## Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

SOCIALISM WILL BE

TROTSKY'S MONUMENT

VOL. IV-No. 40

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1940

FIVE (5) CENTS

# PACT MEANS U.S. WAR IN TWO OCEANS

Proletarian Military Policy Is Adopted At Socialist Workers Party Chicago Conference

## TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND SWP PROTESTS LAUNCHED BY DELEGATES CP FROM BALLOT

**Expresses Determination of the Party** To Carry Out Trotsky's Final Injunction to Go Forward

CHICAGO, Sept. 30-The three-day Plenum-Conference of the Socialist Workers Party closed last night, and the delegates and National Committee members were on their way home today, bringing back with them to the party branches in all parts of the country an inspiring program of political and organizational activity.

The plenary session of the National Committee on Friday had been followed Saturday and Sunday by a conference of delegates and activists from the branches, which prepared the party for the stirring times facing the working class.

It was the first national meeting of the party since the death move a direct blow against the of Leon Trotsky, and it was dominated by the determination to carry | labor movement as a whole.

The need for a proletarian mi-

Cannon's Report

political report, stressing that all

(Continued on Page 2)

James P. Cannon, National Sec-

of the globe.

out his last words: "I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward." The Plenum-Conference honored the memory of Trotsky, not by empty grief, but by taking up his work and carrying it forward.

It was in that spirit and, indeed, under the direct inspiration army no less than in the factory, using the name "Communist." of his thoughts in the last days and thereby strive to win over This destruction of a basic deof his life, that the main document of the Plenum-Conference. the "Resolution on Proletarian Military Policy", was formulated and adopted.

#### Fight Against Pacifism

The resolution boldiy draws the necessary tactical conclusions der the control of the trade from the nature of this epoch of unions. war and militarism. Dismissing all pacifist delusions about the litary policy was grimly underpossibility of the United States lined, the day the plenum opened remaining at peace in a world by the news of the Axis pact with whose chief characteristics have Japan, signalizing the extension

Full texts of the resolutions adopted by the Plenum-Conference appear on page 2.

become war and militarism, it declares that the workers' fight for questions-the party's activities. power requires a positive pro- | work in the trade unions, attigram which takes the facts of tude toward opponent organizawar and militarism as the start- tions, etc .- are subordinated to legislature, the assembly approving point for practical actions. the propagation of the proletar-The debilitating poison of paci- ian military policy of the party. fism must be drained out of the

For only with the masses is it

#### Party in California Fights Issue of Civil Rights

SAN FRANCISCO -- Vigorous protest against outlawing of the Communist Party in California was voiced this week by the Socialist Workers Party, San Francisco Branch, in a telegram to Governor Olson.

Despite its profound political disagreement with the Communist Party, the SWP branded the

Utilizing the war scare to strike possible to conquer power and es- at the currently least popular sectablish socialism; and in these tion of the labor movement. Calitimes the masses in the military fornia's reactionary legislature organizations are destined to play made the first open move toward the most decisive role of all. Our chaining labor to the war machine task is to protect the class in- by approving a bill denying a terests of the workers in the place on the ballot to any party

the majority to the idea of trans- mocratic right clearly reveals the forming the war into a struggle nature of the "democracy" for for their socialist emancipation, which the workers are told they This proletarian military policy must give their lives.

has as its starting point, at this . Approved by both houses of the stage of war preparations of U.S. legislature just before the close imperialism, the demand for fed- of the recent special session, the eral funds for training camps un- measure declares:

"No party shall be recognized or qualified to participate in any primary election which uses or adopts as any part of its party designation the word 'communist' or any derivative."

indirectly affiliated with the Comof the war to all the continents munist Party of the United States, the Third International, or "forprogram of "violence against the Company in Giendale, Queens, retary of the party, made the United States" are denied a place on the ballot.

and the senate the following day. Colden set bail of \$7,500 each for The delegates found especially (Continued on Page 2)

### New State Guard Units Are Organized To Break Strikes | FLINT FIRINGS

This little story is written entirely for the benefit of those innocent boys and girls who think that the government has soldiers only for the purpose of warding off a foreign enemy.

The government has now gotten from Congress the necessary authority to mobilize millions upon millions of soldiers. Included among these are the National Guard units of the 48 states.

But now Congress is considering passage of ANOTHER bill to have the states raise, and the federal government finance, new regiments of the National Guard to take the place of those inducted into the regular army.

