

25th Anniversary Of The Russian Revolution

By George Collins

On November 7, 1917 the power of the hateful Czarist autocracy — the tyranny of noblemen, landlords, capitalists and exploiters — over the territory and peoples of Russia was overthrown. Under the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin and Trotsky, the millions of workers and soldiers became the rulers of Russia, transformed into the Soviet Union.

From the very first day the party and the men who led the revolution taught the workers and peasants of Russia that their uprising was only the first step in the world struggle for socialism. While bending all their energies to help the world revolution, the Bolshevik leaders warned the Russian people that the workers' state would face a grave and ever-present peril if it remained surrounded by a hostile capitalist world.

But the revolution spreading through Europe was defeated by the capitalists aided by the treacherous social-democrats. These defeats left deep, open wounds in the Russian Revolution. Reaction forced its way to power in the person of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Promising a paradise of prosperity in a socialist society that would not extend beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy erected its own dictatorship by strangling Soviets, unions and factory committees and by physically exterminating the entire generation of Bolsheviks who had made the revolution and who might in some future time lead the opposition to the reactionary Stalinist dictatorship.

Revolution Endures Despite Isolation

The revolution was not destroyed because the bureaucracy by its own power could not undermine its solid foundation: the nationalized economy. Weakened by its continued isolation, its great power bled by the bureaucratic parasites, the revolution still endured. That it not only remained but performed wonders of industrial planning and building is alone a historic tribute to the great vitality of a working class revolution.

Above all the betrayal of Stalin consisted in his distrust of the workers of other lands and his lack of confidence in their historic mission. He promised socialism to the Russian people without the need of assisting the working class and without the assistance of revolutions in other lands; he assured them that only in this way could the Soviet Union be preserved from entanglement in war. This was his justification for policies which led the working class from calamity to disaster with the result that fascism or reaction was in the saddle in the major countries of the European continent.

Stalin scorned the truths of Marxism; his was the "practical politics" of a "realist." He swung from an anti-Versailles alliance to the League of Nations, from the Popular Front to the Nazi-Soviet pact. He succeeded in closing the mouths of the Marxists in the Soviet Union by concentration camps and firing squads; his agents assassinated the outstanding Marxist of our times, Leon Trotsky. But Stalin could not isolate the Soviet Union from the iron logic of the international class struggle; he could not provide an escape for the Soviet Union from world developments hurrying rapidly into war. On the day Hitler invaded the Soviet Union the last justification for Stalin's anti-Bolshevik policies was blown up.

The Russian Revolution triumphed in the midst of war. More correctly said: it triumphed in opposition to the imperialist war. But the Soviets did not find immediate peace; on the contrary, they had to fight for their lives against the self-same powers that today profess friendship for the Soviet Union.

The Bolshevik Program of Internationalism

But with an internationalist program, in alliance with the revolutionary workers of Europe, they showed the tired and bleeding armies a way out of the bloody impasse and hastened the peace. So powerful was this program, that one of the chief aims of the Versailles treaty was to destroy the menace of Bolshevism which threatened world capitalism with the same fate it had met in Russia. So powerful was this program that the Bolsheviks could defeat the German army of occupation by demoralizing the conquering troops and then could defeat the attempts of the other imperialists by causing mutinies in the imperialist armies and fleets. Only that same program can save the Soviet Union today on its twenty-fifth anniversary, when it is again engaged in a fight for its life against imperialist intervention.

Petty-bourgeois cowards have abandoned the Soviet Union in its most desperate moment. For them the Russian Revolution is over, for them Stalin and the Soviet Union are identical. Only the Trotskyists stand at their posts as the revolutionary defenders of the Soviet Union, despite all its weaknesses and degeneration under the Stalin regime. In this defense the Trotskyists are united with the Soviet workers and peasants. Only a demented fool would attribute the unparalleled sacrifice of the Red Army and the Russian workers to a desire to defend Stalin and Stalinism. No! This heroic resistance, of which Stalingrad is only the most recent example, is a defense of what exists despite Stalinism and a hope for the future against Stalinism.

The nationalized property taken from capitalists, bankers and landlords twenty-five years ago still remains. For this the Russian workers are shedding their life-blood. The Russian workers prevented Stalin from robbing them of the greatest conquest of their revolution up to the present war. Now they fight again to prevent Hitler and world capitalism from destroying the foundation they have laid for a socialist society. Despite Stalinism, the Revolution still lives. As his best troops are crushed in the nutcracker of Soviet resistance, Hitler above all has no doubt of the continued virility of the Russian revolution.

The Russian Revolution overthrew the Czarist system and Russian capitalism; flashed a beacon light on the road of the toiling millions of the world struggling against oppression, exploitation and war; demonstrated for all time that socialist planning is infinitely superior to capitalist anarchy of production. The Russian Revolution needs no justification before history. If it perishes in this war at the hands of its imperialist foes or its imperialist "friends," it will more than have done its work. In the minds and hearts of the workers of the entire world it has already burned the lesson of what can and must be done.

But the Revolution is far from dead today. It survived twenty-five years in an incessant struggle against civil war, intervention, famine, Stalinism. It has withstood the first ravages of the Second World War. But just as the Revolution fought its way to victory twenty-five years ago against the imperialist world and their social-democratic lackeys — so today it must once again raise the banner of 1917 in alliance with the workers of the world against the warring imperialists and against the Stalinist traitors.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VI.—No. 45

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1942

267

FIVE (5) CENTS

Stalinists Attack SWP Candidate In Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Nov. 1.—Angered by the interest which has been aroused by the principled working-class program which Grace Carlson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator in Minnesota, has presented in her campaign, the Stalinist candidate for governor yesterday launched into a vicious attack on the Trotskyists as "fifth columnists" in a radio address over WLOL.

"The Trotskyist candidate for U. S. Senator has said that this is an imperialist war," said Stalinist Martin Mackie. "Could Goebbels ask for anything more?" Using the fact that the Socialist Workers Party has presented a basic analysis of the war as it affects the workers and farmers in Minnesota, the Communist Party spokesman attempted to show from this that the Trotskyists were "fifth columnists." Ex-Ambassador Davies' recent book, "Mission to Moscow," was quoted as proof of the fact that Leon Trotsky and his followers in Russia were "fascist agents."

WHEN MACKIE WAS SILENT

Only five days before this lying attack on the Socialist Workers Party, Mackie had an opportunity to make these charges to the candidate herself when he appeared on the same platform with her. Mackie did not dare make these slanderous charges because the membership of the Minneapolis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had shown by their applause and their enthusiasm that they approved of the Trotskyist program which Carlson presented at the same meeting.

Grace Carlson was one of some 20 candidates for political office in Minnesota who were invited by the NAACP to explain their program for the Negro people and how they would put it into practice if elected. But Comrade Carlson was the only one who had a program for the solution of the problems of the colored masses—the abolition of discrimination through a Workers' and Farmers' Government and a society organized and controlled by those who labor.

The well-attended meeting heard the Trotskyist candidate say, "The only way to abolish Jim Crowism is through the union of both the colored and white workers whom the capitalist rulers of the country seek to divide in the fight for a socialist United States." The only spontaneous applause which was accorded any of the speakers came during Comrade Carlson's speech.

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Administration Moves Closer To Regimentation Of Labor

Defending the Gains of October



This photograph from the Soviet battlefield shows Red Army soldiers rushing in to recapture a position won by the German troops.

