time casting about wildly for some device to hold the strike off. Hillman merely supplied the device.

Although his press releases sounded swell, Lundquist of the local union never had any intention of permitting the men to strike. The Company knew this all along—the men in leadership of the Union didn't have any backbone. But the way that Lundquist and his machine grabbed at Madam Perkins' request for a truce made it begin to look obvious. Lundquist was very skillful in handling this and all the other maneuvers by which the strike situation was liquidated and the agreement—which by comparison is lousy—signed. So skillful was he, in fact, that the men began to catch on too late that it was a put-up job between the Company and the Local Union Officials. By now Lundquist has even replaced some of the most classical subjects of derision and contempt used by the out-house artists and poets in the Boeing wash-room.

However—to get back to the story—both the Company and Lundquist were afraid of the workers and that 97% strike vote. Without help from Hillman it would have been very difficult to pull off. Lundquist would have had either to permit the men to walk out—or to keep them in by such arbitrary and bureaucratic means that he would have been completely exposed. In either case he would have broken his pick.

Actually, in this case Hillman played—along with President Brown of the I. A. of M., only a secondary or auxiliary role to the Local fakers.

Same In Marine Cooks

So far as I can learn this was about as far as Hillman's work went also in the threatened strike of the Marine Cooks & Stewards. The last thing in the world that Burke, Cayton & Co. wanted was to put their men on the bricks. Not only would that bring down the wrath of their "brother" Bridges of the Longshoremen but getting on the bricks would put the Cooks in a really good position to settle accounts with a few obnoxious officials as well as the boss. What a relief it must have been to be able to have some heat turned from Hillman!

But set these two cases beside the totally different one of the (AFL) Longshoremen at Tacoma Wash. Here, the workers had what would appear on the surface, at least, to be a beef not nearly so good as either of the other two. They were striking against an old NLRB ruling depriving them of the right to bargain for their own members—giving Coastwise rights to Bridges, ILWU. There was much more heat generated against this strike than against the other two named and from many more sources. Not only were the government representatives yelling to high heaven about "National Defense", but the entire apparatus of the CIO movement on the Coast was geared to the job of trying to liquidate this strike. Even the great Maritime "Arbitrator," Dean Wayne Morse, who learned the principles of Stevedoring and Maritime Labor Relations while pursuing an academic career at an Oregon cow-College, saw fit to let forth a devastating blast against the Tacoma Longshoremen as being "Unpatriotic" and "Striking against the Government".

Hillman Failed Here!

Yet not only did the Tacoma Longshoremen Strike, but in spite of all this crap they held out until their demand was granted: an immediate rehearing of their case by the Board. Not that Hillman did not attempt to take credit for this settlement as well. However, he undoubtedly had little, if anything to do with it at all.

The moral of this story is something like this:

1) Although Hillman's role is supposed to be a powerful one, it is as yet far from it. A much better title for him would be "Hillman: a Boon to Bungling Bureaucrats." Right now, his main preoccupation seems to be publicity and to get his finger into the pie of as many controversies as possible—if only as far as the newspapers are concerned. He has a long way to go, however before his authority will be as great as his position warrants.

2.) At least as far as the Boeing situation was concerned, the workers in the Plant did not give in to Hillman-pressure, nor were they maneuvered from Washington. The sell-out, like charity, began at home. Hillman-interference doesn't mean too much to the workers yet—except where the Union Leaders directly involved are themselves looking for an easy way out. Then the combination becomes pretty devastating.

AIRCRAFT WORKER
Seattle, Wash.

Aircraft Worker is 100% correct. Where workers have half-way decent local leadership, Hillman's strikebreaking moves don't work at this stage of the game.—EDITORS

Coast C. P. Members Learn Of United Front Refusal

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 18—Communist Party members and sympathizers attending a meeting here addressed by James Ford, Stalinist vice-presidential candidate, learned, from a leaflet of the Socialist Workers Party, that the Stalinist leaders had concealed from their followers two offers from the S. W. P. for a united front to fight the California ballot-ban against the Communist Party.

The leaflets gained a friendly reception, few being thrown away. A number of rank and file Stalinists spoke to the leaflet passers and expressed their approval of a united front on the ballot-ban issue. Many leaflets were carefully folded and pocketed.

Contrasting the eagerness of the Stalinists for many years to form a "people's front" with capitalist groups, and their present reluctance to engage in united front actions with workers' organizations, the leaflet declared, "Not so long ago the Communist Party formed 'People's front' alliances with the capitalist class and its agents such as Olson—who now bans the C.P. from the ballot, La-Guardia—who breaks strikes and cuts relief appropriations, Roosevelt—who beats the war drums of American imperialism, Daladier—who prepared the surrender of France's working class to the Nazi war machine, etc..."

The appeal concludes:

"The reactionary drive will continue as the war-machine of American imperialism gathers momentum. Other issues will arise in the near future, issues on which united action is possible and absolutely demanded. We urge the rank and file of the Communist Party to be vigilant—to demand that the C.P. leadership ceases its blind policy of refusing a united front on issues in defense of labor."

In this, as well as the previous united front appeals, the Socialist Workers Party pointed out that the ban was a blow not only at the Stalinists, but at the political rights of all labor organizations in California.

The Los Angeles S. W. P. branches are sending committees to visit the C. P. members to discuss with them the significance of their leaders' refusal to accept the united front.

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This week, the following branches have made payments on account: Detroit, $40., Los Angeles, $20., Toledo, $10., New York, $75., New Haven, $2., making a total for the week of $147.

