
November, 1941

Fourth International

We Answer Roosevelt's Prosecution

By C. CHARLES

How Stalin Cleared Road for Hitler

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

- The USSR - 24 Years Later *By The Editors*
Four Fronts of World War II . . . *By Joseph Hansen*
Centrism and Its Future *By Marc Loris*
Capitalist Economy Under Fascism . . *By Jack Weber*
False Light on the Moscow Trials . *By Albert Goldman*

Twenty Cents

Manager's Column

Since the last appearance of **FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**, the leading activists and the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party met in a national gathering at Chicago. A gauge of the seriousness with which the party membership faces its present tasks was the splendid sub-conference held on the distribution of literature.

Special time was devoted to the problem of increasing the circulation of the magazine, the growth of which has not kept pace with the rapid expansion of its brother publication, the **MILITANT**. Reports from the important centers of the party on steps proposed to realize the objectives of the Chicago Plenum-Conference indicate that the matter of literature dissemination has finally attained its proper place in the party—it is one of the most important aspects of party activity.

Especially today is devotion to the increased circulation of the magazine important. Our obligation to an international movement, suffering from repression in almost every part of the world, is now higher than it ever was.

We stand alone in the sphere of Marxist analysis. Our ideas must be supplemented by an enhanced and more consciously organized circulation of our theoretical publication. In this way the power of our ideas can be manifested in life.

* * *

By the time this issue reaches our readers, the trial of the twenty-eight will have begun in Minneapolis. It is impossible to over-emphasize the importance of this trial in the struggle between a capitalist state plunging headlong into war and the political instrument of the American proletariat—a proletariat which is growing daily more conscious of the divergence of its interests from those of the ruling class.

The loyal activists who stand behind the publication and distribution of **FOURTH INTERNATIONAL** are determined that the American working class will be as thoroughly informed of the issues of this trial as our forces are capable of making it.

* * *

It is one of our axioms that capitalism cannot stamp out in the working class the urge to

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struggle for socialism. This axiom has a corollary: that the struggle for socialism is fed and deepened precisely by the most violent attempts of a decaying society to stop it.

Several months ago, we were banned in Canada. British imperialism, depending as it does upon export and import, seems to be under the impression that the ideas of socialism were for her Canadian colony an import item, with the Trotskyist movement of the United States as the exporter. They moved against historical progress by declaring us illegal.

The other day we received a communication from our co-thinkers beyond the northern borders of the United States. The letter indicated that they were well informed about the development of the movement here. So deep was their concern for our well-being that they managed, with a great deal of ingenuity, to send "material aid" for our comrades on trial.

From far-off New Zealand came another communication, urging us to keep our friends there fully informed on the American movement and offering us their moral and material assistance in the face of the trial.

Lest the reader feel that the "Mother Country" is remiss, we quote from an English letter:

"We have always been enthusiastic readers of **FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**, that is, when we can get it. Unfortunately our normal source of supply has ceased since the war, and we have since received only odd copies from various sources. We should be more than grateful if you could let us have regular copies of your magazine so that we may remain in touch with developments on your side.

"In many areas we are making progress, and our voice although small is beginning to be heard. There are many difficulties but in the words of the Old Man, 'We will go forward.'

"It was with pride and regret that we heard of your recent losses. Pride in the continuation of the struggle and the achievements made, and regret at the organizational set-back.

"We wish to express our solidarity with you and with the comrades who have been taken."

With the boundless enthusiasm and willingness to sacrifice which characterizes our party and with the warm encouragement of our fellow-workers in other parts of the world, we can assure our British comrades

that we have not and shall not give ground in the face of the slightest "organizational setback." We face the test for which we were created and steeled and we shall face it well.

STATEMENT

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933 of **Fourth International**, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1941, State of New York, County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Lydia Beidel, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of the **Fourth International** and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, **Fourth International Publish. Assn.**, 116 University Place.

Editor, F. Morrow, 116 University Place.

Managing Editor, None.
Business Manager, Lydia Beidel, 116 University Place.

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

Joseph Hansen, 116 University Place.

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

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

LYDIA BEIDEL,

Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30 day of Sept. 1941.

IRVING SCHEER,

Notary Public

(My commission expires
March 30, 1942)

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The USSR --- Twenty-Four Years Later

By THE EDITORS

The Twenty-Fourth Anniversary of the October revolution finds the first workers state in history on the verge of destruction. To defend and still save the USSR, clarity above all is required. It is necessary to understand the real causes behind this tragedy of the Soviet Union.

The hammer blows of events are verifying with terrible force the diagnosis and predictions made by Leon Trotsky on the basis of an all-sided analysis of the general economic-political conditions in the USSR under the fatal regime of Stalinism. As far back as 1927, Leon Trotsky warned the Russian Communist Party that in order for the USSR to emerge victorious from an imperialist assault, it was necessary to liquidate the Stalinist course, and to remove the Stalinist leadership. But Stalin remained in power. Trotsky was expelled from the party, then exiled, and finally murdered by Stalin.

Stalin Bears Sole Responsibility for the Defeats of the Soviet Union

With the aid of the party-state bureaucracy, with all the resources of state power concentrated in his hands, Stalin succeeded not only in defeating the proletarian vanguard inside the Soviet Union (the Left Opposition, 1923-1927), but in betraying the only reliable allies of the Red soldiers, workers and peasants—the proletariat of Europe, above all, that of Germany.

Without the help of the Kremlin and the policies it forced the German Communist Party to pursue in 1931-1933, fascism could never have conquered there. Stalin cleared the road to power for Hitler who—as Trotsky warned—would fulfill the role of the “Super-Wrangel of the world bourgeoisie.” Stalin further aided Hitler by the application of the “People’s Front” policies which strangled the mighty movements of the Spanish and French masses and delivered them, bound hand and foot, to the class enemy. The Stalin-Hitler pact helped unleash the second World War. On the very eve of Hitler’s invasion Stalin, who had already disorganized Soviet economy by his program of building “socialism in one country,” aggravated the critical condition in industry by decimating the administrative and technological staffs and thus plunged the country into chaos. Stalin alone bears the full responsibility for all the defeats suffered by the Red Army which he beheaded in the space of twelve months, from May 1937 to May 1938, by executing the flower of the Red High-Command and its officer corps. If despite the heroic resistance of the Red Army and the Soviet masses and all their enormous sacrifices they have been unable to beat back the fascist foe, then this failure is due not to their own impotence but to the bankruptcy of Stalin’s regime which is incapable of provid-

ing the leadership, the methods and the policies that alone can save the USSR.

The Program of Lenin and Trotsky Can Save the USSR

What is needed in this hour of fateful decision is an immediate return to BOLSHEVISM—back to the type of leadership, the methods and policies which twenty-four years ago opened a new epoch in world history. Only the program of Lenin-Trotsky which brought the first victory of workers and peasants against their exploiters and oppressors, and which founded the USSR in October 1917, can safeguard it today.

The victory of the Russian workers and peasants over Czarism and the Russian bourgeoisie was not achieved, and could never have been achieved by their own forces.* Both the Bolshevik leaders and the Russian masses looked upon the October revolution as the first stage in the world revolution. During the imperialist intervention and the Civil War of 1918-1920, they needed and received the aid of the revolutionary proletariat of Europe and the world. Today as in the days when Lenin and Trotsky headed the party and the Soviet Government, Bolshevism alone can summon the workers of Germany, Europe and the world to the defense of the workers’ fatherland. Stalin dares not summon this aid. He betrayed Bolshevism long ago. He admits today that the Soviet Union cannot be defended by its internal forces alone—but must seek aid from the outside. Once again Stalin expresses his contempt and distrust of the masses by seeking this aid not through unity with the workers and peasants of Germany and the world but through unity with their oppressors, Churchill, Roosevelt and Co.

Before he died, Lenin began the struggle against Stalin and the bureaucratization of the state and party apparatus. Trotsky carried on that struggle for seventeen years, fighting irreconcilably against the wave of reaction which brought Stalin into power. Day by day over that period the Trotskyists warned the workers of the growing peril to the USSR. We, Trotskyists, alone have remained the genuine and unswerving defenders of the USSR.

We fight for the program that can still save the Soviet Union.

The first prerequisite for a genuine defense of the USSR and the remaining conquests of October is: *a complete break with Stalinism*. It is necessary to establish today, as Bolshevism did in 1917, the unity of the revolutionary masses on the basis of the class struggle—the struggle against the imperialist war and for the Socialist United States of Europe and of the world. This is the road to victory. This is our road.

Our Party Answers Roosevelt's Prosecution

By C. CHARLES

On October 27th in the Federal courtroom at Minneapolis there began the most important American political trial in 20 years. According to the N. Y. newspaper, PM, this trial "threatens to become labor's first *cause celebre* of the second World War." The 28 defendants include the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the outstanding members of Local 544-CIO. They are charged with conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence and with fomenting insubordination in the armed forces of the U. S.

A certain section of liberal opinion views the prosecution as a "blunder" accidentally committed by Roosevelt's administration. The indictment so clearly infringes upon civil liberties; the terms of the charges so patently conflict with the Bill of Rights; the attempt to depict 544's Union Defense Guard as an insurrectionary army is so preposterous and easy to disprove that Roosevelt's liberal friends try to explain away the frame-up in this fashion. They are victims of self-deception.

The Trial Is a Step Toward War

This trial is no accident. It is an essential step in Roosevelt's drive to drag the American people into the war for world domination by U. S. capitalism. The indictments are as much a part of Roosevelt's preparations for war as his call for guns, tanks and planes. This is evident in the circumstances leading up to the indictment. The war-mongering team of Roosevelt and Tobin worked together to eliminate the militant leaders of Local 544-CIO from the trade union movement because of their anti-war stand, their militancy and their outspoken opposition to the President's anti-labor policies.

When, in order to save their union, 544's membership voted to leave the AFL for the CIO, Tobin called upon Roosevelt for help. Roosevelt obliged by instigating the present prosecution. The mechanism of collaboration between the President of the U. S. and the President of the Teamsters International is crystal-clear. Roosevelt repays Tobin's aid to his war plans by instituting criminal proceedings against the leaders of 544-CIO and the S.W.P. Together they seek to shackle independent unionism and trade union democracy and to gag the strongest voices of protest against the war in the ranks of American labor.

Attorney-General Biddle and Assistant Attorney-General Schweinhaut have made it plain in statements to the press that the 28 under indictment are only the first to be attacked. This is a test case. If Roosevelt's Department of Justice succeeds in obtaining convictions in this case, the entire labor movement and all progressive organizations will soon feel the blows of the F.B.I. This precedent will set in motion an unbridled witch-hunt against all working class opponents of the war and the capitalist system. Persecutions will mount in number and in fury. One by one every democratic right will be wrested from the people by the Roosevelt reaction.

As it stands, the indictment virtually outlaws all progressive union activities and working class political actions and utterances. Section 4 of the first count of the indictment actually makes it a crime to criticize prevailing economic and social conditions. Under the indictment it is not only

illegal to characterize the incumbent rulers of the U. S. as imperialistic and capitalistic, but any other government as well, including Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

According to Roosevelt's plans, as revealed by the indictment, every act of union self-defense against finks and fascists is henceforth overtly "seditious" and aims at the overthrow of the government. Any attempt by the unions to protect their brothers in the armed forces, every opposition to Jim Crowism in the army, all criticism of the military forces is "inciting to insubordination."

But, their liberal apologists object, "Roosevelt will not crush civil liberties like his predecessor, Wilson; Biddle is not like A. Mitchell Palmer." The necessities of imperialist politics, however, are stronger than pious wishes. The greater severity of the class struggle in the U. S. today compels Roosevelt and his Attorney-General to conduct savage witch-hunts against working class opponents of their policies even before formal entrance into the war. They will attempt to expand their persecutions on an unprecedented scale as the war develops. Only by gagging the American people, terrorizing them, taking away their remaining democratic rights can the Roosevelt regime impose their war policies upon the masses.

When they expect to silence or intimidate the Trotskyists by means of persecutions and jailings, Roosevelt and Biddle are suffering from that peculiar form of dementia which afflicts all decadent classes. If the lessons of history were not beyond their comprehension, they might have learned from the fate of Charles I, Louis XVI, Jefferson Davis and the Czar of all the Russias. Trotskyism is the most persecuted movement in history. Roosevelt will not succeed in destroying our movement where the fierce persecutions of Stalin, Hitler and Petain have already failed. No power on earth can destroy the Trotskyist movement from the outside. Blows which shatter glass forge steel!

The Party Girds Itself for the Struggle

This was demonstrated anew by the Plenum-Conference of the S.W.P. which was held in Chicago on October 10-12, two weeks before the trial. Our party showed its revolutionary calibre by the reaction of its ranks to Roosevelt's persecution. Revolutionists show their mettle not only in periods when successes are registered but even more when they are subjected to the blows of a temporarily ascendant reaction. The fact that our party was first singled out for attack was taken by the members as evidence of the party's revolutionary integrity. They answered the indictment by swinging into the most intense period of activity the organization has yet seen.

The indicted leaders, the foremost trade unionists and active workers in the party marched into Chicago from all parts of the country. They came to the Plenum-Conference to equip the party with the necessary weapons to meet and beat back the assaults of the reactionary imperialists and their retinue of labor lieutenants.

The sessions were marked by determination and aggressiveness. It was the most successful gathering in the 13 years of the Trotskyist movement in the U. S.

The line approved and adopted by the Plenum-Conference is expressed in the resolution: "*The Federal Prosecution and the Present Tasks of the Party.*" The Conference stated that the conduct of the party members on trial should be an unwavering affirmation and defense of our party's revolutionary principles and program. There will be no watering down of the program. The trial provides an opportunity to build for the party — to broadcast its message far and wide. We shall transform the witness stand into a tribunal for our party's program.

Inside and outside the courtroom our party will continue to fight for the elementary right, guaranteed by the Constitution, to publicly advocate our ideas. We brand as a lie the charge that the Trotskyist movement is a conspiracy. The Trotskyist movement, a movement of the masses for their own liberation, is the most democratic movement the world has ever known. Previously, social revolutions were made in the interests of a new exploiting class against the ruling exploiters. The Trotskyist movement is a world wide struggle against all forms of human exploitation and oppression. It employs democratic and popular means to reach its revolutionary goal. It requires the widest circulation of its views for success.

Wherever tyranny reigns, Marxists have always been in the forefront of the struggle for democratic rights, so in the limited bourgeois democracy of the U. S. our party fights for the preservation and extension of democratic rights. As Marx and Engels pointed out, the bourgeois democratic republic is the most favorable arena for the development of the class struggle. We fight for every bit of democracy under capitalist rule not only because we appreciate these liberties in themselves but also because democracy offers the best opportunities and possibilities to educate and organize the masses for the transition to socialism. On this account the party resolved to resist every attempt to force it into illegality.

The Conference was not only a council of war but also a school in Marxist tactics for the party. The Conference sought to forestall any possible tendency within the party ranks which, because of timidity or romanticism, would easily surrender open and public activity for an underground existence. Roosevelt's reaction aims to push the party down into cellars and corners and to impose weight of illegality upon it. We do not propose to make that attempt easier for them. On the contrary, we shall struggle to maintain our public functioning which offers the widest arena for our activity and propaganda until all possibilities are exhausted. We will accept any other status only under compulsion and protest.

The Conference voted to give full support to the Civil Rights Defense Committee which has undertaken the general defense of the 28 and which has already attracted broad support from liberal and labor circles. The wide-spread condemnation of the Government's action by the most progressive forces in the labor movement and in progressive circles signifies that our party's fight for its democratic rights is a popular fight which can rally broad masses of the population around it.

Instead of shrinking and scurrying for cover, the New York organization of the party responded to the prosecution by mobilizing its forces to secure 15,000 signatures to nominate James P. Cannon, the National Secretary of the party, who is under indictment, as its candidate for mayor of New York City. The New York membership went out into the streets, contacting over 100,000 workers with their nominating petitions, and succeeded in placing James P. Cannon on

the ballot. The New York organization is now engaged in mustering the largest possible vote for its candidate who is conducting his campaign from the Minneapolis courtroom.

The initiative of the New York comrades was held up as a model for the future conduct of the party. The Conference decided to participate more vigorously and extensively in electoral campaigns under the party's own name, candidate and program. Electoral activity enables the party to reach workers with its message while they are especially concerned with political questions. It also renders more difficult the government's attempts to outlaw the party.

The Crucial Importance of Theory

To take full advantage of the present situation for the advancement of the revolutionary movement and the propagation of socialist ideas, it is essential to know how to work. The Conference laid great stress on the fact, "that the only people who can stand up under this kind of governmental pressure are people who have a historical outlook and a profound understanding of what they are fighting for. Mere activism, sometimes sufficient for day-to-day work, is not enough to stand up under the blows of prosecution."

Marxism, its method, is the conquest of over 2,000 years of intellectual endeavor. This scientific doctrine is the indispensable instrument to keep the proletarian party on its class course through the tremendous shocks, convulsions and upheavals of our generation. The Conference insisted that not only the leaders but the ranks of the party must make the most serious study of Trotsky's teachings. The comprehensive world outlook and the understanding of the historical forces, inexorably at work, alone can equip the revolutionist with the ability to resist the pressure and terror of the imperialists. With a conviction born of knowledge and theory tested by the fire of events, the Trotskyist understands the temporary and episodic character of the present wave of world reaction, one of whose manifestations is the trial.

By emphasizing the assimilation of its doctrines as one of the central and pressing tasks of the party, the Conference followed in the great traditions of Bolshevism.

Previous conferences and conventions have set as the party's first task the integration of its members within the organized labor movement, under the slogan of "90% of all party work inside the unions." Reports at this Conference indicated that this task had been fulfilled. The average party member is now a trade unionist. The immediate task at the Conference was to raise the political level of the party's trade union work, through a proper functioning of the fractions, the wider and bolder presentation of our ideas to the workers in the shops, and the intensive recruitment of workers into the party.

The major field of activity for the party, today as before, remains the trade union movement, which now numbers more than 10,000,000 members and which is the greatest potential force in American society.

There are three major forces now competing for the leadership of this movement: the imperialist bourgeoisie, the Stalinists and the Trotskyists. Today the Stalinists are openly revealing themselves as the most subservient agents of the war-mongering administration. Aided and abetted by the Stalinists, the Roosevelt administration is working overtime through the union bureaucracy to harness organized labor to its imperialist war-machine. The Trotskyists are the only consistent fighters for the complete independence of the unions from the capitalist government, and for trade union

democracy, which the labor bureaucrats are forced to suppress. The American trade unions can avoid the fate of the German, French and Italian trade union movement only by inscribing on their banner Marx's slogan, "the abolition of the wage system."

Unconditional Defense of the USSR.

The Conference met with the full consciousness of its responsibilities before the international working class. It met during the hour of the greatest crisis of the Soviet Union, and presented a program which can still snatch victory out of the jaws of disaster. The Trotskyists alone bear not the slightest taint for the catastrophic defeats suffered by the heroic defenders of the USSR, the full responsibility for which falls upon the shoulders of the greatest criminal in history—Stalin.