What for? The answer is provided in a circular letter nov being sent by New York colonels to former members of Guard regiments, urging them to re-enlist. The key paragraph reads:

"The service contemplated for the New York Guard will b entirely within the state. Besides the drills necessary to prepare for service within the state, active duty will be limited to riots or other civil disorders."

"Riots or other civil disorders"-that means strikes and mili tant labor activity.

If Labor supports the formation of such anti-Labor guards it is just cutting its own throat.

Workers Defense Guards, loyal to Labor's interests, are the only guards for the working class!

### I.B.E.W. Local 3 Leaders Jailed In Strikebreaking Move

manager of the New York Elec- ured their indictment under an trical Workers Union, Local 3 of ancient statute against rioting, the I.B.E.W. (AFL), and four dating back to 1794, and having other members, were dragged out nothing to do with strikes. Preof their beds last Friday by police text for application of the statute ared by the suspended members acting under instructions of was a fight between pickets and Buick workers directly affected Any organizations directly or Queens County District Attorney armed strikebreakers. Charles P. Sullivan, in a crude boss attempt to break the nineweek-old strike of the union at geous strikebreaking move of the eign agencies" which advocate a the Triangle Conduit and Cable District Attorney. The CIO has which is one of the largest votes

The fantastic bail of \$50,000 each was demanded by the Dis-Under the guise of "pressing de- trict Attorney. Van Arsdale and fense necessity," the reactionary the others refused to permit the bill was passed in a rush by the union to pay for such exorbitant ball, and remained in jail until ing it 66 to 3 on September 21, Monday, when Judge Charles S. Once again, the rank and file Van Arsdale and Assistant Busi-

each for the other three.

Harry Van Arsdale, business; The District Attorney had sec-

The entire New York labor movement is roused by this outrajoined with the I.B.E.W. in demanding dismissal of the case and by any local in the International cessation of attacks on the strik. The percentage that voted for

having jurisdiction for all elec- with approximately 7.000 workers trical work in New York, and this in the plant. index to the growing boldness of for the suspended members Satthe anti-labor forces, operating urday night was well attended by illuminating his emphasis on the of the Communist Party is being ness Manager Hansen, and \$1,000 under cover of the "no-strike" all locals here and by many out declarations from Washington. of town locals.

## Nazi-Japan Alliance Has USSR In Its Pincers

## PARLEY OVER DRAGGING ON

#### General Motors Stalls To Avert Walk-Out In Flint Plants

FLINT, Mich., Sept. 30-No tive Board of the United Auto this particular time. On Japan's Completely confounded the Japan workers from General Motors on part, the pact was concluded as ese by his pact with Hitler. But

Phillip Murray, CIO vice-president, was scheduled to meet with top officials of G.M. today in Detroit, but meanwhile union memprogress of negotiations, for no United States in the war by report has come from the Interna- threatening it with the dire contional officers.

Murray's appearance in the pic- simultaneously. ture may mean either one of two things-that the UAW officers expect Murray, with the prestige of the CIO behind him, to get a favorable settlement: or that a poor settlement will require a good salesman to put it over with. the local membership here.

#### Strike Preparation

Meanwhile, however, preparations locally are going on for strike action. Strike kitchen stoves, tables, etc., are being prepare beginning to clamor for a strike vote in their local too.

The strike vote in the Fisher Body local totalled 3,000 votes cast in a strike ballot at any time strike was also one of the largest; Local 3 of the I.B.E.W. is one 2100 voted for strike, 900 against

frontal attack on it is a significant. A benefit dance and party held

#### Soviet Union Now Faces Threat on Two Frontiers Which Stalin Thought He Had Eliminated

In Berlin on September 27 Germany, Italy, and Japan entered into a formal political and military alliance, which is destined to have profound repercussions throughout the world,

The terms of the pact obligated the signatories to go immediately to each others' aid in the event that any power still uninvolved in the European or Asiatic wars took up arms on the side of Britain or China.

The pact's most obvious edge was directed at the United. States which was openly warned that at a certain point its "aid" settlement has as yet been se- to Great Britain would involve it in war with Japan. This was cured by the International Execu- Hitler's primary purpose in formalizing his deal with Japan at

the company's suspension from a warning to the United States like all the ghosts Stalin thinks work of 19 union members in the that any attempt to interfere he has laid, the ghost of the antiwith Japan's expansionist drive Comintern pact has come to life in the eastern Pacific would in- suddenly and fearfully-in the volve it in war with Germany form of an ironclad military atand Italy. The pact is primarily liance. In effect, the secret. bers are in the dark as to the an attempt to immobilize the clauses of the anti-Comintern

sequence of war in two oceans Blow at USSR

ed or to be established" between the Pacific. Hitler has simply exthe U.S.S.R. and the three signal ploited this fact. He and, the tories. This did not, however. Japanese now are hoping that conceal the fact that the treaty their open alliance will keep the confronts the Soviet Union with United States inactive long enough the prospect of war on two fron- to allow Germany to complete a tiers if it fails to remain obedient victory over Britain and allow to Hitler's dictation.

