

What's Your Plan Mr. President?

THE FALL of France brings the United States closer to war.

When Petain signed an armistice with Hitler the way was cleared for the concentration of the German blitzkrieg on England. That brought nearer the day in which the struggle for supremacy between German capitalism and British imperialism would be settled.

The war in France had completely revealed the impotence of Roosevelt's policy. At Charlottesville he had promised the Allies the entire resources of this country. Reynaud who was then the head of the French government promptly took him at his word and asked for clouds of planes and other needed weapons in similar amounts.

SADLY ROOSEVELT repined, telling Reynaud what they both knew, that the United States didn't have the arms to send. As for going to war, Roosevelt reminded Reynaud that only Congress could make that decision. In a word, like the Chamberlain and Reynaud governments in the Russian-Finnish war, Roosevelt wanted France to fight without his government taking any responsibility.

Unable to help France, unable to help England. The odds are very much in favor of Hitler against England.

This brings Roosevelt face to face with the unpleasant fact that if Germany wins, it will aggressively challenge United States commercial supremacy on every continent and in every market. Against ruthless German competition Hull's piddling trade treaties will be useless.

Only one way to settle Hitler's rivalry. By war. Already there is conflict in Latin America.

BILLIONS FOR THE NAVY; billions for the army. Higher taxes; higher cost of living. Military conscription. Fingerprint aliens. Eliminate strikes.

But it is not enough to build more ships than anyone else, train twelve million young men to shoot straight. There must be a plan: who is the enemy; where will he be fought?

Not so easy to decide that. The fall of France and the great weakening of England before the invasion encourage Japan to stretch out an imperialistic claw to grasp French Indo-China and Hong Kong. The great market of China, the rubber, tin and oil of the Dutch East Indies and the Malay Straits, source of almost all the world's rubber, the fabulous wealth of India, rich prizes these to make Japan world power number one if it can be achieved, a serious contender for the position even if only partly achieved.

DANGER THERE to the position of the United States. The fleet is ready at Hawaii.

Two potential enemies, one in the east, one in the west. Impossible to fight them both alone at once and win. Equally impossible to satisfy the demands of one in order to concentrate on the other. The cost would almost be as great as defeat in a war.

Ah, but if the United States fights Japan in the Far East, can Stalin be persuaded to stab Hitler in the back while he is fighting England? Or, if the United States backs England and goes to war with Germany can Stalin be persuaded to attack Japan to prevent it from moving south?

If you have a plan to tell Mr. President, it

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Defense of Right of Nations To Determine Their Own Existence, Defense of Russian Revolution, Demand Overthrow of Stalin

IN THE CASE of Bessarabia said the Stalin government it is righting a wrong of twenty years standing and uniting the Ukrainian people. The relation of this lofty purpose to the seizure of the Black Sea port of Constanza far south of Bessarabia was not explained.

Defensive preparations, strategic advantages, to meet the coming attacks by Hitler, say British and American imperialists who would like nothing better than to see Stalin plunge a dagger into Hitler's back. And so say Stalin's apologists in the labor movement.

LET US ADMIT Stalin's aim is strategic defense; a great wrong was done by the victorious imperialists of the last war in assigning Bessarabia to Rumania.

But Stalin's course is nonetheless counter-revolutionary violence and territorial annexation.

This is how a revolutionary government would have dealt with the problem; how Lenin would have handled it. It would have declared:

When the British, French, Italian and American imperialists, at the end of the last war, redrew the boundaries of Europe, they made a cruel mockery of the right of self-determination, separating peoples and redividing them among different states.

In this way they recast Rumania, composed it of a mixture of peoples and races.

Oppression of the national and religious minorities was the compensation given the Rumanian

ruling class for the frightful defeats and casualties suffered in the war against Germany, and for the Rumanian military marching against the Hungarian revolution of 1919.

IN RETURN Rumania became a part of the Little Entente, tool of French capital in Eastern Europe to prevent defeated Germany from rising again.

But now, renescent German imperialism has shattered the Little Entente. France is conquered and at any hour Hitler may invade England.

The Soviet government proposes to the government of Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria that the national minorities now living within the boundaries of Rumania shall be given the absolute right to decide for themselves whether they wish to remain within the Rumania state, or adhere to other states, or constitute separate, independent nations and by what social, economic and political system they shall live.

TO INSURE the fullest and freest expression of this right the Rumanian government shall withdraw all its armed forces from the affected area and the governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Soviet Union will withdraw all armed forces from the borders of Rumania.

The Rumanian government will immediately lease from prison all men and women arrested for their advocacy and activities in behalf of autonomy or separation for national minorities.

It shall be left to the peoples themselves to establish the means of making their decision

supervising its execution, whether by constituent assemblies, plebiscites, or soviets.

IF THESE proposals are rejected then the Soviet government declares in advance that it will extend all possible aid to these minorities to assist them to make their decision. If requested by them it will send military and naval forces.

This policy would draw the oppressed nationalities and small nations of Europe to the Soviet Union which would appear to them as a champion of national freedom against German or British imperialist tyranny; attack on the Soviet Union would find millions of allies—workers, peasants, and even capitalists—in other countries hindering the attackers and assisting the defense.

And the propaganda of Marxism among these peoples, to overthrow the capitalist system of society, socialize industry, erect workers states, and enter into the soviet federation of states or constitute parallel federations would receive an enthusiastic hearing.

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION cannot be separated from the defense of the right of self-determination. That is why the Stalin regime which is counter-revolutionary toward the Russian workers and toward proletarian revolution on a world scale is also the enemy of the right of small nations to determine their own existence.

That is why it crushed the Baltic states and attacked Finland. That is why it did not consult the Bessarabians. They were not given any opportunity to decide their own lives. The new state of affairs constitutes a change in oppressors.

That is why, although the Stalin government gained new territory, new millions to terrorize, and is in a slightly stronger position strategically, the Russian revolution is weaker. Millions of its allies among the oppressed on whom it must count for support to undermine the imperialist enemy have fallen under Stalin's heel. Millions more have been thrown into the arms of the enemy.