The problem of winning the Stalinist workers to the revolutionary program of the S.W.P. occupied the attention of the Conference. For years, Stalinism has been able to hypnotize thousands of sincere revolutionists by its fraudulent claim that the rule of the Kremlin usurpers was identical with the conquest of the October revolution. Moreover, many who were inclined to doubt the Stalinist leadership and its policies were afraid to combat them openly lest the class enemy profit thereby to overthrow the first workers' state. The hammer blows of events are now dispelling these delusions. We must seek out these revolutionists and bring to them the Trotskyist explanation for the defeats of the Red Army and the Soviet masses. We must show them that these defeats flow not from Bolshevism but from Stalinism. If we fail, many sincere and active militants will sink first into despair and then into apathy.

Our Military Policy

The Conference was held on the eve of Roosevelt's entry into "shooting war." Formal entrance by United States imperialism into the war will not change our line. We shall oppose the war after its declaration. We shall continue our struggle against fascism. Our Military Policy is the only class policy, and therefore the only practical and effective method of fighting against fascism at home and abroad. The resolution adopted by the Conference states:

"Our Proletarian Military Policy, adopted by our last Plenum-Conference (September 23-27, 1940) will provide the practical basis for agitation when "shooting war" begins. To the demand of the chauvinists in the labor movement that the country must be defended against fascism, we an-

swer that the best way to defend the working class against both foreign and domestic fascists is through military training under control of the trade unions. We do not place any trust in the anti-fascist pretensions of the capitalist government. Only the working class can smash fascism. We do not trust the reactionary officer caste. We demand federal appropriations for military training camps to be operated under the control of the trade unions, and special officers' training camps operated under the control of the trade unions where workers can be trained as officers. Our Proletarian Military Policy serves to educate the workers, to bridge the gap between their present confused but anti-fascist sentiments and our program for the extirpation of fascism and its capitalist roots."

Forward with the Party

The Conference launched an Organization-Press Fund to maintain the most intensive program of activity in all fields of party work that our movement has ever undertaken. There has never been an organization in this country for which its members sacrificed to the extent that our comrades do. This is additional proof that the party membership feels that this is the organization which has the program for victory. Every class conscious worker gives willingly and freely to such a party.

The S.W.P. has shown that it has confidence in itself and its future. The program of Trotskyism alone expresses the hope and the historic inevitability of social progress. In our ranks there is no pessimism for we alone have the right, as Leon Trotsky said, to *revolutionary optimism*. There is assurance in our ranks—from the leaders in the courtroom to the rank and file fighters who are arousing the workers to the meaning and importance of the party's uncompromising fight against the imperialist war, against the Roosevelt-Biddle-FBI frameup and for the establishment of the Workers and Farmers Government in the United States.

The class struggle of the proletariat against the imperialist butchers continues in various forms and on many fronts throughout the world. The struggle of the Soviet masses and the Red Army against German imperialism and the struggle of our party against U. S. imperialism are integral parts of the same conflict. The war of the working class against the imperialist oppressors is our war. The Chicago Plenum-Conference by its deliberations and decisions demonstrated that the S.W.P. remains at its post in the hour of greatest difficulty and danger under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky, fighting for the cause of the world revolution.

Federal Prosecution and the Present Tasks of the Party

(Resolution Adopted by the Plenum Conference, October 11-12, 1941)

The prosecution launched against our party by the Roosevelt administration can be understood in all its ramifications only in the light of the historical situation of the American imperialists whom Roosevelt serves.

The American bourgeoisie has virtually dragged the unwilling American people into the war. Roosevelt's real war

aims are expressed not in his deceitful 8-point program, that shriveled caricature of Wilson's 14 points, but in the recent declaration by Secretary of Navy Knox that Anglo-American imperialism must police the world "for the next hundred years." Roosevelt's aim of world conquest, like Hitler's, is not a sign of strength but a mark of the desperate plight of world capitalism and of every one of its component na-

tional states. The gigantic development of the forces of production is driving all the imperialists to goals which lie beyond their power of attainment. Hitler and Roosevelt are attempting to establish their sway over a decomposing capitalist system—a system torn by incessant imperialist conflicts, shaken by colossal social convulsions and headed for economic ruin and catastrophe.

The permanent perspective of monopoly capitalism is war. Until now capitalism evolved through periods of peace punctuated by occasional wars; henceforth intervals of peace, if any, will merely punctuate the continual clashes of the imperialist powers. None of the imperialist rulers have any faith in their future. Hence their desperate methods of crushing every form of opposition at home. Fascist terror is not an Italian or German weapon; the American bourgeoisie will likewise attempt to resort to it. The wartime repressions against the labor movement will prove to be not temporary expedients dictated by wartime conditions, but the forerunner of dictatorial and fascist movements of the American bourgeoisie.

It is in the light of this perspective—the perspective of an epoch of wars and revolutions—that we must consider the problems which confront the party as a result of the Federal prosecution.

The Prosecution and the Defense

1. This prosecution arises immediately out of the Federal government's intervention on the side of AFL Teamsters' Chief Daniel Tobin against Local 544-CIO. But the Minneapolis drivers and Tobin clashed in the first place over the refusal of the Trotskyist leadership of Local 544 to go along with Tobin in subordinating the trade union movement to the war program of the Roosevelt administration. Thus the government's "intervention" is on its own behalf. This blow against our party is but the first of many to come against every section of the labor movement which resists the reactionary consequences of the government's war program. We are the first to be attacked because we are the only genuine anti-capitalist party and therefore the only genuine anti-war party. The object is to drive the party into illegality and, if possible, to silence it.

The policy of the party in defending itself in court, obligatory for all party members under indictment, can only be one that is worthy of our movement and our tradition: no attempt to water down or evade our revolutionary doctrine, but on the contrary, to defend it militantly. At the same time we maintain that we have a legal right under the Bill of Rights to propagate our principles.

2. The legal defense in court and in the arena of public opinion is strengthened by the fact that both the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO and all the defendants have agreed to the launching of a broad defense campaign by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Such a united defense will obviate many difficulties. It will dramatize the fundamental connection between the rights of our party and the democratic rights of the trade union movement.

3. Despite this prosecution and others which may follow, our party will not lightly surrender its right to function as a legal party. The Plenum-Conference emphasizes to all party members the fundamental importance of a determined fight for the party's legality. The question of whether the party is legal or illegal will not be settled for us by a conviction in this Minnesota case.

4. One of the main methods of defending the party's legality is to participate wherever possible in *elections*. The excellent election campaigns at present being conducted by

our New York and Newark organizations are an example of what can be done in this period. We must record the fact that too often in the past we have neglected electoral activity. We must now give *primary* attention to participating under our own name and with our own candidates in election fights. This will serve not only to bring our program before the masses, but render more difficult the government's attempt to repress us.

Internal Preparation of the Party

5. An intensive campaign is required for the internal preparation of the party to withstand the blow of the Federal prosecution. The only people who can stand up under this kind of governmental pressure are people who have a historical outlook and a profound understanding of what they are fighting for. Mere activism, sometimes sufficient for day to day work, is not enough to stand up under the blows of persecution. We have on this score the negative example of the I.W.W. cadres after the last war. Out of 150 or more I.W.W. men who went to Leavenworth, only a small handful retained their activity in the movement afterward. This was not because they were poor material; they were genuine militants, very courageous people. But they lacked the theoretical equipment to comprehend the complexities of the war situation. The philosophy of the I.W.W. proved inadequate to sustain them and they fell by the wayside. The difference between a trade union militant and a politically educated Trotskyist is immeasurable; it is qualitative. The best of yesterday's trade union militants are today succumbing under the pressure of the war situation. Only those will survive who are not only rooted in the working class movement but who have the Marxist outlook to see beyond the present difficulties to the new horizons.

6. The revolutionary party, in order to successfully meet all serious tests, requires such an education of the party members and such a selection of its leading people that the party can remain firm under all conditions. This requires high standards for party membership: standards of activity, of discipline, of financial contributions, of devotion to learning the history and theory of the movement, etc. It requires even higher standards for its leading staff. The party which aims at the conquest of power for the socialist transformation of society cannot operate with casual members and dilettante leaders. Members and leaders alike must conduct themselves as disciplined soldiers in the army of the proletarian revolution. Leaders must set the example of communist devotion, loyalty and discipline.

Systematic education of the party is dictated by the needs for new party leadership. New cadres may have to take the place of imprisoned comrades. The new opportunities open to the party demand an expansion of the leadership of the party. Given new responsibilities, comrades hitherto unnoticed will prove themselves worthy of positions of leadership. Under the test of fire, new leaders will come forward.

7. The Plenum-Conference calls the attention of all party members to the necessity for systematic political work and recruiting for the party in the factories, the shops and in the unions. In the previous period we have successfully carried through an extensive movement in the party to integrate our young comrades in industry and in the unions. In that period of penetration into the factories and unions, it was necessary to caution young comrades not to be too precipitate in their party-political activity until they had firmly established themselves in their new environment. This campaign has been carried through successfully. We have radically changed the character of the composition of the

party. Today we can say that the average member of the party is a trade unionist.

However, having succeeded in integrating themselves into industry and the trade union movement, our comrades are now entering a new stage in their work. A type of activity that does not rise above trade union levels cannot be a permanent task. Once the comrades are integrated in the unions they must begin serious and systematic party-political work.

Mere trade union work, in itself, does not amount to much—especially in this epoch of wars and revolutions. We have to begin recruiting for the party. This can be done only if the party fractions work systematically and regularly. There are no exceptions to this law. All comrades, wherever there are two or more together, must work as a fraction. The aim of fraction work is not merely the working out of positions on the “high politics” of the unions but, more concretely, the task of teaching fellow workers and union brothers the principles and great goal of communism and recruiting them into the party.

No Conciliation with Renegades

8. In the next period our party must be more than ever absolutely unrelenting in its warfare against any existing or arising centrist groups (Shachtmanites, etc.). Lenin, never much of a unity shouter, became especially intransigent during the first world war as the fundamental cleavage between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks revealed itself more clearly. So now must we maintain the cohesion of the genuine revolutionists during this war. Trotsky said the fight between the proletarian majority of the party and the petty bourgeois opposition was similar in many respects to the historical struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in the Russian movement. In justice to the Russian Mensheviks, Trotsky also said, they appear as revolutionary heroes in comparison with the wretched faction of Burnham, Shachtman and Co.

We must educate cadres who are not afraid of isolation and who do not seek fictitious strength through numbers at the expense of programmatic clarity. There are many members of the party who did not live through the experiences of our intransigent programmatic fight in isolation (1928-1934). That isolation was dictated by the necessity to consolidate the revolutionary nucleus on the basis of a program. Ill-considered “unity” maneuvers could only have compromised this basic task. The Lovestoneites in those years approached us again and again for “united fronts,” “common action,” etc. as a bridge to unity. Had we united with these rightward-moving centrists in the illusory hope of gaining strength by numbers, our forces would have been weakened, not strengthened. When actual opportunities for unity on a sound basis did occur, with the American Workers Party (1935) and with the left wing of the Socialist Party (1936-1937) we proved able, thanks to our programmatic firmness, to take full advantage of the opportunities to strengthen the revolutionary ranks. This can be the case also in the future with groups of Stalinist workers who turn toward the revolutionary road. The condition for a fruitful intervention on our part in a revolutionary development among the Stalinist workers, or the political awakening of any other group of serious workers, is the prohibition in our own ranks of any sentiment of conciliation toward the degenerate petty bourgeois clique of Shachtman and Co.

The Struggle Against War and Fascism

9. The struggle against the imperialist war overshadows all other questions. The country is being maneuvered into

war by the American imperialists and their government, and the labor bureaucracy is successfully throttling any mass labor opposition. Revolutionary Marxism has always recognized that the struggle against imperialist war is identical with the struggle against capitalism, and that the only way to do away with war is to do away with the capitalist order. This fundamental conception is confirmed by the way in which, despite the desires of the overwhelming majority of the country, the capitalist regime is succeeding in dragging the country into war. Only by the overthrow of capitalism, by the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government, can this country be led out of the war to a peace based on socialism.

10. Our Proletarian Military Policy, adopted by our last Plenum-Conference (September 23-27, 1940) will provide the practical basis for agitation when “shooting war” begins. To the demand of the chauvinists in the labor movement that the country must be defended against fascism, we answer that the best way to defend the working class against both foreign and domestic fascists is through military training under the control of the trade unions. We do not place any trust in the “anti-fascist” pretensions of the capitalist government. Only the working class can smash fascism. We do not trust the reactionary officer caste. We demand federal appropriations for military training camps to be operated under the control of the trade unions, and special officers’ training camps operated under the control of the trade unions where workers can be trained as officers. Our Proletarian Military Policy serves to educate the workers, to bridge the gap between their present confused but anti-fascist sentiments and our program for the extirpation of fascism and its capitalist roots. The Plenum-Conference instructs the National Committee to republish in pamphlet form our Resolution and other published material on Proletarian Military Policy and to conduct a systematic agitation to popularize it.

Tasks in the Trade Unions

11. As the war develops, ever more significant will become *the struggle for the independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state and the struggle for trade union democracy.*

Throughout the world, in all the capitalist countries during the period since the first world war, we have seen a “growing together” of the state with the trade unions. Whether “neutral,” Social-Democratic, Stalinist, or Anarchist, the trade union leadership has adapted itself to the capitalist state and seeks its cooperation. In the eyes of the trade union bureaucracy, the chief task of the unions lies in the utopian program of “freeing” the capitalist state from the embrace of capitalism and pulling the state over to the side of the labor bureaucracy. This has happened also in America to both the CIO and AFL. Through the NLRB, the National Defense Mediation Board, Federal conciliators, etc., close links have been forged between the state power and the trade union bureaucracy. An integral part of this tendency are the steps taken jointly by the government and the labor bureaucracy to wipe out in the unions all forms of trade union democracy and to expel all revolutionists from the unions. These are the only conditions under which monopoly capitalism, with its centralized command both in economic life and government, can permit the continued existence of the trade unions. Thus the struggle for independence of the trade unions and for trade union democracy becomes increasingly a struggle which only the revolutionist can lead.

The trade unions of our time can either serve as instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and dis-

ciplining of workers or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. No third course is open to the trade unions in this epoch. The neutrality of the trade unions toward the capitalist state is completely and irretrievably a thing of the past, gone together with traditional bourgeois "democracy."

The struggle in the trade unions is essentially a struggle for influence over the working class. Despite the tendency toward degeneration of the trade unions and their "growing together" with the imperialist state, our work within the trade unions becomes even more important than before. For the trade unions remain the main arena in which the revolutionist can contend with the agents of the bourgeoisie for the leadership of the working class. The agents of the bourgeoisie cannot but appear henceforth as exponents of state domination of the unions and opponents of trade union democracy. We become the banner bearers for the freedom of the unions and for workers' democracy within the unions. Precisely because monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions, the labor agents of monopoly capitalism will become less and less able to maintain their influence over the great masses in the unions. That is why we shall succeed in proving our right to the leadership of the trade unions as the defenders of trade union independence and trade union democracy.

For the Defense of the Soviet Union!

12. Our struggle against the war program of American imperialism and its consequences is already meeting with interest and response in the ranks of the Stalinists. The catastrophic consequences of Stalinist leadership in the Nazi-Soviet war must increase the present ferment among the workers hitherto influenced by Stalinism. The Stalinist move toward a united front with Hillman and the AFL bureaucracy against all opponents of Roosevelt's war program is extremely distasteful to the many Communist Party militants who see no reason to change their opinion about Hillman, William Green and Co. The further consequences of the Roosevelt war program—strike-breaking, attempts to place a ceiling on wages, priorities unemployment, etc.—will make the new Stalinist line increasingly repugnant to thousands of genuine militants whom the Communist Party still has within its ranks. These militants will find in us, if we only take the trouble to reach them, the revolutionary alternative to the Stalinist betrayal.

13. Our program for revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union has made its way into the Stalinist ranks despite all the frantic attempts of the Kremlin's hirelings to portray us as enemies of the Soviet Union. Only our program explains to the perplexed Stalinist workers why, despite all the heroism and the superior morale of the Red Army and Soviet masses, the German war machine has continued to win victories over the Soviet Union. Trotsky's analysis explains to these workers how Stalin beheaded the Red Army and left the Soviet Union leaderless in industry and agriculture; every day's headlines only confirm the Trotskyist contention that Stalinism is incapable of defending the Soviet Union. Only our analysis of the anti-revolutionary character of Stalinism

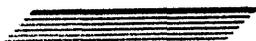
explains to the workers why the Kremlin has refused to arouse the masses of Europe and undermine Hitler in Germany by the revolutionary weapons which Lenin and Trotsky so successfully employed in 1917-1920.

When the workers now under Stalinist influence realize the extent of the continuous defeats sustained by the Soviet Union, there is great danger that they will fall into despair and passivity, for they will be unable to explain to themselves why the workers' state is unable to defend itself successfully against a fascist regime. Unless these workers are reached in time by us, their disillusionment may lead them to drop out of the revolutionary movement altogether. We have the urgent task of saving these workers for the revolutionary movement by preparing them ideologically in due time.

14. Our program for the revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union has been confirmed not only against the Stalinists, but also against all the petty bourgeois renegades who denied the Soviet Union its character as a workers' state and who refused to defend it. The unparalleled morale with which the Red Army and the Soviet masses rallied to the defense of the workers' state can be explained only by our analysis of the class character of the Soviet Union. The Soviet masses, despite the oppression which they are under from the Kremlin bureaucracy, proved to be wiser politically than the "cultured," petty bourgeois snobs who abandoned the Soviet Union; the masses were able to distinguish between the Soviet Union and Stalinism even if the Eastmans, Hooks, Burnhams and Shachtmans did not. The Soviet masses threw themselves into the struggle against the Nazi war machine as no "democratic" country—France, England, Czechoslovakia, Norway, etc.—has been able to. The Soviet masses understood that Hitler was attacking, not merely the Kremlin, but the nationalized property established by the October revolution. That this unprecedented upsurge of morale has proved insufficient to halt the Nazi war machine is a tragic confirmation of the fact that only under a revolutionary leadership can the workers' state be saved. But if the Soviet Union should fall, that loss will only crown the crimes of the petty bourgeois renegades who turned their back on the Soviet Union in its hour of danger.

15. The history of the last two decades demonstrates that the American working class will have its chance to conquer state power before the rise of a mass fascist movement. The rise of fascism and its seizure of power has occurred only where the conservative labor parties (Social-Democratic and Stalinist) prevented the proletariat from utilizing a revolutionary situation. But first came revolutionary situations in Italy (1919-21) and Germany (1918-19, 1923-24, 1929-31). Only when the workers' parties failed to lead society out of the impasse did it become possible for the fascists to recruit mass movements with which to crush the workers' organizations. This is the historical law which is demonstrated by the history of this epoch of wars and revolutions.

And this law provides the answer to the question whether fascism can be prevented by the American working class. Fascism can and will be prevented by the building of a strong revolutionary party able to utilize the revolutionary opportunity. That is the great historic task of the Socialist Workers Party. We shall have our chance. And we shall not miss it.