In Moscow the first reaction was one of frightened silence. For two days Soviet newspapers abstained even from publishing news of the new Axis deal. They finally issued the text of the treaty. The first official comment, three days after the pact, tried to convey the impression that Stalin had been privy all along to the axis negotiations and that whatever they decided was all right with

But it is not all right by any means with the Soviet Union, as London and Washington have both been quick to point out. Despite all his super-weaseling, Stalin finds himself now precisely in the position he so desperately tried to avoid when he entered into his bargain with Hitler a year ago. The pact of Berlin of September 27 is the pay-off of that bargain. Stalin thought in August, 1939, that he had smashed the anti-Comintern alliance and

pact have been brought out into In respect to the United States,

the pact of Berlin formalizes a set of conditions of which the rulers of the United States have The pact's other edge was a lit- long been aware. One of the factle less divious but no less sharp, tors which has been deterring It was directed at the Soviet Un- Roosevelt & Company from heation. In the treaty itself, the Axis ening the pace into war has been diplomats took pains to explain the knowledge that American inthat the tri-power arrangement volvement in the Atlantic would did not affect relations "establish give the green light to Japan in Japan to gather in unhindered the Far Eastern holdings of the defeated Western powers.

#### Likely Next Steps

What are likely to be the immediate effects of the new pact? First of all, "appeasement" of Japan with respect to the China war will come to an end. Britain will no doubt re-open the Burma Road, which it closed three months ago at Japan's demand. President Roosevelt has already placed an embargo on iron exports to Japan and a new \$25,000,000 loan to China has been announced. Along that Burma Road the previous trickle of American aid is likely to thicken into more of a stream in the months to come. Across the Atlantic, United States. aid to Britain will increase, rather than decrease.

The U. S. will thus stiffen British resistance to Germany and Chinese resistance to Japan. Whether and at what point such actions will bring the Pact of Berlin into operation is of course what remains to be seen.

#### Wooing The Kremlin Finally, fresh efforts to deal a

new hand in American-Soviet relations will now be made. The day after the pact of Berlin, the New York Herald Tribune's Washington correspondent reported that definite American efforts "to" woo the Soviet Union" would follow on the heels of the Axis alliance. There has been a notable relaxation of export restrictions on vital materials going to the Soviet Union in the last few months and the recent signature of a new U.S.-Soviet trade agreement like-wise created the atmosphere for a new "friendliness".

Actually, however, Stalin will be guided in this as in his whole policy now by the calculation of relative strengths. So long as Hitler's star continues to rise." Stalin will ride along in Hitler's orbit, however much his own star is dimmed thereby, and whatever the consequences to socialist economic organization in the Soviet Union. The German alliance with Japan further narrows Stalin's freedom of action. It will take a decisive turn in the direction of the war to switch the policy of the Kremlin. Such a turn will never be taken on the Kremlin's own initiative. That it will leave, half-hopefully, half-fearfully, to

# Program To Break Labor's Back Is Drafted By Leading Economists Of The Country

The government at Washington is now engaged in the biggest business in the United States. This is the business of building the greatest war-machine the world has ever known. The whole economic life of the country is being reshaped to serve the needs of the military pro-

From now on, the government regulates and controls national industry. Every decision, every measure taken by the administration directly and immediately affects the lives and livelihood of the mass of workers. The workers must, more closely than ever before, watch their rulers in Washington, to understand what is being planned.

At the request of the War and Navy Departments of the government, the Brookings Institution of Washington, a well-known organization of conservative capitalist economists, has made a study of wartime price control. The ostensible purpose of this "impartial, academic" survey was to suggest ways and means to keep prices down during war. Its real aim, however, is to prepare public opinion for the wage-cutting. and union-busting drive which has already been started in many war-industries and which will inevitably be expanded as militarization gains momentum.

### LIVING STANDARDS MENACED

The important recommendations of the Brookings report are aimed at labor.

(1) Wages, it proposes, are to be controlled

when other commodities fail to keep down the cost of living."