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Branch	Quota	Amount paid	%
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Toledo	50.00	25.00	50%
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Boston	100.00	27.00	27%
Newark	150.00	40.00	27%
Flint	150.00	25.00	17%
Los Angeles	150.00	20.00	13%
New Haven	20.00	2.00	10%
New York	1000.00	75.00	8%
Akron	10.00	00.00	00
Baltimore	10.00	00.00	00
Cleveland	70.00	00.00	00
Hutchinson	10.00	00.00	00
Milwaukee	5.00	00.00	00
Minneapolis and St. Paul	1000.00	00.00	00
Philadelphia	30.00	00.00	00
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The Negro Struggle

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

By ALBERT PARKER

Roosevelt "Promotes" Davis

Two weeks ago in this column we drew attention to the failure of President Roosevelt to promote Col. Benjamin O. Davis, Negro officer, to the rank of brigadier-general, as he did with scores of white colonels at the same time.

In it we declared what everyone acquainted with the situation knew: that the Army is a Jim Crow institution, that it does everything it can to prevent Negroes from becoming officers, and that it sees to it that they don't rise higher than the post of colonel.

Now, however, Roosevelt has promoted Davis to be a brigadier-general, the first such colored officer in the Army's history.

Does this mean that there has been any change in the Army's Jim Crow policies? Does this mean that now there will be equal rights for colored soldiers, that discrimination against them will end, that they will receive a proportionate number of officers' posts?

Look at the facts, and you'll have to answer: No.

In the first place, whatever happened to Davis, the recent ruling of Commander-in-Chief Roosevelt that there shall be Jim Crow regiments still remains in effect. That means that Negro soldiers will not get equal rights, that they will still be used for laborers or suicide squads, suffering all the insults of the Negro-hating officer caste that runs the Army and will continue to run the Army even if Davis is a brigadier-general.

Every anti-Semitic firm, every big business outfit that refuses to hire Jews, usually has one Jew on its office staff, to be pointed to as an example of their unprejudiced hiring policies. This one Jewish employee is used as window-dressing to cover up the rotten general policy.

Davis is going to be used as the window-dressing of the U. S. Army, for a time, to cover up the vicious anti-Negro policies of its general staff.

But even more important than this reason is the fact that election day is almost here.

A Vote-Catching Move

In the last month Roosevelt has lost considerable votes as the result of his statement on Jim Crow regiments. He has taken a heavy walloping from most of the Negro press on it, and from the N.A.A.C.P. for his attempt to make it seem they had approved this policy.

In many states the colored vote may prove decisive. Consequently, Roosevelt has attempted, by promoting Davis, to repair some of the fences he broke himself.

As proof, we point to the date of the announcement of his promotion: October 25th. This is just in time for the last issue of the Negro weekly papers that will appear on the news-stands before November 5. It thus gives him the final punch in the campaign, in even the papers that oppose him and support Willkie.

The general staff of the Army won't like it, even though they recognize it as a necessary political maneuver that won't change anything fundamentally. But they won't worry too much. For Davis is 63 years old, and will reach his retirement age July 1. So Roosevelt will get his votes when Davis gets his promotion, and a few months later when Davis gets his walking papers, the general staff will get the pleasure of being 100% lily-white again.

Although the appointment of Davis is partially a concession to mass protest, it is primarily a vote-catcher. It is no reason for relaxing the fight, Jim Crowism must still be fought by workers, colored and white, in the armed forces, as well as in civilian life.

Judas-Goat Dunjee

A "Judas goat" is one of those old, hardened, well-trained animals used in the stockyards to lead the sheep up the incline. When the goat gets to the top, he steps aside, but the sheep keep right on marching until they run into the butchers' knives. Then the goat comes down again, and is used over and over again to lead more unsuspecting sheep to their end.

Roscoe Dunjee, about whom we had a few things to say last week, is the editor of "The Black Dispatch" in Oklahoma. Last week he wrote an article asking that all Negro newspapermen be exempted from conscription. Why? Because they had been very valuable, he said, in getting the Negro people to accept the draft. And if these very valuable newspapermen are drafted, he feels, the newspapers will be weakened, and may not be able to do such a good job in the future.

Roscoe Dunjee is a Judas goat who has led his followers up the incline of the Jim Crow draft. But he doesn't want the same fate as the sheep. He wants to be excused so that he will be safely on hand to lead more sheep to the butchers' knives.

Forty Dollars A Head

When a colored man is even suspected of killing a white person down South, all resources of the state are used to capture him. Rewards of thousands of dollars are offered, blood-hounds and posses called out, and the victim is given short shrift when he is caught.

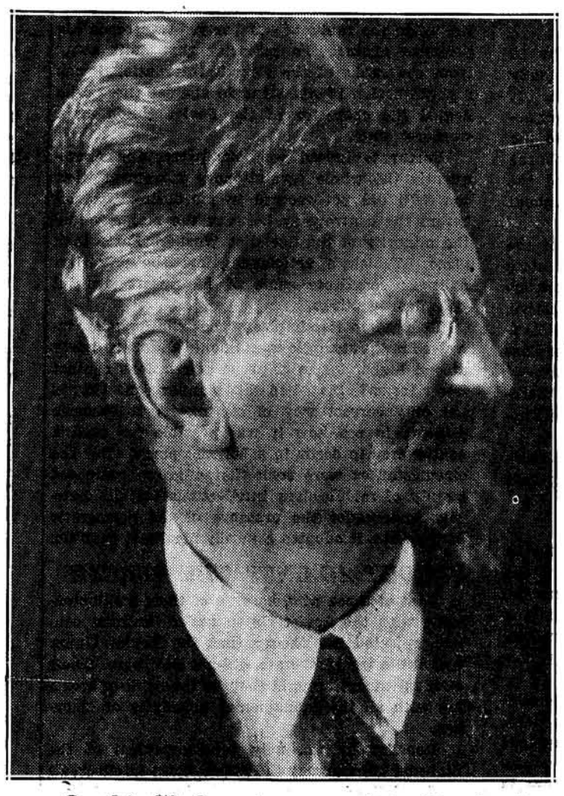
But it is different when the victim is a colored man.