Four Fronts of World War II

By JOSEPH HANSEN

I. The Soviet Front

Each day we anxiously follow the course of the struggle of the Soviet Union against the Nazi invaders. The lies and boasts of the propaganda bureaus of both Hitler and Stalin make it difficult to follow the battle lines with accuracy. Nevertheless it is possible to draw two major conclusions concerning the development of this crucial conflict: (1) The heroic resistance of the Soviet toilers, which was completely unexpected on the part of both German and Allied militarists, has delayed Hitler's armies, inflicted enormous casualties upon them, forced revision of the Nazi timetable of conquest, and inspired class-conscious workers throughout the world. (2) Despite this resistance, the richest and most highly industrialized sections of the first workers' state in history have fallen into the hands of the Nazis. Catastrophe faces the USSR if Stalin's regime continues in power.

The invasion began on June 22. Hitler's timetable apparently called for conquest to the Volga River before the winter. Not only Hitler's generals but American military experts believed this schedule to be realistic. For instance, the June 28 issue of the *Army and Navy Journal*, a semi-official organ of the United States armed forces, commented as follows:

"Though Russia covers a seventh of the world's land area. her 180,000,000 of population are largely concentrated in the area west and south of the Volga—nearest the attacking Germans. Should Germany take this area, it would have all Russia military speaking. . . . Most observers gave the Russians little chance of final victory. Consensus of opinion was that the reduction of Russia would be completed within three months."

Both Axis and Allied militarists based their estimate of the vulnerability of the Soviet Union upon the known weaknesses of transportation and supply in the USSR, upon the poor showing of the Red Army in the invasion of Finland, and upon their knowledge that the Red Army had been beheaded by Stalin's purges. The advance of Hitler's armies for the first two weeks was so rapid that many bourgeois militarists felt that they had even over-estimated the strength of the Red Army in their prognoses. The July 19 issue of the *Army and Navy Journal* declared that "only a miracle" could immediately avert "destruction of the Soviet Armies."

Why They Can't Explain

To this day the bourgeois military experts have not attempted to explain their error in judgment. It is impossible for them to elucidate the extraordinarily high morale of the Red Army, without at the same time revealing the causes for the extremely low morale among the conscripted soldiers of the American army. They limit themselves largely to recounting purely military factors such as difficulties in providing replacements, establishing advance bases, maintaining supply lines, directing forces on the colossal battleground—all factors which must have been studiously calculated by the methodical and thorough German General Staff before the invasion.

The truth is that Hitler's legions are treading upon a

revolution in which live coals still glow. The Soviet masses are fighting for the basic conquests that yet remain to them of the October revolution. They wish a return neither of the landlord, the boss, nor the bourgeois state. They finished with Czarist Russia in 1917. They have something to defend.

The slowing down of Hitler's armies has had its effect upon the oppressed masses of Europe. The restiveness on the part of the English workers over Churchill's policy of holding aid to the USSR down to the minimum indicates that the example of the Soviet workers has struck a responsive chord in the very capital of the British empire. Undoubtedly the increased unrest now apparent in conquered France and other occupied countries reflects in part the magnificent struggle of the Soviet workers and peasants. Even the American officer caste is able to see the possible consequences entailed by the Nazi invasion of the USSR in the face of a revolution that has not yet been stamped out. "To control the huge country it will be necessary to garrison it heavily," declares the *Army and Navy Journal* of July 19, "and, as Hitler knows, these troops may become prey to the Communistic ideology. The unrest in Russia is apt to encourage unrest in other conquered states, particularly as their peoples are living on the verge of starvation." This reactionary journal even believes that a delay on the part of the Nazi armies until next spring in achieving final victory will result in "uprisings in the conquered countries." The bourgeois military experts understand that a Soviet victory over Hitler would be followed immediately by socialist revolution throughout Europe.

Stalinism Must Be Replaced

The slowing down of Hitler's offensive, however, does not diminish the danger of defeat and destruction for the Soviet Union. The most powerful weapon in the hands of the Soviet masses is revolutionary war with its revolutionary methods of struggle. Stalin long ago discarded this weapon along with the perspective of the world socialist revolution. He thus discarded the perspective of dissolving Hitler's armies and turning them against the Nazi regime. Without such a perspective and without these methods of struggle taught and practised by Lenin and Trotsky, the Soviet Union is doomed. The heroism of individual Red soldiers and guerrilla fighters is not enough. Despite epic individual acts of bravery and self-sacrifice, the Nazi juggernaut has rolled on. Hitler's taking advantage of all the opportunities provided him by Stalin, has succeeded in inflicting terrible blows upon the USSR. Even the most conservative estimates of the loss of life are appalling; before the siege of Leningrad began, British authorities placed casualties for the Germans at 1,000,000 and for the Soviet Union at 1,600,000. The slaughter has continued uninterrupted since then. The desolation which has been visited upon the richest sections of the Ukraine conjures up the specter of famine. Nor must it be forgotten that this front in the first World War witnessed one of the most deadly typhus epidemics of all history; fresh outbreaks

may be expected to add their toll to that of the battlefields.

In the south, the loss of Nikolayev and Odessa has crippled the effectiveness of the Black Sea fleet which operated from these bases. The blowing up of the Dnieprostroy dam, which knocked out an important industrial section, did not prevent the Nazis from crossing the flooded Dnieper river. As this is written, they are threatening Kharkov, Rostov, and the vital Donets coal basin and industrial center, and are within sight of the Caucasus oil fields.

In the north, industrial Leningrad, the cradle of the October revolution, has been surrounded, cut off from supplies and reinforcements and is suffering the fearsome consequences of siege under sub-arctic weather conditions.

In the center, the Nazis have opened a new stage of their drive, evidently with the project of forcing Moscow before the winter becomes too fierce. Their tanks are already clattering in the suburbs. Stalin's removal of Timoshenko as the commander of this sector, and his re-shuffling of the High Command only reveal that as the pillars of the Soviet Union crumble under the hammering of Hitler's siege guns, he is capable of no other reflex to the disastrous consequences of his own policies than offering up scapegoats. In this way Stalin hopes to divert the anger of the people from himself as the real criminal responsible for all the defeats.

Almost two-thirds of the population and two-thirds of the industry of the USSR have been over-run by Hitler's armies. This means that the supply of replacements, arms, munitions, food must necessarily begin rapidly to dwindle. Stalin has brought the Soviet Union to the brink of catastrophe.

The imperialist vultures slaver at the mouth as they watch the retreat of the Red Army. Hitler has been releasing ecstatic "news" bulletins. London has suggested that it could keep a benevolent eye upon the oil fields of the Caucasus, thus "releasing" additional divisions of the Red Army to meet Hitler troops. When the Japanese vulture stirred restlessly in its vigil to shake up the Konoye cabinet and stop American freighters en route to Vladivostok, London suggested to Washington that a joint army could well be sent to Siberia where there are vast undeveloped resources, thus "releasing" the Siberian divisions of the Red Army.

The supplies from the capitalist "democracies," upon whom Stalin now banks for salvation, have proved to be no more than the thinnest trickle. The long delayed conference of the Allied powers in Moscow to determine what supplies were "required" for the defense of the Soviet Union has resulted in nothing tangible except vague discussions in Washington about converting the single-track Iran railway into a double-track line. On top of this there have been hints in successive issues of the *Army and Navy Journal* since the end of September that "Hitler may attempt to make peace..." and that "Stalin... might be inclined to accept a reasonable proposal."

Although the military situation is extremely grave, the last word has not yet been said—that is, the word of the Soviet people. They can still save the Soviet Union; the masses of Germany and Europe can still be rallied for the overthrow of imperialism; the necessary leadership for the Red Army, Soviet industry and agriculture can still be provided. But for this the Bolshevik policies of Lenin and Trotsky must be substituted for the treacherous, bankrupt policies of Stalinism. The socialist revolution alone can set the world on fire with hope, enthusiasm and the will to

struggle. Among the first to warm to the glow of the re-kindled revolution would be the German soldiers.

II. The Middle East

Since the British debacle on the island of Crete, which placed Hitler in position to strike from the air at Syria, Tobruk, the Suez Canal, and to threaten Turkey with a pincers movement, little has been said about the war front in the Middle East. The titanic conflict raging between Hitler's armies and the Soviet Union has obscured activity on this as well as other fronts. Nevertheless Great Britain has been preparing for the coming struggle with the Axis in this theater. Supplies from the United States have been going steadily to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Syria has been taken from France; Iraq and Iran have been occupied.

With winter sweeping over the northern battlefields, activity will probably shift to this front. The British commander, General Wavell, was transferred from the North African front to India and is reported to have since organized an army in the Middle East of more than a million men from the various countries held under the British Empire. Already Britain has placed demands upon Afghanistan that it clean out "Nazi agents." This same demand was placed upon the Iranian government before the invasion of that country. It is the British version of Hitler's formula of "protecting" weak periphery nations from the "enemy."

Despite assurances of military support from both Moscow and London in case of invasion, Turkey has continued to proclaim her neutrality. These reiterations cover up an increasing tendency to gravitate into the Axis camp. The *Army and Navy Journal* reports that "train-load after train-load of Nazi materiel and supplies" have been passing over Turkish railway lines.

An idea of the rich booty at stake in the Middle East can be gained from the fact that Iran alone stands fourth of all nations of the world in the production of oil. Her output of more than 59,000,000 barrels for the first nine months in 1940 stands above that of the Netherland Indies and Rumania, who are next below her on the list, and is exceeded only by Venezuela, the USSR, and the United States.

The aims of the British in moving into Iran are obvious. Besides keeping these oil fields from Hitler, the British are interested in consolidating their military position in anticipation of Hitler's further moves eastward, and of gaining access by land to the strategic Caucasian oil fields. A railway finished in 1938 reaches from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea, providing a shorter route in time from San Francisco to the Russian front than Japanese-threatened Vladivostok and the single-track Trans-Siberian Railroad. Churchill, who took a leading part in Allied intervention in the Soviet Union during the Civil War, naturally has not overlooked the possibility of another English army intervening alongside Hitler's armies in the event it should become expedient to accept Nazi peace terms. According to the *Army and Navy Journal* of September 27 there are already reports that General Wavell is moving British troops into the Caucasus "so as to relieve the Soviets of the necessity of guarding that valuable oil region."

III. "The Battle of the Atlantic"

Recent scare-lines in the press on the sinking of American ships, some of which were Danish ships seized by the

Roosevelt administration and sent into the war zone under the Panamanian flag, have served to underline the eagerness of Washington to get into "shooting" war. A case in point is that of the destroyer *Greer* which was *missed* by a torpedo on September 4. This attempted torpedoing resulted in Roosevelt's "shoot on sight" order on September 11 after sensational declarations by leading Roosevelt spokesmen about Nazi "piracy." The actual facts were completely obscured in the press. The *Greer* was sailing in a declared war zone. According to testimony by Admiral Harold R. Stark, Chief of Naval Operations, to the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, a British plane informed the *Greer* of the presence of a submarine about ten miles away. The *Greer* immediately "followed" the submarine for "three hours and 28 minutes" before the submarine launched the attack. It was after this, according to the story, that the *Greer* dropped depth charges.

In the case of the torpedoed American freighter *Lehigh*, the *New York Daily News* for October 22 reported that there was a "strange note of levity" in Roosevelt's voice when he described the attack and invited the reporters to deduce that the attacker was a German submarine. There was reason for the "levity." It is precisely such incidents that Roosevelt has been seeking as pretext to plunge the United States into the "shooting" war. His whole course since the outbreak of the war can be interpreted in no other way.

Roosevelt Heads Directly into War

As American entry obviously draws near, Hitler's course seems to be to make it as difficult as possible for Roosevelt to find the needed pretexts. With the invasion of the Soviet Union, monthly losses of shipping to Great Britain took a sharp drop which could not wholly be ascribed to the use of the German air fleet on the Eastern Front.

Roosevelt, however, continues to advance into the swirling vortex of the war. 80,000 British troops in Iceland were ordered replaced by American troops. This is a larger army than Britain used in the defense of Crete.

That Roosevelt intends to remain permanently in Iceland can be concluded from the fact that American guns are replacing the coastal batteries set up by the British upon first occupying the island. The final disposition of the valuable deposits of cryolite, a vital war material used in the manufacture of aluminum which the British began working when they decided to "protect" Iceland, has not been revealed.

The belligerent moves of Roosevelt may also be intended to offset the effect of the persistent rumors that Hitler may presently launch a campaign for "peace." The strain of war on the German economy is undoubtedly enormous. The U. S. Department of Commerce on March 18 estimated that war costs are absorbing 72 per cent of the German national income. The growing unrest throughout Europe necessitates increasingly heavy garrisons. Having gained a dominating position on the European continent and with Churchill and Roosevelt incapable of landing an expeditionary force, Hitler could profit through a truce with the other imperialists. He is in a position to offer a truce at the expense of the Soviet Union. The immediate effect of a peace bid by Hitler would be to make more difficult Roosevelt's task of plunging the United States into the war. Berlin has already announced that a conference of the nations committed to the "New Order" will be held shortly. It may be Hitler's intention to have this conference issue the peace bid.

"Shooting" Stage Begins

At present Roosevelt is moving to repeal the so-called Neutrality Act which was passed during the Spanish Civil War and which prevented armaments from reaching the Loyalist government and thus provided Hitler-supported Franco and his fascist legions with a better opportunity to crush the Spanish workers. Having served its purpose, it is now an obstacle. Roosevelt's request to arm the merchant marine—an amendment to the Neutrality Act—passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 259 to 138. Roosevelt's proposals can be expected to pass Congress. The isolationist wing, as we long ago predicted, is giving up what positions still remained to it. Senator Wheeler has announced that he will not engage in a "filibuster" against the proposed amendments. Formal entry into the war obviously draws closer every day. From "all aid short of war" Roosevelt has with his order to "shoot on sight" taken a crucial step into the smoking battlefields of World War II. As the *United States News* for October 24 puts it: "As matters now stand... War at sea is on in earnest."

IV. Impending Conflict in the Far East

The question now being studied in the world chancelleries, and particularly Secretary Hull's State Department, is not "will Japan move?" but "when will she move and in what direction?" The question is of crucial importance to the imperialist bandits. On the decision of the divine Mikado hinges the possibility of Roosevelt's finding in Japan an easy entry into World War II.

The fundamental line of Japanese politics, both domestic and foreign, is determined by the fact that of all the advanced nations in the world she is the only one whose basic industries, and even light industries, have from the very beginning depended almost entirely upon imported raw materials. Combined with the poverty of the Japanese islands is their geographical proximity to some of the richest natural resources in the world in Siberia, China, the Malay Peninsula and the East Indies. Japan's economic requirements under capitalist anarchy have forced her into a rapacious expansionist policy which neither shifts of cabinets nor diplomatic gestures alter in the slightest. These requirements at the same time make her singularly vulnerable to economic reprisals. Internally, the necessity to wage constant war has induced an exacerbated class tension which, ruthlessly suppressed, can erupt at any moment.

Although the Japanese government no longer publishes statistics regarding imports and production, a few available figures and estimates indicate her plight. In 1937, Japan imported 258,000,000 lbs. of wool, mostly from such enemy countries as Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. In 1939 she imported 2,860,000 tons of cotton of which 805,000 bales came from her rival, the United States and 1,131,000 bales from British India. This dependence of her textile industry, including her market for raw silk, upon Great Britain and the United States underlies the uneasiness of that section of her ruling class, termed "moderates" in the U. S. press, who are reported to favor breaking with the Axis in order to follow a policy of "appeasement" toward the Allies. But they play a subordinate role in determining Japan's policies.

Less than one-third of Japan's iron ore supplies and less than one-tenth of her scrap iron supplies come from

domestic and occupied zones. The Philippines and the Malay States are the principal suppliers, with scrap coming from the United States. The American source has been cut off. Japan requires 200,000 tons of copper a year but produces only half that, the rest coming from the United States and Latin America. Lately the United States has cornered the entire Latin American supply. Japan's sources of aluminum ore are the Dutch East Indies, Malay States, India, etc., likewise cornered by the British and Americans. A similar situation exists for all other basic war materials. Practically all of her petroleum and rubber requirements must be imported. According to the *China Weekly Review*, Great Britain and the United States "together account for almost three-quarters of Japan's trade outside the yen bloc. Of Japanese imports, American and British shares in 1939 aggregated 75 per cent. In the field of exports... the United States took 37.5 per cent and the British Empire 35 per cent."

Strategy of Roosevelt's Moves

The effect of Roosevelt-Churchill's ending this trade through a series of decrees and of cutting Japan's trade with such regions as South America through cornering supplies there has been to *force Japan into further expansionist moves that cut directly across the sphere claimed by British and American interests in the Far East.*

On top of this have come a whole series of diplomatic and military moves by Roosevelt-Churchill deliberately designed to provoke Japan into providing a military incident which Roosevelt could utilize in plunging the United States into war. Washington has long considered that a declaration of war against Japan would prove much more popular with the isolationist Middle West than a declaration of war against Germany.

Roosevelt closed the Panama Canal to Japanese vessels, for example. This action cuts off Japanese access to Brazilian cotton since the needed supply of bunker oil for the long voyage around Cape Horn is dubious. In response to a diplomatic protest from Japan, the State Department declared the Canal was undergoing "repairs." When the Japanese Embassy presented a list of vessels which were passing through the Canal, the State Department blandly responded that they were carrying "defense materials."

When Japan moved into Indo-China in agreement with Vichy France, there was a wave of violent indignation in the British and American press. Roosevelt-Churchill warned Thailand that if she cooperated further with Japan she could expect to become a battlefield. Churchill sent additional troops and battleships to Singapore, increasing the garrison to some 100,000 men. The United States in a widely-publicized demonstration sent battleships into Australian waters. Great Britain, the United States, China and the Dutch East Indies froze Japanese assets. Japan and the puppet governments under her control responded with a counter freezing action. The U. S. demanded a formal apology for slight damage to the gunboat Tutuila during the Japanese bombing of Chungking and received the formal apology immediately.

Roosevelt thereupon proclaimed the Philippines on a war footing, with General MacArthur, who has been "military adviser" to President Quezon since 1937, appointed as head of the United States "Far East Command" with headquarters at Manila. Roosevelt ordered the military forces of the Commonwealth of the Philippines into the service of the United States. Some 160,000 Filipinos are estimated to be available for action in addition to 20,000 regular army troops. Since

1936 Roosevelt has carried on feverish preparations to make the Island of Corregidor, key of the Philippine defenses, like Gibraltar, *one of the most strongly fortified positions in the world.*

The August 2 *Army and Navy Journal* neatly sums up the course of Roosevelt's policy as follows:

"It may be therefore that the enforcement of the measures directed at Japan will cause her to move more rapidly in attempting to achieve her goal of domination of East Asia. It is obvious that the one country which is depended upon to stop Japan is the United States. That our intervention in the war is in prospect was indicated by the speech Winston Churchill made in Parliament, intimating that the United States is on the verge of war. Secretary Knox was most emphatic about the Far Eastern situation. He declared this week that we are now confronted in Asia with a whole continent 'dominated by an Oriental bloody-minded autocracy.'"

Relations with Japan have steadily worsened. Roosevelt spokesmen have continued to make public declarations such as that of Senator Norris who said that since "war with Japan is certain" that it might be "desirable to have it now." When the Ministry of Premier Konoye fell and was replaced by a ministry formed by Lieutenant General Eiki Tojo, the U. S. Navy within 24 hours ordered American freighters in the Pacific to proceed to the nearest friendly port, officially "to receive instructions."

