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Fight with the Socialist Workers Party for:

- 1. A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER. 2. OPEN THE IDLE FACTORIES — OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL. 3. A TWENTY-BILLION DOLLAR FEDERAL PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSING PROGRAM. 4. THIRTY-THIRTY-\$30-WEEKLY MINIMUM WAGE—30-HOUR WEEKLY MAXIMUM FOR ALL WORKERS ON ALL JOBS. 5. \$30 WEEKLY OLD-AGE AND DISABILITY PENSION. 6. APPROPRIATE THE SIXTY FAMILIES. 7. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED. 8. A PEOPLE'S REFERENDUM ON ANY AND ALL WARS. 9. NO SECRET DIPLOMACY. 10. AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY. 11. WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS AGAINST VIGILANTE AND FASCIST ATTACKS. 12. FULL SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

A Military Policy

We ask every reader of the SOCIALIST APPEAL to take the necessary time to read carefully the "Resolution on Proletarian Military Policy" which we publish on page 2 of this issue.

Our paper, we are happy to say, is read weekly by thousands of workers, trade union militants, and not a few trade union officers, who are neither members of our party nor do they consider themselves in agreement with our basic outlook. They read our paper for its information about the labor movement, here and abroad, and as an expression of one of the tendencies in the labor movement.

We should like to ask this group of readers, after they have read our statement of proletarian military policy, to write to us and to tell us where they disagree with us and what alternative they have to our policy. We shall be glad to publish all such letters from our readers, no matter how sharply they disagree with us.

In their letters, however, we should like to see them grapple with this key question: What shall the unions do to protect the interests of their members, and of the workers generally, who are inducted into the armed forces?

Let us all unitedly see to it that every union's contracts shall provide that conscripts be reinstated in their jobs without loss of seniority at the end of their term of service. Let us see that the conscript's family has a roof overhead and does not go hungry. But that is not enough; that does not answer the key question we have posed.

What about the conscript himself? What about the conditions under which he trains and lives? What about the powers which the officers have over him—powers of life and death? What about the danger that, under those powers, the officers will order him to fire on or to terrorize strikers, as the National Guard has so often done?

These are some of the questions we should like our readers to answer. We have an answer: Workers' control of military training. We want the entire labor movement to fight for that; if a united working class fought for it, it would become a reality.

But you don't agree? What alternative do you propose, then? We welcome your letters. We will publish them, together with our answers to them.

Stalin's "Victories"

The Nazi-Mussolini-Japan pact is of sufficient importance to every country and every class to require lengthy discussion and analysis. It unquestionably constitutes the most important development since the fall of France, if not the most important since the beginning of the war.

One would think, therefore, that the big press of the Communist Party would be filled with discussion of the pact after it was signed last Friday. But no. Until Tuesday the two New York dailies of the Stalinists—the Daily Worker and the Freiheit—had not had one word to say about it beyond printing the capitalist United Press reports (more accurately, only the most perfunctory news paragraphs from those reports).

And on Tuesday they printed the text of the editorial from Stalin's organ, Pravda, nothing else. On Wednesday, the story is a 3-paragraph reference to an editorial in Izvestia, official governmental organ of Stalin's regime. And that's all.

This phenomenon is worth commenting upon. It reveals once more the utterly slavish relationship between the Stalinist parties and the Kremlin. The Communist parties, which are neither Communist nor parties, but mere instrumentalities of the Kremlin, dare not utter a word on any important question until the Kremlin tells them what to say. And on all very important questions of inter-

national relations the Stalinist press abroad dares not do anything except reprint editorials from Pravda and Izvestia. Browder and his associates are as independent of the Kremlin as a muzzled dog firmly held on an unbreakable leash is independent of his master.

But that is only part of the story. One must first read the Pravda editorial to understand the bottomless degeneration of the Kremlin and its lackeys abroad.

In the face of universal recognition that the new pact represents a revival of the anti-Comintern pact to which the same powers were signatories and, moreover, a revival on a much more dangerous basis, including provisions for military collaboration of these powers; in the face of the fact, which everybody understands, that this pact means that Stalin's pact with Hitler of August, 1939 has proved to be a trap for the Soviet Union—in the face of all this, Stalin's lackeys must continue to repeat that Stalin is infallible. The Pravda editorial concludes:

"Further it should be understood as a confirmation of the strength and significance of the non-aggression pact between the USSR and Germany and the non-aggression pact between the USSR and Italy."