In Washington, D. C., capital of the nation and frontier of Jim Crow land, seven Negroes have been fired on by a mysterious white maniac during the past few months. Five were killed and two injured.

Little effort has been made by the police to capture the maniac, who picks only colored victims. A total reward of $200 has been posted for his capture. That comes to $40 a head, or, one-twentieth of what a slave was worth 80 years ago.

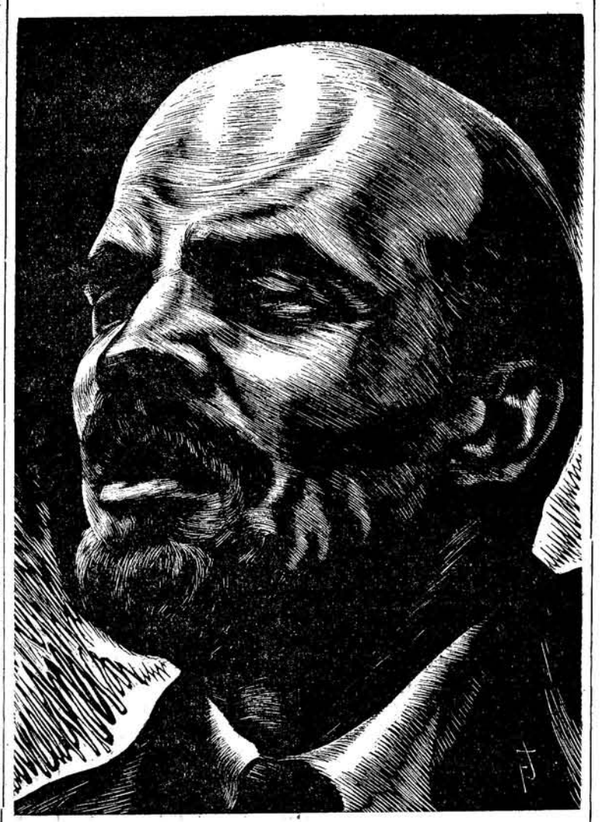
Ten Days That Shook The World

Leon Trotsky, 1879-1940



On this 23rd anniversary of the Russian Revolution, we would also have saluted our Comrade Leon Trotsky on his 61st birthday. The Russian Revolution has been betrayed by Stalin and the life of Trotsky, one of its chief architects, was snuffed out by one of Stalin's assassins. To the living tradition of that revolution and the rich revolutionary heritage of Trotsky we re-dedicate ourselves for today and the future.

V. I. Lenin, 1870-1924



By LYDIA BEIDEL

It is twenty-three years since the birth of the USSR, the first proletarian state. And it is twenty years since the death of John Reed, author of one of the finest dramatic records of that birth, *Ten Days That Shook the World.*

The figure of John Reed—adventurer, reporter, dynamic American youth—plays a unique and highly symbolical role in the greatest of all historical crises, the Russian revolution. His rebel spirit, batting about in a struggle against the restraint of tradition in the literary arts, gravitated unerringly toward Russia in 1917, the focal point of revolution against every aspect of the senility of capitalist society. The adventurer in him sensed that here he could be part of the grandest of all human adventures.

HE GREW WITH THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

But history, in its moments of creation, distils out of every man the finest in him for the future to cherish. John Reed, adventurer and romanticist though he may have been, could not fail to see that he as an American was not alien in Russia in November, 1917. Hearing and seeing Lenin and Trotsky, he perceived that this upheaval of a decayed society was but the beginning of a universal phenomenon which must remain incomplete until it had run its course and embraced all of mankind. He saw more clearly than many a politician of his day that this was a class and not a national event.

He played his role in the Russian revolution and then, with the simple acceptance of an indisputable fact which characterized all the Russian Bolsheviks, hastened back to the United States in 1919 to carry the revolution beyond the place of its beginning by helping to form a communist party here.

John Reed came to the revolution not as a proletarian politician or theorist but simply as a sensitive, intelligent rebel. Yet he epitomizes some of the finest aspects of our revolution. His audacity is an inspiration to all American youth. His understanding of the worldwide implications of the Russian beginning is a reproach to every Stalinist maligner of the permanent revolution. His devotion to the founding of a party to serve as an instrument for extending the revolution is a pattern for every member of the Fourth International. And he has left as a deathless contribution to the history of man's struggle for freedom a clear and inspiring record of the first act in the remaking of the world. We salute his memory.

THEY REMEMBER HIS DEATH WE REVIVE HIS WORK

Last week the Stalinists commemorated his death with a meeting. These people are always safest commemorating deaths. There is no fear that the one whose memory they insult by their vicious perversions of truth may rise up and answer back.

Let them try to explan why John Reed neglected to mention even once the name of Stalin! That of all the figures of those ten days it was Stalin whom they call "the greatest genius of all time," who completely escaped John Reed's attention and record! That the name of the executioner of all the Old Bolsheviks could be smuggled into this great work, with its laudatory introduction from the hand of Lenin, only via editor's notes in the back! Let them explain John Reed's constant coupling of the names of Lenin and Trotsky throughout his book.

How Jack Reed would have despised the Stalinist record of pandering to the most putrid parts of the decayed body of capitalism! How his rebel soul would have shuddered at the sterility which the present-day Soviet bureaucracy tries to pass off as proletarian art! How he would have wept that they could build a physical monument in America to literary boot-licking and the Cossack knout of bureaucratic censorship and call it by his name—the John Reed Clubs! Let them celebrate the death of John Reed. We shall celebrate that part of him which cannot ever die:

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.

Lewis Shifts Parties -- But Not Basic Line

Support of Willkie, Like Support of Roosevelt, Is Betrayal of Interests of the American Working Class

By JOSEPH HANSEN

In coming out in support of Wendell Willkie for the presidency of the United States, John L. Lewis did not betray the working class to any greater extent than if he had come out again for Franklin D. Roosevelt as he did in 1932 and in 1936. That is what must be understood clearly first of all.