Stalinists Aid British Against Indian Masses

Stalinists' Own Stories from India, Printed in Daily Worker, Show They Openly Acted As Strikebreakers in Political Strikes

By Felix Morrow

A series of articles from India appeared in the *Daily Worker*, organ of the Communist Party, from Oct. 27 to Nov. 1. These, together with several articles appearing during the same time by James S. Allen, should be read by every worker who still retains any illusions about Stalinism. They reveal, quite openly and indeed crudely, the servile aid which the Stalinists have been giving to the British imperialists against India's present struggle for independence.

When the British imprisoned the All-India Congress leadership, a great wave of political strikes began, protesting the arrests. The Stalinists openly opposed the strikes and moved heaven and earth to get the workers back into the mills. To their eternal infamy, the Stalinists were the only political group in India whom the British authorities permitted to hold public meetings — to speak against the strikes, of course. Here is how P. S. Joshi, head of the CP of India, tries to embellish this ugly fact:

THEY GET PERMISSION

"Meetings were banned, so we rush to the Police Commissioner (of Bombay) for permission. He asks us to drop our political slogans and only ask the workers to keep the peace. We stand firm, we refuse to suit the police, we seek to serve our class our way. We get the permission after all." (Daily Worker, Nov. 1.)

They got the permission "after

all" because they were doing the dirty work of the British imperialists. As they write:

"The next day (after a strike begins) or as soon as the mill gates open the Communists send the workers back to work for the country's defense and their own livelihood." (Daily Worker, Oct. 27.)

Note that touch about "their own livelihood" — the classic argument of every strikebreaker!

But in spite of all the Stalinists could do, the workers kept closing mills. As Joshi sadly admits: "It would be suicidal to show our strength (!) and sweep their pickets aside and demand that the mill gates be opened."

"A HELL OF A JOB"

Thereupon the Stalinists changed their tactics slightly. Here is how Joshi describes it:

"On August 11th most of the mills remained closed, we changed the emphasis of our propaganda from go to work to keep

the peace. . . (We gave) the orders of the Communist Party: 'Down with police terror! Go to mills if they open! Maintain peace if mills remain closed.'"

This tactic, according to Joshi, enabled the Stalinists to get by with the workers. Only "some non-worker disrupters" threw stones at Stalinist meetings. Finally, on August 16 — after a week of strikes — the Bombay mills were opened. Joshi reports this, then writes — in black and white! — as follows:

"We heaved a sigh of relief. Hell of a job to put workers to work despite the provocation of the police and the stinging cries from misguided fellow patriots." (Daily Worker, Nov. 1.)

Such is the success that the Stalinists claim — in Bombay. For elsewhere they make no claims, and especially not for the real center of war industry, Bihar province. Nor do they claim

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Right To Change Jobs Would Be Limited Under New Plan

WMC Committee Asks for Executive Order Requiring USES Approval for Job Changes

By Anthony Massini

NOV. 4. — The administration was reported to be moving closer to the regimentation of labor as President Roosevelt today studied recommendations submitted by the War Manpower Commission's labor-management committee early this week.

While, according to the press, the administration does not contemplate total labor freezing at this time,

it appeared clear that steps will soon be taken to limit the right of workers to freely select the place of their employment. These same steps could be used in the future by the government to put over a program of complete labor freezing.

WMC Chairman Paul V. ("Hoosier Hitler") McNutt, who had previously called for the passage of a "national service" bill giving the WMC complete control of hiring and transferring labor, announced that he was fully satisfied with the recommendations of his labor-management committee.

Although the details of these recommendations have not been officially divulged as this issue goes to press, Washington newspapermen report that they include, along with the proposal that the draft boards be placed under the WMC, the following provision:

That President Roosevelt issue an executive order establishing the United States Employment

Service, now under the jurisdiction of McNutt, as the sole agency for all employment. The only exceptions to this arrangement would be for union hiring halls considered "satisfactory" by the WMC.

HOW THIS WOULD AFFECT THE WORKERS

Under this provision no worker would be able to change his job without the approval of the USES. No employer with a war contract would be able to hire workers without the approval of the USES; federal inspectors would be stationed in the plants to make sure of this.

No reports about proposed penalties for violation of this provision have yet been published. A worker would still presumably be able to quit his job. But obviously, since the only way he could get a new one would be through the USES, his real right to leave the job would be considerably restricted. For the USES would have the power to reject his excuse for leaving the job and to inform him that the only job he could get would be the one he left.

Actually, therefore, there is not much real difference between this proposal and the "national service" bill McNutt originally had asked for. This plan may not be labor freezing, but it is the next thing to it. No wonder McNutt praised it so highly!

Needless to say, this plan will meet the enthusiastic approval of the capitalist class as a whole. There may be some griping from individual employers — especially those not doing the most essential war work or those faced with labor shortages — but on the whole the bosses will approve this plan because it will give them new opportunities to attack labor's living standards, increase the speed-up, refuse higher classifications, etc. For the workers, whose defensive struggles are already badly hampered by the labor leaders' no-strike pledge, will find it much harder to resist boss attacks and provocations when they are unable to secure new jobs without the approval of the USES.

As for the top leadership of the AFL and CIO, their frequently issued denunciations of labor regimentation "at this time" have boiled down to nothing more than statements for the record. Previously they insisted that the solution of the war manpower problem should be "voluntary." But now they have participated in drawing up this WMC plan, which leaves nothing to the choice of the workers involved. The only thing "voluntary" about the plan is the labor bureaucrats' treacherous support of it.

An interesting aspect of the present situation is that McNutt already has the powers to put into effect the provision putting the USES in charge of all employment. These powers were conferred on him by Roosevelt last April when the WMC was established by executive decree. McNutt's referral of the matter back to Roosevelt indicates that the administration realizes how packed with dynamite the plan is and sees the necessity for publicly launching it through the "liberal" Roosevelt and the AFL-CIO leaderships rather than through Roosevelt's notoriously anti-labor appointee McNutt.

Admiral Land Aids Shipowners In War Profiteering

Maritime Commission Accused of Helping Bosses Cheat Gov't

Last week, while a series of naval reverses in the Pacific gave graphic demonstration of the incompetency of the American officer caste, revelations in Washington aired the systematic looting of the public treasury by a partnership of the military and Big Business.

In a letter to Senator David Walsh, chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, Senator George D. Aiken (Rep. Vt.) exposed a series of transactions between the Maritime Commission and shipowners which resulted in maritime Big Business lining its pockets to the tune of millions of dollars. Aiken charged the Admirals who run the Maritime Commission with "extravagance and incompetence." On the evidence these are mild charges, but Aiken's terminology was tempered by the fact that he was not so much interested in attacking the shipowners involved as in "getting" the Roosevelt-appointed brass hats who run the Commission.

TWO CASES CITED

Aiken cites two cases of the latest diversion of public funds to private pockets—one, a deal between the Maritime Commission and the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company, and the other with the Alcoa (aluminum trust) Line. Admiral Land greatly enlarged the Tampa yards (with public funds), and then allowed the company to

juggle its books in order to boost its valuation by over a million dollars when the Navy took over the Tampa facilities. This meant that the company not only had new yards given it at no cost, but then realized an additional million dollars from the Navy by the simple procedure of book-keeping.

"This very questionable revaluation was apparently indulged in to justify further financial assistance. . .," wrote Aiken. He added that it would be "virtually necessary to discredit the Comptroller General's Office" to clear the Maritime Commission of the charge of "incompetence and collusion with private interests."

The use of differential subsidies is another method used by the Commission to siphon funds out of the government into the pockets of Big Business. The Aluminum Company of America has been receiving a subsidy of 50% on the construction of its ships in order to offset competi-

tion of foreign yards. There has been no real competition from foreign yards for the past three years, but Alcoa has continued to receive the subsidy.