The defense of the right of nations to determine their own existence like the defense of the Russian revolution demands the overthrow of the Stalin government.

A PATRIOT

DETROIT, June 25, 1940.—Have just read your nauseating circular, ill spelled and poorly worded, but what can one expect from vermin. Why don't you go back to Russia or Germany—where all Communists should starve together?

Every dog has his day—and some day we women will clean you out of America, with Bridges, the same as we cleaned CIO Murphy out.

You are a little lower than the Italians, whom I consider lower than the lowest form of animal life. At least the Italian representative (?) lets the world know his name, while you hide behind a number. If we can find out who you are (and we will) you will have a permanent number.

An American.

DON'T BE A SUCKER

8,000 copies of the following leaflet have been distributed by the Detroit unit of the League to the auto workers.

Workers don't own America! Capitalists own it! They pay us low wages, lay us off when we make them no profit. The financiers take our homes and cars because we have no money. They fight compensation, lie about our unions. THEIR police kill strikers. THEIR government cuts welfare and WPA to buy guns. Then they warn us the "enemy" will take our homes and jobs and starve our children. Which Enemy? They expect us to protect "our" country while they prevent us from owning any of it.

The owners of America expect us to fight for their property and their system. They live on the fat of the land while we live on the crumbs. The propaganda of their newspapers and their radio appeals to all our best instincts. They call upon us to protect our home and loved ones, religion, democracy and human life. These are not saved by war but destroyed in a useless attempt to save the dying capitalist system.

CAPITALISM CANNOT EXIST WITHOUT WAR! It is the final expression of business competition. THERE CAN BE NO PEACE WHILE CAPITALISM EXISTS!

Capitalists want war—to prevent the collapse of capitalism and the worst depression the world has ever seen. They want war to capture the markets of the British Empire, the East Indies, South America and Mexico as a place to sell the goods they will not pay American workers enough wages to buy. THEY ARE PATRIOTS! They want the raw materials of these rich colonies to make American capitalists THE RULERS OF THE WORLD.

American capitalists want an Allied victory, not because of sympathy for "democracy," but because of these hard, cold cash facts: A victory for the Allies will put England, France and their entire colonial empires in hock to Uncle Sam. This, together with the defeat of Germany, will enable American capitalism to become the sole master of the world.

BUT A GERMAN victory will put in the hands of Germany the natural resources and wealth of the Allies, and the United States will be confronted by a strong and ruthless German imperialism that will challenge the bid of American capitalism for the economic control of the world.

The majority of Americans want no war. The U. S. government knows this, yet it takes sides in the war and is trying through lying propaganda to frighten us with fear of invasion EXACTLY AS IT DID IN 1916. J. Edgar Hoover has increased by 150% the number of secret police set to spy on workers in 12,450 factories. The FBI is used to scare all who oppose war because the capitalists' government FEARS the people IT DOES NOT REPRESENT.

The government shows its disregard of its own laws under the pretense of emergency. The rights of free speech, press and assembly will soon be denied to everyone who opposes war just as is being done in England, France and Germany. All pretense of democracy will soon be dropped and we will GET fascism while we are supposed to be

FIGHTING it. At last we will see the NAKED FORCE with which the capitalist government rules.

ALIENS ARE BARRED from working in Georgia since

June 1, by illegal order of the Governor. The Governor of Oklahoma says he is prepared to open concentration camps for those who oppose war, or who do not believe in "national unity" with the capitalists. All workers are to be watched by spies and any who do not subscribe to war loans will go to jail. Hitler can do no better.

Sidney Hillman has taken the same job of preventing strikes that Sam Gompers had in the last war. He will keep labor "happy though hungry" while the capitalists pile up profits. The fight in Congress against the Wagner Act, the Wage-Hour Law, etc. by the Manufacturers Assn. and the War Department, who want us to die for them, is nearly won. President Roosevelt has said there shall be no strikes. John L. Lewis says he is opposed to war but he backs up the government's war drive. Other CIO leaders make militant anti-war speeches—now. Watch them fold up and "change their minds"—soon.

WORKERS WILL fight the war and pay for it. Congress has raised taxes effective July 1, but it has off-set the raise on income taxes by REMOVING THE LIMIT ON WAR PROFITS. Roosevelt says this won't happen—but it has! The 10% tax on goods the workers buy has not been off-set.

The defense program is a lie! The government is building an army and navy for aggression on foreign soil. Admirals Yarnell and Sims and General Hagood, Rivers and Johnson ridicule the idea of invasion. Our navy is now 6 TIMES AS LARGE AS GERMANY'S. 100,000 soldiers are massed near the Mexican border. Sinclair, who stole the navy's Teapot Dome oil reserve, and Rockefeller, with workers' blood on every dime, and convicted in every state in the U. S. think it is our duty to get back their Mexican oil wells.

The capitalist press says that revolutionary workers who risk their lives in the service of the working class are enemies of America. Militant unionists who oppose the war and strike for better conditions will be called "spies," "saboteurs," and "German agents."

Don't be a 5th columnist for the Allies or Germany!
Be a first columnist for labor!
Refuse to bear the cost of waging the war!
Refuse to submit to lower wages, longer hours, and speed-up!

Stand up for the right to strike!
Defend living standards and the labor movement against capitalist attacks!

The workers of Germany, of Japan, of South America and Mexico are not our enemies. OUR ENEMIES ARE HERE! IN WALL STREET AND WASHINGTON!

We can stop this war and all wars by taking the factories from those who stole them from us, and setting up a workers' government.

Militants in the unions! Unite with the revolutionary workers in the struggle against the imperialist war!

NEW YORK, JUNE 21.—With brutal ferocity 35 of New York's finest strike breaking cops attacked a peaceful picket line of 500 workers after they escorted about 50 scabs from the six-week struck plant of the Air King Radio Co. in Brooklyn to the subway today. About 25 strikers were injured with four requiring hospital treatment; and two were arrested. The strike is being led by Local 430, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO. Before the assault began the strikers witnessed the disgusting sight of the scabs leaving the plant escorted by AF of L Officials and gangsters from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The strike began when the company fired workers in retaliation after the workers left Local 1010-B, IBEW and joined the CIO on May 7. On that day a cheering mass of about 1,000 workers meeting in Beethoven Hall in Manhattan voted unanimously to leave the IBEW and join the UERMW.