What is most noteworthy about Lewis' espousal of Willkie's cause is that it is an astonishingly naked display of the absolute bankruptcy of the American trade union bureaucracy before the crucial political problems facing the working class.

What shall the workers do about the war in which the United States will soon become a military participant? Should he support it or struggle against it? How shall he struggle against it? What shall the worker do about the increasing militarization of the United States which has now registered some sixteen million men for induction into the army? How shall the workers secure military training but not at the price of being enslaved by the reactionary officer-caste? How shall the workers win trade union conditions in the armed forces?

Lewis does not even pose these questions. He mentions that *Roosevelt's* program is bankrupt, that the New Deal failed to solve a single one of the problems from which the country was suffering in 1932. And then Lewis says, "If not Roosevelt, whom do I recommend . . . why, of course, I recommend the election of Wendell L. Willkie . . . " *Of course!* As if the program of this utilities magnate were something different from Roosevelt's program!

LEWIS NAMES THEM ONLY TO BETRAY THEM

What about unemployment? Are the desperate unemployed, 9,115,000 of them according to Lewis' figures, to continue to march meekly between Republican Hoovervilles and Democrat social investigators forever? "Why, *of course,*" says Lewis, "I recommend the election of Wendell L. Willkie . . . "

And the 45,000,000 people, according to Lewis' figures, who are going hungry in the United States —what should they do? Continue to go hungry under another Wall Street regime, comforted by the thought that they loyally followed Lewis' advice as they did in 1932 and in 1936?

Lewis addresses the Negroes, that is, the Negroes in the Northern States. How his heart bleeds for their votes! He does not even mention the Negroes suffering in the Southern States under the lash of the Bourbon whip. Why didn't he mention them? Because they are prevented from voting and hence don't enter into the calculations of a capitalist politician? Willkie's attitude toward the Negroes is the same as Roosevelt's—hound them, persecute them, segregate them.

Lewis stumped for Roosevelt, handed over to the Democratic campaign hundreds of thousands of dollars out of the union treasury in order to make sure that Roosevelt gained office. And he did this, in 1936, after four years under Roosevelt of injunctions and court decisions against labor, strike-breaking, tear gas, thugs, National Guard bayonets.

VOTING FOR EITHER ONE IS VOTING FOR WAR

Now Lewis asks labor to support Willkie, whose program against labor is identical with that of Roosevelt's. Lewis could not have given more treacherous advice if he were in the direct pay of those who shot down the CIO strikers in the Memorial Day massacre at Chicago.

Lewis' speech in support of another four years of capitalist dictatorship is a curious monstrosity in reasoning. He speaks against war with a shudder as if he really hated it. He mentions the fact that war "kills off the vigorous males who, if permitted to live, might question the financial exploitation of the race." Lewis then proves that Roosevelt's policy is directed towards military participation in the world war now raging—despite the fact that Roosevelt like Lewis "hates war." After listening to Lewis, and his advice to vote for Willkie's war program, which is the same as Roosevelt's, the laboring man should understand one cold fact —if he did not already know it— that war under capitalism is *inevitable.* All the pacifism of Lewis in the face of that fact means nothing but treacherous blindfolding of the working class and sending them like cattle into the slaughter. Voting for Roosevelt or Willkie would not even change the date Wall Street decides upon for "killing off the vigorous males" who might question Wall Street's dictatorship.

Lewis discloses his absolute bankruptcy as a labor leader through his failure to draw the necessary conclusions to the following description he makes of the impasse in which capitalism today finds itself:

"The Administration spokesmen forget to say what will happen to economic America when the 25,000,000 men now under arms in foreign nations and the 70,000,000 citizens who service the armies, are returned to peacetime pursuits. The manufacturers of America will then have to compete in the remaining world markets with the quantitative production of foreign nations, whose workmen will occupy the relative economic and social status of chattel slaves.

"Where will our country then sell its goods? Surely not in Europe, nor in the Baltic or Mediterranean areas. Surely not in Africa or the Orient. Surely, it is obvious that South American markets will be penetrated by the cheap labor products of the world commercial adversaries of the United States of America."

THE WORKERS MUST DRAW THE OBVIOUS CONCLUSION!

Lewis in these words touches upon the insoluble contradiction in which capitalism in its death agony finds itself. He does not elaborate on this theme nor follow it to its inevitable conclusions. To do so would be to expose himself in the eyes of the workers as an agent of the bosses, trying to lead the workers to the polls to vote for their mortal enemy.

The capitalist produces not for use, but only in order to sell and make a profit. If there is no market then the goods pile up in warehouses, the factories close their doors, the workers starve while the capitalists set about to slaughter entire populations, blow up billions of dollars worth of national riches in their fight for markets.

The national wealth flows into the hands of an ever narrowing circle of corporations completely dominated by a handful of capitalists who perform no function in production whatsoever. At the same time the industrial machine becomes so complex, involves such an intricate organization, requires such a vast number of workers for its operation, is so highly productive, that it is completely ripe for the next stage of society's development, the socialist system of production for use instead of profit.

DOESN'T LEWIS SEE THE DANGER OF FASCISM HERE?

Surely it should be obvious to Lewis that Wall Street, in order to compete with the capitalists who are now locked in military conflict for domination of the world market, will attempt to crush the American trade union movement, thus reducing the American workers to the "economic and social status of chattel slaves."

It was this contradiction of capitalism—dynamically expanding productive forces in a narrowing world market. . .which faced Italian capitalism after the last world war. The capitalists there succeeded in imposing *their* "solution"—that is, fascism, which started its horrible and bloody task by smashing the labor movement.

It was this contradiction of capitalism which the German imperialists staved off by installing Hitler. They wiped out the last remnants of the labor movement in Germany.