Alcoa is richer by \$15,000,000 from subsidies alone, according to Aiken.

CHARGES AGAINST THE COMMISSION

The detailed accusations are that the Commission:

(1) Paid exorbitant prices for old and obsolete ships;
(2) Paid unwarranted subsidies for construction based on foreign costs long after foreign competition had ceased to exist;
(3) Paid operating subsidies after foreign competition had ceased, and even increased the rate of subsidy;

(4) Spent millions of dollars in subsidizing ships for private corporations;

(5) Failed to collect the statutory 3½% interest charge from shipping corporations on miscellaneous accounts;

(6) Failed to recover excess profits from shipbuilding corporations;

(7) Failed to collect 25% down payment on all ships sold, although required to do so by law;

(8) Been a party to transactions whereby it sold ships to private corporations which have "thereupon, in accordance with understandings had with the commission before it transferred title, resold the same ships to the Navy at higher prices which were not justified by increases in value;"

(9) Permitted extravagance, incompetent management and looting to prevail at shipyards holding contracts with the Commission for the construction of vessels on a cost-plus-fixed-fee basis.

On the basis of these charges Land is not being court-martialed, but only blocked from a promotion. If Aiken's charges stick, the head of the Maritime Commission will have to continue his work for the shipowners as a mere Rear Admiral.

How To Put An End To Imperialist War

Friends:

For the second time within the brief span of twenty-five years, imperialist war is reaching into every home. Sons, husbands, brothers, sweethearts are being torn out of every family circle in order to build up the largest military machine the world has ever seen. Women and children are forced to take the place of men in the factories and on the farms. Sugar, gasoline and tires are already rationed. Meatless days are here. There is an ever increasing shortage of the basic necessities of life. Prices are skyrocketing. Wages have been frozen. One tax after another has been heaped upon us until they have become a staggering burden. At the same time Big Business, which is raking in profits from the war industries exceeding those of even the 1929 boom year, has launched an unprecedented assault against the labor movement and against such basic rights of the people as freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly.

Only the Beginning

Yet the second world war has scarcely begun.

Not until the casualties are listed, and the maimed, the mutilated, the shell-shocked and the blind come back home to finish their lives in wheel chairs and hospitals — not until millions upon millions of young men discharged from the armed forces start hunting for jobs — will we feel the full impact of this war.

Not until Big Business has bankrupted the nation, ruined the economy, plunged the people into mourning and despair and commenced organizing and financing gangs of American fascists to put an American

Hitler in power — not until then will we realize the full horror of the imperialist war that has been thrust upon us.

What is involved is nothing less than the fate of mankind. If the capitalist class continues to rule, civilization will go down. The entire world will enter the eclipse of a new dark age.

There Is A Way Out

But intelligent workers with the real interests of our country at heart are beginning to ask, isn't there a way out? Isn't there some way to escape the abyss? Yes, there is a way. But it is not the way of capitalism and its wars, its lies and false promises.

Remember the various promises and assurances which Big Business and its representatives in Washington made to the people in the first world war. We will then be better able to judge the promises they have made in this war.

They assured the people that there would be no more wars if the Allies won. They promised that an Allied victory would make the world safe for democracy. They assured the people that it was a war to end wars. They declared that the Kaiser and his followers were solely responsible for the war, and that it was only necessary to do away with the Kaiser to usher in peace and prosperity. That was what they promised.

But what were the realities?

Instead of a world made safe for democracy, we got a world converted into a foul prison and made safe only for fascism. Depressions swept through nation after nation. Unemployment became a worldwide plague. Instead of a war to end wars it turned out to be a war to breed wars. Mussolini came to power in Italy; Hitler in Germany; Franco in Spain.

James P. Cannon's Radio Speech Over Station WPAT on Saturday, October 31

Great Britain continued to oppress one-fourth of the world's population. Wall Street maintained its grip on the Philippine, Puerto Rico, and moved deeper into Latin America. Wall Street sent troops against the Russian revolution of October 1917, quarreled with the other imperialist powers over China and drove the bonus army out of Washington at the point of the bayonet. All this has now been climaxed with a second world war.

All the promises of Big Business and its representatives about the first World War turned out to be treacherous lies. That is the cold fact.

The promises of the present administration give us no reason whatsoever for expecting that they will turn out one iota better than those of Wilson.

What Causes Imperialist War?

Like the first World War, the second World War is a product of capitalism. It is a struggle for markets, for colonies, for spheres of investment, for control of raw materials and control of trade routes. The conflicts now raging are for oil fields, rubber plantations, mines, food producing areas, and strategic military bases. The imperialist armies follow the trade routes and entrench themselves where the rich sources of raw materials exist.

Imperialist war is a struggle for these concrete material things in a period when the world has already been divided up. It is not a struggle for fine ideals such as democracy and freedom of oppressed peoples, but a brutal ruthless bloody struggle to redive the world in the interests of different warring gangs of capitalists.

For more than a hundred years Great Britain extended her seizures of backward and undeveloped world areas and policed the seven seas to maintain her ill-gotten empire. German, Italian and Japanese capitalism grew strong enough to challenge her world position and to attempt to carve up this old empire.

But Big Business in the United States decided to establish its own empire over the world. Big Business decided to make itself heir to the dying British lion and to meet the challenge of the Axis for control of the world. Where the British policed the seven seas, Wall Street has a program of policing the five continents in addition. Wall Street's dream is to establish a super-British empire.

Post-War Aims of the Imperialists

The imperialists of both sides promise a lasting peace if they win the war. But there can be no lasting peace unless this war ends the causes of imperialist war, that is, ends the system of capitalist private property and the economic rivalries between the capitalist nations. Since neither side seriously proposes or can propose to end these rivalries, neither side will be able to assure genuine peace to the world.

The post-war programs of the Axis and the United Nations look like identical twins. Neither intends, if victorious, to disband its armies after the armistice; on the contrary, they aim to maintain the mightiest military machines in history. Both propose to "police the world" for a

hundred years or longer. Both propose an armed "peace" resting solely on the bayonets of a conqueror. Such a "peace" would undoubtedly prove the most short-lived in history. Such a peace would inevitably breed a third and more terrible war just as the peace following the first world war bred the second world war. Imperialist war would break out again as soon as the defeated capitalist nations felt strong enough to try to redive the world — or as soon as the rivalries among the victorious nations drove them to quarrel among themselves over the spoils. Such are the perspectives of capitalism.

The future of mankind would be dark indeed if there were no hope of ending the capitalist system. Capitalism is no longer capable of advancing society. It is useless and outlived. It is prolonging its death agony solely at the expense of the vast majority of the population. It can offer nothing now but decay, stagnation, unemployment, hunger, and the terrible catastrophe of imperialist war.

A new social system is required. A new government must be placed in power.

Karl Marx almost a hundred years ago foresaw the development of capitalism and the blind alley it would reach. His predictions have been borne out with almost machine-like precision. Karl Marx and his followers not only saw what was going to happen, they worked out a program to save humanity and to open up a road to the future. That road is socialism.

Socialism — Alternative To War

Socialism would end imperialist war forever because it would remove forever its basic cause, the ownership of the means of production by a small minority. Socialism would place the natural resour-

ces, the mines, the factories, the transportation and banking system in the hands of the people where they belong. Socialism would introduce a planned economy. Instead of the present chaos where each business, each industry, each nation is run according to blind chance or the greedy interests of a small clique — a master plan would coordinate the entire economic system of the world. Instead of recurring and ever more violent struggles between the capitalist classes of the leading nations for profits and the sources of profits — there would be genuine cooperation between all the nations, a pooling and exchange of resources and technique, that would result in a higher living standard for all the peoples of the world.