THIS DECISION was reached after years of neglect by the AF of L of the working conditions of the membership, sell-out contracts with the bosses and lack of autonomy and democracy in the union. The immediate cause for the split was the suspension of President Sullivan and Business Manager Emil Katz, top officials, and the seizure of the books and records of the Local by William Beedie, International Representative of the IBEW. At this meeting the officers who went along with the membership were re-elected. The local has 1,200 members in 17 shops.

DEMANDS IN THE strike are: reinstatement of the discharged workers and recognition of the CIO. There is no demand to change the terms of the contract signed with the AF of L.

To counteract the victory of the CIO, Beedie called a membership meeting on May 15 to ratify a secret backdoor agreement he signed with the bosses on April 29. His strong-arm squads got to work to "invite" the workers from the shops. But they failed because the workers knew the nature of Beedie's contract. About 50 attended the meeting, 14 stooges voted to accept the contract for 1,200 workers and one voted against.

Immediately the bosses of Air King in Brooklyn, and Transformer Corp. in Manhattan fired workers to provoke the strike. Scabs entered and left the Transformer plant in taxicabs guarded by police and gangsters. But they didn't last long; they quit. At Air King some joined the CIO. The boss of Transformer gave in in about three weeks, but Air King continues to hold out.

AN EXAMPLE of the AF of L corruption occurred this evening at the court hearing of the two arrested strikers, who was held in \$5,000 bail for inciting to riot. Beedie, AF of L pie card artist came in with the Air King scabs, but when he saw the 150 strikers and unionists present he left in a hurry.

The strikers are confident of victory, not because of blind thinking but because of facts. The scabs don't last long, are very expensive to protect and above all do not work, because they are new to the work. The ranks of strikers are solid and the union is helping with forces. But a threat to the success of the new local exists: the Stalinists. Of the five locals in Brooklyn, Local 430 is the only one not in their control, and they are making a concerted effort to secure control. The Stalinists have mobilized their membership to this end, not so much to win the strike, but to put themselves forward as the best leaders and win influence for their policy. An example was the arrest of James Lustig, District 4 Representative, who walked into the police to be arrested and get the glory.

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Radio Workers Quit A F of L, Join CIO

ALREADY an underhand whispering campaign is going around against Business Manager Katz and others, started by the Stalinists. If the Stalinists run true to the form they show in other unions, organizers from the national office and other "capable" and "experienced" people will show up.

If the Stalinists take over we will be exactly where we were before. There's no percentage in getting rid of one bunch of fakers in order to be oppressed by another bunch.

The present leadership is not so hot. It did not fight hard enough against Beedie. And had a class collaborationist policy. But the Stalinists will be no improvement. What we need is a new leadership altogether which will really put the interests of the membership first and put up a fight for them against all comers, no matter who they are. And we have to win the strike.

Member Local 430

Member Local 430 is not a member of the League, but **REVOLT** will publish articles exposing capitalism and its agents.

EVER SINCE the split in the AF of L which resulted in the formation of the CIO, there have been raids by both federations on each other. Each side justifies its actions by pointing to some defect or shortcoming in the position, policy and leadership of the order. Often the charges made are false; but very often they are only too true.

Nonetheless, it is the opinion of **REVOLT**, that, in general, even when true it is not in the best interests of the workers to pull out of one federation and join up with the other. There may be cases in which such a change of affiliation will yield some immediate benefit to those workers making the change. There may be cases in which the workers literally have no alternative.

Each situation must be decided concretely. General policies cannot be applied mechanically. But situations in which there are no alternatives except the switch in affiliation are unusual. And in almost every case the immediate benefit is more than balanced by the ill effects which result from it.

IF SUCH A CHANGE of affiliation involves advantages for unity, union democracy or a policy of struggle against the employers instead of collaboration

should be made. But by and large, at least as far as the CIO and AF of L are concerned today.

Both federations are dominated by racketeers, gangsters and bureaucrats who are, in reality, agents of the employers and the government. Both leaderships stand four square for collaboration with the employers and oppose with all their strength advocates of making the unions

militant weapons of struggle against the employers. Both leaderships prefer to see the workers divided than to unite them for a fight against their exploiters. Speaking in terms of the interests of the workers in both federations, the Green and Lewis leaderships, are capitalist tweedledums and tweedledees.

CHANGING affiliation to get out from under the thumb of the bureaucrats and fakers in one federation nine times out of ten is to run plumb into the arms of their rivals and exact counter-parts in the other federation.

It yields absolutely nothing as far as policy is concerned since both leaderships are advocates of collaboration with the capitalist class, today more so than ever.

And it deepens the split in labor's rank; it hardens the split; increases bitterness. Worse, paradoxically, it strengthens the hold of the fakers on the unions: in the deserted federation by depriving the workers who remain in it of fighting allies against the fakers in it; in the new federation by submitting to the fakers who control it since otherwise they will not agree to affiliation.

Where however despite this situation local circumstances offer a favorable opportunity to advance the struggle in the workers interests, or there is absolutely no alternative, a local or union should not hesitate to disaffiliate from one federation and affiliate to another.

IN THE CASE discussed by the Member of Local 430 there does not appear to be sufficient reason, in the facts cited, to leave the AF of L and join the CIO. Such situations developed in the union movement before the split in 1935.

Correct union policy then was to fight it out inside of the existing union structure, challenging the fakers and bureaucrats every inch of the way. Such struggles created opportunities to organize the workers into a fighting force to cleanse the unions of bureaucracy, to establish union democracy, and to substitute policies of struggle against the employers for the policy of collaboration with them so dear to the hearts of high paid officials and economic and political self-seekers.