The Hour of Decision

When Japanese statesmen declaim that Japan is being "encircled" by the hostile powers of the Allied orbit, there is a kernel of truth in what they say. Japan was encircled from the beginning by coal, iron, rubber, tin, rice and the earlier expansion of the western capitalist powers. Hopes that Japan can relinquish her imperialist aims are delusory. The economic collapse that would follow shutting down her war industries and the releasing of more than a million soldiers among an intensely war-weary populace "put her," to use the nicely chosen words of the *Army and Navy Journal*, "in the precarious situation of being unable to depart from the path of war."

Japan's next move cannot long be delayed. Most of the military writers estimate that she has a one-year supply of oil stored up for war. J. H. Carmical, who writes on oil problems for the financial section of the *New York Times*, declared in the August 24 issue that "For almost ten years Japan has been making an almost desperate effort to increase oil stocks," and estimates that "Japan's oil supplies now amount to around 80,000,000 barrels, or enough for about two and one-half years, on the basis of the rate of consumption of the last few years." Stores for two and one-half years more of war would seem therefore to be the maximum. By the end of that time she must have secured a sure supply of oil *equal to the production of the Netherland East Indies*, or find the wheels of industry and war freezing on dry bearings. This is the time table set for Japan by the Roosevelt-Churchill embargo on oil exports. How much this time table is shortened by the other economic measures directed against Japan can only be determined by her own statesmen.

The Konoye ministry adopted the policy of "watchful waiting," its eyes fixed upon the struggle between the Soviet Union and the armies of Hitler. If Stalin removed troops from Siberia, Japan would feel free to move without great cost in that direction. If Hitler subdued the Soviet Union completely thus becoming enormously strengthened in the west with consequent weakening of Great Britain and the

United States in the Far East, Japan would make her historic decision. The formation of the new Tojo ministry with its tone of messianic belligerency may indicate that the Mikado considers the fate of the Soviet Union to be sealed and that he has already cast the dice.

Two Years of War

Two years of the second World War have brought a series of victories to the Nazi war-machine. But these separate successes do not yet add up to a complete conquest of Europe. A stalemate or repulse at the hands of the USSR would at one stroke nullify all these gains. If the Red Armies should be driven back, the German imperialists would still rule over a restless and ruined continent alive with revolt.

Europe itself for the Nazis can be only a training camp and supply base for the conquest of other continents. Outside European boundaries the Nazis confront British and American sea-power, and the industrial might of the United States, not to speak of the resistance of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. After all its exertions and triumphs, German imperialism is scarcely a step closer to its goal of world dominion.

Its chief contender for world power, the United States, is about to enter the conflict in full force and hurl its colossal resources against the Axis coalition. Far from drawing to a conclusion, after twenty-four months of fighting the second World War is only now approaching its climactic phases. Its arena is widening to embrace all continents and peoples,

regardless of their desires or distance from centers of conflict.

The imperialist commanders of both camps have no perspective of peace. They envisage a war of indefinite duration. And then? And then, they say, we shall see. They are afraid of what tomorrow or the day after will bring, for, despite their bravado, they have little confidence in the prospects of their social order and no program for reconstructing that order to the satisfaction of the masses.

Meanwhile the imperialist slaughter has not only destroyed cities, crops, populations, armies, and the accumulated wealth of centuries of labor; it has at the same time destroyed the habits, illusions, prejudices, and loyalties which shackled the peoples to the putrescent capitalist system and its upholders. This process, still in its preliminary stages, is speeded up by the widening and worsening of the war. The war is now preparing for the advent of the new world out of the torture and ruination of the old. The war is organizing, teaching, training, and tempering the masses for the fiercer struggles ahead against the whole pack of imperialist cannibals.

The revulsion of the masses against the imperialist war, and against its authors and promoters, is everywhere growing. Beneath, beside and behind the battlefronts of the imperialist warriors the suppressed struggle of the peoples against their oppressors goes on. When and where the fight on this front, the class front, will first break forth into revolt cannot be foretold. But it must come—and the coming of that socialist revolution will end this war and strike world imperialism blows from which it will never recover.

How Stalin Cleared Road For Hitler

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

One of Stalin's most brazen lies is that by signing the pact with Hitler he had gained and used precious breathing space to bolster the industry and defenses of the USSR. Just the contrary is true. What might indeed have been such a breathing space was utilized by the Kremlin solely in the interests of perpetuating its own rule. Instead of being strengthened the Soviet Union was still further undermined by Stalinism precisely in the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact (1939-1941).

Stalin himself presented the world with incontrovertible proof of this during the sessions of the Eighteenth Party Conference which convened in Moscow in February, 1941. The Kremlin's implacable censorship succeeded in partially suppressing the truth by keeping the issues of the official Moscow press from reaching this country; and by prohibiting even the text of its own laws for this period from being transmitted abroad. After almost a year's delay issues of *Pravda* are at last available.

The conditions had become so grave that Stalin's personal organ was itself compelled to reveal the economic chaos into which his leadership, his policies and bureaucratic regime had plunged the country.

From the vast quantity of available material we select only several items from Malenkov's report to the Eighteenth Party Conference. (Stalin preferred to keep mum throughout the sessions.)

Malenkov's report constitutes, in and of itself, an indictment of Stalin's regime. It is a confession of bankruptcy.

What was the keynote of Malenkov's report? In the

language of Stalinist double-talk it reads: "*The impermissible utilization of the productive capacities of our enterprises.*"

To drive home his point to the assembled bureaucrats, Malenkov singled out the conditions in the Soviet cement industry.

"The productive capacity of the cement industry," said Malenkov, "is growing from one year to the next. In 1936 the productive capacity of all cement plants was 6,701 thousand tons; in 1937 it rose to 7,024 thousand tons; in 1938 to 7,604 thousand tons; in 1939—7,967 thousand tons; and in 1940—8,206 thousand tons.

"Meanwhile the utilization of these productive capacities during these years has been dropping systematically. Thus if the productive capacity of cement factories in 1936 was utilized 88% in 1936, which is very poor, then in 1937 this utilization was still poorer, being only 77%; in 1938 it was 75%; in 1939—65%; and in 1940, all told only 64%" (*Pravda*, February 16, 1941).

What Malenkov's Report Revealed

At first sight the full implication of this mass of statistics tends to escape the reader. They are almost incredible. Let us take, for example, the official admission that throughout 1939-1940 the cement industry had been operating at or below 65% capacity. Translated into ordinary language this means that more than one-third of the Soviet cement plants were standing idle during these years. What can this denote if not a condition verging on economic collapse?

But the data supplied by Malenkov provide much more

significant information. To bring it out most graphically we have compiled a table based on the Kremlin's own statistics. (We have added a third set of figures relating to the *actual* output. Malenkov carefully evaded specifying these figures, but they are implicit in his own data, and therefore are as authoritative and official as those which he did cite.)

CONDITION OF SOVIET CEMENT INDUSTRY (1938—1940)

Year	Productive Capacity (in thousands of tons)	Output (in %)	Actual Output (in thousands of tons)
1938	7,604	75	5,703
1939	7,967	65	5,178
1940	8,206	64	5,252

By performing a simple arithmetical operation we now learn that: *under Stalinism, while the productive capacity of Soviet cement industry expanded from 1938 to 1940 by 602 thousand tons (8,206 minus 7,604), the actual output declined by 451 thousand tons (5,703 minus 5,252) in the same period.*

More Plants, Less Production

Under Stalin the addition of new plants instead of increasing Soviet production resulted in—decreasing it! Expressed here in terms of tons of cement is the irreconcilable conflict between the needs of Soviet economy and the fetters of Stalin's regime. The Kremlin bureaucracy was strangling Soviet industry on the eve of the invasion just as it is now strangling the struggle on the military arena.

It is hardly necessary to stress the importance of the cement industry so vital not only for peace-time production but for the requirements of Soviet defense (roads, armament plants, field defenses, etc.). Malenkov himself complained: "*After all, comrades, cement, it seems, does not play the least and last role in our capital construction.*"

To what extent is it permissible to apply the conditions prevailing in the cement industry to other branches of Soviet economy? Stalin-Malenkov and Co. do not dare cite comprehensive figures for production. However, in his report Malenkov did not mention a single branch of industry which had functioned satisfactorily. Whenever he did refer, in passing, to other branches, it was only to reveal conditions still more appalling. For instance, in mentioning the timber industry, Malenkov remarked that its productive capacity had been "utilized only 41 per cent."

"*And, after all, comrades,*" commented the reporter, "*timber is very very much needed by our industry and transport.*" Lumber is needed not only in production but for mass consumption. But the needs of the Soviet consumer never did enter into the calculations of the bureaucracy.

Among the "*industrial cities in which big enterprises are concentrated and which do not fulfill their productive quotas,*" Malenkov himself listed the following: Gorki, Dniepropetrovsk, Stalingrad, Kalinin, Chelyabinsk, Tula, Yaroslavl, Stalino, etc.

All of Malenkov's admissions, "omissions" and evasions *plus* the fact that the official press had been filled for months prior to the Conference with data, "alarm-signals" and fulminations concerning the lag in coal, steel, iron, rolled steel, oil, etc.—all this enables us to state with complete

assurance that the conditions revealed by Malenkov in the cement industry were not an exception but the rule for Soviet industry as a whole. Despite the untold billions of rubles pumped by the Kremlin into new plants, equipment, etc.; despite the monstrous pressure exerted by the Kremlin on the workers (the June, 1940 anti-labor laws, the introduction of child labor by ukase of October 2, 1940, etc., etc.); despite bestial repressions and purges, or rather precisely because of all this—Soviet production had been not only stagnating but declining catastrophically throughout the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. This is how Stalin was "strengthening" the USSR!

The Cause for the Collapse of the Third Five Year Plan

While piling up disproportion upon disproportion in its "planning," the bureaucracy further disrupted production by such methods as these:

"It happens frequently," reported Malenkov, "that scarce and highly specialized equipment, complex industrial aggregates, big lathes are either not used for the purpose for which they are intended or are made to operate with inadequate loads. Simple operations are performed on such specialized equipment or tiny details are manufactured which could be more rationally produced on small and simple machines."

As an illustration, Malenkov cited the fact that the biggest lathes were "*not infrequently used to manufacture details the size of tea saucers.*"

On February 18, *Pravda*, commenting on the Conference, declared with an air of hypocritical amazement:

"During yesterday's sessions (of the Conference) the delegates adduced astonishing facts concerning incompetence in relation to technology."

This "incompetence" was generalized by Malenkov in the following terms:

"In many enterprises equipment, raw materials and tools direly needed by our industry are piled up anywhere, everywhere; they become spoiled, they grow rusty and are rendered worthless."

In Stalinist double-talk "many enterprises" really means *all enterprises*. Malenkov himself blurted this out when he told the delegates at the Conference to supplement his words by their own experience:

"Facts relating to this state of affairs," he said, "you, comrades, can find in the enterprises of your own *oblast* (regional district) and city districts."

Pravda took further note of "incompetence" by stating editorially:

"We still have not a few leaders who think nothing of producing worthless goods, of violating technological standards; people for whom dirt in production is a normal condition of production" (*Pravda*, February 15, 1941).

Stalin's Rule—'The Reign of Filth'

Malenkov, in an excess of zeal, developed this point in much greater detail:

"In many of our enterprises, gullds, factory areas and yards, in depots, railway shops, power stations, railways, sea and river ports, there is a *reign of filth*. Work-places, equipment, tools and raw materials are kept carelessly."

And further:

"Examples of bureaucratism, red tape, failure to check orders, and so forth exist unfortunately in every People's Commissariat."

The only thing left out in this catalogue is—the Krem-

lin. By admission of its own mouthpiece, the regime of the Kremlin can be properly characterized only as: *The Reign of Filth!*

Is it to be wondered at that under such conditions, production drops to 65%, 41% of capacity and even lower?

Among the most significant passages in Malenkov's report are those dealing with the problem of industrial stoppages, breakdowns, accidents, etc. As is well known, the GPU has framed up and executed thousands upon thousands of Bolsheviks, collaborators of Lenin, heroes of the Civil War for acts of "sabotage and wrecking." But who was really responsible?

Again, we give the floor to Malenkov.

"Equipment which is left unattended," he thundered, "equipment which is not kept in conditions of necessary cleanliness and orderliness often refuses (*sic*) to function.

"Accidents and catastrophes are inevitable wherever there is no cleanliness and order."

To find the chief saboteur and wrecker in the USSR one need look no further than the Kremlin. Stalin and his clique—here is the fountainhead of this *bureaucratism*; of this *reign of filth*; of these "refusals" of equipment to function; of these "inevitable" accidents and catastrophes—in short, of all the evils and misfortunes that have befallen the land of the Soviets.

Stalin's Thieves Plunder Industry

To believe Malenkov, one of the chief reasons for failures in industry really lies in the sphere of faulty bookkeeping.

He cited a director of a non-ferrous metallurgical plant who asked for information concerning the amount of unfinished products on hand in one of his departments. "*The bookkeeper's office*," reported Malenkov, "*gave him the figure of 81.8 tons; the planning department set the figure at 47.7 tons; the records of the department itself fixed it at 51.5 tons; and when stock was actually taken the amount was 11 tons.*"

But *Pravda* itself exploded Malenkov's alibi. Faulty bookkeeping alone does not account for these and similar "discrepancies" of 40 to 50 tons, and more. On the very eve of the Conference Stalin issued a ukase forbidding thieves—in the ukase they are referred to as "directors of industry"—"*to sell, exchange or rent out equipment and materials.*" Henceforth such transactions were to be considered as "*masked plundering of socialist property*" and the penalty imposed was "*imprisonment from two to five years*" (*Pravda*, February 11, 1941).

Pravda had this to say in connection with the ukase:

"Surplus equipment is being embezzled in the most undisguised manner; directors of factories consider themselves legally entitled to buy and sell equipment and raw materials" (*Pravda*, February 12, 1941).

It is necessary to introduce a slight correction into *Pravda's* terminology. Stalinist "directors" not only had

considered themselves entitled to dispose of nationalized property as they pleased, but they had been doing it for years. It was one of their secret privileges. What monstrous proportions must these transactions have reached if the Kremlin found itself compelled to declare them illegal?

On the day after the publication of the ukase, *Pravda* came out with disclosures of huge embezzlements of equipment, raw materials, etc. in various People's Commissariats, among them the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry. The "directors" of this particular industry were obviously too busy "buying and selling" to bother their heads about such details as the fact that their plants were operating at 41% capacity. Thieves and grafters could not ask for a better milieu for their operations than the one provided by Stalin's regime.

What alibi did Stalin himself offer to explain away the economic chaos into which he had plunged the USSR less than four months before Hitler launched his invasion. Apart from the inevitable scape-goats, the "Father of the Peoples" could proffer only a draft of a "Fifteen Year Plan" to replace his completely discredited and bankrupt "Five Year Plans."

* * *

The development of Soviet economy has been depicted by the Kremlin and its prostitutes as an uninterrupted march from one triumph to another: from the achievement of the "irrevocable triumph of socialism" to the arrival of Soviet society at the "very threshold of communism." These boasts and lies of Stalinism hypnotized thousands of revolutionary workers in all countries. The tragic thing is that they were the only ones whom Stalin succeeded in deceiving about the true conditions of Soviet internal affairs. The chancelleries of the imperialists, "democratic" and fascist alike, have been aware that since 1936-1937—the years of the infamous Moscow frame-ups—Soviet economy had been convulsed by one crisis after another. This catastrophic condition was further aggravated by Stalin's blood purges which decimated the administrative and technological staffs, and beheaded the Red Army. The greatest ravages in economy and, consequently, in defense took place precisely during 1939-1941, i. e., the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

The chaos into which Stalin had plunged the country was known to Hitler. It was undoubtedly one of the considerations which impelled the German General Staff to launch the invasion in June 1941.

All the crimes and abominations of Stalinism are now revealing themselves on the military arena. Stalin, and Stalin alone, bears the responsibility for all the defeats suffered by the Red Army. At the first favorable opportunity, without weakening the front against the imperialists, the Red Army and the Soviet masses must rid the country of the Stalinist regime which stifles all initiative and constitutes the chief internal obstacle to the victorious defense of the USSR.

Lenin on Stalin's Predecessors

(The quotation from Lenin printed below was selected by Leon Trotsky.)

Genuine revolutionary socialism underwent a split not today but at the very beginning of the war. There is not a single country, not a single state where this highly significant split, this fissure in the doctrine of socialism has not taken place. And it is an excellent thing that this split has taken place!

In reply to the charge against us that we are conducting a fight against "socialists," we can only say that in the epoch

of parliamentarianism, the partisans of the latter have no longer anything in common with socialism but have decayed, have grown old, have lagged behind and have, in the last analysis, deserted to the side of the bourgeoisie. "Socialists" who shout during this war—provoked by the imperialist motives of international gangsters—about the "defense of the fatherland"—these are not socialists but the hangers on, the toadies of the bourgeoisie.—*Lenin's COLLECTED WORKS, vol. XXII, pp. 219-220 (February 2, 1918).*

Centrism and Its Future

By MARC LORIS

For Marceau Pivert the anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky provided the occasion for an attack on Trotskyism. In an article called "Has Trotskyism a Future?" he gives a negative answer to the question he asks. It is not without interest to observe that Pivert published his article in "The Socialist Call," the organ of Norman Thomas, that provincial conservative who through some misunderstanding considers himself a socialist. When it is a question of attacking the "sectarian fanaticism" of the Trotskyists it is obvious that anything goes, and Pivert's generous views easily allow him to use the organ of the American section of the Second International. Down with partisan narrow-mindedness!

We shall not examine all the reproaches Pivert throws up to Trotskyism and to Bolshevism. Many of them are as old as Bolshevism itself and are taken straight from the reformist and bourgeois arsenal. As we scarcely have any intention of convincing Pivert himself we shall not repeat things already said a thousand times and shall pause only at points whose discussion may contribute to a revolutionary education.

Pivert's "Internationalism"

Pivert begins by making a distinction between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries. In the Soviet Union "Trotsky's concepts may revive, — to the extent that they correspond to certain historical necessities." What are these "certain historical necessities"? Pivert takes great care not to tell us. But let us go on, we shall come to them later. Outside the U.S.S.R., on the other hand, "Trotskyism was already dying a natural death" long before Trotsky was assassinated and at present is doomed to disappear.

This division of the world indicates how little Pivert has assimilated proletarian internationalism. The struggle of the Left Opposition against the bureaucratization of the Soviet state was by no means a national struggle. The rise of the bureaucracy had a profound international source: the revolutionary wave brought about by the war of 1914-1918 was broken. This defeat was provoked by the treachery of the social-democracy, the bankruptcy of the centrist parties, and the absence of a revolutionary leadership. The first workers' state found itself isolated and this led to degeneration. The international character of the roots of the bureaucratic system also determines the international character of the struggle against this system. The accession of the proletariat to power in any advanced country of the world whatever — we have often repeated — would immediately change the relationship of forces within the U.S.S.R. The Soviet workers would cease passively tolerating the parasitic bureaucrats on their backs. Stalin has understood all this much better than Pivert, and that is why he has done everything to crush the proletarian revolution in Spain and in so many other countries! In aiding the workers in capitalist countries to liberate themselves from reformist and Stalinist leaderships which impede their march forward, we are by this very token working for a revolutionary regeneration of the U.S.S.R. The struggle against Stalinism has a profound international character. Who can fail to see this in 1941? From its very beginning the Left Opposition in the U.S.S.R. conducted its struggle against the Stalinist leadership just

as much on the problems of the world revolution as on the "Russian" question: the policy of the Communist International in Germany in 1923, the Chinese revolution, the Anglo-Russian Committee, the program of the Communist International, etc., etc. Was the Left Opposition right or wrong on these questions? Pivert would feel quite embarrassed at formulating an answer with his notion of a Trotskyism which is good within the U.S.S.R. and bad outside.