It happened again in Spain.

In France and England, the capitalists, faced with this same contradiction, instituted a military form of capitalist dictatorship which regimented the labor movement and took away overnight all the gains which had been made through decades of painful struggle.

Now the labor movement in the United States faces the same terrible and inescapable problem. Yet Lewis demands that labor shut its eyes and vote for one of the two candidates whom Wall Street has set up to act as its executive officer in Washington.

What is involved in the coming period is nothing less than the fate of the entire trade union movement in the United States. American capitalism has reached the cross roads. With the complete failure of the New Deal it now has no alternative but some form of capitalist dictatorship that will stamp out in blood the last vestige of the rights of labor.

What must be done? What is needed now, is not political cowards coming out for Willkie or Roosevelt, but courageous and far seeing trade unionists who can stand up and face the issues squarely. What is needed is a new leadership that understands it is either Fascism or Socialism and who will come out militantly and boldly with a real labor program. Anything less then that means the doom of the labor movement in the United States.

Lewis could have done a tremendous service for labor if he had laid a plague on both the rotten and perfidious houses of Wall Street. Lewis could have given a great impetus to the widespread sentiment for an Independent Labor Party if he had come out and said what is obvious: that both Roosevelt and Willkie are riding the armored tank into war, that war under capitalism is inevitable, and that the only thing to do about it is launch the struggle to put a workers' and farmers' government into power in Washington.

The militant trade unionists must begin using the speech of Lewis as a club to smash all the pretentions of the henchmen of Lewis as serious political leaders of the American working class. They must begin organizing an Independent Labor Party with a labor program. They must no longer hope that Lewis or his ilk will do this job for them. We must roll up our sleevs and do the job ourselves.

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at Bronx Branch Headquarters
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Games, Refreshments, Prizes
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A Union Paper On Military Training

THE NORTHWEST ORGANIZER, weekly organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, published the following story in its Oct. 24 issue in order, it says, "to illustrate the need for adequate military training of workers under the control of the trade union movement." We reprint both the story and the comments of the union paper.

An American non-commissioned officer relates a personal war experience which casts considerable light upon the cheapness which life attains in time of war. During an attack in the Argonne region, about a month before the Armistice, the detachment this officer was in, received orders to take a particular hill, known as No. 252. It appears that this hill was of some importance as an observation point. It lay somewhat to the side but in the general direction of the main line of advance. Had its capture been allowed to wait for the main advance, the artillery would have cleared its fortifications and would have made an attack less hazardous. The orders, however, were clear that Hill No. 252 was to be attacked at once, and was not to wait for the main line. The hill was encircled with heavy shrubbery through which were cut several narrow passages. As small units of men dashed through these passages they were mowed down by planted machine guns. It took many casualties before these death-spouting nests were muzzled by the force of the human bodies which piled up on them. Finally, no more than about fifty men reached half-way up the hill.

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There they halted. They were close enough to the enemy to be greeted with liquid fire and hand grenades. To advance further meant certain death, but by this time retreat meant equally certain death, for they would have faced their own artillery which had been advancing in the meantime. It was imperative that a message should be taken to General Headquarters, about a mile behind the line.

* * *

During their slow climb to the present position they had dispatched at frequent intervals five different messengers, but as no relief was in sight, it was assumed that they must have perished. The narrator and the lieutenant of the company volunteered to try their luck on getting a message through to headquarters; by one of those rare miracles both men got through exhausted but unhurt.

General Headquarters was housed in a dugout about thirty feet deep. A staff meeting was in progress when the messengers arrived. The narrator recalls particularly vividly the rough brown boards which served as a table around which the officers were seated; the flickering, shadowy light of two small candles; and the tap-tap-tap of water dripping down upon the boards; for the scene formed a weird contrast to the fire and din he had just emerged from.

* * *

He thought of the contrast as he crouched quietly and unobserved into a corner, leaving his superior officer to recite the plight of the men on Hill No. 252. He remembers wondering whether he was alive or whether he had died that day, as he had seen so many of his comrades die, and was now in some strange world of darkness and ghosts.

* * *

He was soon, however, awakened to reality by a lively argument which ensued among the officers. He was particularly impressed by the eloquent, almost tearful, pleas of the Colonel of the regiment who urged a discontinuance of the attack on Hill No. 252. "Do you realize," the Colonel argued, "that it will take 5,000 men to capture that hill?" He emphasized the number to indicate that he regarded the risk grotesquely exorbitant.

* * *

The General with whom the final decision rested, did not reply at once. His fingers drummed upon the rough brown boards; the others waited in suspense. Then the General rendered his verdict. In a well composed but determined voice he said, "Well, if it takes five thousand men, what of it? We've got em."

* * *

The NORTHWEST ORGANIZER prints this story to illustrate the need for adequate military training of workers UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, the sort of training that can equip workers themselves to command troops. If every worker became expert in the use of all sorts of arms and in the command of troops, you wouldn't see the brutal disregard of the common soldiers as shown in every battle engaging the armies of today, which puts the men and the officers in about the same relation to each other as existed between the slaves and the slave holders of less modern times.

The United States government places army equipment and instruction at the disposal of the employers, so that they may train at Plattsburg to equip themselves to command the workers in soldiers' uniforms, just as they command the workers in their factories.

Is there any good reason why the United States government should not agree to do the same for the union movement.

It is now certain universal military conscription will envelop this country within a few weeks or months. The trade union movement must see to it that when workers are to receive military training, they should receive such training under trade union control. Such a program would place the workers in the position of being fully able to defend their own interests and would be the best guarantee to capitalism against fascism, either the foreign or native brand.

For Military Training of the Workers Under Trade Union Control!

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

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

AT HOME:

For:

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

The Main Question

The trade unions are demonstrating increasing concern over the problems posed by the onset of universal military conscription.