Today the situation is complicated by the existence of two rival federations. It seems easier to solve an immediate problem by taking a walk from the AF of L into the CIO, or vice versa, than to undertake a stubborn internal fight. If it does not seem obvious to the workers the representatives of the competing federations offer attractions and advantages which make it seem so. But it is an illusion. More often than not the harm outweighs the advantage.

BECAUSE there are two federations—BOTH ESSENTIALLY ALIKE AS FAR AS FUNDAMENTAL POLICY AND BUREAUCRACY ARE CONCERNED—does not mean that the old policy should be abandoned. It should mean, on the contrary, that it should be applied in both federations. If, IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, it is found advisable or necessary to switch affiliation, it would be an entirely different matter, and could be useful as a tactical move in a wide struggle against class collaboration and bureaucracy.

of L, appealing to other Locals to support its just cause. If in the course of this struggle it found itself outside the AF of L as a result of the bureaucratic action of the AF of L officials it could have considered a struggle for reinstatement and, as a last resort, affiliation to the CIO. That would have been a better course.

Wanted: A New Revolutionary Movement

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NO ONE of these groups including the League is in any position to act in Russia, Finland and the Baltic and Balkan states on the basis of its position. The unfortunate truth is that not one is in a position to act in any country. The differences have thus remained entirely a matter of theory totally unrelated to action.

No one of these groups made any efforts to demonstrate any connection between the error in the League's position which they alleged and the League's position on vital problems of the class struggle in the United States and the struggle against the imperialist war in Europe.

One and all agreed that the basis for unity in the United States is above everything else agreement on the Russian question. Despite their differences on this question they are all agreed that agreement on this question is the indispensable condition for a revolutionary program in the United States.

The idea is absolutely false. In the period, 1917-22 such a position would have been valid. Why? because in those years, in deed, in the revolution and in the civil war, and, in theory, in the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International, the leaders of the Russian revolution hammered out the principles of revolutionary strategy on a world scale. In those years especially the world wide class struggle

against capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression found its fighting spokesman and representative in the government of the Soviet Union.

But that is no longer true. While the social order of 1917 must be defended against extinction Russia is no longer the spearhead of world revolution and revolt. Regeneration of the revolution is not to be anticipated before revolution is successful in other countries. In fact, it may be accepted as a rule of revolutionary policy that the Russian workers will advance toward socialism again as a result of successful revolutionary action in other countries.

From Russia the revolutionary movement in other countries can anticipate only counter-revolution. That is the lesson of Spain. And, the principles of the strategy of 1917-22 must now be restated in terms of the new world situation both theoretically and in successful revolution.

THE GROUPS which rejected unity with the League because of their differences over the Russian question are living in the world of yesterday. Their attitude is a brake on their own development and the development of the revolutionary movement.

By their sectarian stand they exclude themselves from laying the theoretical and political foundations for the new movement; from playing a leading role in its creation. Let us take two examples: the **Fighting Worker** group; and the League for a Revolution-

ary Workers Party.

Readers of **REVOLT** know that the **Fighting Worker** has published the 14 Points which profess to be "a Marxian position on the basic questions of the day," and which they contend demarcate the position of Marxism from opportunism. The Central Committee has made it plain that this demarcation is abstract and in that form of little value in creating the program of the American revolutionary movement.

Let us make this point concretely. Point 9 of the 14 Points is called **THE ROAD TO POWER**. It reads in part:

To overthrow capitalism it is necessary for the working class to defend itself against the forces of counter-revolution by the use of revolutionary force, by armed insurrection.

TRUE ENOUGH! But when the **Fighting Worker** group has said that much it imagines that it has solved the problem. Let us see. In Russia to seize power it was necessary to concentrate on two cities, Petrograd and Moscow, the political, commercial, industrial centers of the country. Possibly in Belgium and France this aspect of the problem may be almost as simple. But in the United States: What cities, comrades of the **Fighting Worker**? Or is this one of the organizational details for which you profess so much contempt?

In Russia Petrograd was open to attack from the sea but the revolution burned hottest among

the sailors of the fleet. The problem then was: to win over the garrisons. In Petrograd the insurrection was practically accomplished before November 7 when the Bolsheviks were strong enough to countermand the orders of the government and the army High Command removing the pro-Bolshevik garrison. The revolutionary masses infected the armed forces and won them over to the side of the revolution.

Will that be the pattern of events in the revolutions which are coming? Suppose that the cities are taken in popular insurrections. There is still the air force. Madrid withstood a three years' siege. But Warsaw was laid waste. And part of Rotterdam was obliterated in less than an hour of stupendous aerial bombardment.

THE AIR arm being much more than the other branches of the army, a field in which fighting is done by individuals, and the danger less than in the infantry, it is possible for the ruling class to create a sort of aerial Cossack corps against proletarian insurrection, but one which differs from the Czar's by its even greater remoteness from the masses which it will suppress. Let us have no illusions that the bourgeoisie will hesitate to raze its own cities to crush revolution. They will do it. In 1917 the ardor of the revolutionary mass broke down even the Cossacks by confronting them in the streets. But how confront planes in the sky?

Revolutionary strategy can de-

vised tactics to overcome this weapon. But only by serious concentration on the problem by many workingmen and women who know the technical, industrial, economic and military problems involved. It definitely cannot be done by refusing to go beyond a repetition of the abstract truth that power will be seized by revolutionary force; by refusing to consider the problem as it presents itself in the United States because there is a difference of opinion over Stalin's invasions in eastern Europe.

THE POSITION of the League for A Revolutionary Workers Party, is, if anything, even more hopeless. This group is one section of a movement, the larger part of which functioned in Canada. The outbreak of the war in Europe found the Canadian LRWP totally unprepared for the situation which developed in Canada. Practically no preparations has been made to publish an illegal publication; and with the outlawing of their paper this group was practically liquidated as far as being able to influence events is concerned.

The publication of the American section also disappeared at about the same time, having been dependent technically on the Canadian section. Both groups declined. The impending entry of the United States into the war found the American group unable to draw any practical or theoretical conclusions from the experience of its Canadian comrades. It insists

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WANTED by the American working class:

A new revolutionary movement. That is the conclusion which the Central Committee draws from its campaign to unite the revolutionists in the United States.