Under such a system we could rapidly forge ahead into a new era where peace, prosperity and good will would reign.

Most Important Issue Today

The socialist program against imperialist war is the most important issue in the present election. The people of New Jersey have the opportunity to cast their vote on November 3 for a candidate who advocates and fights for the future socialist society. That candidate is George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party nominee for the United States Senate.

A vote for George Breitman is a vote for the abolition of the present capitalist system and its by-products — imperialist war, fascism and depression — and for the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government functioning in the interests of the great majority of the people, and leading the way to the socialist society of peace and security and freedom for all.

New York Meeting Celebrating The 25th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

Speakers:

James P. Cannon

National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

Eloise Black

Joseph Hansen

Sunday, Nov. 8

at 8 P. M.

in Grand Ballroom

Irving Plaza

Irving Pl. & 15 St.

Auspices:

Socialist Workers Party

New York Local

116 University Place

Boss Attacks On Local 9 Have Intensified Since War Began

LOS ANGELES—Since Pearl Harbor, the militants in Local 9 of the CIO Shipyard Workers Union have had to resist not only the pressure of the government and the hostility of their own union officials, but also a series of anti-union attacks and provocations by the Bethlehem Steel Company and the Los Angeles Shipping and Drydock Corporation.

Bethlehem Steel, notorious for its violent hatred of unions, has used the war to redouble its attack on Local 9. Although the local had won an NLRB election by a 98% vote, Bethlehem refused to offer a single concession—no hiring hall; no seniority; no vacation with pay, except after three years although vacations after one year had been established up and down the West Coast; no union bulletin boards in the yard; and no permission to union officials to come into the yard on business. Bethlehem was willing to sign a contract—but without any union conditions.

To cap it off, the company abolished the 8-hour day and established the 10-hour day without even consulting the union.

The two 10-hour shift arrangements were immediately followed by mass lay-offs. Over a thousand men were laid off without any consideration for seniority. Shop stewards and militants got the axe by the dozens. A petition circulating in the yard protesting the layoffs and demanding three 8-hour shifts was met with the threat of layoff for anyone circulating it.

COMPANY INTIMIDATION

The L.A. yard has in recent weeks outdone the Bethlehem yard in its attack on the union and union conditions and in its contempt for the men in yards. Stewards are being fired and intimidated—the stock-in-trade of all union-busting companies. Leadmen, who had previously worked for a regular wage and were under the jurisdiction of the union, were made into sub-foremen at monthly salaries, taking

Gov't Agents, Union Leaders Help Destroy Union Hiring Hall

them out of the jurisdiction of the union. The move left the leadmen without protection from the company and the workers without any protection from the leadmen. The purpose of the move was to turn the leadmen into company agents whose jobs now depend on driving the men and keeping them in line.

Next the company introduced the "staggered" or "rotating" work week, which in a nutshell means straight time for Saturday and Sunday work. The particular type of staggered shift which the company instituted is composed of seven days work and one day off, paying time-and-half for the sixth consecutive day and straight time for the seventh. The seventh consecutive, in this scheme, is considered the first day of the worker's next week.

HIRING HALL WITHDRAWN

Now the administration and the union officials have openly joined the company in the elimination of one of the union's important defensive instruments—the hiring hall. The hiring hall "interferes" with the government's absolute control over manpower and the government's attack on it has been scheduled as the first on hiring halls all along the Coast.

In order to secure the giving up of the hiring hall, the War Production Board sent a certain Pollard as "arbitrator" for a new contract eliminating the hiring hall. Pollard came with the consent of the union. He participated in all phases of the secret negotiations over the elimination of the hiring hall, and undoubtedly was the one who drew up the contract. In addition, he took personal charge of the campaign to put the new contract over on the membership. In line with a number of other recent government board decisions, Local 9 was granted a closed shop in return for giving up the hiring hall. Local 9 was the only one in the industry to have the weapon of the hiring hall, which was won through militant strikes and battles several years ago.

Although Local 9 has a rich tradition of militant struggle, it numbered only 800 members before the war boom. Many of these "old-timers" are gone from the local, and the present membership of 15,000 is composed largely of workers new to the industry and to unionism. Thousands of young men streamed into the yards from the farm areas and the small towns of the midwest. Many salesmen, clerical workers and students were attracted by the relatively high wages paid in the yards. And hundreds of Negro and Mexican workers have but recently found their first opportunity

to break through the iron barrier of race discrimination that had barred them from industry.

EFFECTS ON UNION

The continuous pounding of the administration and the management, the treacherous policy of retreat and surrender, are having their effect on the morale of the rank and file. Already it is reported that 50% of the men at Bethlehem are not members of the union in good standing, and that approximately 2000 in the L.A. yards are technically suspended for non-payment of dues. A diminishing number of men attend union meetings. At Bethlehem several shop stewards have resigned their posts.

The job of the militants—to rebuild and strengthen the local—requires a rejection of the policies of the union officials and the Stalinists, who consider that the union is in a sound state so long as the workers are producing the maximum possible amount of ships for the navy, or so long as sufficient income rolls into the union treasury.

The present state of the local makes necessary the following program: Practice of the shop stewards system must be revived! Broadening of the democratic procedure to encourage rank and file to participate in union activities. Educational work to acquaint the new members with the history of the union and the necessity to safeguard the remaining union gains. Only in this way can the Local 9 workers be mobilized to successfully resist the new employer-government attacks being prepared against their standards and rights.

Russian Revolution Featured In Nov. '4th International'

The 25th anniversary of the Russian revolution is the topical feature of the November issue of *Fourth International* which came off the press last Wednesday.

Three articles appear under this topic:

1. Leon Trotsky's "The Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution," written about a year before his death, and published here for the first time. It is particularly important as Trotsky's definitive statement on his agreements and disagreements with Lenin on the theory of the permanent revolution as directly applied to the Russian revolution.
2. John G. Wright's "Twenty-Five Years of the Russian Revolution."
3. James P. Cannon's "The Fifth Year of the Russian Revolution," a lecture delivered on a national tour after his return from Russia where he spent the months of May-December, 1922. This appears in the regular department, "From the Arsenal of Marxism."

Stalinists Slander SWP Candidate In Minnesota

(Continued from page 1)

when she said that if elected she would introduce a bill to the U. S. Senate "to abolish discrimination in the United States armed forces which are supposed to be fighting for democracy all over the world."

A measure of the real enthusiasm felt by the Negro workers at the meeting was expressed by one member who stood up to say, "There is one woman here who is going to get my vote and that's Grace Carlson. She spoke like an abolitionist! Her voice rang out like a tocsin. I wish that she could be heard all over this country."

In contrast to his boldness in the broadcasting booth, where he was secure from challengers, Martin Mackie shamefacedly told the NAACP that "the issue of socialism must be postponed" and that the only issue now before the people is the winning of the war. "If you are not ready to vote Communist," he added, "then vote for win-the-war candidates."

WHOM THE C.P. SUPPORTS

The outstanding "win-the-war" candidates in Minnesota today are Harold Stassen, "labor-hating" Republican governor, and author of the infamous state labor act, and his cohort, Joseph Ball, candidate for the U. S. Senate. Although Mackie did not dare to come out openly for Stassen and Ball at this meeting, the Minnesota Stalinists are supporting these arch-enemies of the workers in this campaign.