Pivert says that Trotskyism "may revive in the U.S.S.R. to the extent that it corresponds to certain historical necessities." These "historical necessities" can be nothing but the interests of the Soviet proletariat which are opposed to the conservative tendencies of the parasitic oligarchy. But there is an indissoluble relation between the interests of the Soviet proletariat and those of the world proletariat. If the Soviet workers throw off their bureaucrats it will be not only the immediate ruin of Stalinism, but also an evidence of the strength of the proletarian revolution, and so will give a powerful thrust forward to the revolutionary proletarian movement in all the capitalist countries. If, on the other hand, the workers of a capitalist country seize the power it will mean the rebirth of all the hopes of the Soviet workers and the foundering of the Kremlin oligarchy within a short time. Therefore, if Trotskyism represents the interests of the Soviet proletariat, as Pivert admits, it thereby represents the interests of the world proletariat, which Pivert does not wish to admit. Inversely, if Trotskyism is playing a reactionary role in the international field, it is also harmful to the Soviet workers. Pivert has no desire to admit this either, for it would mean risking a descent into the Stalinist abyss. Consequently, he is compelled, in order to mask the unavoidable contradictions of his thought, to halt in mid-passage, to satisfy himself with half-ideas and quarter-ideas, to use expressions as vague as "certain historical necessities." All this is in the very nature of centrism.

The revolutionary interests of the proletariat are indivisible. In criticizing Stalinism we have often repeated this principle. The theory of "socialism in one country" pretended that the workers' state could develop independently of the successes or failures of the international revolution. What has happened? A series of proletarian revolutions was crushed, not without the assistance of Stalinists acting in the name of the so-called defense of the U.S.S.R.; the black stain of fascism spread itself throughout Europe; the Soviet Union became more isolated than ever and was ultimately hurled into the catastrophe itself. The Stalinist theory which separated the interests of the U.S.S.R. from those of the international proletariat meant the direct abandonment of proletarian internationalism. Pivert is going in the same direction. He is now constructing the theory of "Trotskyism in one country": Trotskyism is good for the U.S.S.R., but bad for other countries. By this alone he shows that in spite of his pompous declarations and bellowing phrases his thought has remained completely alien to Marxist internationalism. Neither opportunism, nor centrism, nor Trotskyism are good in certain countries and bad in others. In the last analysis their international character flows from the nature of capitalist production. All this is as old as the Communist Manifesto. And when Pivert acknowledges that Trotskyism has a national value while denying it any possibility of existence in

the international arena, he not only indicates that Marxism has remained a closed book for him, but also that he hasn't understood very much about the character of the modern age.

Bolshevism and the Masses

After having settled the inability of Trotskyism to live outside the U.S.S.R., Pivert attempts to explain this fact, whereupon he discovers that the defects of Trotskyism are not peculiar to it but at bottom are those of Bolshevism. And he launches into a lengthy diatribe against the party of Lenin, in which he piles up the vulgarest accusations, which have been dragging around everywhere for more than twenty years, without the slightest attempt to examine the problems seriously.

Pivert begins by declaring that Trotskyism is "the prolongation of Bolshevism," and from this he concludes that "it has no chance of winning the masses." Up to now the Bolshevik party of Lenin is the only one which has conducted a revolutionary explosion of the masses to victory. During the last quarter of a century there has been no lack of revolutionary crises in Europe and throughout the world, but no party has been able to repeat the achievement of the Bolsheviks, who in eight months, from March to October 1917, were able to conquer the faith of the oppressed masses of Russia and seize the power, and then were able to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie and thrust back the attacks of world imperialism. From these overwhelming events Pivert concludes that whoever adopts the methods of Bolshevism will be incapable of "winning the masses." It would seem necessary, unlike Pivert, to draw the contrary conclusion and set oneself to a serious study of Bolshevik methods.

Pivert opposes Rosa Luxemburg to Lenin. A simple statement: "She held the right view." Why embarrass oneself with any details or explanations? After all, it is much easier to make such an indefinite statement. And Pivert reproaches Bolshevism—and Trotskyism—with the "sterilization of the true sources of creative thought"! Whom is he making fun of? But in any case those who do not live by abstractions concerning this "accursed" Bolshevism do look at history, and what do they see? The German revolution broke out in November 1918; the history of the two months which elapsed before the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg in January 1919 is that of the incapacity of the German Left to establish a revolutionary leadership. In December Karl Liebknecht initiated a series of dubious steps and the lack of cohesion in the leadership led to defective preparations for illegality, etc. Of course it would be unwise to establish an exclusive relation from cause to effect between Rosa Luxemburg's conception of the party and the defeat of the German revolution, without taking into account the special difficulties of the period. But how can a serious man conclude that Luxemburg's conception of the party was superior to Lenin's in the light of Russian experience and German experience? Lenin was able to "win the masses," Luxemburg did not. It cannot be maintained that Luxemburg's ideas were the sole cause of this check-mate, but it is fantastic to say that they are superior to Lenin's. Nothing, absolutely nothing in concrete historical experience permits such a conclusion; it is, rather, a contrary conclusion which suggests itself. But Pivert has no regard for historical experience. He lives in a world of abstractions: Bolshevism is a "High Command," what we need is "democracy," etc., etc.

Continuing with his criticism of Bolshevism, Pivert sagely explains how the special conditions in Czarist Russia produced

the "idea of a vanguard party which has to be the only party," and he denounces the "monopolism" and the "aristocratic hegemony" of Bolshevism, which, it seems, are also characteristic of Trotskyism. In face of the abstractions which Pivert sets up as scarecrows, let us turn once again to historical experience. The Bolshevik Party was not the only party of the Russian working class. The Menshevik Party undoubtedly had points of support among the privileged strata of the workers (printers, railroad workers, etc.). During the first period of the revolution it had a majority in the Soviets. But what happened? The Mensheviks dragged in the wake of the bourgeoisie, preached patriotism and did everything to keep the revolutionary wave of the masses within the framework of bourgeois democracy. Was this the fault of the Bolsheviks? Should they have renounced their struggle against Menshevism in order not to establish the "hegemony of one party"? What possible meaning can Pivert's criticism have? But there is more. The Bolsheviks did not constitute the first proletarian government by themselves. They called upon the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries to cooperate with them, and the latter occupied several people's commissariats. This cooperation lasted about eight months. In July of 1918 the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries took bomb in hand and organized an insurrection against the Soviet power. What should the Bolsheviks have done? Allowed themselves to be killed in order not to maintain the "hegemony" of their party? This is what is characteristic of Pivert's thought: if you attempt to make it exact you arrive at absurdities. This is why he must satisfy himself with abstract and vague declarations.

Historical experience shows that the social crisis which is called revolution creates a polarization of society in such a way that various currents which are genuinely revolutionary coalesce in one single party (for instance, Trotsky's entry into the Bolshevik Party), and if the differences between two parties are incapable of disappearing they soon become deeper and deeper to the point of coalescing themselves with the fundamental conflict of the struggling classes. This is not a diabolical invention of Lenin's. It is what all the great revolutions demonstrate if you take the trouble to examine them. The opposition of the classes rends the whole of society, and the extreme tension it creates is communicated to the relationships between the various parties, whereupon they find themselves strongly attracted to each other or strongly repelled by each other. You may regret that revolutions are not made in the midst of universal harmony—they would then no longer be revolutions. The very necessity of the revolution is a heritage bequeathed by centuries of oppression. If this necessity is acknowledged—and Pivert calls himself a revolutionist—we must understand its laws and act in accordance with these laws. In refusing to do this one prepares the failure of the revolution.

What is the present situation? Does the next revolution give promise of being gentle, more evolutionary than the Russian revolution? Such hopes would be futile, especially with respect to Europe. The agony of capitalism, we can see now, is far more violent than the most pessimistic prophets of the last century ever foresaw. These are real facts, this is the ground we have our feet on, this is where we must live and struggle, and not in Pivert's world of abstractions: "the monopolism of Bolshevism," "aristocratic hegemony," etc.

In reality Pivert should charge history, and the revolution, with all the reproaches he throws up to Bolshevism. He refuses to understand their mechanism, grows irritated at the events whose laws escape him and turns his irritation against those who wish to make their actions conform to this mechanism, casting the most extraordinary accusations at them. But by this he shows only that he is not going on to a serious

examination of the real problems but is merely expressing the subjective discomfort of the petty bourgeois faced by the fundamental problems of the revolution, that is, the most burning question of our age.

Pivert gives us his solution. Reformism and Bolshevism "have now been passed by." "They must now step aside and yield to something more revolutionary than reformism and more democratic than Trotskyism." What a prodigious synthesis, and how simple! Make reformism more revolutionary and Trotskyism more democratic! But first of all, how is reformism to be made more revolutionary? Here is a very important question which anyone reflecting on the problems of the revolution will ask himself and concerning which Pivert doesn't breathe a word. For years Pivert considered Blum not a class enemy on the other side of the barricades who should have been denounced as such, but an ideological adversary who should be persuaded. For years he attempted to instruct Blum how to make the proletarian revolution. This is Pivert's way to make reformism more revolutionary! The result is known. Let us go on to the second part of the "synthesis." What is this "democracy" Pivert wants to inculcate the Trotskyists with in order to rescue them from the "germs of monopolism" handed down by Bolshevism? Marxists distinguish between bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy. Is it a question of persuading us that bourgeois democracy has not exhausted its possibilities? This would be a bad moment to choose, just when democracy is yielding to dictatorship everywhere in the world. As for proletarian democracy, it can exist in the party, or in the state. According to the Bolshevik conception, the party regime is based on democratic centralism. It is the regime we are attempting to set up and maintain in the Trotskyist parties. Does Pivert wish to say that we are doing it badly or that it is the system itself which is defective? Essentially democratic centralism means freedom of discussion for all the party members, then unity of action after a decision is taken. Does Pivert think that a revolutionary party can operate without any centralism whatever, in our age of extreme political and economic centralization? What other system is he proposing? If he has some precious recipe in his pocket why doesn't he pull it out? As for proletarian democracy in the state, Lenin has written a little book about that, which is quite well known. It is still with us today at the base of our program. At bottom the whole struggle of the Left Opposition against bureaucratic reaction was nothing but a de-

velopment of Lenin's ideas. To convince oneself it is enough to compare "State and Revolution" with the "Revolution Betrayed," which takes up Trotsky's struggle against the Stalinist Thermidor. Once again, what is the democracy Pivert wants to inject into us, and just what illness is it he wants to cure us of?

Pivert hardly bothers himself with all these complications. We need democracy! Bolshevism is against democracy! Down with Bolshevism! Down with Trotskyism! In reality, what Pivert is defending is freedom to shun the demands of the revolution. Freedom for Pivert to enter Leon Blum's secretariat in 1936! Freedom for Pivert to flirt with General de Gaulle in 1940! Freedom for Nin to enter a bourgeois cabinet during a revolution! Freedom to veil over the fundamental conflict of society! Freedom to learn nothing from history! Freedom to sneer at Marxism! Freedom not to think things through! Freedom to live in the midst of confusion and spread it all around yourself!

Bolshevism's outstanding merit is its profound analysis of all the problems of the revolution. This labor was imposed on it by the difficult conditions in which it developed. If it was possible in Western Europe to rock oneself to sleep with democratic illusions, Czarist oppression compelled the best of the revolutionaries to ponder every revolutionary question through to its core and find a solution for it. Pivert attempts to present Bolshevism as a product of barbaric Russia, unworthy of Western Europe. What a threadbare banality! He simply reveals by that his vanity, the vanity of a French petty bourgeois, "enlightened," democratic and Free-mason. The second imperialist war has plunged Europe into such a state that Czarist reaction appears to us only a timid prelude. An entire continent has sunk to the level of Czarist Russia, and even far below. All the lessons of Bolshevism have been placed on the order of the day with tenfold force. Pivert does not wish to see this. He persists in repeating against Bolshevism and Trotskyism complaints which are nothing but an echo of the cries of horror with which reformists greeted the October Revolution. He is not preparing to solve the tasks of our age, but is shutting himself up in the shell of his petty prejudices. If he keeps his back turned to history, the latter will get along extremely well without him. The epoch of grandiose overturns which is approaching will be the epoch of Bolshevism. It will be the epoch of Trotskyism.

September 24, 1941.

Trotsky's Prognoses: USSR--1927

(Extracts from Leon Trotsky's speech before the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on September 27, 1927. This speech served as one of the pretexts for Trotsky's expulsion from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on October 23, 1927.—THE EDITORS.)

Neither threats, repressions, Thermidorian slander nor Bonapartist frame-ups will deter us from persisting in our work to safeguard the revolutionary traditions of the party and to secure for it a revolutionary future.

* * *

You say: Doesn't this mean a break, a split? To this my answer is: Stalin's whole policy aims toward split, or more correctly a series of successive slashes which must progressively become more frequent and deep-going.

Stalin's personal misfortune, which is becoming to an ever greater extent the party's misfortune, lies in the enormous discrepancy between Stalin's ideological resources and the power which has been concentrated in his hands by the party-state apparatus. In his so-called "Testament"

where Lenin, carefully weighing every word, evaluates the leading elements of the party, Lenin took special pains to warn the party about Stalin and his rudeness, his disloyalty, his abuse of power; and also about Bukharin and the latter's scholasticism and inability to master Marxism. Lenin made this appraisal at a time when he wrote his other genius-like counsels to the party. It goes without saying that Lenin's remarks do not contain an iota of bias, malevolence, etc., etc. In this document he was guided more than ever by party-political considerations, and nothing more. By his remarks—so mild in form but so cruel in content—concerning Stalin and Bukharin, Lenin did not at all wish to brand them or to isolate them. He merely wished to warn the party about the position which they should occupy in the collective leadership. Lenin's whole letter (i. e., the "Testament") is permeated with the idea that under existing conditions and forces the leadership of the party could be only a collective one. The bureaucratic regime leads inevitably to the rule of a single individual.

Capitalist Economy Under Fascism

By JACK WEBER

The world-shaking events of nearly two generations, from the first to the second imperialist world wars, have shattered into smithereens the various attempts of revisionists of Marxism to build a theory of "organized capitalism." Let us count it as a distinct gain that the old forms of revisionism, which based themselves on a gradual progress from capitalism to socialism, are buried forever from the point of view of serious theory. Kautsky, Hilferding and a host of their followers, tried to make us believe that monopoly capitalism would lead gradually to the planned organization of industry on a social scale. It was necessary merely to permit time to ripen the new industrialism like a fruit which would then fall into the lap of society and benefit all. But far from following the course outlined for it in Kautsky's theory of super-imperialism, far from eliminating crises, monopoly capitalism has led to chaos, permanent crisis, fascism and war.

The economic theories of the revisionists were the necessary counterpart of their politics of class collaboration, and vice versa. Politics deals with class relations; but class relations are also at the root of economics. As Engels says: "Here we have an example of a peculiar fact, which runs through the whole of economics and which has caused utter confusion in the minds of the bourgeois economists: economics deals not with things but with relations between persons and in the last resort between classes; these relations are, however, always attached to things and appear as things." It is not only natural but inevitable that one's views on the class relations that exist in society should reflect themselves or attempt to find a material buttress in economics.

The Bankruptcy of Revisionism

Our ideas about society, our consciousness, reflect the social environment. Capitalist society never stands still, and so the ideas about it also never stand still. With the old capitalism disappears the old revisionism. With the new capitalism, beside correct views, appear new forms of revisionism. How interesting it is to note that in the case of Burnham, there was an evolution from the view that the Soviet bureaucracy was something new that represented neither the working class nor the capitalist class, to the view that the fascists also represented neither class and that both kinds of bureaucracy were achieving a revolution in economics, a "managerial" revolution. His economic views followed from his political ones.

History has written finis on the idea of organized capitalism. This has made difficult any further "revision" of Marxism. Today it is necessary for those who attack Marxism to go the whole way: not merely revise, but reject it completely. The Burnhams present us with the view that in the class struggle between the capitalists and the proletariat, the victor will be neither one, but a new class, the managerial class whose germs are found in the totalitarian bureaucracies. This new class is doing away with capitalism. Under its rule, the laws of capitalism no longer apply. Hitler demonstrates before our very eyes that the law of value is being abolished, profits are no longer necessary, indeed fascism has learned to plan economy and thus to eliminate crises from society. As proof of this, the Burnhams insist, we witness the fact that whereas everybody expected Hitler's manipulation of German currency and credit to end in a great disaster of inflation, no such thing has happened.

It is characteristic of the writers of this variegated school that the more sweeping their interpretations, the broader their claims, the less the trouble they take to present actual statistics, or even to refer to such statistics. It is a glaring fact, for example, that Burnham's book on "Managerial Revolution" makes just one solitary reference to figures—and that reference does not even exist!

Our analysis divides itself into two interwoven parts: a presentation of what fascism has actually done; secondly, a running commentary of Marxist interpretation of the trend of capitalist economy. It is not possible to separate these two elements entirely without sacrificing clarity.

Hitler's Economic Policy

What has been the course followed by German economy since Hitler came to power? The fascists were quite fortunate in coming to power just as a world upturn commenced in the conjunctural economic cycle. The fact that this was a world upturn and not merely a German one, eliminates any false view that the Nazis created this upturn by the application of some new methods all their own. But the upturn developed slowly and did not absorb the more than seven million unemployed German workers rapidly enough. Hitler, the spearhead of German imperialism, began at once to prepare for the coming war. Unlike the new-thinkers, Hitler was well aware that Germany could not possibly solve its economic problems inside the German borders. The solution had to be sought abroad, and the only way imperialism has for seeking its own immediate national salvation is by imposing its will on other countries through war.

At first, in the period intervening between the projecting of the armaments plan and the smooth functioning of the entire machine, Hitler resorted to every single scheme tried by Roosevelt in the New Deal. He tried all the forms of pump priming, the building of tremendous public works, the creation of labor camps for the youth, the subsidizing of agriculture and of exports, etc. In addition Hitler resorted to relief, not as a government project outright, but as a form of charity forced out of people. (Evidently this form of relief must be continued even during the war, as Hitler's recent inauguration of the campaign for Winter Relief testifies.) But the armaments program was undertaken at a tempo that soon absorbed all the unemployed into the factories. Once the factories were geared to the vast munitions, airplane, tank, etc. production program, there developed an actual shortage of labor. (This took more than three years.) At once the Nazis scrapped unceremoniously all their tommyrot about the place of women in the home. There are more women in the factories and offices of Germany today than ever before in history. By the end of 1939 there were seven million of them at work. At present there are well over eight million at work in industry. Even this was not enough to meet the needs of this type of production. Between 1933 and 1937 Hitler had to attract a million workers from the farms to the factories. (This also despite the "sacred" character of peasant labor.) The result was an actual decline in agricultural output in 1937.