The old movement, brought into existence by the Russian revolution of 1917 out of the loins of the Socialist Party is washed up. The Communist Party has been converted into a tool of Stalinist counter-revolution, espionage and assassination.

The numerous groups, organizations and sects which have come into being as a result of the struggle against the degeneration of Stalinism have proved themselves impotent, sterile and fatally afflicted with the deadly disease of sectarianism.

It is necessary to begin again from the ground up: new program; new cadres of organizers, agitators, fighters; new leadership.

THE COMMUNIST International, under Lenin, crystallized the general principles of Marxism into a series of strategic principles of revolutionary action. The resolutions and theses of the first three Congresses, and a number of the decisions of the fourth Congress in 1922, formulated these principles for the epoch of imperialist wars, on the basis of the situation which developed as a result of the World War of 1914-18.

Its general rules they are still valid. But they need restatement in the light of the situation which has developed since that time and especially in the light of the situation which is developing in the present war.

THE VICTORIOUS spread of Fascism over the European continent, especially in countries which are highly developed industrially, poses new problems not confronted by the working class in Lenin's time. To take only one: will the struggle for proletarian power in these countries include an intermediate stage of a temporary return to democratic republicanism, or will it proceed directly to working class rule? This is likely to be the central problem of revolutionary policy in the coming working class revolutions in Europe.

The old Comintern foresaw an irregular but definite progress of the world revolution and a corresponding advance by the Soviet Union toward socialism. Instead revolution has everywhere been defeated, counter-revolution in its most reactionary and violent forms has everywhere triumphed and is now ravaging the world through the present imperialist wars in Europe and Asia. And the Soviet Union has given birth to a leech, Stalinism, which has destroyed the political superstructure of soviet society, is undermining its social and economic structure; and in Russia and on a world scale acts as a terrorist policeman against working class revolution.

Not only is it necessary to formulate exactly the precise causes for this tremendous set back, and to describe the means by which the situation is to be corrected in the interests of the workers and peasants of Russia, but, even more important, it is necessary to formulate principles of revolutionary strategy for combating this development in other countries after the workers seize power.

And more important still, not only must the old rules be restated in terms of general strategy, but for each of the highly developed countries, at least, it must be done concretely in terms of the conditions and situation of that country.

In each country the revolutionists have the task of demonstrating first by propaganda that the danger of degeneration can be averted, or as long as the danger of degeneration exists, that there is no alternative to the struggle for proletarian power, or having been forced into it by events they will not support revolutionary policy and follow revolutionary leadership unswervingly to the end.

A REVOLUTION which had that central defect would be defeated, not necessarily by the strength of the enemy, but primarily by its own inherent weakness.

These things have been true in a general way for a number of years. Isolated groups or movements have been preoccupied with these problems. But nowhere has there appeared a movement with a program which has succeeded in solving the task of creating the new program. Attempts, innumerable programs have been written and published. Some false; others closer to the truth.

But true or false they have not gone beyond the printing press.

In the history of the past fifteen years, years of economic crisis, political upheaval, colonial revolt, proletarian revolution and civil war, there has not been on event in which a revolutionary movement appeared with a program on the basis of which it seized power or even threatened to do so.

As a result September 3, 1939 found the workers without a program and leadership to meet the situation. In France, for example, as it is now revealed, there was no popular enthusiasm for the war. But the opposition of the workers to the war did not find articulate expression in a mass anti-war movement. There were no large scale strikes, no mass demonstrations, no independent working class program for the grave issues of war and the freedom of colonies, small, oppressed nations and national minorities.

SEPTEMBER 3 signified the maturing of a great crisis in human history. Marxism has the duty of proving itself capable of meeting the crisis. Upon it falls the task of proving its usefulness by offering to the oppressed millions of all countries a means to end the senseless slaughter of the war; by giving them a constructive program for the problems of reconstructing society to eliminate starvation, exploitation and war. In the present desperate situation it has the responsibility of demonstrating the validity of its general principles by developing in propaganda and action a concrete program for the solution of the problems of war and peace, and by organizing its universal application.

In no country is this a simple problem. In the United States it is a very complicated and difficult one. The essential elements of the problem are these: In no country, including the Soviet Union, are the objective conditions as favorable for the reconstruction of society on genuinely socialist lines. No other country has the tremendous productive capacity of this country. As far as ability to produce is concerned all the essential needs of all the inhabitants of the country and many millions more can be satisfied by existing capacity. There is no real need for anyone to starve in the U.S. Only the profit system imposes starvation on millions to maintain great profits for a few thousand capitalists.

COMPARE THE ABILITY of the American productive plant to satisfy the needs of all with the situation in the Soviet Union in which private profit has been eliminated but in which starvation is even greater than the United States, chiefly because of the lack of development of the productive capacity of the country. We may well ponder this strange contrast because we have here the clue to the solution of the problem of avoiding a repetition of the Russian Soviet degeneration in the coming American revolution.

But in no highly developed industrial country is the working class so politically immature, so little class conscious, so attached to the democratic system of capitalist rule.

The crisis of 1929 which marked the turning point in American capitalist development and signified the opening of its decline likewise opened the period of the political awakening of the American working class. Big strike waves have stirred it up temporarily and a gigantic army of permanently unemployed have brought the workers closer to the truth of the exploitive and oppressive character of American capitalist democracy. But New Deal reforms have retarded their

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development by cushioning the shock, and maintaining illusions in the possibility of improvement.

September 3, however, opened a new chapter, the beginning of irrevocable events which will have great effects on American economy and politics. Eight months of military stalemate delayed these developments. But since May 10 when the blitzkrieg began their impact has been unmistakable.

UNFORTUNATELY, and, in the circumstances, inevitably, the impact has taken a reactionary character. The ruling class through its government has unloosed a torrent of nationalistic and chauvinistic propaganda. Armaments are being increased at a monstrous rate.