Robert Madigan, speaking for the Stalinist-controlled state CIO council, went on the air on October 28 to urge workers to

vote for reactionary Republican governor Stassen on election day: "We acknowledge the win-the-war efforts of Governor Stassen and his endorsement and support of President Roosevelt's win-the-war program."

Copies of the radio speech which Comrade Carlson delivered over station WLOL on October 28 were mailed to hundreds of workers and farmers throughout the state. The speech was also rebroadcast from station WDSM in Duluth and station KWLH in Willmar on October 30.

In this radio address Carlson called for support of the Trotskyist program in these ringing words, "In this fall's election campaign, all other party labels have become meaningless. There is left only a confusion of opportunistic maneuvering for political position without regard for principles or program. The Socialist Workers Party alone stands for a principled program of independent working-class action. Only such a program of international socialism, based on the principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky can solve the problems of the workers and farmers of this state, of the nation, and of the world."

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WORKERS' FORUM

They Know the Tasks Of a Union

Editor:

After two years of the "national defense" program and almost a year of war, during which the workers have been propagandized intensively from every conceivable angle, they have by no means forgotten their experiences of the past. An incident to illustrate this fact took place in the San Francisco local of the Pile Drivers Union recently.

Because the meetings are poorly attended, the Stalinists usually have a field day and are able to control the ordinary affairs of the local. But recently the membership learned that the next union meeting would take up a proposal to assess the members a day's pay for the Associated Charities (Red Cross, Salvation Army, Polish War Relief, Greek War Relief, Russian War Relief, etc.). Also to be discussed was an assessment to help finance the fight that the California labor

movement was waging against the "hot cargo" bill — better known as the California slave-labor bill.

As soon as the special order of business was placed on the floor, the Stalinists started whooping it up to donate a day's pay to the Associated Charities, using their stock arguments that this is a "People's War" and therefore it was the duty of all good unionists to give their last dollar to "defend democracy," etc.

The rank and file members immediately began to show their resentment. They took the floor and explained that in some cases in the past, some of these "charity" organizations had used as much as 80% of their take for overhead which made a lot of cushy jobs for professional "social workers."

One union member explained that he disliked being forced to give a stated amount as he had to assist in supporting his daughter and her child because her husband had been drafted and she received only \$32 per month for support. After the rank and file had their say, the Stalinists attempted to turn the tide by arguing that "these were new times and new conditions which had nothing to do with the past." In other words they said, the leopard had changed his spots — but the union membership remained unconvinced. The proposition was submitted to a vote and was defeated by a large majority.

The membership showed that they understood the issues by then voting without opposition to assess themselves one dollar each for the purpose of fighting the slave-labor bill which is to appear on the ballot in the California election as "Proposition No. 1," the "hot cargo" bill sponsored by the Associated Farmers.

J. LONG

San Francisco, Calif.

Next Week's Classes

of the New York School of Social Science

Wednesday, Nov. 11, 8:15 P. M.

American Cartels and Monopolies

C. CHARLES, Instructor

Friday, November 13, 8:15 P. M.

The Chinese Revolution, 1925-1927

JOHN G. WRIGHT, Instructor

At 116 University Place—2d FL

The Negro Struggle

By JOHN SAUNDERS

The Russian Revolution and the Fight to Achieve Racial Equality in This Country

This week we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the greatest event in the history of mankind. Many of the conquests of the Russian workers have been lost since 1917. The Stalinist bureaucracy has trampled upon the democratic rights of the masses, depriving them of the protection of Soviets and all their elementary mass organizations: factory committees, trade unions, cooperatives, etc. Stalin's crimes have greatly weakened the Soviet Union, facilitating the military victories of Hitler's armies by stifling the initiative of the masses, and by killing off the leading figures that made the revolution and successfully defended it against the armies of 14 capitalist countries and the Russian white guards.

GAINS OF THE REVOLUTION

Yet, despite these handicaps the heroic struggle of the Soviets against the mechanized might of the Nazi onslaught has won the respect of both Soviet friend and foe. The sacrifice and devotion shown by the Red Army and the fighting civilians have seldom been known in the annals of warfare. What is it that the Russians are defending with such zeal and enthusiasm? And why is there such complete unity among the defenders?

The means of production — the land and the factories, the mines and the railroads, the forests and the mills — have been taken away from the Russian landlords and capitalists and still remain today the property of the Soviet state and not of private exploiters. Although the Russian worker must bear the full weight of the Stalinist bureaucracy on his back, he is no longer shackled by the limitations and confines of the decayed capitalist system and its monopoly rule. The tremendous development of Soviet industry in the past quarter of a century bears eloquent testimony to the benefits of a socialized economy, for the preservation of which the Russian people are ready to make the greatest sacrifices.

But the economic gains do not tell the whole story. Comparable progress has been made in the sphere of racial relations.

RACE RELATIONS UNDER THE CZAR

Not unless one is fully acquainted with the conditions under the Czar, is one struck by the impact of the change. Lenin properly termed Holy Russia the "prison house of nations." The huge Czarist empire encompassed 165 different nationalities, with separate languages and at different cultural levels. These peoples, who constituted 87% of the Russian population, were oppressed not only by the landlords and industrialists, but by the Great Russian as well. The Poles and the Finns, the Ukrainians and the Georgians, the Mongols and the Armenians, the White Russians and the Jews and countless others had no free cultural life of their own but had to submit to the dominance of St. Petersburg.

White and yellow and brown — all had to pay obedience to the Russian master race. None of these people were thought worthy of self-government. Each new crisis of capitalism evoked more brutal pogroms and attacks against Jews, Armenians and other minorities. This was the Czarist racial madhouse. The condition of the minorities before the revolution was comparable only to that of the Indian masses today, with the Czar playing the role of the British Lion.

THE REVOLUTION BROUGHT COMPLETE EQUALITY

The Russian Revolution swept away this structure of decrepit capitalism intertwined with the barbarous relics of feudalism. One of the very first acts of the workers' state was to grant complete equality and full autonomy up to the point of separation to the many Russian nationalities. Virtually overnight there disappeared within the Soviet borders all traces of discrimination against people because of their race or color. The persecution of minority groups had been ended forever and for the first time millions of people began to live a fuller and happier existence.

The former "prison house of

nations" recognizes no superiority of one race over another. This conquest of the revolution still accounts in great part for the complete unity on the part of the Russian people in their resistance to the Nazi invaders. The revolution recognized no second-class citizenship with regard to race. It destroyed forever the false theory of racial inferiority. So natural has it become for the various peoples to respect one another, their traditions and their cultures, that not even Stalin's counter-revolutionary policies have been able to eliminate most of the gains made by the minorities.

The Russian Revolution gave the lie once and for all to those who maintained that peoples of various nationalities with different languages, religions and customs could not live side by side in perfect amity. The real reason for the cruel treatment of the various minorities under the Czar now becomes apparent. Only in that way, by pitting one race and nationality against another, could the tiniest minority of all from the viewpoint of numbers — the parasitic landlords and capitalists — continue their sway and exploitation of the tens of millions of workers and peasants in that vast country.

THE CAUSE OF JIM CROW

And isn't the story of Czarist Russia also the story of the British Empire and of "democratic" Jim Crow America? Capitalism — which in its heyday was able to free nations from feudal oppression and permit them to flower into a full rich life of national existence — is now in its death throes forced to sharpen the conflicts between the various races and minority groups lest these peoples unite against the small exploiting clique of monopolists and replace their rule with Workers' and Farmers' Governments. Europe has today become the prison house of nations whereas the prison house of nations under the Czar became the land of equal freedom for all nationalities and minorities, despite the foul hand of Stalinism.