The ordinary mortal, reading such brazen tripe, will undoubtedly rub his eyes to make sure he is reading what is actually there. How can these people make such gestures which no one can possibly believe? The ordinary mortal will wonder.

But this is the Stalin school of falsification. In it what is not palatable to Stalin is always turned into its opposite. Thereby are victories invented to chalk up to Stalin's credit.

Every defeat which Stalin organized and imposed upon the workers' parties and the masses—in China, in Germany, in Britain, in France, in a word, throughout the world, including the latest crisis in the Soviet Union which we describe elsewhere in this issue—all these defeats are transformed by Stalin's pen prostitutes into "victories."

Let us hope and let us work to see to it that before it is too late, before he carries the Soviet Union over the abyss into total destruction, before he destroys the remaining sections of the organized working class, the Communist workers come to realize that Stalin and the Kremlin clique and its lackeys are the most dangerous obstacle in the way of the working class. The road that Stalin points is always the road of defeats. He will go down in history with the name which Trotsky branded him with: "organizer of defeats."

SWOC "Leadership"

On Friday, September 13, a spontaneous walk-out took place in the Bethlehem Steel plant at Lackawanna, near Buffalo, New York. Most of the men in the ore dock, blast furnace and coke ovens downed tools; by Saturday morning 4,000 men were out. The immediate occasion for the walkout was company discrimination against two union men, one a Negro and one a white foreman, reduced to a laborer's job because of union activity. But of course this was the last of a long series of grievances, the sheer accumulation of which led to such an explosion as a completely spontaneous walkout.

We wish to underline that the walkout was unauthorized, and never became an official action of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. As a consequence, the less militant CIO members remained on the job in the blast furnace; and the union men in the rest of the plant were still awaiting the strike call from the S.W.O.C. With the exception of a few knots of men, there was no picket line. After work those who had stayed at work were loud, in the neighboring saloons, in their self-justification that there had been no official sanction of the action by the union. And there hadn't been.

Nathan Cowan, S.W.O.C. sub-regional director, addressed a mass meeting of the strikers that Friday night in Croatian Hall in Buffalo. He was reported by the press as saying and he didn't deny it, that "there had been no strike called by the CIO—the CIO calls a strike only as a last resort to obtain the legal rights of the men."

Well, in spite of all this, the sheer scope of the spontaneous walkout made the company think twice about getting tough at this moment, and the company beat a retreat on the specific grievance which caused the walkout; and since then the company has been careful not to rouse the men too much.

So, having laid back in the bushes and waited to see what would happen, the CIO leadership is now prepared to take the credit for whatever improvements have come about in Lackawanna. Under the heading, "CIO strike Changes Bethlehem", the CIO News of October 1 (which is the first issue which recognizes that anything has been happening up there) proudly reports: "The Bethlehem Steel Corp. has been settling grievances regularly with a delegation of the SWOC since the recent one-day strike of 4,000 workers." And so on including a boastful statement by the same Nathan Cowan that wouldn't O.K. the strike.

Every labor skate is perfectly ready to take credit for a strike if it is successful, after it's over. That's what happened in this minor incident in Bethlehem's Lackawanna plant. But organize the strike? Really prepare the strike? Really carry it out? That, Mr. Cowan and his superiors, Messrs. Phillip Murray and John L. Lewis, aren't doing much of, and especially these days when the patriotic ballyhoo has them running for cover.

The end result is that the workers at the Lackawanna plant had to expend the same amount of courage and energy to win a pica-yune grievance that, had that courage and energy been combined with official action by the union and a little courage on the part of the SWOC heads, would have won from Bethlehem a contract covering the entire field of wages and working conditions.

The New Purge In The Soviet Union

Extends Once More Into Industry As a New Caste of Generals Is Created By Stalin

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

(This is the fourth of a series of articles on the present crisis in the Soviet Union)

The 1940 purge penetrated by the end of July and the first week in August—later issues of Soviet papers haven't arrived—into four Commissariats: The Ship Building Industry, Electrical Industry, Non-Ferrous Metallurgy, and the Oil Industry.