The cost is already falling on the workers. Their pleasures and luxuries are being heavily taxed. Annual incomes of \$800 dollars—less than \$20 a week—are now subject to income tax. Civil liberties are being curtailed. Foreign born workers are being subjected to humiliating and discriminatory treatment. Persecution of unpopular political groups is increasing.

Tomorrow as the costs of national defense mount skyward the burden will fall still more heavily on the workers. Their standard of living will be still further reduced and oppression will increase. Patriotic violence will grow. Government regimentation will deepen and finally will come entry into the war, greatest burden of all for the workers.

Between the first increase in the workers' burden and the final load there will be little time. The tempo of development is rapid. Equally rapid will be the tempo of reaction against this burden.

A REVOLUTIONARY situation is sure to develop. The next great decline in production may precipitate it. The American ruling class is not at all as skilled in meeting economic and political crises as are the ruling classes of the European countries which have been up against these problems for decades. In the banking crisis of 1933 the financial oligarchy in Wall Street and the government in Washington lost their heads completely and thought the end of their system had come, as Raymond Moley has revealed in his memoirs of those days. When Hitler launched the invasion of the Low Countries Roosevelt lost his head and panicked the nation. Panic has been the dominant note in government policy ever since. A ruling class which loses its head so easily—when it is not threatened by the working class—may prove in the final struggle, despite its great economic strength, not as formidable as the German ruling class or the English.

Time will tell. But it would be an unforgivable blunder not to take note of the weakness which the enemy has displayed and has not the skill to hide. We can count on the American ruling class to be brutally crude. But we can also count on it to be frightened into making incredible blunders and to lose its confidence in itself. And that is half the battle.

If the workers are prepared there is every reason to count on success.

BECAUSE SOME of these things were already obvious on September 3, and because it foresaw the rest, the Central Committee appealed to the revolutionary movement in the United States, to put an end to the senseless division in the revolutionary movement, to unite to meet the danger to the working class and to realize the opportunities that would develop, to terminate the period of sectarian discussion and begin actually to build a revolutionary party. This appeal ignored the Socialist and Communist Parties for reasons which can be summed up in a few words: both, despite their different origins, histories and policies which are often violently antagonistic are fundamentally opposed to proletarian revolution.

The Trotskyist movement was ignored because in the ten years of its existence it had revealed an absolutely hopeless and incurable attachment to Stalinism either as critic or apologist.

From its inception in 1928 it had rejected the first responsibility of Marxist revolutionists, to agitate and organize the workers for revolutionary action against the class enemy. From time to time it had declared that it was the only force in the labor movement acting on the basis of this principle, but time and events have always revealed that it had never succeeded in breaking the political umbilicus to its Stalinist mother.

Events have proved the wisdom of this decision. When Stalin invaded Poland and Finland he initiated a discussion in the ranks of the American Trotskyists which led to a split as a result of which both sides are declining rapidly.

INCLUDED in the appeal of the Central Committee were those groups which professed an adherence to the principles of Marxism and which are seeking the road to construct a revolutionary party.*

In the period between September 3, 1939 and June 23, 1940 all of these groups rejected unity with other groups and with the League. Not one has offered reasons as decisive as the SUP which challenges a basic principle of Marxism. By implication at least they all recognize that the others stand on the theoretical principles of Marxism. All these groups have shown by material published by them that they are aware of the general trend of the development of the class struggle in the United States. All repeat the famous slogan of Liebknecht: the enemy is at home. But all alike reject as a basis for unity a program of struggle against the class enemy in the United States.

Despite the various and many differences among them all are alike in this respect: they have shown by their attitude that the war and impending events have not acted as an incentive for them to take any step to make revolutionary movement which is feeble and no threat to the ruling class because it is atomized into tiny fragments, into an effective instrument to fight the war program of the capitalist government.

They give no sign that they understand that history is knocking at the door, summoning revolutionists to emerge from their isolation and seek a path to effective intervention in the class struggle. Alone, separate, they can pose only as high priests of theory. Together there is the opportunity to become agitators, organizers, fighters for proletarian revolution. Apparently they reject the latter, are content with the former. It is a capitulation in advance to the enemy.

SPECIFIC political reasons given by these groups for rejecting unity with the League were differences over the Russian question. Some added other reasons. But in all cases the Russian question was the decisive reason.

In a number of cases the reason was that the League refused to agree Russia was a capitalist society. Those who contend that it is, or that it is neither capitalist nor a workers state but "something new" and nameless as yet, argued that this difference would lead to important differences in attitude toward wars involving the Soviet Union. As it turned out they worked out positions on the Stalinist invasions of Poland and Finland which were similar to the League's position.

On the other hand groups which agreed with the League in characterizing the Soviet Union as a degenerated proletarian dictatorship supported the invasions of Poland and Finland of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, which the League has condemned.

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* This is not true of the Socialist Union Party which is opposed to Lenin's principles of revolutionary strategy. It was included at the request of a number of its members who said that they agreed with the League's position on the war and revolutionary unity, and would support it in the SUP; and also because the Central Committee wanted to see whether the outbreak of the war had caused the SUP to abandon its position. The SUP rejected the League's appeal on the ground that it was opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat for the United States.

SECT BARS UNITY

CHICAGO, JUNE 24.—On June 17 the Negotiating Committee of the League sent a letter to the Fighting Worker group inquiring whether it was willing to "reopen the discussion of the Russian question" in the light of the "occupation by the Red Army of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania."

On June 23 it received a reply which acknowledged receipt of the inquiry and which went on to say

But you do not say in your letter what your political position is on these concrete aspects of the Russian question. If your theoretical position stands as it did when we held the last session of the negotiations it would be useless. If your position has been altered by developments.... In other words: if the League accepts the position of the Fighting Worker group the latter will consent to continue to negotiate with the League. Otherwise....

What is the position which they ask us to accept in the light of the latest developments? The Stalin government has invaded and occupied Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

IN THE CASE of Lithuania Stalin cooked up some story about Red Army soldiers being kidnapped and tortured, and another story about the Lithuanian government violating its pact with the Stalin government; then after the Lithuanian government was overthrown on Stalin's demand and replaced with a pro-Stalin government the Estonian and Latvian government were charged with having conspired with the overthrown Lithuanian government against Russia and these governments were overthrown and replaced with others which are Stalinist puppets; and the Red Army took over as it had already done in Lithuania.