In an effort to cope with some of these problems, several measures have been instituted or proposed by various unions. Many unions have established dues exemptions for drafted members in order to maintain their union status. Steps are being taken to protect conscripted members against lapse of union insurance policies. Union contracts are being drawn up to include a clause guaranteeing the immediate return of jobs to union conscripts upon completion of their military service. Union leaders and ranks are opposing discrimination in draft exemptions and are sharply protesting the anti-labor composition of the draft boards.

All of these union policies are worthy—so far as they go. Yet they fail to deal with the main problem: *How does organized labor propose to defend the interests of the unionists while they are in the military machine?*

It is all very well for a worker to feel that his union membership will be safeguarded while he is in the armed forces, that his insurance will be maintained, that he has the minimum assurance of a job when—and if—he returns. *But how about the fact that after years of bitter combat in driving back the open-shop regime in industry, the drafted union man must now submit to an even more vicious open-shop rule in the army?*

The drafted workers are being thrust into the grip of reactionary officers who are accustomed to treat the ranks like dirt. The rights and needs of the common soldiers rarely concern the well-paid lickspittles scrambling for promotions in the officers corps. These bourgeois career-men would not hesitate, as in the last war, to toss away the lives of the worker-soldiers like rubbish in adventuristic actions which add up only to another stripe on some major's sleeve.

What means of protest against bad food and shelter do the unions offer the worker-recruits? What means of defense do the unions propose against the spite and venom of contemptuous and labor-hating disciplinarians with unlimited power of court-martial? How do the unions expect to maintain the principle of the union wage while millions of workers and their dependents must accept existence on the $21 and $30 monthly pay now tossed like a dry bone to the army privates?

Yet, even these immediately vexing evils fade into insignificance before a more ominous and far-reaching menace: *the use to which the armed forces will be put if the present officer caste continues to dominate the military machine.*

The army and navy are as much the tools of the possessing class as the National Guard. (Every union man loathes the National Guard as a strike-breaking agency employed by the boss government against the workers.) The army officers are schooled by official manuals which openly declare one of the prime purposes of the federal armed forces to be the quelling of "domestic unrest". In the language of the boss-class, "domestic unrest" means any struggle of the workers for their rights.

That the present military staffs will be ready and eager to smash the workers' struggles is certain. Drawn largely from the ranks of the middle-class and rich; trained in exclusive military colleges which drill them in caste superiority; quick to kowtow and connive in order to win promotion, the present officers are in natural accord with the aims of the financial and industrial magnates.

The only aim of the ruling class is to safeguard its property interests and exploit labor to the fullest degree. That is why the present military heads, in the exact manner of their French counterparts, will not hesitate to surrender to and even support the vilest reaction and fascism in order to protect the possessions of the rich at the expense of the lives of the workers and soldiers.

We are most insistent that the workers, confronted with universal militarism, war and reaction, must have full training in the use of arms. But the workers must have union rights and conditions in the armed forces. And they must be able to influence the course and direction of their armed struggles. To secure these ends, we propose:

Military training of the workers, financed by the government, under the control of the trade unions.

The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.

The measures proposed so far by union leaders tend merely to answer the problems of the worker after he is demobilized. Our program answers the real problem, the problem of the worker WITHIN the boss-ruled armed forces.

Significant Words

What are we fighting for? asks British labor. Inarticulate, unorganized, the opposition to imperialist war is nevertheless spreading. In distorted form it manages to exert its pressure upon the military dictatorship now ruling Great Britain.

"Britain and her allies are determined to produce a just order in Europe," Minister of Labor Ernest Bevin told the restless British workers in a radio broadcast October 25; "and to recreate it on the basis of freedom, free association and equality. We will never tolerate again masses of unemployed or poverty. We will not recognize privilege or place. A juster scheme of things is our aim."

Significant words! Labor wants an end to war and capitalist dictatorship be it fascist, military, or democratic. The government finds itself obliged to appeal to this sentiment in order to keep the workers fighting a little longer. But the government thereby only succeeds in strengthening this sentiment.

The British workers, like the workers of the other imperialist nations dragooned to fight the capitalist war for domination of the world market, will find their way in the coming period to the program of the Fourth International.

And this program, pointing the way to socialism, the society of the future, will make it possible for the workers to really bring about what they want, an end forever of unemployment, poverty, and privilege.

Hands Off the C. P.

The action of the courts in banning the Communist Party from the ballot in New York can be taken by the class conscious worker in no other way than as a blow directed at the labor movement as a whole. We say this without making any concession to Stalinism.

Revolutionary opposition to Stalinism was initiated by the Trotskyists and has been led by them for seventeen years. We speak with full authority as the most intransigeant foes of Stalinism.

Why, then, do we oppose the removal of the Stalinists from the ballot?

The answer is simple. The ban issued by the New York courts may be the first step in general repression of workers' organizations, as the United States plunges into the second world war. As such the ban must be opposed by every trade unionist and friend of labor.

But more directly, the act of the courts can lend the Stalinists a halo of martyrdom and refurbish their false authority among the workers as a revolutionary party. This possible result is the most perfidious and dangerous threat to the labor movement since it would strengthen the position of Stalinism.

The job of crushing Stalinism as a political force cannot be farmed out to capitalist reaction. Labor itself must cleanse its ranks of the Stalinist influence. That is why we say to the capitalist courts, hands off the Communist Party!

Leon Trotsky and the Anniversary of October

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

The Russian Revolution continues to live in two ways. It lives because nationalized property continues to exist within the Soviet Union. It lives also by virtue of the existence of an organized section of the working class devoted to the task of defending the Soviet Union through the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the extension of the October Revolution throughout the world.