In the first two, only the deputies of the People's Commissar and the members of the Collegium have been purged to date. In the Commissariat of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy, the People's Commissar, Samokhvalov was removed together with his deputies. In the case of the Commissariat of the Oil Industry, the personage lopped off was none other than L. Kaganovich. Stalin's own "Iron Commissar", "Chief Trouble Shooter," etc.

In the People's Commissariat of War, matters have progressed several stages beyond the initial and preparatory move made several weeks ago: the replacement of Voroshilov by Timoshenko. Marshal Shaposhnikov has been retired ("ill health") from his post and General K. A. Meretskov appointed in his place as head of the General Staff.

Marshal Budenny, the third of the three Marshals who survived the 1938 purge has been relieved of his post as Commander of the Moscow Military District.

Zhdanov has been removed from his position as chief of the Department of Party Propaganda and now occupies the decorative position of "supervisor."

MOLOTOV IS SURROUNDED

With Kaganovich, Zhdanov, Budenny and Voroshilov skidding to oblivion, the question naturally arises: Is Molotov immune?

Within the recent weeks Stalin has surrounded his Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars with three brand new deputies: Voroshilov, Vyshinsky and Mekhlis. Voroshilov, as is well known, was kicked upstairs for the time being which explains his presence on the premises. But the promotion of Vyshinsky and Mekhlis?

The whole world is familiar with the character and role of Vyshinsky, the Prosecutor of the infamous Moscow Trials; Mekhlis is not so well known outside of the Soviet Union. He first took his orders direct from Stalin in the capacity of personal secretary. Stalin then promoted him to the editorship of the Pravda. When Stalin undertook the purge of the Red Army, the man he selected, as head of the Army's Political Department in place of the executed Gamarnik, was this same Mekhlis who upon direct orders from Stalin massacred the flower of the Red Army (the estimate of victims ranges from 20-40,000). In August of this year, Stalin decided that the job in the Red Army had been completed. In June came the appointment of more than a thousand new generals; in August the undivided authority of the officer corps was restored and the Political Department abolished altogether.

But Mekhlis was not abolished. Stalin promoted him to two posts: Molotov's deputy in the Council of People's Commissars, and head of the newly created State Control Commission. Nobody knows as yet just what are the powers and functions of this new Commission. But the mere fact that Mekhlis heads it cannot fail to arouse unpublished thoughts in Molotov's head. No! With such three deputies Molotov can hardly be classified among those whom the insurance companies designate as "good risk."

RED ARMY "RE-ORGANIZED"

The army is the quintessence of a regime. "The army is a copy of society and suffers from all its diseases, usually at a higher temperature" (Trotsky). How is the internal crisis of the Stalin regime mirrored in the army?

The transfer of Voroshilov, the shift of Budenny, the replacement of Shaposhnikov, the abolition of the Political Department in the Army, the restoration of undivided authority of the officers' corps, has been supplemented by the appointment of hundreds of Admirals and Generals. The new officers' corps has been raised to Czarist splendor. Titles abhorred by the Russian masses as the very symbols of the Czarist autocracy have been legalized by ukase.

The appointments in the Navy include: RANK No. Admirals 3 Vice Admirals 8 Rear Admirals 63 Lieutenant Generals 4 Major Generals 30 Total: 108

The appointments in the Army are as follows: RANK No. Generals 3 Colonel Generals 7 Lieutenant Generals 116 Major Generals 827 Total: 953

Of the thousand-odd appointees in the Army and Navy not a single one, to our knowledge, played a role of even tenth-rate importance either in the October revolution or the Civil War. Many of them, as appears from the photographs carried by Pravda in issue after issue in June, are youngsters; most of them are in their thirties or early forties. They are men of the Stalinist conscription; they owe everything to Stalin. The same thing applies to the lower officer ranks.

Of the three full-fledged Generals at the apex of this newly appointed military hierarchy only one, I. V. Tulenev, is credited with a Civil War

record. This nonentity is now provided with a synthetic record: "one of those who helped forge the First Cavalry Corps." His subsequent achievements are on the same level as these forged Civil War credentials: He participated in the "emancipatory advance into Western Ukraine" in 1939.

One of his colleagues, G. K. Zhukov, reportedly played an important role in the clashes with the Japanese on the Manchurian and Outer Mongolian borders. The other, K. A. Meretskov, the Commander of the Leningrad Military District, fell into disrepute last winter during the dismal failure of the first offensive against Finland and is now acclaimed as the hero of the "break through the Mannerheim line" (Pravda, June 5). Meretskov is the new head of the General Staff.