This led to the conscription of youth, male and female, for the farms. Naturally the state did not pay adequately for this labor. Nor did it pay for the half a million workers

who were conscripted by Goering in 1938 solely for the purpose of pouring concrete in the Siegfried line. As to class relations let it be said that the Nazis adhere scrupulously in the main to class lines. The well-to-do girl is never conscripted to be sent to the farm, or to a labor camp. Nor is the Junker's son. There are better uses for him as a "leader."

Where did the state get the money to carry out these vast plans? There are only three ways for any government to obtain funds: taxation, borrowing, and the printing of fiat money. Nothing frightens the German people, the Nazis not excluded, more than the thought of a repetition of the inflation of 1923. Hence, despite all the cleverness of Schacht and his successors the government has, in the main, adhered to orthodox methods in internal economy. Fiat money has been used, but internally it has been kept at a minimum because of its dangerous possibilities of speedy inflation. The vast bulk of government funds has been raised by taxation and by borrowing. Taxation alone will not raise the tremendous sums necessary for war economy under the capitalist system. But taxation has become a greater burden with each year of the war. In 1939 with a national income of 79 billion Reichsmarks total, the taxes amounted to 24 billion. In the fiscal year 1940-41 they were 26 billion or more. At least one-third the national income is now taxed away directly. If we count both the direct and the indirect taxes, the state absorbs 47% or more of the national income. This in itself means a terrific lowering of the standards of living of the masses, but this lowered standard is being made permanent by the distortion of economy wrought by the Nazis.

Fascist Finance

Where the fascists did develop a totalitarian technique suitable for totalitarian war, was in the method of borrowing. Outright confiscation was employed in connection with the Jews, but not at all in the case of capitalists in general. The Nazis passed a law that all savings in the banks must automatically become loans to the government. In addition all profits of firms and corporations above 8% for dividends, must be invested in government loans. This limitation on dividends has been mistakenly interpreted as a control on profits allowed to industry. It is nothing of the sort. When one reads of a seven or eight percent dividend declared by Krupps or Siemens-Halske, this does not mean the profit "earned" by the company, but merely the profit permitted to be distributed to stockholders. The rest (and this amounts to many times the eight percent—especially in big industry) is taken as a loan by the government, or is used most often for plant expansion for war production.

It is this totalitarian technique in borrowing funds that arouses the admiration of those who think that production can be seized hold of and controlled from the financial end alone. Taxation and borrowing between them, the latter to a far greater degree than the former, take all the savings and the surplus production on which profits are based and divert them to war use. It is by analysis of this process that one can best see the way in which war affects the entire economy and above all the living standards of the masses. The funds obtained by the government would be useless unless other means were adopted at the same time to convert the money into the real war fund, into the real sinews of war. For this purpose it is not sufficient to hand money over to the war industries with orders for increased production. All other industries, all raw materials, all consumption goods must be taken into account and methods of controlling the distribution of commodities must be adopted. To achieve the level of production required in the war industries for

modern war, production must be cut down drastically in other fields; investments must be regulated as well so as to permit the flow of new capital goods into essential war channels only. Rationing and other devices are used to restrict the ordinary consumption of goods by people.

The Dislocation of the Social Process of Production

The goods produced each year by society must include not only articles that are consumed directly by people, but also the capital goods that have been used up in the process of production. The capital goods take care of the wear and tear of machinery, of the replacement of obsolescent means of production by more efficient modern tools, and of expansion of plants wherever necessary for greater production in the future. This is what Marx terms the "simple and extended" reproduction of used-up capital. War economy changes and distorts this process completely. The savings of society and the surplus value of the capitalists contain the wherewithal to carry out the process of reproduction of used-up capital and the expansion of plants. War industry, by diverting all funds (and the Nazis do this most efficiently) to war purposes alone, bring about a rapid deterioration in the ordinary forces of production. At first sight it seems a paradox that the tremendous expansion of production in the war industries should mean the running-down and decay of the social forces of production. But the history of the last war demonstrated this paradoxical process in a way never to be forgotten. The present war is proving even more destructive in this respect since it takes up where the last war left off.

The two basic types of social commodities are the means of production and the articles of consumption (whether these be necessities or luxuries). War adds a third commodity to these: instruments of destruction and extermination. All governments are spending on this third commodity at a rate faster than ever before in history. This requires an enormous shift in economy. In 1935 German production showed a proportion of capital to consumers' goods of 55% to 45%. By 1938 this had risen to 61.5% as against 38.5%. The process has been accelerated since but statistics are not available. This change in composition was not due merely to increases in the capital goods produced, but to decreases in consumers' goods. So much so that there is an insufficient quantity for the consumption of people. So much so that workers have been thrown out of employment in these industries that are necessary for people but not for war. That is one reason why the Winter Relief campaign must go on. War requires that not only military but economic secrets be kept hidden as well. Complete statistics are therefore lacking, but it is judged that over 75% of present German production goes for war use. Not only is there a drop in the standards of living, but a tremendous deterioration of the means of production for the necessary goods of ordinary living.

The total expenses of the first World War amounted to three hundred billion dollars. The entire wealth of the warring countries was only about twice this sum at the beginning. This national wealth had decreased one-third by the end of the conflict. This time the decrease will be far greater. Since current national income can never cover the expenses of war, the real wealth that is destroyed must come out of the standards of living of the masses and out of society's fixed capital goods. To some extent the rise in national debt of a country measures the rate of destruction that takes place, although not directly. In the last war the final

debt of Germany was 157 billion marks. The Nazis acknowledged some time ago a debt of 80 billions, but the real debt is hidden. Discussing Nazi war financing in Free Europe, K. C. Thaler placed the debt at 130 billion Reichsmarks in April 1941. This is far above the national income.

Nazi statistics are not reliable but they cannot help but reflect the actual processes in production. These can be illustrated in several ways. Industrial production rose 33% between 1928 and 1938. Income went up only 26%. But the production was mostly of capital goods which went up 50% as against only 16% for consumers' goods. Thus for a 26% higher income there was only 16% more goods. The difference between an ample and a scanty supply of consumers' goods is only 5%. Since even consumers' goods were being bought by the government, whose requirements were up 20% by 1938, the supply available for the masses was even less than the figures would seem to indicate. Taking into account the quantity that went to government use, the supply of consumers' goods in 1938 was actually only 92.8% of what it had been in 1928. Which means that compared with national income, consumers' goods had dropped one third by 1938. (A 126% income had available for exchange only a 92.8% supply of goods.)

This fact of expanding income and declining consumption is reflected in all statistics. Thus Fay in a series of articles in the magazine *Events* on the "Internal Strain in Germany" states that the income of the workers rose 64.2% between 1932 and 1938 but the production of consumers' goods increased only 29.5%. He shows the distortion of production also. The index for the capital goods industries including arms rose from 45.7 in 1932 to 145.3 in April 1939, but the index for consumers' goods rose from 74 in 1932 to only 112.8 in April 1939. In short the war industries expand at the expense of normal industry.

The Latest Apologists of Capitalist Anarchy

This is the economy that the Macdonalds present to us as a planned economy, and even a planned economy for use, no less! What a perversion in terms! These people admit that the masses are worse off, but the Nazis, you see, produce what they want, according to plan. What they want happens to be war materials, but we are assured that they could use the same methods for producing anything they choose. Marx used the term planning for use to mean planning production in such profusion that all the needs of the masses would be satisfied. Planning for use would require a tremendous increase in the forces of production whereas fascism is tearing down these forces at an unprecedented rate. There is utter confusion in these new-thinkers concerning the meaning of planning and the distinction between production inside the factory walls and in society as a whole.

Marx drew a distinction between the scientific, orderly planning of production inside the factory and the resulting anarchy of production in the whole of society despite this factory planning. Marx illustrated this from his own day when free competition, relatively speaking, existed, and when the market acted as the blind regulator of social production. As if it were something just discovered yesterday, the new thought group has learned that free competition no longer characterizes our economy. We now have large-scale industrial planning. This is characteristic of monopoly capitalism. True enough, within the sphere of its control, the monopoly trust introduces some order. As Engels wrote in

his criticism of the draft of the Erfurt program: "When we pass from joint stock companies to trusts which control and monopolize whole branches of industry, not only private production comes to an end at that point, but also planlessness." Precisely for this reason the era of trustification was looked upon by Marxists as the period of transition when capitalism was beginning to give way to socialism. But one must not confuse the end with the trend. Monopoly capitalism introduces planning of production in an entire sector of economy (each in its own sector), but this still does not and cannot mean control of all economy. Monopolies can in some sense control production for the market (for their own bloated profits), but they cannot control the market itself. The proof of this was the last crisis—and again will be the next one.

It is no accident that the present rejecters of Marxism go back to the literature of the revisionists in support of some of their views. Hilferding is an especially good source. He thought that monopoly capitalism was destined to gain control of all industry without exception, thus ending the blind forces of the market and permitting capitalism to "organize" itself so as to eliminate anarchy of production. In this way the trusts would grow peacefully into socialism. But Engels and Lenin both pointed out that monopolies, while growing out of competition, do not eliminate it but exist over and alongside of it. Lenin warned: "Imperialism is capitalism passing away, not capitalism gone—dying, not dead." It could not abolish exchange, the market, competition, crises, etc. (One can readily see this through a study on a world scale of the cartels attempting to control sugar, tin, tobacco, oil.) The introduction of monopolies within competitive capitalism makes for further distortion of economy, since the monopolies are able to gather in super-profits at the expense of the rest of economy. Now, in place of Hilferding's idea, we have one that the very force which tries to preserve private property and monopoly capitalism, fascism, is bringing about planned production for use—against capitalism! That is, the force entrusted with maintaining the profit system, despite the anarchy of monopoly capitalism—is assisting to end capitalism by having the state take over all enterprises. This is most certainly a method of making black appear white, of calling things by their opposite. Macdonald sees the beautiful planning inside Krupps in the building of tanks and guns—and he calls this war economy a planning for use. It does not seem to occur to him that the very need to carry on war, for which the economy is adapted, is proof of the utter inability to carry on planned production for use.

The Economics of Totalitarian War

War (resulting not infrequently in revolution) is the greatest crisis that the capitalist nation endures. The fate of national capitalism is dependent on the outcome of a war. Modern war in particular demands totalitarian control by the state for its energetic prosecution. The distinguishing characteristic of war economy, as had been pointed out again and again long before the start of war, is the immense extension of the state's functions. It becomes of necessity the supreme director and the chief customer. It drains off all private savings, monopolizes foreign trade, sets up control of prices and allots raw materials and new investments. Fascism had the great advantage in setting up its war economy of having first rid itself of all mass opposition (effective mass opposition) in advance. But the aim of the fascist state in mobilizing the economy for war is absolutely clear. Its aim is a class aim. Fascism is the executor for capitalist imperialism. But fascism is not alone in the methods used for the mobilization of

national economy for war purposes. All capitalist nations act in similar fashion. This war economy is not planned production for use, nor can it be extended into a system of planned production after the war.

We come back to the nature of the control exercised by the fascist state. It is asserted that this control will eliminate crises. This is proved by reference to the fact that the Nazis avoided inflation, serious inflation that everybody predicted must come. While the government remains the chief customer and passes out tremendous orders to industry in advance of production, and brings about a rapid expansion of the war industries, there is no need for the capitalists to worry about a market. They cannot produce fast enough for the present market. Those capitalists who are not in war industry are forced to curtail production or to transfer to the more profitable field. The orders are paid for with borrowed money which appears as an increase in the national debt. Apparently this process of expanding production by the increase of the national debt exerts a real fascination over the minds of some economists. They view the boom period of the economic cycle and generalize it without seeing the forces that are at work undermining the boom. The writer Hitchcock (*Harpers magazine*) goes so far as to include the national debt with national wealth as a producer of the national income, since it is used to continually expand production. He calls it a process of keeping capitalism expanding indefinitely by absorbing the enormous yearly savings of society. There is an exact analogy here with the chain letter scheme. But at least Hitchcock recognizes that capitalism still exists in Germany, that profits continue to flow into capitalist pockets.

But the war cannot last forever. What will happen afterwards? War economy must stop since it is a tremendous strain on the nation and serves no "useful" purpose then. The government debt will then be far, far above the national income, and far above the ability of a depleted national economy to pay. All the governments face economic bankruptcy at the end of the war. Evidently those who think that state control will give the Nazis the ability to throw off the debts and continue the control of production, do not picture the actual economic process. The government has not been able to go ahead with production except with the use of the national wealth mobilized in the form of money and credit gained through taxation and borrowing. Will money disappear after the war? It was possible for the state to obtain money in the period of expanding war production when the national income was rising. But a good deal of the wealth of the large banks and corporations will appear precisely in the form of the national debt after the war. The bankruptcy of the state means the bankruptcy of the national economy as well. Tremendous sums will be required to rebuild the depleted forces of normal production. The "Managerial Revolutionists" seemingly have quite a simple solution for this. The laws of capitalist economy will no longer exist. Money will not be what it once was; it will be merely counters of the government used to plan production. Just how can Burnham make us feel certain that the shadow of money will be able to hire more than the shadow of labor in return? Burnham attributes not revolutionary, but miraculous powers to the fascist totalitarian bureaucracy, which these men are only too well aware they do not possess.

Fascism Aggravates the Contradictions of Capitalism

Even if we assume that Germany will be completely victorious in the war, she cannot continue outright looting such

as is being carried on during the war. That would merely kill the goose that lays the golden egg—of surplus value. Pose the matter as one will, one comes back to the use of some form of acceptable, stable money. The idea of the distribution of the national income through the rigid control of prices of goods, the idea of the extraction of surplus value from the working class,—these mean nothing without a universal, impersonal medium of exchange and—of value. The alternative to this is not any fancied managerial revolution—if we leave aside proletarian revolution—but the utter breakdown of capitalism and a return to utter chaos and barbarism.

Fascism tries indeed to base itself not on planned production, but on an economy of looting. Germany is to live at the expense of the rest of the world. So great has been the deterioration of machinery within Germany that the first thing done by the conquering armies is to dismantle factories in order to ship the machines to the fatherland. This is a distinct part of fascist "planned economy." It tries to solve the unbearable contradictions of German imperialism on the backs of the peoples of all Europe. If Germany needs consumers' goods, then such goods are taken by hook or by crook from the inferior races who must then starve under Hitler's planning. Are farm laborers needed in Germany? Then send millions of the conquered peoples and soldiers there to act as slave labor. In the methodical looting of all Europe, Hitler does not forget to issue special worthless paper currency abroad to be used by his armies to obtain all they can. In France this currency has been used to buy up whole industries. The planning of German economy under Hitler is quite clear. It means to tear down the industrial forces of all Europe and of all the world for that matter, for the sole purpose of benefitting German industrialism and monopoly capitalism. If fascism had been able to plan its own economy without the fear of crisis in the future, then why was it compelled to go to war? Marxism explains this on the basis that monopoly capitalism faces a crisis of strangulation within its own national borders. Far from being able to plan the national economy, it is forced to seek salvation from its own anarchy by seeking wider markets and fields of exploitation.

The Russian experience has demonstrated for anybody with eyes to see that even where there are no private owners of industry, where truly all the means of production are in the hands of the state, there are tremendous difficulties in the way of the planning of production. The reasons for this difficulty lay not only in the backwardness of Russian economy, but also in the confinement of the forces of production within the bounds of a single country. No bureaucracy can hurdle over these difficulties which are real, material ones that cannot be waved aside by ukase. We repeat, those who suppose that Hitler is endowed with the ability to plan even without complete control of his own economy (the factories are still in the hands of their owners) have made no attempt to understand the nature of the economic problem. Nor have they seriously studied the actual state of German economy.

Fascism Faces Economic Catastrophe

The Macdonalds make quite a point of the fact that Hitler put his generals and state officials in charge of planning, price setting, etc. But it is far more to the point to explain just what methods these planners use in setting prices and how these methods make for planned economy as against the old methods of the monopoly capitalists. The attempt to show any antagonism between the bureaucracy and the monopolists as a class is doomed to abysmal failure. Finance capital still controls the economy and gives its full consent

in the procedure of planning and price fixing. Fascist economy is no different in this respect from Rooseveltian economy. Prices have in all cases increased the profits of the capitalist class. The wholesale price index ranged between 90.7 and 96.2 in 1933. Since then it has steadily risen to the all-time high of 107.1 in June 1939. Without knowing the actual index at present, we predict with assurance that it has gone even higher.

The German Institute of Business Research (March 13, 1940) states that it was the danger of an inflationary boom in 1936 that led to the institution of measures of price control. The article points out that price control is not something rigid, but permits adjustments for elasticity. It illustrates by showing that prices dependent on imports (supplies of raw materials from abroad) are exempted since they are dependent on the world market. This means the exemption of textiles, leather, rubber, non-ferrous metals, etc. The prices of agricultural products were raised above world market levels in order to encourage farming. For the same purpose the prices of fertilizer and agricultural machinery were lowered a little. In all of this there is nothing different from what has been and is being done in every other country. Also the Institute tells us that the cost of living was only 7.9% higher in July 1939 than in July 1933. The cost of alimentaries however went up faster, being 10% higher. After these questionable statistics we are suddenly told: "In war the changing of production to new lines of manufacture and to new methods (ersatz, buna, artificial fibre) increased import prices, and limitation of private production is bound to affect the price situation in many branches of industry." Indeed, sad to relate, when the war started the price regulations were all but forgotten and even government departments bid against each

other for supplies. This happened in the very industries that should have been most strictly under control; namely, the war industries. Thus a machine-gun that had sold for around 80 marks previously, suddenly jumped in price to 160 marks.

Guerin in his book on "Fascism and Big Business" mentions the memorandum sent by the big industrialists to Hitler in 1937. This document pointed to the depreciation of the mark to 40% of its former value and warned sharply against inflation. (In short Hitler was doing not his own but their bidding in setting prices to avoid inflation.) 'The mark is worth even less today. Secretary of State Brinkman also had visions of a serious economic catastrophe in 1938: "The first dangerous cause of inflation comes into existence when the supply of food, clothing and housing does not cover the indispensable minimum." Evidently the standards of living had fallen well below sheer subsistence level. Brinkman wanted the facts faced, not the statistics, for he adds: "It is also a fact that prices and indices reported weekly or monthly in our statistical publications do not reflect the actual state of things. Every purchaser knows that prices are rising, giving the lie to statistics. This should not be. Only things that are within the limits of possibility should be demanded of the population." His next remark shows the deterioration of the normal forces of production: "The situation in private economy is critical. For one thing, there are far more orders than can be filled in a lifetime. For another, production has deteriorated to a much greater extent than we can answer for. These are unmistakably genuine inflationary symptoms, and it is high time to call a halt and to promote exports." The war broke just in time for Hitler to postpone the consequences of his "planning" to a later day. The visions of another 1923 drove Brinkman to insanity six weeks after he took the place of Schacht.