The truth is that commodity prices cannot be prevented from soaring under wartime conditions. In England they have increased over forty percent since the outbreak of the war. The cost of living becomes higher and higher; food, clothing, shelter, recreation grows more expensive with each passing week. If the worker's wages are not increased in proportion, it means that they suffer a real reduction in wages. The same

amount of dollars buys less and less. Unless the workers through their unions demand-and get-higher wages, their standard of living sinks lower and lower. Such is the automatic mechanism of price control under the capitalist system which always works to the advantage of the bosses and to the detriment of the wage-laborers. This means that the labor-unions must keep control of wages in their own hands and not surrender this power to government agencies which are in turn controlled by Big

The best way for the unions to meet this danger is to provide in their contracts for a RIS-ING SCALE OF WAGES to equalize the rising costs of living.

#### WIPING OUT LABOR'S GAINS

(2) The Brookings report goes on to urge that all restrictions upon production be done away with. Does this mean that the unemployed are to be given jobs, or that idle factories shall

which limit hours of work or fix ntinimum wages (the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Wage-Hour Law, the Walsh-Healey Act, etc.) are to be scrapped for the duration of the war! Back to the sixty-hour week and the \$7 weekly wage! Restore paradise to the bosses; give hell to the workers! That's the advice given to the War and Navy Departments by the economists they chose to advise them.

Let there be no illusion about it. The hardboiled Generals and Admirals are going to follow that advice, if they can. Bethlehem Steel, Electric Boat Company, and Douglas Aircraft will not be the only ones permitted to ignore the Walsh-Healey Act. All the big corporations will demand and receive that right on the pretext of producing for "national defense"-at labor's expense-unless the organized workers prevent them from getting away with it.

That's why the workers need a Labor Party of their own to fight in Washington and in Congress for the retention and extension of every law protecting labor's rights. But, even though lacking a powerful mass Labor Party, the CIO and the AFL unions are strong enough to curb this reactionary drive, provided they rely upon their own independent action, and not upon the empty promises of capitalist politicians.

### TAX BURDEN ON WORKERS

(3) The Brookings report further recommends that the government get most of its war funds from taxes, and then warms that "excess last resort "to insure health and efficiency or laws which bring any benefit to the workers, too harsh on the war-profiteers, Get the money Washington!

needed for the war-machine by levying hidden taxes upon the necessities of life.

Thus the workers and their families are to be doubly squeezed. First, by keeping wagelevels from rising while prices do and then by taxing vital commodities. "Heads we win; tail: you lose": such is the new Army game!

The Brookings Report, initiated by the government, is only one of many similar indications that the government is preparing to clamp down on any struggles for higher wages and is considering the suspension of all laws protecting labor. This means that the trade-unions have a tough job ahead of them. They'll have to struggle against the government's attack upon all the standards and conditions won by labor in the past period, an attack undertaken for the sake of the war profiteers.

#### PREPARE TO DEFEND YOURSELVES!

Big Business is now in the driver's seat at Washington, supervising the war-machine. Knudsen, Stettinius and their associates are out to put the workers in their place, with the help of "labor" men in government service, like Hillman. Tracy and Tobin. If the trade-unions don't maintain their freedom of action, if the rank-and-file isn't on the alert to fight against every encroachment upon their rights, the Big Boys are likely

to get away with it. Here's one preparedness campaign the organized workers have a real interest in getting by the government. How? In the interests of the be turned over to idle workers for operation? No. profits taxes alone cannot prevent the adverse under way! Prepare to defend the workers bosses. For wages are to be raised only in the On the contrary it means that all the existing effects of inflation." In plain English, don't be against the war profiteers and their agents in

#### Two Jailed Drivers Union Leaders Now Cleared By Court

Howard Fouts and Ralph Johnson, Sioux City Drivers Union leaders, now in Leavenworth penitentiary serving two-year sentences, have just been cleared of the charges by the South Dakota Supreme Court to which their conviction was appealed. The court reversed the conviction on the grounds that the evidence was insufficient.

The charge was that they had destroyed a truck in March, 1939 during a Sioux City bakery strike. The FBI stepped into this local case and spent untold sums on engineering a frameup.

Other unionists framed in this case and now serving twoyear sentences are Lou Miller of the Omaha Drivers Union Jack Maloney, Sioux City drivers' organizer, Francis Quinn organizer of the Des Moines drivers, and Shorty Stultz and Carpenter of the Omaha driv-