There were unconfirmed reports that Red Army officers ordered Estonian police to fire on protesting demonstrators; twenty or so were killed. There are other unconfirmed reports that the invading army was greeted by cheering demonstrators. Whichever is the case we can be certain of one thing: whatever democratic rights or privileges the workers in these countries enjoyed are now suppressed. The GPU is now in control.

The red flag is reported waving side by side with the national flags of the invaded republics. Nothing could better signify the position of the Stalin government. Politically and militarily the territory of the three Baltic countries is under Stalinist Rule. But the economic and social system, which is capitalist, has been left untouched except for some minor readjustments which give the workers and peasants a few dubious reforms.

IN A WORD it is naked military conquest in the interest of the Stalinist government and the privileged stratum of soviet society which it represents. As in the case of Finland and Poland it is the antithesis of revolutionary policy. Like those invasions this latest episode in the international terrorism of Stalinism is counter-revolutionary. It weakens the Russian Revolution by oppressing the Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian working class allies of the Russian workers.

Says the letter of the Fighting Worker group
Our line of march in relation to a conflict between the Soviet Union and small capitalist nations, is to defend the Soviet Union, of marching separately and striking together with the Red Army against the outpost of imperialism.

In a word—support of the invasion.
In the case of Finland the Fighting Worker group argued that it was a matter of a war in which the defense of the Soviet Union was posed in the most categorical terms as is always the case in a military conflict. This, of course, was not the case in the invasion of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. And the Fighting Worker group does not contend that is was. For support of these invasions it offers a different justification. Its position it argues

...demands the greatest firmness because of the critical situation the Soviet Union faces with each Hitler victory. German imperialism will attempt to turn east on Russia as soon as the general conditions warrant. The Baltic and Balkan conflicts are merely preludes to this development.

THIS VIEW is not peculiar in the Fighting Worker group. The British imperialists use it in their dogged efforts to woo Stalin away from his alliance with Hitler and win him over to a policy of collaboration with them. With the British imperialists it is a matter of cold calculation; in order to weaken Hitler against whom they say they are fighting for freedom and liberty for small nations, they are willing to condone Stalin's conquests. Even though we despise the hypocrisy of the British imperialists we can understand it.

But who can understand the theory of the Fighting Worker group which sets itself up as the only Marxist group in the American revolutionary movement, almost in the world, professes an irreconcilable hostility to Stalinism and supports its most violently counter-revolutionary acts? And makes acceptance of this a condition for unity.

If one accepts the justification advanced by the Fighting Worker group Stalin would be justified in taking the rest of Finland. And all of Sweden since Hitler's occupation of Norway menaces Sweden

which would make an admirable base for an attack on northern Russia. And by the same reasoning why should not Stalin take Bessarabia since that would give him control of the mouth of the Danube? Hungary?

WHAT ARE the limits of the policy of the Fighting Worker group? Is it confined only to Stalinist foreign policy? Why?

Why can it not be extended to domestic policy as well since military invasions are possible only if industry is geared to produce the materials and ammunition of war, and men and women are trained to fight and to operate the tanks and planes and flame throwers and ships with which war is fought? Today's press carries the report that the working day in the Soviet Union has been lengthened by one and two hours and the number of rest days reduced from sixty to fifty two a year, in order to speed up the production of war materials.

If the Fighting Worker group is going to march separately from the Stalinists and strike together with them in its invasions—on paper of course—then it will also have to march separately and strike together with the Stalinists against the conditions and standard of living of the Russian workers.

There is a grave danger confronting the Soviet Union. It may not be able to remain aloof from the imperialist war much longer. But that does not justify the Stalinist policy. The Soviet Union must rely for its defense on the best army and equipment that the resources of the country can supply. But above everything else it must depend on the action of the workers and oppressed masses everywhere.

LET US RECALL that the Russian workers of 1919-21 beat back the internal enemy and his foreign allies almost without arms and food in two years of fierce civil war and invasion because they were able to win over to the side of the revolution the workers who were sent against them in the uniforms of the imperialist armies of the great democracies, England, France and the United States; and also the sympathy of the small neighboring states whose right to determine their own existence they scrupulously respected.

And let us not forget that this was possible only because the government of Russia was a revolutionary government dedicated to the policy and strategy of world proletarian revolution.

Let us also recall that as heroic and revolutionary as were the Spanish workers in the civil war of 1936-39 they failed to win over to their side the workers and peasants who were sent against them because the government of the Spanish Republic was a capitalist government which betrayed their fight at every turn.

THE STALINIST government is not a capitalist government by sociological definition. But it might as well be as far as its policy is concerned; for it is as treacherous and counter-revolutionary. In any war against imperialist powers it will be the greatest internal obstacle to victory, for it will not permit the workers to unfold their full revolutionary energy and strength, to erase the battle lines created by the imperialist enemy, by extending the revolution to the invading countries. Stalin is more afraid of revolution than fascism.

Stalin gives proof of this by his bloody terror internally and his brutal invasions in which he makes enemies of the small nations bordering Russia and oppresses the workers and peasants in them. He gave proof of it when he let Hitler come to power and when he helped Franco win in Spain.

What are the military advantages he takes now worth, while Hitler is busy in the west, against the great bitterness and hate he stores up in these countries, throughout the world working class and among oppressed peoples everywhere, who support workers of the world, despite go down before the overwhelming

If it is the war danger which motivates Stalin's course, then his course aggravates it. It cannot be supported under any pretext.

IF THE RUSSIAN workers are to benefit from such military and strategic advantages as the Stalin government takes by violence against the will of the workers, peasants and capitalists of its small neighbors, they must overthrow Stalin and restore workers democracy in the Soviet Union and the policy of world revolution by which they came to power and defended their dictatorship in the early years of the revolution. The workers of other countries would gladly give them such strategic advantages as they needed against the opposition of the capitalists because it would be in their interests, too.