False Light on the Moscow Trials

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Darkness at Noon, by Arthur Koestler. 267 pages. Macmillan Publishers. \$2.00. 1941.

This time the attempt to answer the question—*Why did they confess?*—is made in the form of a novel. Ever since renowned leaders of the Russian revolution were brought into a Moscow court and startled the whole world by their eagerness to plead guilty to all the crimes in the counter-revolutionary calendar, many people have claimed that no satisfactory explanation has been given of their conduct. In "Darkness at Noon," Arthur Koestler provides us with his answer to the all-engrossing riddle.

It would be more accurate to say that Koestler gives us his solution with reference to one type of defendant in the Moscow frame-ups. For he intimates that some of the defendants might have "confessed" because of torture or because of threats to their families or because of promises to spare their lives. In Rubashov, the main character of the novel, the author deals with an educated and cultured Old Bolshevik who played an important role in the Bolshevik Party from its very beginning and in the Russian revolution. And since Rubashov typifies practically all of the chief defendants in the trials it is correct to say that the author attempts to explain the confessions of all of them, such as Bukharin, Radek, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rakovsky, etc.

Anyone who has studied the trials, knows the history of the individuals involved and, above all, understands the history of the Bolshevik Party and the causes of its degene-

ration can have no hesitation in concluding that Koestler's attempted solution is a complete failure.

Koestler's Explanation Worthless

That the reasons for the disproved and unbelievable confessions can form the subject-matter of a novel and can, perhaps, best be explained in a novel can be taken for granted. But it must be written not only by a great artist who can probe into the psychological depths of the individual but by one who understands Marxist politics. In the form of a novel the author is able to present (and if he is a real craftsman, in an artistic way) many psychological factors that would be out of place in a political tract. But all of the interesting psychological factors must revolve around and be connected with a correct basic theory explaining the social conditions and their causes at the time of the trials. Let the novelist ignore those conditions or assume an incorrect theory in explaining them and his excursions into the psychic processes of his characters, while interesting and even offering elements of truth, cease to have any real value as far as explaining the motives and actions of the defendants is concerned.

Almost all of the reviews dealing with the book conclude that it is a great piece of literature. It is difficult to understand why, unless the reviewers have been convinced by the author's solution of the mystery of the confessions. They are overawed by the superficially dazzling psychological analysis of Rubashov as he argues with himself whether to sign

or not to sign the document which will constitute his confession at the public trial. The book in many spots is quite dull and since the explanation advanced for the confessions is more than nine-tenths false, the novel has no value. It must be reviewed only because it raises important problems concerning the nature of a Bolshevik party and its alleged amoral character.

Reduced to the simplest formulations (and doing this may distort the author's theory to some extent) the central thesis of the novel is as follows: Rubashov, an intellectual of long-standing in the Bolshevik Party, is arrested for "oppositional activities"; he capitulates and "confesses" to everything his jailors indicate, because he thinks that the advancement of those ideas in which he believes and for which the party stands demands that he confess. "Questions of personal pride; prejudices such as exist elsewhere against certain forms of self-abasement; personal feelings of tiredness, disgust and shame—are to be cut off root and branch. . . ."

In deciding to plead guilty to any crime designated by the bureaucrats Rubashov argues that he is simply carrying out to its logical conclusion the fundamental principle of the Bolshevik Party, even in the days of Lenin, that the end justifies the means.

We are here confronted with the stock accusation made by all the ex-radicals who have seen the error of their ways and have embraced "democracy," to the effect that the crimes of Stalin are the logical and inescapable consequences of the party regime under Lenin and Trotsky. It is this idea, that Stalinism is the inevitable outgrowth of Leninism and even of Marxism, that is used most frequently as a justification by those who have turned their backs not only on Stalinism but also on revolutionary Marxism.

Bolshevism Has Nothing in Common with Stalinism

Not one of the recent converts to capitalist democracy has shown or even attempted to show how the theories and practices of the Bolshevik Party under Lenin gave birth to the crimes of Stalin. It is enough for most of them simply to state that Lenin's party adopted the principle that the end justifies the means and that therefore it was inevitable that the degeneration of the party under Stalinism would ensue.

What means did the party of Lenin use that were ignoble and criminal? Did any party member in the days of Lenin ever suggest the possibility of having a member confess to counter-revolutionary crimes that he was never guilty of in order to serve the interests of the party? Was there ever a suggestion that torture to obtain false confession, even from class enemies, was justifiable? What conduct was ever justified by Lenin's party, what principle was ever enunciated in Lenin's days, which could by any reasonable deduction be considered as the starting point of an inevitable degeneration into the practices of Stalin?

The social-democrats are fond of referring to the advice of Lenin to have party members do anything and everything necessary to fool and deceive trade union bureaucrats anxious to expel revolutionists from the trade unions. Here we must state frankly that revolutionary morals demand that every revolutionist deceive the oppressor and his servants in order to be able to continue with his work. No one can ever convince us that this type of "cheating" and deception will inevitably lead to Stalinist degeneration.

There is, of course, and there can be no general principle enabling one to determine, in all cases, what means are justifiable in the pursuit of an end which one considers as great

and noble. In general the struggle for socialism can be achieved only through, and therefore demands, a propaganda that is based on accuracy and truth. They who fight for a cause that is progressive are compelled to base themselves on the truth and are compelled to reject methods that are despicable. All revolutionary propaganda that has as its aim to convince the masses to follow a revolutionary course can, in the long run, have no effect if it is based on lies, half-truths and distortions.

But to conclude from this general principle that a revolutionist, at all times, must tell the truth, even to his enemies anxious to betray and destroy his revolutionary activities, would mean in practice to give up all revolutionary activities.

There is no denying that revolutionists can make serious errors on some tactical question. It is quite probable that things were done by members of the Bolshevik Party or by the party itself during the Russian revolution that can now be seen to have been mistakes. If, in the heat of the struggle, some Bolshevik is unnecessarily cruel to an adversary it is absurd to attribute it to the alleged fact that the party believes in the principle of the end justifying the means.

Unfortunately no one has discovered a method by which the class struggle can be conducted in a gentlemanly way, according to rules and regulations. Bloodshed is terrible, cruelty is abominable, and it is regrettable that the oppressed masses, in their struggle to advance, have been and will be guilty of excesses. The revolutionists as well as the moralists can regret that fact but the revolutionists will proceed with the struggle to advance the interests of the masses and do their best to prevent excesses while the moralists will do nothing to advance the interests of the masses.

It is only the Stalinist bureaucrat in a novel, written by one who does not understand the real problems involved, who can argue that, because Gandhi's pacifism is of service to the masters, therefore Stalin's cruelty and violence against the millions of peasants and against the proletarian revolutionists are justified. The revolutionary Marxist says: Gandhi's pacifism serves the interests of the British imperialists and their Indian servants while Stalin's violence serves the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Bourgeois Moralists Slander Bolshevism

Our moralists point to the fact that show-trials were held even under Lenin and Trotsky. But these show-trials were not Moscow trials. There is nothing wrong in utilizing a trial of the enemies of the Soviet regime in order to show the masses the real character of those enemies. What was wrong with the Moscow trials was not that they were show-trials but that they were frame-ups against revolutionists; they were based on false evidence obtained by torture.

Does that mean that frame-ups and false evidence would be justified if used by revolutionists against counter-revolutionists? By no means! Revolutionists would not have to use these methods. If anyone could prove that they were actually used we would have no hesitation in condemning them. A mistake could be made in some individual case but it is excluded that a system of torture and frame-ups would be introduced by revolutionists against any group.

The author of the novel makes the intellectual Old Bolshevik Rubashov argue on the basis of the liberal moralist. One must choose between Gandhi's pacifism and Stalin's cruelty; between personal integrity and complete indifference to the moral character of any act so long as it serves the interests of the cause; between decency and reason. Rubashov who by nature prefers decency and personal integrity finally is convinced that he should choose reason and social utility

and therefore confesses to crimes he never committed. What complete and utter nonsense!

Unquestionably in the course of a great upheaval delicate and perplexing personal problems may confront an individual member of the party. A relative or close friend is found to be on the other side of the fence. Shall one spare him because of that? It is quite possible that some innocent person is accused of counter-revolutionary activities. Shall one spend valuable time in defending him? Some members of the party will act one way; others in another way. What is infuriating, because it is false, is the proposition that the Bolshevik Party demanded that the sentiment of kindness and decency be destroyed. To permit such a sentiment to violate one's revolutionary duty, to endanger the revolution because of sentimental reasons is one thing; to suppress sentimental kindness and be cruel as a matter of principle is quite another thing. The Bolshevik Party has never and will never demand that.

* * *

In the whole book there is not a single reference to the actual conditions that compelled Rubashov to argue with himself—whether to confess or not to confess. The existence of a bureaucratic caste, the conditions that led to the growth of that caste, the struggle of the bureaucracy to preserve its power and privileges—of this there is nothing. A reader innocent of these questions would never guess that there was such a thing as a bureaucracy that was responsible for Rubashov's arrest.

Why Did the Defendants Confess?

Assuredly the novelist is not obligated to write a thesis on the social and political developments in the Soviet Union but if he undertakes to write an explanation of the "confession" of an Old Bolshevik without taking those developments into consideration then his explanation is worthless. It is more correct to say that the author has a political explanation for the "confession" but one that has no value since it is based on the proposition that some original sin existed within the very make-up of the old Bolshevik Party.

A great novelist studying the psychological reaction of those called upon to confess and who do so would not leave the reader ignorant of the basic factors explaining the demand for the confession and the yielding to the demand.

That the character of the individual confessing is an important factor is not to be denied. In the last analysis that explains why some Old Bolsheviks preferred to die without confessing while others confessed. But still it is necessary to explain why people who in their youth showed readiness to die for an ideal played such a miserable role in their old age. What happened in the years after the revolution that made possible the march of Old Bolsheviks before Stalin's appointed judge and their sickening self-betrays? The skillful novelist would have shown the successful revolution, the creation of a bureaucracy of which these Old Bolsheviks were a part, the softening and weakening of their characters by virtue of their position in the bureaucracy.

Rubashov ceased to be a Bolshevik at the time when he either participated in a scurrilous attack on Trotsky or when he kept quiet in the face of such an attack. He is not in the tradition of Lenin who tolerates falsehoods against a loyal revolutionist. There may be polemical exaggerations but they can easily be distinguished from frame-ups.

And once one capitulates because of possible hardships—

and the hardships for a revolutionist under Stalin were infinitely greater than for a revolutionist under the Czar—then the road to any confession in order to avoid torture is opened up.

The element of torture is practically excluded as the motive for Rubashov's confession. The theory of the author that the defendants in the Moscow trials confessed because they believed it to be necessary for the good of the party, falls to pieces, for the simple reason that they were under arrest and understood that they would remain so unless they confessed. Were these confessions obtained from men who were free and who knew that nothing would happen to them if they did not confess, then there would be some plausibility to the theory advanced by the novelist. Not until one shows that a party member consented beforehand to be arrested and to go through the whole mumbo-jumbo of confessing, knowing all the time that nothing would happen to him if he refused, could we take such a theory seriously.

So long as they who confess know that the least they will suffer is prison, if they do not confess, then it is absurd to argue that they confessed voluntarily for the sake of the party's welfare.

A novelist could make out a good case for the theory that some who confessed argued themselves into believing that they did so to advance the welfare of the party. The human mind will go to great lengths to rationalize and create excuses. But then one must not confuse the excuse with the real motive. The real motive for the confession was to avoid torture for themselves and their families. Not to avoid dying because that is exactly what the prisoners wanted. The real hold that the G.P.U. had on the prisoners was their fear that they would be kept alive under conditions where life was so dreadful. The reason for the failure of the prisoners to renounce their confessions publicly at the time of the trial was not that they would be killed but the fear that they would not be killed. "If you say that the confession is false you will not be afforded the peace of death but the torture of living" was the ultimatum the G.P.U. gave the prisoners.

* * *

The individual bureaucrats in the form of the jailors are dealt with not as bureaucrats fighting against people who they fear might possibly create an opposition and thus endanger the position of the bureaucracy but as people who are fanatically devoted to a great idea and who proudly boast of their belief that the end justifies the means. The bureaucrats of the novel are not fighting for their power and privileges but for a great end.

If you believe Koestler these bureaucrats will seriously argue that in a controversy as to the advisability of building large or small submarines, Stalin must kill those who oppose him on that question because they who advocate large submarines endanger the defense of the Soviet Union. The point is not that some fanatical, fifth-rate bureaucrat might not make such an argument but it is presented seriously as a logical and necessary development of the party's alleged dictum that the end justifies the means. And there is more nonsense of a similar character in this novel that has been proclaimed as great by the ignorant, the naive, and by those who have turned their backs on revolutionary Marxism to embrace a dying capitalist democracy.

In his writings on the Moscow trials, Trotsky has given us a valid explanation of the "confessions." He who wants to write a great novel explaining the confessions must first understand Trotsky's political explanations.

The Morale of the German Army

By LUCIEN

Under the Iron Heel, by Lars Moen. New York. Lip-pincot. \$3.50.

Lars Moen, an American engineer, left German-occupied Belgium toward the close of 1940, returning to the United States after an absence of about a dozen years. In his "Under the Iron Heel," he describes the mechanics of the occupation, the conditions in occupied Belgium. Moen is an ardent supporter of the bourgeois "democracies" in the present war. But in his book he does not at all times conform to the pattern followed in the outpourings of the foreign correspondents of the kept press. Moen sometimes draws conclusions from what he saw even when those conclusions do not please him. An interesting part of his story is told in the chapter, "What the German Soldier Thinks About."

Moen came into close contact with large numbers of German soldiers who were billeted at his hotel: "When their superior officers were absent, they often talked freely . . ." he writes. "On other occasions, the officers themselves talked with a frankness that astonished me."

What the German Soldier Thinks

Most of the German soldiers had been away from home a long time. Immediately after undergoing military training, they had been stationed for a time in Austria or Czechoslovakia, then participated in the various campaigns of the second World War. "The dominant, constantly recurring theme in all of their conversations is the desire to go home." In the earlier stages of the war, they had been led to hope it would soon be over. But they grew less and less certain of this. "Some soldiers said to me grimly: 'If the war isn't over by winter, we'll go home and let the politicians do the fighting!'" Criticism of the Nazi regime became more bitter and open. A German propagandist even went so far as to point out the lies of the German propaganda machine.

By and large, the German soldiers feel the war to be justified. They feel Great Britain to be their greatest enemy, nourish deep hatred for Churchill. This, Moen frankly enough admits, is not a consequence of Hitler's propaganda but of the well-known facts of history that Hitler has used for his own purposes—the Versailles Peace, the invasion of the Ruhr, and so on. "So long as the German soldier believes he is fighting to protect his family, he will put up with a great deal. . . ." Or, to put it more plainly, so long as the existing bourgeois governments outside Germany retain power, so long as they threaten the German people with a repetition of their sufferings during and after the first World War, so long will the German soldiers continue to tolerate the Hitler regime. The establishment of a socialist government in England would do more to undermine the Nazis than any military blows dealt to Hitler.

The German soldier is far from the stereotyped goose-stepping *Sieg-Heiler* that the politicians, the press, and the pulpit have depicted. Hitler, Moen maintains, is "idolized" by the entire German nation; but Hitler and the Nazi regime are not regarded as being one and the same. "In far more cases than I would ever have anticipated, German soldiers told me, in effect: 'Hitler is honest and sincere, but he is surrounded by a gang of crooks, and it is they who have gotten us into the present mess!' Again and again, I heard the

most bitter criticism of Goering, of Goebbels, of Hess, Himmler, Ley, and von Ribbentrop; again and again, German soldiers charged that these men were growing rich at the expense of the German people—that they were corrupt and unscrupulous."

The Germans feel that they are better off now, from the standpoint of material well-being, than before Hitler came to power. (The Weimar Republic was, of course, a poor yardstick of prosperity.) "Propaganda efforts aimed at the German people, offering them a restoration of their political freedom, will have little effect unless linked with some assurance of an order in Europe which promises them some sort of economic stability." This is no small hurdle for the bourgeois "democracies." The German soldiers would like to see Roosevelt's "four freedoms" firmly implanted in the British Empire and the Western hemisphere before they begin to think of entrusting their destinies to the mercies of the Roosevelts and Churchills.

Air-raid shelters are as much an issue in Germany as in England. The bombings of their home cities were a blow to the soldiers in occupied Belgium. "If anything ever leads them to lay down their arms, it is very likely to be the feeling that their families are exposed to grave danger from which the Nazis are no longer capable of protecting them."

The tank drivers and the air pilots, two "highly selected and trained groups," "were probably the most rabid fanatics in the entire German military organization." The loyalty and the services of the pilots were secured, in part, by high pay and extra bonuses after each flight.

The privations and suffering which the German soldier sees about him in the occupied territories do not exactly inspire optimism in Hitler's "New Order." It is far more likely that he will tend to sympathize with the local population. "To circumvent this, he (Hitler) moves them about frequently, but many of the men are specialists of various sorts . . . and once they become familiar with conditions in a particular community, it is inefficient to shift them elsewhere."

Another factor working to establish a bond between the soldiers and the inhabitants of the occupied territories is that the position of the troops, too, is growing worse. By the end of 1940, chocolate was no longer available to soldiers, they had to drink *ersatz* coffee, etc.

The Specter of Revolution

Moen states of the German army that "there are definite signs that, given certain conditions, it might very well revolt." Already, before the end of last year, there were overt signs of lowered morale such as a rise in drunkenness among the soldiers. There were cases of open insubordination, pilots refused to fly; Moen saw about two hundred German soldiers, who had revolted, being marched, hands manacled behind them, to a train headed for Germany. A young German naval officer remarked to him that the 1918 revolution began in Kiel "and that is where it will begin *this* time." A large proportion of the German sailors, the officer said, had had jobs on passenger ships before the war; they were accustomed to travel and had been in close touch with the outside world.

But the revolution that Moën conceives as possible has nothing in common with the pipe-dreams of the Gerhart Segers and the Tony Senders who are waiting patiently in the *New Leader* offices for a return to the "good old days"—the Weimar Republic, cabinet posts, overflowing trade union treasuries. A high German officer told Moën, "Germany will soon go Soviet." And Moën himself feels, "There is little in German character or history to justify a belief that any revolt which did occur in Germany would be in the direction of capitalist democracy."

Toward the close of "Under the Iron Heel" Moen writes, "Thus far, the most consistent aspect of the whole war has been the uniform regularity with which both prophets and military experts have been wrong about practically everything. Most of them have been wrong, I believe, because they have thought of the war solely in terms of strategic military or geographic positions, raw materials and guns, forgetting that the fighting must... be done by human beings. The degree of sacrifice which men will make is conditioned very largely by their degree of faith in the cause for which they are fighting—by their faith in the social and economic system which they are defending. Few of the prophets and experts have considered these factors at all, *other analysts have recognized their existence, but have been so afraid of the underlying currents implicit in the situation that they have allowed wishful thinking to cloud their judgment.*" (Our emphasis.)

The paeans of praise for Roosevelt's achievements with which Moën closes his book are an example of wishful thinking on his part. But on the whole, his work is free from the errors which he criticizes. And the result? The result is to undermine the very bases upon which the holy crusade for democracy is being sought. If Moën shows anything, he shows that the continued existence of capitalist democracy acts not to destroy Hitler but to prop him up. If the Ger-

man soldiers must choose between a victory of Roosevelt and Churchill as against the continued existence of the Nazi regime, then they will choose the latter.