Leon Trotsky's analysis of the nature of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers' state makes it possible for us to celebrate the anniversary of the Russian Revolution knowing that not all of its achievements have been destroyed. Trotsky's defense of the principles underlying the Russian Revolution is responsible for the existence of a movement devoted to those principles and therefore able to celebrate the anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

And therein lies the greatest of all of Trotsky's great contributions to the cause of working-class emancipation.

* * *

Trotsky's analysis of the nature of the Soviet Union and the causes for its degeneration is the most important single factor in preventing the advanced section of the working class from giving way to the deep disillusionment that demoralized such a large section of the group formerly connected with the revolutionary movement.

The idealistic interpretation offered by the middle-class intellectuals amounts to this: "The Revolution failed because cunning and unscrupulous people pushed aside able idealists. Every revolution must meet the same fate. Hence there is no use to struggle for the socialist revolution."

In contradistinction to the idealistic interpretation of the middle-class intellectuals, Trotsky furnished us with a *materialistic* explanation of the nature of the Soviet Union and the causes for its degeneration. This is not the place to go into a detailed explanation of that analysis. A bare outline will suffice to indicate the tremendous difference between a Marxist and an idealistic approach to this all-important social problem.

What was the main social conquest of the Russian Revolution? The nationalization by the proletarian state of the means of production. Have the new property relations created by the Revolution been destroyed and has private property in the means of production been re-established? The answer is in the negative.

True, the political superstructure has been radically altered since the Revolution. The democratic rule of the masses in all Soviet institutions has been destroyed. The backwardness of the country, the death of the best proletarian elements during the Civil War, the weariness of the masses, the failure of the proletarian revolution to arise in the more advanced countries, enabled the bureaucracy to concentrate all power in its hands and destroy all forms of Soviet democracy. But nationalized property still remains and the bureaucracy depends for its existence on nationalized property.

The social rule of every class can and does assume different political forms. The capitalist class can and does rule under democratic, monarchical and fascist forms. Proletarian rule must have democracy in order to achieve its objectives but that does not mean that under certain historic conditions and for a certain length of time the rule of the working class cannot be represented through the dictatorship of a bureaucracy or even of an individual.

Then why, asks the superficial person with an air of profundity, do you blame Stalin if conditions made his victory possible? For the same reason that we place the blame upon the imperialists of the different nations for the imperialist war even though we recognize that, in the last analysis, imperialism and not the imperialists are responsible.

DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Trotsky is not the only one responsible for the existence of nationalized property in the Soviet Union. To him, of course, history will allot a tremendous share of the credit for the Revolution which was the cause of nationalized property coming into existence. Trotsky, however, *is* responsible for the fact that we understand the nature of the Soviet Union at the present time.

And it is our knowledge of the nature of the Soviet Union that gives so much more meaning to our celebration of the anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Above all Trotsky drew logical conclusions from his basic premises. To consider the Soviet Union as a workers' state meant to assume an obligation to defend it in any struggle against the forces of imperialism, even though the Stalinist bureaucracy was guiding the destinies of the workers' state, and even though the bureaucracy committed a political crime in initiating the struggle. Any other conclusion would make the concept of workers' state completely meaningless from the point of view of a political attitude towards the Soviet Union.

The major part of his writings in the last nine months of his life dealt with the controversy then raging in the ranks of our party. In essence his polemics against the minority that split away from the ranks of the Fourth International was a continuation of his struggle against those who denied the character of the Soviet Union as a workers' state.

Fortunate indeed was our party, and consequently the whole revolutionary movement, that the GPU did not succeed in murdering Trotsky before the controversy between the majority and the minority of the Socialist Workers Party took place. Trotsky's articles against the minority-splitters constitute some of his most powerful polemical writings.

Reduced to its simplest terms the question involved in the struggle was: Should a Marxist party defend higher forms of property relations against lower forms? Stated in this manner (and that is the only correct way of stating it) it becomes difficult to see how it was possible for such a controversy to occur in a Marxist party. But the circumstances were such that a group composed mainly of middle-class intellectuals lost its bearings and, under the pressure of the democratic bourgeoisie, it adopted a purely idealistic position.

FOUGHT AGAINST THE STREAM

Most of those who, because of their disillusionment with the Soviet Union under Stalinist control, rejected the theory that the Soviet Union was still a workers' state, did not end there. Their disillusionment brought them to the point of breaking with all the fundamental principles of Marxism.

Repelled by the ugly totalitarianism of the Stalinist bureaucracy the middle-class intellectuals confused the bureaucracy with the workers' state and with the socialist revolution and rejected all three.

In this period of reaction the revolutionary movement would have been completely demoralized and destroyed (to be revived no one knows when) had not Trotsky been with us to fight fiercely and effectively against this reactionary disillusionment and on behalf of the principles that made the Russian Revolution possible.

Did any one of the disillusioned intellectuals attempt to show that there was an effective substitute for revolutionary Marxism? They had nothing to offer except—bourgeois democracy. Some talk about "democratic socialism" but essentially their theories reduce themselves to defending bourgeois democracy.

Rejecting the principles of the Russian Revolution the disillusioned ones could find nothing better to embrace than capitalist democracy. In the very period when that democracy was proving its complete impotence in solving a single major problem confronting mankind! In the very period when history placed before us the sole alternatives of fascism or proletarian democracy, the disillusioned ones began to crawl back to the bosom of the bourgeois democracy that was being destroyed before their very eyes.

From this the disillusioned intellectuals jumped to the conclusion that any disciplined party must of necessity degenerate regardless of social conditions. Because Stalin chronologically followed Lenin therefore Stalinism is the logical and inevitable outcome of Leninism.

ONLY THE LENINIST PARTY CAN WIN!

It devolved mainly upon Trotsky to shatter every one of the arguments which the intellectuals attempted to present. Consciously he saw it as his duty, in the midst of disillusionment and reaction, to save the best elements for the proletarian revolution to come.