The greater grows the danger of war the more desperately necessary it is to put the heel of the proletarian boot on the assassin Stalin.

As false and unacceptable as is the position of the Fighting Worker group, it need not be a splitting issue if one takes the sensible attitude that the basis for unity of revolutionists in this country is their program for revolutionary action against the imperialist war and the war program of the American ruling class.

But the Fighting Worker group makes acceptance of its support of Stalin counter-revolution a basis for unity. As long as that continues to be the case unity is impossible, at least as far as the League is concerned.

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stubbornly that the essential condition for unity and effective action in this country, and by implication, Canada, as well, is agreement of the label we attach to Russian society.

Could anything be more incredibly stupid and sectarian?

No doubt the comrades of the FW and LRWP groups are motivated by a desire to defend the integrity of Marxist theory against revision. No doubt they believe they have succeeded by rejecting unity with the League and other groups.

BUT WHAT they cannot show is how their stand which continues and deepens the split in the revolutionary movement, is helping the workers of the United States create a program and an organization with which to fight the war program of the ruling class; how their stand serves the immediate vital interests of the working class.

The attitude of these groups is a hangover from an era which is passing. The revolutionary movement in this country really came into being as a result of the

Russian revolution. But it never really struck strong roots in the American working class.

For one thing, the objective situation was against it. In 1921 the golden era of American capitalism began. For another, the membership was made up mostly of foreign born workers, whose center of interest was in Europe. And the leadership with few exceptions, was made up of small fry, petty factionalists, intriguers, careerists and outright crooks.

BY THE time the crisis of 1929 struck the country and opened the possibility for revolutionary action, the Communist Party was hopelessly corrupted by its own defects and Stalin's fine hand.

Then for years the Trotskyist and Lovestone movements confused the revolutionary movement and barred the road to the creation of a new and native movement by directing the energy of politically developed workers into self-defeating efforts to reform the Communist Party.

The various groups which dot the revolutionary landscape have failed to build a party. September 3, 1939 was their big change. They turned their backs on it.

Today the revolutionary movement is a shambles of factional warfare, impotence and sectarianism. If the various groups which comprise it can be called Marxist it is only because the movement is in such a pitiable state.

It is necessary to begin again. In building the new movement we can profit from the mistakes of the past. The first lesson is that we must begin to work out our program in terms of the situation today. What is valid in the theory of yesterday must be restated concretely in terms of today. For us in the United States our task is primarily to work out a program for the relation of this country to the world situation and for the situation in the country. Abstract principles alone won't do. We need a concrete discussion of the position and perspective of the working class, of the policy of the ruling class, of how power will pass into the hands of the workers and how degeneration is to be fought and defeated.

THE SECOND lesson is that the new movement cannot depend for its creation on the veterans of the passing generation of revolutionists. Nor on people who

live in and by the past. These people may play a useful part in the new movement. That remains to be seen. But they cannot be depended on to construct it. That, they have demonstrated for the past ten years, is beyond their ability. They missed their opportunity completely.

The creation of the new movement will be task of a new generation of revolutionists. No doubt intellectuals will play a part in this great work of creation. But, it is our hope, that the bulk of the new leadership and it goes without saying, the membership, will come out of the working class.

Where it will first arise, in what city, in what industry, in what situation, it is impossible to foretell. But that it will develop is a foregone conclusion.

Hundreds and even thousands of individuals in all parts of the country are waiting and working for its creation. Despite everything they will succeed.

If it is not before this country goes to war then it will be during the war or after its end. In that cause the League has enlisted for the duration.

In The Richest Country In The World

WASHINGTON, July 1, AP.

—Louis B. Mayer, Metro Goldwyn Mayer executive with compensation of \$688,369, topped a list of 250 persons who paid income taxes on earnings of \$75,000 or more in 1939.

Edward R. Stettinius, head of U.S. Steel and now a member of the National Defense Commission, received \$97,908. Myron C. Taylor, presidential representative to the Vatican, received \$101,575 from U. S. Steel in 1938.

Edward Bolan, 52 years old, 5538 South Ashland avenue, unemployed, leaped to his death from a window in the second-floor home of a friend, Stanley Kamen, at 5212 S. Justine st., last night. — Chicago News, July 1.

Merry Fahrney patent medicine multi-million-heiress is going to marry a Brazilian whose name is Luis Prado, who lives in Rio de Janeiro and who doesn't do anything for a living....

It was only last February that Merry managed to dispose of Count Oleg Cassini, her fourth. On that occasion she announced that she planned to live down her "madcap" reputation and live up to her title of countess. Why not, she said, she had paid for it.

Furthermore, she set forth, she would never again marry anybody whom she would have to support.

And does Luis measure up to that difficult standard?

"He's got much more money than I have," Merry lovingly said.

She had known him four or five years. They met at San Moritz, for skiing. He perfect

does e. Chicago Tribune June 28.

Memphis, June 28. (AP) —Robert Hardick, 52, and his wife Lettie, 41, ate their "last supper" Saturday night.

Scavenging the city dump for food they pieced together a garbage supper which consisted mainly of cornbread and coffee. Within a few minutes both were dead.

The city health authorities have established "food poisoning" as the cause of their deaths. Detective Don Owens said that this had been discovered in a tentative diagnosis....

Hardwick, a house painter, had been out of work for several months, but had received a promise of "steady work painting soon."....

New York, July 3 (AP). —Brenda Diana Duff Frazier's income last year was \$135,300. She has a life income from trust funds having a present market value of \$3,500,000. The income of the 1938 debutante glamor girl was disclosed today in Surrogate court when a \$5,000 legal fee was approved for services in the administration of her estate.

One in every eight persons in Chicago continues to receive some form of relief. In the state as a whole, the ratio is one out of every seven.

Chicago has a total of 406,911 persons on the five relief programs. ...the state rolls numbered a total of 1,056,994....

The percentage of population now on relief rolls in downstate counties ranged from 5.4 per cent in Woodford County to 52 per cent of the residents on the rolls in Pulaski County....