So it becomes only too clear that the capitalist system of exploitation is the real cause for hatred and friction among the various races and groups within a country as it is for war between nations. What becomes just as clear is the necessity for the workers of all races in all countries to follow the Russian example and end forever the nightmare of exploitation and oppression of one race or nationality by another.

Nor has the lesson of the Russian Revolution been lost on the peoples of the world. The tremendous impulse generated by that revolution has permeated the brown and yellow-skinned masses of Asia. They refuse to remain in the status of "inferiors" to which they have been condemned. They clamor for independence and freedom. The Russian Revolution has inspired them with confidence and courage. The front lines of privileges have already been pierced and the colonial peoples are ready to widen the breach. Even the smug and complacent Willkie has become frightened at this prospect.

A LESSON OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In turn the masses of India and China are transmitting this impulse to other lands, especially to the Negro people of this country. No race or nationality has better reason for celebrating the October Revolution. The Russian Revolution has given the Negro masses new hope and confidence in themselves, the attributes of the "New Negro." The Russian Revolution has once and for all revealed the real cause of discrimination and suppression of minorities. And the Russian Revolution has shown us the only way out. The Negro people will take that same road as they come to understand that the only kind of government that has ever ended the oppression of minorities was a workers' state.

The Russian Revolution has a double meaning for the Negro workers. It means not only the mastery of their economic fate but absolute equality with all races and peoples. For that reason we are certain that the Negro workers will fight side by side with the white workers to achieve a similar revolution in this country. They will do so under the stainless banner of Lenin and Trotsky, in the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party.

Trotsky Defends The Revolution

A Radio Speech To The United States From Copenhagen In Nov. 1932

Ten years ago, in Nov. 1932, the great Marxist fighter, Leon Trotsky, who had been exiled to Turkey by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, was granted permission by the government of Denmark to deliver a lecture "In Defense of the Russian Revolution" before a Social-Democratic student organization.

After delivering the lecture, which was all the title indicated — a powerful defense of the workers' revolution that abolished capitalism in one-sixth of the world — Trotsky was also able before returning to Turkey, to deliver a 15-minute radio address to the United States,

in which he briefly summed up the much longer speech he had given the Copenhagen students. The radio speech was printed in the Dec. 3, 1932, MILITANT and is reprinted here; the few places where the text was not received with complete accuracy are indicated by three asterisks.

THE MILITANT noted editorially at that time that the American "Stalinist" press has developed a furious rage over the speech" charging that "Trotsky's speech was delivered in collaboration with British imperialism, which controls the Danish government, and is making good use of the 'counter-revolutionist'

to 'poison the workers' against the USSR." THE MILITANT also pointed out: "Just how much credence can be put in the maliciously deliberate lies of Stalinists, will be seen by reading the transcript of Trotsky's speech."

It will be seen from this that while the pattern of the Stalinist slander against Trotsky has been changed from time to time, in accord with the foreign policy being pursued by Stalin, the issuance of the slanders themselves never ceased from the time Lenin died almost 19 years ago.

In 1932 they accused Trotsky of collaborating with British imperialism

when he went to Denmark. Four years later, at the monstrous Moscow frameup trials, Trotsky was accused of having gone to Denmark to further an anti-Soviet plot on behalf of German imperialism. In 1940, while the Stalin-Hitler pact was in effect and the Stalinists were denouncing the democracies as imperialist warmongers, Trotsky was accused of being an agent of Wall Street and U. S. imperialism. Today, of course, when the Stalinists are fervent supporters of the democracies, Trotsky is again denounced as an anti-Soviet agent of fascism and Hitler.—Ed.

economy, only an element of the capitalist world system. ***

In this lies the real reason for the Russian revolution; it occurred because the chain broke at its weakest link. The deplorable condition of the feudal monarchic system, aggravated by capitalism's exploitation, created a terrific force which found its realization in the proletariat.

A fundamental factor was the existence of great revolutionary resources in the oppressed nationalities within the borders of the empire, constituting 57% of the total population. To these must be added: the experiences of the revolution of 1905, which Lenin called the dress rehearsal of the revolution of 1917 and which witnessed the first creation of the Soviets; and the imperialist war which sharpened all the contradictions, tore the backward masses out of their immobility and thereby prepared the grandiose scale of the catastrophe.

Last, but far from least, was the existence of a powerful Bolshevik party, the most revolutionary party in the history of mankind. It was the living condensation of the modern history of Russia, of all that was dynamic in it. It learned to recognize the weaknesses of society as typified in the great events of the 12 years from 1905 to 1917. It educated cadres equally capable of initiative and subordination to discipline. Its revolutionary activities were based on the unity of its doctrine, on the tradition of common struggles, and confidence in its tested leadership. Thus stood the party in the year 1917.

In September Lenin, who was compelled to keep in hiding, gave the signal — "The crisis is ripe; the hour of the insurrection has approached." He was right. The bourgeoisie finally lost its head. The democratic parties wasted the remains of the confidence of the masses. The Russian army no longer wanted to fight for the alien aims of imperialism. Disregarding democratic advice, the peasantry smoked the landowners out of their estates. The oppressed nationalities rose up against the bureaucracy of Petrograd. In the most important workers' and soldiers' Soviets the Bolsheviks were dominant. The workers and soldiers demanded action. The ulcer was ripe. It needed a cut of the lancet.

Only under these social and political conditions was the insurrection possible. And thus it also became inevitable. The party carried through the October insurrection with cold calculation and with flaming determination. For this reason, it brought to victory the Bolsheviks in a country occupying one-sixth of the surface of the globe.

Stalinists Aid British Against India Masses

(Continued from page 1)

much success with the students and peasants.

THE CP'S ALLIES

Indeed, the only group that the Stalinists wholeheartedly speak of with approval are the industrialists and financiers. Joshi complains that the petty bourgeoisie is for struggle; other Stalinist reports complain that the students outvoted the Stalinists who opposed school strikes; still other Stalinist reports sadly note workers' and peasants' struggles. But of the big capitalists, Joshi writes with approval:

"The industrialists and financiers, unlike the less educated petty bourgeoisie, see the danger of foreign invasion clear. . . . They see what is afoot is not struggle but anarchy." (Daily Worker, Nov. 1.)

These are the Stalinists' allies — the Indian big bourgeoisie, partners of British imperialism in exploiting the masses!

It was in the name of continuing "democratic" war production that the Stalinists attempted to break the strikes of the workers. The same pretext could scarcely be used to justify opposition to the political strikes of the students who walked out of the British-controlled colleges and schools. Nevertheless the Stalinists openly opposed these strikes too. They called upon the students to fight — their way back into the schools! "Therefore keep the peace, keep organized, fight your way back into the schools. Instead of continuing the 'strike,' strive to get the colleges reopened, and that will be a victory." (Daily Worker, Oct. 30.)

RELATION TO THE PEASANT STRUGGLES

Likewise the Stalinists called upon the peasantry to cease struggle against the British and the landowners. In the first weeks of August, the two prin-

cipal Stalinist functionaries in the Kisan Sabha (Peasants' Congress) issued an appeal to the peasants of Bihar province, the fiery center of the peasant struggle, "to abstain from these suicidal activities." Deliberately ignoring the fact that the peasant attacks on railway stations and post offices are attacks on government centers from which the government has always planned and launched its repressions against the no-tax and no-rent campaigns of the peasants, the Stalinist appeal declared:

"Can anyone call this a struggle for freedom? . . . No country has ever gained its freedom by indulging in acts of goondaism, looting, robbery and sabotage. History offers no such example." (Daily Worker, Nov. 1.)