PREPARING A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP?

Pravda explained the appointment of this veritable army of Generals as intending to "elevate the authority of our commanding staff, and still further to reinforce the complete authority of army commanders." (idem).

The aim pursued by Stalin is, by giving a new social weight to the summits of a hierarchical military caste, to bind the Generals to himself.

When the news of Voroshilov's removal as Commissar of War was first reported, we concluded that "Stalin is staking everything on the new officers' caste which now acquires an enormous specific weight, and a degree of power and independence never before attained by the Soviet officers' corps, and this—under war-time conditions" (Socialist Appeal, May 18, 1940). This has been corroborated by Stalin's latest moves. In the light of these developments, the question now poses itself: Is Stalin preparing the ground for a military dictatorship?

THE PURGE IN INDUSTRY

The administrative personnel of the Soviet industry is confronted with a fate similar to that suffered by the personnel of the trade union bureaucracy. They are being purged much in the same manner as were the trade unions. Industry, too, it is now declared, has been operating in an "office-bureaucratic manner", with vast padded staffs, embezzlements, graft, etc. etc.

The complete picture as depicted by Stalin's own press and on Stalin's own orders is not yet available to us—the papers haven't "arrived" yet—but we are in position to sketch the background.

Pashin, the People's Commissar of the Machine-Building Industry, in his "exposure" of the office-bureaucratic way in which his particular Commissariat has been functioning, revealed that according to official computations "the central office of (his) People's Commissariat has issued 40,000 different orders, regulations and directives in the space of a single year." This represents, so to speak, the volume of export. The inflow from the main departments under this central office amounted to "more than 180,000 various instructions which arrived by mail" (Pravda, June 15).

Why this deluge? Who writes these letters? Pravda replies: "People who are afraid of responsibility; people who seek to insure themselves against any contingency with all kinds of documentary alibis."

On July 10th the Kremlin issued a ukase prohibiting the "production of defective goods" by the Soviet industry. "It is a crime equivalent to wrecking," reads the ukase. The directors, the chief engineers and the heads of technical control are held directly responsible for the quality of manufactured goods, machines, output of coal and metal mines, etc. The crime is punishable by prison terms of five to eight years.

What a commentary on the quality of Soviet industrial production!

There is hardly a plant in the Soviet Union today whose directors, engineers, etc., would not immediately be liable under the law. Thus, it provides the most convenient formula for the purge. With this decree as a whip over the "technical cadre" Stalin hopes to supply the necessary quota of scapegoats.

Several trials have already been held and a number of administrators and engineers are already serving their prison terms. The reason given for the "demotion" of Samokhvalov, former People's Commissar of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy, was that he had allowed "violations of fixed standards and the worsening of the quality of certain forms of production" (Izvestia, July 10).

The immediate effects of this decree, as Pravda itself was compelled to report, were that many factories actually shut down; machine plants did not produce a single machine; directors of coal mines instructed that their impure daily output be stored in warehouses. (Pravda, July 13).

DO YOU WANT TO HELP YOUR FELLOW WORKERS UNDERSTAND THE WORLD SITUATION TODAY? YES!

Buy a bundle of

"THE IMPERIALIST WAR and the Proletarian World Revolution"

and distribute it among them.

Pivert Swaps Courtesies With Gen. De Gaulle

By J. GERLAND

On June 25, Marceau Pivert, emigre leader of the French "Socialist Party of Workers and Peasants" (PSOP) wrote a letter to General De Gaulle, chief of "free" France in London. After hearing the voice of the General on the radio, Pivert could not resist the call, and offered to enroll in the troops of De Gaulle, his only stipulation being to be assigned to a special mission: "revolutionary" propaganda addressed to the German proletariat.

In order to justify his enlistment, Pivert cites the case of a French monarchist who offered his technical knowledge to Lenin to carry on the struggle against the Germans. That a bourgeois forgets for a minute the class borders in view of what he considers his national interest, is indeed an exception rare enough to be worth while mentioning. Fortified by this episode, exceptional example, Pivert offers General De Gaulle the particles of "revolutionary dynamite" that he thinks he possesses. To make himself more convincing, he declares while presenting his merchandise: "Perhaps it won't leave you indifferent." Pivert only forgets that revolutionary "dynamite," the genuine kind, and not its centrist counterfeit, cannot be peddled retail, from door to door, yesterday to Leon Blum, today to De Gaulle.