In this task personal friendship or previous services to the proletarian movement counted for naught with Trotsky. Every one who dared raise any doubts and thus weaken the revolutionary movement felt the lash of his pen. To him the socialist revolution was everything and its achievement was impossible without a Bolshevik party—democratic, centralized, disciplined. The very mistake that he made in his early years on the question of such a party made him all the more determined to prevent others from making similar mistakes.

Against the disillusionment of the intellectuals he pitted his Marxist analysis of the period in which we are living, his explanation of the reaction, his undying faith in the proletarian revolution, his firm conviction that only a disciplined party grounded on the principles of revolutionary Marxism could achieve that revolution.

To educate the vanguard in the midst of the deepest reaction the working class has ever passed through and to keep that vanguard loyal to the principles of the Russian Revolution were Trotsky's tasks. The very existence of our party is eloquent testimony that he accomplished those tasks.

Celebrating the anniversary of the Russian Revolution without accepting and defending the principles underlying that Revolution is impossible. That we are celebrating the anniversary of that Revolution at the present moment when all around us rage pessimism and disillusionment is due solely to the work of Leon Trotsky.

Celebrate the 23rd Anniversary of the

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

FRIDAY, NOV. 8th
8 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA
Irving Pl. and 15th Street, New York City

SPEAKERS:

JOSEPH HANSEN
Former Secretary to Leon Trotsky

FARRELL DOBBS
National Labor Secretary

MURRY WEISS
Organizer, Local New York

An Army Major Tells Some Truths

By ART PREIS

A devastating indictment of the officer caste in the army has just been made by an authoritative spokesman, Major Malcolm Wheeler-Nicholson, in his book, "Battle Shields of the Republic" (Macmillian Co.), published last week.

His chief charge is directed against the promotion system in the army, which is based not on capacity to lead troops in battle but upon favoritism and seniority.

The young officer out of West Point is sent to an army post where he is buried in pure paper-work, records and red-tape routine reports. He has no urge, the book states, to study the problems of modern warfare.

The chief concern of the young officer is not the readiness of his unit for battle, but securing a favorable "efficiency report" from his colonel; for his promotion is based on seniority and the good graces of his superior officers.

The basis of the colonel's "efficiency" report is personal opinion. As a result, the young officer must play up to the colonel's prejudices and wangle his way into the same social circles. Major Wheeler-Nicholson cites the case of a lieutenant who received an unfavorable "efficiency report" after his dog chased the cat belonging to the Colonel's wife.

As a result of this system, the Major points out, most of the officers reaching high rank—by the process of stepping into dead mens' shoes and pulling all the strings—are amateur diplomats first of all, and rarely first-class soldiers. In addition, their entire training has been in paper-work administration, and they are wholly unfitted for leadership in real war.

The book makes thoroughly clear the corruption and connivance which characterizes the army regime.

In addition, Major Wheeler-Nicholson asserts that the same system is in force in the Reserves and National Guard, where the officers are even more inadequate. He maintains that the average officer in the American Reserve or National Guard knows less about war than the average German private.

A most serious effect of the present army system, as the book points out, is that the officers are brought to high rank when they are already too old. The general officers average about 60 years in age, almost exactly that of the French and British generals who failed against Hitler. The heads of the Nazi army average but forty-five.

CIVIL WAR OFFICERS WERE DIFFERENT

The North might have lost the Civil War if Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Emery Upton, James H. Wilson and Alexander Mackenzie had not finally been placed in command of the Union Armies. The average age of these six when they took command was thirty-three years, and not one was forty-five at the end of the war. Wheeler-Nicholson states that if the present system had been in force back in 1863 not a single one of these brilliant military men could have become a general, for the system does not permit promotion for ability, only demotion for demerit—which most often means failing to smooth some officious general the right way.

This system can provide only the type of army leadership which abandoned the French workers and soldiers to the mercy of the Nazi.

But all is not lost, according to an article in the October 18 issue of **United States News**, an "inside" political dope-magazine for Wall Street. The evils pointed out by Wheeler-Nicholson, begrudgingly acknowledged by the News, will be changed.

"REFORMS" THAT CHANGE NOTHING

According to the **News**, promotion from the ranks has become a definite part of the future army program. Special schools are being planned to prepare **enlisted** men—not draftees—for commissions. But not **all** enlisted men. The plan provides that any enlisted recruit may enter one of these schools after a year of regular training—**"if he has a college education"**. This contemplated reform may provide a lot more paper-work officers from the ranks of the well-to-do who can afford to send their boys to college, but gives little hope for competent leadership where the bullets fly thickest.

The **U. S. News** article also reveals plans to reduce the snobbishness and "stuffed-shirt" attitude of the officers. The officers are being encouraged to become more close to the ranks, but, "Of course" this does not mean "drinking and chumming with them." Just an occassional pat on the head!

This new attitude is not motivated by genuine sympathy for the ordinary recruit. Oh, no! The article makes this clear when it states, "Operation of a tank or plane with three or four men cramped into a tiny cockpit leaves the officer-in-charge little inclination to be thought a 'stuffed shirt' by the mechanics on whose skill **his life may depend."**

Harsh martinet discipline is to go also. According to recent instructions from the army high command, new recruits are not to be given disciplinary confinements—**"where such punishment can be avoided"**.

Instead, a more inspiring influence will be employed to keep the recruits in line. Says the **U. S. News**, "The Army is relying on the women's influence. Now each army post is to have a post matron or 'mother'." Come, son, tell mother all!

This balderdash proposed as reforms for the army ruling system merely adds further proof of the hopeless weaknesses of the whole officer system. It cannot be otherwise. For the present army command is an extension of the ruling regime of the degenerate capitalist system. So long as the boss class runs the army it will move heaven and earth to close the doors of the officers corps to the talented workers and tested union fighters.

* * *

Capitalist war is exactly like capitalist economics: we go to war to get the peace to get the strength to go to war to get the peace, etc., etc.