An "Infantry Journal" reviewer wrote as follows of Moën's book: "I have read reviews in which this book was criticized for its scientific detachment. But it is that very detachment which makes *Under the Iron Heel* so valuable a commentary. The book has the ring of hard facts, and the reason that some reviewers found it cold is probably because the author occasionally says something good about the German army of occupation."

Small wonder! Chauvinism is not confined to Hitler's side in this war. Vansittart pictured the Germans as a "race" of barbarians. And Churchill followed with his "seventy million Huns." Chauvinism is as much the guiding philosophy of bourgeois democracies in this war as it is that of Hitler. They all go hammer and tongs after any author bold enough to point out that there are Germans and Germans, masters and men, and that the men hate the masters. The Churchills and the Roosevelts don't want a German revolution—they want a German colony.

Every new fact, even the embarrassed observations of Moen, serves to corroborate the position of our party. The Soviet Union will not be defended by appeals to historical analogies—the German soldiers are indifferent to stories of how the Czars of old drove out Napoleon. They would listen to those who speak to them of how the Bolsheviks in 1917 overthrew their own bourgeoisie, how they waged a revolutionary war against imperialism. The German soldiers will not heed the gigantic propaganda machine of Churchill and Roosevelt; deluging them with leaflets, blaring over the air waves—they know these people for what they are. But they will listen to the honest voice of the revolutionary party, which inspires them by example, which by struggling against its own imperialism shows them the way.

From the Arsenal of Marxism

Our Aims and Tactics in the Trade Unions

(A speech delivered at the Party Conference of Coal Miners at St. Louis, Mo., July 27, 1924. First published in the *Daily Worker*, August 2, 1924.)

By JAMES P. CANNON

This speech by Comrade Cannon was delivered seventeen years ago when the trade union work of the Communist Party was first being developed on a practical basis and its guiding principles laid down. Most of what is said there is pertinent to the present stage of the development of our party trade union work.

The Political Committee has decided to publish a book containing selections from the speeches and writings of Comrade Cannon over the entire period since the foundation of American communism, and has appointed a commission to select and edit the material. This speech is one of the documents to be included in the selection. The editorial work of the commission is already well under way.—THE EDITORS.

* * *

Comrades:

These conferences of Party members in the important trade unions in which representatives of the Central Executive Committee take part are becoming frequent occurrences. We must regard this as a healthy sign. It indicates that we are maturing as a Party of theoretical and practical revolutionists, and getting a firm grip on our basic tasks. The close collaboration between the active comrades in the field and the

leading organ of the Party has a beneficial result all the way around.

The close and intimate contact with the practical problems of the daily struggle and with the comrades who directly face them, serves as an unerring corrective to any tendency there might be in the Party to deal with these problems in an abstract or purely doctrinaire fashion. On the other hand, the participation of the Party representatives insures that the fundamental political aspect of the trade union struggle will be brought to the front in these trade union conferences. The importance of this cannot be over-estimated. Otherwise there is constant danger of the work of our trade union comrades being influenced too much by expediency and so-called practicality. One-sided conceptions, purely trade union points of view, take the upper hand and the general class issues of the struggle are pushed into the background. Such a state of affairs must be guarded against. We know too well that it leads to reformism and futility.

We are meeting here today to consider the problems of

the particular trade union you belong to, from the standpoint of the Party, which is the standpoint of all Communists. And I think I will be proceeding in the proper order if I put forward as a premise the revolutionary aims of our Party and propose that we weigh and judge every trade union question that comes before us, no matter how small or practical it may appear to be, in the light of our final aims.

A Revolutionary Party

Our Party is a party of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian revolution is the only solution of the labor problem and all our work must lead to this goal. This is our starting point in the trade unions, as in every field of activity in the class struggle. It is this fundamental conception that distinguishes us from all other parties and groups in the labor movement. It is the band of steel that binds us together into one Party.

Our revolutionary goal shapes our policy in the daily struggle. The revolutionary aspirations of our Party comrades generate the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice that give the Party its driving power. Woe to us if we become so "practical" as to forget this for one moment. All our work must lead toward the proletarian revolution. If we keep this always in mind and measure all our daily work by this standard we will keep on the right road. The revolutionary principles to which we are committed put upon us responsibilities and duties which cannot be shifted or evaded if we are to live up to our conception of the Party as the vanguard of the workers. We have to stand up and fight for the true interests of the working class as a whole, at every turn of the road.

With the Masses, But Leading Them

We want to be with the masses, but we must also be ahead of the masses, and not be afraid to take an unpopular stand, when it is necessary in order to combat their prejudices. Take for example the Ku Klux Klan. Here is an organization that is anti-labor in its very character,—yet large numbers of coal miners are misled into supporting it. To fight the Ku Klux Klan, to expose its reactionary nature and win the workers away from it is a difficult and somewhat hazardous task in certain sections of the country, but it is our duty to the working class to make such a fight. We would not be worthy of the proud name our Party bears if we evaded such a fight on any pretext.

Our work in the trade unions is developing. Evidence of this can be seen on every side. Such conferences as this are proof of the rapid strides we are making. We have already accumulated rich experience, and this experience is bringing to light both positive and negative sides in our work. One of our main duties is to review the whole activity from time to time, to strengthen and improve what is good, and discover what is bad in order to reject it.

It goes without saying that we Communists esteem each other very highly, but when we meet together in conferences such as this, it is not for the purpose of extending bouquets and empty compliments, but to speak out openly and frankly; to subject all our work to thorough-going examination and criticism in order that errors may be discovered and overcome. You have the right to expect plain speaking from the Central Executive Committee. I feel quite confident that if some errors in your work are mentioned here in this discussion, if some of the mistakes that individual comrades made, are pointed out in a friendly and brotherly, but nevertheless frank manner, as is the custom among Communists, that none of

you will feel offended. The discussion is only for the purpose of improving our effectiveness and strengthening the Party for the fight.

Our Valuable Experiences

The power of a disciplined Party, founded on revolutionary principles, and concerning itself in a business-like fashion with all aspects of the trade union struggle, has already begun to manifest itself. At the last convention of the Illinois miners, for example, everybody could see that the Party is beginning to grow up, to stretch its shoulders, and take its place on the stage of events. Our Party appeared there as the leader of the fight for the interests of the men in the mines. It was in the forefront, dealing the heaviest blows against the agents of the bourgeoisie, who have usurped the official positions in the Miners' Union. The work of our comrades in this convention added greatly toward making the Miners' Union a better union for the class struggle, thereby increasing the prestige of our Party. That must be acknowledged at the very beginning.

In a whole series of trade union conventions held in recent months the same phenomena were to be observed. Our small Party, which only yesterday emerged from underground and began to collect the scattered forces of the revolutionary workers, was the storm center of the fight against reaction in the labor movement. We have not yet become the leader of the masses in the trade unions, but we have become the leader in the fight for their interests. The rest will follow in good time. Of this we can be confident.

It is no accident that our Party is pushing forward everywhere and putting itself at the head of the struggle. The reason for this is that ours is the only Party willing to fight for the immediate interests of the workers, and the only Party standing for the solution of the labor problem by means of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. All of the interests of the working class, immediately and ultimately, are indissolubly bound up with the revolution. And if we make mistakes here and there, if we fail to take the fullest advantage of opportunities which arise in the course of the struggle, it is because our comrades in the unions, due mainly to inexperience, have not fully mastered the art of taking a practical stand on every question that arises, and relating it skillfully to the final aims of the movement.

Correcting Our Mistakes

To do practical work, and at the same time to deepen and extend the class-consciousness of the workers, and lead them toward the struggle for power—this is the heart of our task in the trade unions. From this point of view an examination of events that transpired at the last convention of the Illinois miners will bring forth fruitful results. Our power will be multiplied at the next convention, if we frankly recognize the negative as well as the positive sides of our activity at the last one.

One of the main errors made by our comrades there, was the failure to realize fully that the brazen scheme of class collaboration presented to the convention in the report of Frank Farrington, revealed the political and ideological basis of all the corruption and betrayal of the whole bureaucracy of the United Mine Workers of America, from Lewis to Farrington. Our comrades should have attacked this report in the most militant fashion. They should have shot it to shreds on the ground that it represented the theory of the interests of the coal diggers and the parasites who exploit

them and fatten on their toil and misery. Against it they should have set up the principle of the class struggle, the theory of the salvation of the workers through uncompromising struggle against their exploiters.

Such a fight would have been a dagger aimed at the very heart of the corrupt and treacherous trade union bureaucracy, because it would have been aimed at the false system of ideas with which they poison the labor movement. Such a fight should have been seized upon as the best means of opening the eyes of the miners, and making them see their real problem. All the other fights in the convention, the fight over the appointive power, the fight for better legislation in union affairs, for the reinstatement of Howat, etc., should have been regarded by our comrades and explained to the delegates, as related to the basic fight for the principle of the class struggle, and subordinate to it. This would have been the best means of awakening the honest rank and file delegates, and of binding them more closely to us.

Another error at the convention occurred in the handling of the resolution on the recognition of Soviet Russia. Here again the principle of the class struggle was involved. The Farrington machine played a clever game with the delegates on the resolution, by calling for the recognition of Soviet Russia in one paragraph, and then nullifying the whole effect of the resolution by adding the qualification that Soviet Russia should recognize certain obligations—the very obligations which the capitalist governments of the world have been vainly trying for six years to impose upon her. Our comrades made the mistake of thinking that the question of formal recognition of Soviet Russia was the real issue, and of considering such a resolution a victory for us.

This was entirely too “statesman-like.” We are for the recognition of Soviet Russia, because it is a working class state, and because we recognize that the interests of the working class all over the world are bound up with it. The recognition of Soviet Russia is for us an issue of the class struggle, and we should have made the fight purely on that basis, and hammered home again to the delegates the idea that the solidarity of labor, the world-wide union of the working class in the fight for the overthrow of capitalism, must be accepted as the guiding principle of the labor movement. We might have failed to get a majority of the convention if we had put the fight on this basis, just as we might have failed to get a majority in a clear-cut class struggle fight against Farrington’s scheme of class collaboration, but that is a secondary matter. We would have brought the principle to the minds of many of the delegates, and tied them more closely to us. It is not the formal victory but the fight that is important.

Inadequate Organization

From the same point of view the inadequate development of the left-wing caucus at the convention should be pointed out. Some comrades objected to these caucuses on the ground that Farrington’s spies might be present and learn something in advance about the fight we intended to make in the convention. This attitude is erroneous. It is the result of over-caution and too much concern for immediate legislative and technical victories. Moreover, it represents, to a certain extent, an unconscious yielding to the position of the reactionary officials who naturally resent any attempt to organize the rank and file against them. This question goes much deeper than appears at first glance. The failure to organize the left-wing delegates at the convention into a fighting body, if carried to its logical conclusion, would lead to the failure to organize the left-wing forces throughout the union. It

means giving up, under pressure of the officialdom, the right to organize the Trade Union Educational League. “Don’t make a mole hill into a mountain,” is a good maxim; but it is just as good if we turn it around and say to the comrades who are willing to concede this small point: “Don’t make a mountain into a mole hill.” If we are making a serious fight to break the control of the trade union bureaucracy we must not neglect to organize our troops.

Our fight for the conquest of the union is at bottom a fight to organize the rank and file workers together with us on the basis of the class struggle. Therefore, they must be enlightened as to our aims and plans.

Conventions should be regarded as the best occasions to advance this process. The conventions afford us the opportunity of coming into close contact with rank and file delegates, of combatting by discussion and argument their prejudices and misconceptions, and of uniting them with us into an organized body to fight for the regeneration of the labor movement. The left-wing caucus is necessary for this work.

It is far more important to us if we get acquainted with ten new workers and make them a part of the organized fight, than if we pass a dozen resolutions in the convention by an accidental majority.

The conscious support of the workers is what we want. We are fighting for their minds and hearts. Do not forget that, comrades. The officialdom can turn our best resolutions into scraps of paper. They can retain office by stealing elections, but they can not turn away from us the workers we have won over to our way of thinking and fighting. The officials can maintain themselves in power, for a time, by a thousand tricks and fraudulent practices. But once we have won the masses over to our side, we can snap our fingers at them. The control of the unions means for us the control of the masses. This, and this alone, will insure our final victory.

Communists and Union Offices

I want to pass over now to another question which will become more and more important as our strength develops in the trade unions. It has confronted us already a number of times. That is the question of comrades holding office in the unions and becoming candidates for office. This may become one of our greatest dangers, and one of the greatest sources of corruption of party members, if we do not properly estimate this question and take a resolute stand on it at the very beginning.

In the discussions which took place here today, we heard the remark made by one of the comrades that our struggle in the unions is a struggle for strategic positions. This is a one-sided view and if we allow it to stand alone, we will fall into a serious error. We must adopt the point of view that our struggle is a struggle to develop the class consciousness of the rank and file workers and to win them over to the principle of the revolutionary struggle against Capitalism under the leadership of our Party. If we will connect the fight for strategic positions with this broad political aim and subordinate it to this aim, we will be on safe ground. Otherwise, we will be confronted with the spectacle of Party members regarding the fight for office as an end in itself; of evading or putting aside questions of principle with which the masses are not familiar; of scheming and calculating too closely in order to get into office. Of course the comrades will justify all this on the ground that once they get into office they will be able to do big things for the Party. But quite often we will be apt to find the very comrades who adopt

this method of getting into office falling into the habit of continuing it in order to hold the office. They will thereby degenerate into mere office-holders and office-hunters. They will lose the confidence and respect of the militant rank and file workers, and our Party, which stands responsible for them, will have its prestige greatly injured.

Strategic positions, however, are very important and we must not take a doctrinaire view in regard to them. The opinion expressed here by one comrade that men become petty bourgeois in their interests and outlook as soon as they are elected to office and that, therefore, we should have nothing to do with office, is not correct. It is true that official position, especially in the American trade union movement, has led many men in the past to corruption and betrayal of the workers, but that does not say the Communists must be corrupted. We have to hold the conception that a true Communist can go anywhere the Party sends him and do anything, and still remain a Communist—still remain true to the working class. Comrade Lenin was an official. He had more power than Frank Farrington, but he did not become like Frank Farrington. The guarantee against corruption of Party members who become officials is that they remain close to the Party and that they base their fight for office on the support of the rank and file for the policy of the class struggle, and do not become too expedient and too "clever"—do not try to "sneak" into office by soft-pedaling and pussy-footing on questions of principle which may be unpopular, but which Communists, nevertheless, are duty-bound to stand for.

A Party of Struggle

Our Party is a party of rank and file revolutionary workers, a party of revolutionary struggle against capitalism and all its works, and we expect comrades who are put into official positions to retain that fundamental conception and carry it out in all their official work. They must not allow themselves to be influenced by their positions into an attitude of overcaution. Above all, they must not acquire an "official" psychology, and fail to do their duty by the Party for fear of jeopardizing their positions. We do not put Communists into office in order that they may do less for the Party, but more.

The atmosphere of American trade union officialdom is a fetid one. It is permeated thru and thru with customs and traditions of a nonproletarian character. Take care, you comrades who become officials, that you do not sink into this swamp. Remember always that you are Communists and hold on to your rebel Communist spirit. Do not succumb to the customs and traditions of office developed by the agents of the bourgeoisie, who have fastened themselves upon the labor movement in official positions, but take your own revolutionary ethics and customs with you.

Party Discipline

The question of Party discipline becomes especially important in connection with comrades in official positions. Comrades so situated must tie themselves closely to the Party, make themselves one with it, and regard the Party always as their best friend. The close union of a Communist official with the Party will be the best guarantee that he will be able to retain his revolutionary point of view and do his duty by the working class. The Party expects even more discipline to be shown by comrades who become officials and leaders than by other members of the Party. It does not fear even the

biggest officials who go against the decisions of the Party and follow a policy in conflict with it. Comrades who hold offices, no matter how important they may be, cannot act as independent individuals without being called to order by the Party.

The Test of Our Work

We can sum up the whole question in a few words. We are not Progressives, but Revolutionists. Our role in the union movement is to organize the masses for the proletarian revolution and to lead them in the struggle for it. All of our daily work must be related to this, and subordinated to it. The test of our work can never be made by formal victories on paper, but by the development of class consciousness in the ranks of the workers, the degree of their organization on that basis and the increasing influence and leadership of our Party. Strategic positions in the labor movement are of importance chiefly from the standpoint of enabling the Party to advance and develop its work of revolutionizing the masses.

Let us be shrewd and practical by all means. Let us learn how to meet every question that arises in the union, in a realistic and businesslike manner. Let us become experts in the daily work of the unions, and in maneuvering for strategic positions, but let us also remember always the danger of degenerating into mere professional office seekers.

Active unionists, especially those who hold office, are beset by a thousand temptations to turn aside from the road of the class struggle. Only their close union with the Party will enable them to overcome these temptations. With the assistance of the Party they will learn how to serve the workers in the daily struggle and to connect all their activity with the task of leading the masses toward the final revolution. They will learn how to measure their progress at every step, not by formal victories on paper, but by the development of the class consciousness of the workers and the influence of the Party, by the extent to which their activity inspires the workers with that spirit of determined struggle, which is the spirit of Communism.

Many difficulties will confront us in the task we have undertaken, but, with the assistance of the Party and the International, we will solve them all. We will win over the masses to the side of Communism; we will wrest the labor movement from the hands of the agents of the bourgeoisie and convert them into mighty instruments for the proletarian revolution.

Frederick Engels' Advice To Americans

For good historical reasons, the Americans are worlds behind in all theoretical things, and while they did not bring over any medieval institutions from Europe they did bring over masses of medieval traditions, religion, English common (feudal) law, superstition, spiritualism, in short, every kind of imbecility which was not directly harmful to business and which is now very serviceable for making the masses stupid.

And if there are people at hand there whose minds are theoretically clear, who can tell them the consequences of their own mistakes beforehand and make it clear to them that every movement which does not keep the destruction of the wage system in view the whole time as its final aim is bound to go astray and fail—then many a piece of nonsense may be avoided and the process considerably shortened.—*Letter from Engels to Sorge, November 29, 1886.*

YOU Can Help **The Defendants**

The twenty-eight men and women who are now on trial in the federal courtroom in Minneapolis are front-line fighters in the cause of union rights and civil liberties in this nation.

They merit the whole-hearted and generous moral and material support of every progressive organization and individual genuinely concerned with maintaining our democratic and constitutional rights.

Their fight against the prosecution must be won. That is why the **CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE** has been organized. Chairman of the Committee is James T. Farrell. Vice chairman is John Dos Passos. Secretary is George Novack. Scores of outstanding laborites, educators, civil liberty defenders, liberals have joined the national board of the **CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE**.

The government prosecution has been denounced by the CIO, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the United Auto Workers, the American Civil Liberties Union, **THE NATION, THE NEW REPUBLIC**, etc.

The CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE needs \$7,500 immediately to defray the heavy costs of fighting this case. Aid the 28 defendants by contributing promptly and generously to their Defense Fund. Mail all donations to the

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