The record of history to which these Stalinist scoundrels appeal tells a very different story than theirs. It is true that many peasant struggles have failed to achieve victory. Why? Because they were not supported by the cities, without which the peasants cannot win. That is why the peasant wars of the middle ages, for example, failed. But the peasant uprising in Russia, which began in the summer of 1917, when combined with the struggle of the workers in the cities, made the October revolution successful.

The struggles of the Russian peasants were like those of peasant wars from time immemorial — anarchic, brutal, destructive. The peasant always begins by burning down the landlord's manor, or as in this case, the government buildings. In Russia too there were people who condemned the peasants as "indulging in acts of looting, robbery and sabotage." They were the Mensheviks and the capitalists. This time, in India, the Mensheviks and agents of the capitalists call themselves "Communists," meaning agents of Stalin serving British imperialism.

Fortunately, the Stalinists are meeting with contempt — and more — from large sections of the workers and peasants. This is indicated by several significant admissions made by the Stalinists themselves.

HOW MASSES REACTED

For example, writing of the situation in Bihar province, which is the key center of war industries and also the center of the struggle for freedom, the Stalinists complain: "The 'national' struggle for freedom has been turned into a struggle against the Communists and the peasants (read: Stalinist peasant officials). They burned down the office of the Bihar Provincial Students Federation." (Daily Worker, Oct. 28.) The federation is, of course, a Stalinist front.

In Ahmedabad, textile center, where the strike is still going on and the Stalinists vainly urged the workers to return to work, the Stalinists were unable to secure printers for a regional edition of the Stalinist organ, The People's War, because printers "declined under 'patriotic' pressure" (Daily Worker, Oct. 29.) That is, the attitude of the masses made it impossible for the Stalinists to print their strikebreaking sheet.

Geller to Speak at Harlem Workers Club

"War and Civil Liberties" will be the topic of the next forum of the Harlem Workers Club, to be held Friday, Nov. 13, 9 P.M., at the club's headquarters, 72 W. 125th St.

Jules Geller, assistant national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, an organization devoted to the maintenance of labor's democratic rights, will be the main speaker of the evening. Admission is free.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Some concrete news about the French workers' resistance to forced labor in Germany has finally appeared in an October 30 dispatch from Berne, Switzerland, printed in the N. Y. Times:

"All factories have closed in the French Department of Haute-Savoie after a widespread strike movement and feeling is running high against working in Germany, reports reaching here said today. Important reinforcements of State Police have arrived. . . . 'The French censors have been able to prevent such news from leaking out but the case of Haute-Savoie is different. It borders on Switzerland and there are daily contacts between the French and the Swiss. . . . 'The movement began yesterday when a number of men designated as 'volunteers' had been instructed by the local labor inspector to report at the town hall for medical inspection. At Cluses, Marnaz, Seignozier and Magnignier not a single worker put in an appearance and soon a general strike was called, although illegal under the orders of Marshal Henri Philippe Petain, the Chief of State. . . . 'At Annecy and Annemasse, also, many men have failed to report for duty in various factories.' ***

Swedish seamen returning from runs to Germany have reported anti-fascist struggles in three German cities, according to the British New Leader: "Reports reach us from Sweden of serious riots in Hamburg, Bremen and Cologne. 'It is stated that 400 persons were killed. 'Details are lacking from Cologne, but the seamen say that at Hamburg and Bremen police refused to fire on the workers and that S.S. men had to be called to quell the revolt. 'It was at Hamburg that the reestablishment of the Spartacus Band (the revolutionary organization of Karl Liebknecht and

Rosa Luxemburg in the last war) was reported six weeks ago by seamen.' ***

In Kingston, Jamaica: "The government has declared the union of government railway employees illegal because three of its officers are not railway employees." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 27.) The British government in this case is doing what every boss does when a union is striving for recognition; denying the union's democratic right to determine its own representatives so that the boss will have a pretext for not recognizing it. ***

According to the Independent Belgian News Agency, an organ of the Belgian Government-in-Exile in London, a fresh wave of strikes and sabotage is sweeping Belgium. From this source, the N. Y. Times reports: "The Germans were estimated to have lost 200,000 tons of coal because of a ten day strike in lower Sambre, while workers in the Marie Jose pits at Mauraage were said to have slowed up production to the extent of 5,800 tons." ***

"Strikes are also reported to have interrupted the work in the Vandenplas Automobile Works in Brussels, in several metallurgical plants and the Lys Linen Mills in Ghent, the Belgian agency said." The Independent Belgian News Agency gets some of its information from the Dutch Nazi publication Het Volk.

Reuters in London claims that, "Widespread strikes have broken out" in Athens and Piraeus (Greece) and occupation troops have been called in, it was learned today. Three men have been executed and many have been sentenced to long imprisonment according to information reaching here. The strikes began with street demonstrations against German and Italian occupation authorities and their puppet government." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 23.)

Why Willkie Is Worried

By MILTON ALVIN

That the billion people of Asia are no longer satisfied to live under the ruthless imperialist domination of their democratic as well as their fascist colonial masters runs like a red thread through the report given last week by Wendell Willkie.

Wherever Willkie went, the desire for freedom from imperialism was uppermost in the minds of the people. The colonial masses are asking, "Is freedom supposed to be priceless for the white man or for the Western world but of no account to us in the East?" The struggle of the Indian masses for their freedom from British imperialism has spread its meaning throughout the colonial world and inspired all Asia. Willkie reported that "From Cairo on, it confronted me at every turn." The question of India has become a symbol to the long-oppressed masses of Asia.

The tremendous upsurge of the colonial peoples is one of the most important differences between the present war and World War I. In the last war the masses of India and China were quiet; now they are striking out in their own behalf and threatening to remove the choicest fields for imperialist exploitation.

This possibility concerns Willkie very much. Although he gives much lip-service to the idea that it's about time these people had their freedom or that a date be set when it would be "given" them by the "benevolent" democratic imperialists, his concrete solution is within the framework of accepted imperialist policies. Willkie proposes that the U. S. government send more able, higher-ranking diplomats to the countries of the East — this is his solution, coupled with the plea that the United States not dissipate its reservoir of goodwill which he reports is leaking badly because of the failure to deliver the promised armaments and supplies.

Oppressed peoples look upon the U. S. with respect and hope, even with affection, says Willkie. No doubt they would like to enjoy the kind of freedom which they believe Americans have. This was true even of the Russian masses who looked to the U. S., after the October Revolution, to help them defeat the attempted Czarist restoration. But the "liberal" government of Wilson replied by sending an army of occupation to Siberia. The English, prodded by the present Prime Minister Churchill, did likewise. The Russians had to learn through bitter experience that they could depend only upon the working class in the imperialist countries, and that imperialist policies are not the products of men's minds but are the necessary results of the decay of capitalism. The present U. S. and British governments cannot renounce their imperialist aims in this war without voluntarily giving up the entire capitalist system which they are pledged to defend and which is all they are interested in maintaining.

No one should be fooled by Willkie's present "howling" about freedom, new world systems, etc. His fine words are inspired by his fear that the present negatively help given the Soviet Union and the Asiatic peoples will turn them from dependence on the United States and British governments toward independent struggle for their freedom. He is afraid that the colonial and Soviet masses will see the imperialist face behind the democratic mask. Willkie knows that when this happens and the colonial peoples take their destiny into their own hands, it will remove forever the possibility of imperialist exploitation, by America's Sixty Families as well as by the British ruling class.