Pivert tells us that his aim is to "make an attempt of a political character against the totalitarian powers." And as Churchill and De Gaulle "have not the slightest authority to take charge of this propaganda," he comes to their help, he Pivert, who knows how these things are done, and brings them his "revolutionary dynamite." Here, clearly, is the cynical blueprint of the social-patriots, always ready to consider the revolutionary energy of the workers as a subsidiary force which has to be chained to the chariot of either of the imperialist bandits.

THE STALINISTS TRIED THIS TOO

Perhaps Pivert, with his so "acute sense of reality," hopes to "use" De Gaulle as a temporary instrument of revolutionary propaganda. We know the outcome of the mode, so dear to the Stalinist rascals in the last years, to "use" some broken reeds of imperialism. As for De Gaulle, Pivert asks him to spread the manifesto of the centrist agency, the International (?) Workers (?) Front, by all the means at the disposal of the General.

What can these means be? Leaflets thrown from British bombing planes, appeals in German over the English radio. It is assured beforehand that the German workers will remain deaf to this propaganda. Revolutionary "dynamite," that is to say proletarian propaganda, is a formidably powerful explosive matter, but a fragile one. If one drop of chauvinist poison dampens it, this dynamite immediately loses all of its explosive force. One nationalism cannot be disintegrated by opposing to it an adulterated internationalism which bears the mark of another nationalism. If Pivert should obtain some "practical" possibilities from De Gaulle, he would bring to the German workers nothing but an ersatz (substitute) of internationalism, that is to say, the most malignant form of chauvinist poison. Pivert's appeals, spread with the help of De Gaulle-Churchill, would be an excellent weapon in Hitler's hands to denounce the collusion of the revolutionary forces and foreign imperialism. Pivert would place the greatest obstacle in the way of the genuine German proletarian propaganda.

Finally, Pivert patiently explains to De Gaulle, probably in order that he repeat it to his friend Churchill, what the real policy of British imperialism should be in order to win the war. It should grant a few democratic reforms to its colonial slaves, and these would support it heartily in its struggle against Hitler and Mussolini. And he who preaches such twaddle calls himself a "revolutionary militant"! Better that he take the title of King's counsellor in colonial affairs. However, he is so embarrassed playing this role that he declares that his communication "runs the risk of being misunderstood." It's really a great pity that Churchill cannot attain an "understanding" of Pivert's views.

DE GAULLE'S "FREE" COLONIES

The character of General De Gaulle's organization appears most clearly in the question of the colonies. Before the defeat, France had a colonial empire of sixty million men, that is to say, that for every two Frenchmen there were three colonial slaves submitted to the most rapacious economic exploitation and to the most brutal political oppression. This was the basis of the imperialist "democracy."

Since the military collapse some colonies have rallied to De Gaulle, leader of "free" France. Exactly what does this "rebellion" mean? Would it be the emancipation of the natives? Cables published in the bourgeois press soon give us the key to the mystery. The British fleet is blockading the coasts of French colonies, commercial relations with the metropole become impossible, thus the imperialist clique in each colony finds itself obliged to look for another "motherland," and turns its eyes towards London, tomorrow towards New York. This emancipation is but a change of address in the mail of the white slave-holders.

A still luminous star attracts to its orbit fragments of extinguished stars. So De Gaulle's organization, debris of French imperialism, has come to gravitate around London and may gravitate tomorrow around Washington. This is a very clear phenomenon of the mechanics of imperialism. But what can we think of the "revolutionary militant", wanting to do "what Lenin did in 1917," partisan of the "revolutionary fraternization," etc., etc., which comes to teach this debris of French imperialism how he can draw from the colonies "his real reserves of political projectiles"? What an infamous role!

The centrist is always ready to intoxicate himself with radical phrases: proletarian revolution, revolutionary defeatism, etc. That does not cost him very much. But at the first occasion he sinks up to his knees in the swamp of social-patriotism. For many years Pivert tried to teach Leon Blum how to make the proletarian revolution, until Blum finally bored by this chattering, showed him the door. Today Pivert, in quest of another would-be pupil, finds De Gaulle and prepares to give him a few lessons in the method of emancipating colonies and succeeding thus in beating Hitler.

September 13, 1940.