The colonial masses will be no more satisfied with Willkie's democratic words than they have been with Roosevelt's. Willkie's report showed that what the colonies want now is some action in line with the democratic promises. No defender of the capitalist order can give them such action — and in this simple fact lies the heartening assurance that the colonial masses will keep fighting for their freedom.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People.

VOL. VI—No. 45 Saturday Nov. 7, 1942

Published Weekly by
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALexandria 4-3547

Editor:
GEORGE BREITMAN

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.
Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Single copies: 5 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Registered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

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2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
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6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Roosevelt Answers Willkie

Wendell Willkie's radio address of Oct. 26—reporting the upsurge of national self-confidence of the colonial peoples of Asia, their suspicion of the war aims of the imperialist leaders of the United Nations and their demand for a Pacific Charter or World Charter granting freedom to the colonial and semi-colonial countries—was answered the next day by President Roosevelt at a press conference.

Roosevelt's answer was to recall that both he and Secretary of State Hull had said on several occasions that "the Atlantic Charter applies to all humanity." The only reason this document had been given that name, he said, was that he and Churchill had signed it in the Atlantic.

Of course Roosevelt is a greater authority on the Atlantic Charter than Willkie, and should know better than Willkie which countries the signers of the Charter had in mind when they promised to "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they shall live."

But an equally important authority on the intentions of the Charter is Churchill, especially insofar as it applies to the colonies of Britain. On September 9, 1941, less than a month after the Charter was signed, Churchill told the House of Commons that the provisions of the Charter do not apply to "India, Burma or other parts of the British Empire." Deputy Prime Minister Clement Atlee had declared that "colored races, as well as white, will share the benefits of the Churchill-Roosevelt Atlantic Charter," and Churchill was quick to publicly repudiate this idea with the statement: "At the Atlantic meeting WE had in mind primarily restoration of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the states and nations of Europe. . . . That is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in the regions and peoples which owe allegiance to the British Crown."

It should be observed that Churchill claimed to be speaking for Roosevelt when he made this statement, just as Roosevelt gave the impression at last week's press conference that he was speaking for all the signers of the Charter.

Unquestionably there are important differences on this question between the British and United States governments. Willkie's concern about Asia does not result from a genuine sympathy with the interests of the Asiatic peoples—it results from an understanding that unless the Western imperialists adjust themselves to the new situation they will be unable to play the dominant role there that they seek. Recognizing this, Roosevelt stated that he had no controversy with the sentiments expressed in Willkie's speech.

It is no skin off Roosevelt's nose, furthermore, for him to be generous with someone else's empire. American imperialism aims toward India are not quite the same as those of British imperialism—Wall Street has every intention of moving in and at least sharing in the exploitation of the British colonies after the war.

Churchill, on the other hand, does not dare to

give any concessions, even verbal ones, to the Indian masses—for even the slightest concession might open the dikes to the Indian revolution that would sweep away all the imperialists and their hopes.

Nevertheless, the real difference between Churchill and Roosevelt lies within extremely defined limits. Roosevelt does not want an Indian revolution any more than Churchill—the best he hopes for and seeks is some sort of patched-up compromise with India that will postpone a settlement of the Indian question until after the war when British imperialism may be stronger and better able to repress the Indian masses and when American imperialism will be able to play a bigger part in the negotiations. The United States press and Roosevelt's political supporters remained silent during the first five weeks of the present Indian struggle; not until it was clear that British repressions had failed to destroy the Indian demand for independence, did the "liberal" clamor for mediation arise in this country.

While Roosevelt may try privately to induce Churchill to effect some compromise, we can be sure that the United States government will not resort to public pressure along these lines. For while Roosevelt disagrees with Churchill's course toward India, he fully approves of his policy for Britain.

Roosevelt knows first of all that Churchill will not and cannot grant any concessions to India. He knows too that any public demand by the United States government for a change in British policy might result in the fall of Churchill. He knows that the fall of the Churchill government on this issue could lead only to the establishment of a government to the left, a Cripps or a Bevin government, thus opening the way to a complete social transformation in Britain. He remembers the rapid radicalization of the Russian masses during the few months of the Kerensky regime in 1917—of which a Cripps or Bevin government would be the British counterpart—and he fears to take any steps which might lead to such developments. Roosevelt depends far too much on Churchill to keep the British masses in line, for him to raise an issue publicly that might mean the end of Churchill.

Thus Roosevelt's assurance that "the Atlantic Charter applies to all humanity" can be recognized for what it really is—not a sign that the colonial peoples will be granted independence by the imperialists, but rather an effort to bolster the prestige of the United Nations at a time when their influence and strength are low in the East, rather a trick to foster the illusion that the colonial peoples can expect some aid from "good" United States imperialism in their struggle to win freedom from the "bad" imperialist partner of the United States.

Not Roosevelt or Willkie, any more than Churchill, will help the struggle of the colonial masses—only the United States and British workers acting in opposition to their own oppressors and exploiters will come to the aid of the colonial uprisings.

Quit Stalling The Anti-Poll Tax Bill!

From now on until New Year's, every day that passes before the U. S. Senate begins consideration of the anti-poll tax bill makes it that much easier for the poll taxers to prevent the bill from becoming a law.

The strategy of the congressional poll taxers and their supporters is to talk and maneuver the bill to death, so that the fight to pass the bill in Congress will have to be begun all over again when the new Congress takes its seats next January.

They intend to conduct the traditional filibuster, such as reading on the Senate floor long sections from the Bible and the *Police Gazette*; they intend to introduce many and involved amendments to destroy the purpose of the anti-poll tax bill; they intend to push other legislation and demand action on it before the anti-poll tax bill is acted on, etc.

Best of all, from their point of view are delays, any kind of delays, which will hold up the vote in the Senate. Every day's delay can be regarded as a victory for the friends of the poll tax.

It is for this reason that we urge every workers' organization in the country to demand that the Senate act on the bill immediately without any further horsing around.

It is not that we think the present anti-poll tax bill is perfect or the kind of bill we would introduce if we were in Congress. Far from it.

For one thing, it applies only to federal elections, thus leaving the poll taxers in full sway in all state election contests which will enable them to maintain the political machines that are so important in federal elections. For another thing, it will not automatically enfranchise the oppressed Negro people, because every means of intimidation and terror will still be employed to keep them from the polls.

Despite these faults in the bill, we are for its adoption. And we place so much stress on its adoption now because we know that if the present economic and social system is not replaced by a Workers' and Farmers' Government after the war, it will be extremely difficult to have the bill even discussed then.

For if the monopolists and their poll-tax colleagues have their way, this war will be followed by a reactionary drive intended to deprive ALL the people in the United States of the right to vote. For this reason as well as others, because we want to strengthen the democratic rights so that the masses will be more strongly prepared when the employers try to establish fascism, we repeat: Every workers' organization must act now to demand that the Senate act now on the anti-poll tax bill.

Now they are destroying the

Italian Fascism After Twenty Years Of Power

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

On October 29 Italian fascism celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its rule.

"Today the Italian people," writes the *N. Y. Times*, "can measure the cost of twenty years of fascism." There are indeed profound lessons to be learned from the Italian experience. These lessons are important not only to the Italian people but all others as well, above all to the American workers.

Italian fascism is not at all accidental. Mussolini was raised to power by the magnates of heavy industry and the great landowners. He was financed by Big Business. It was the heads of the Italian Banking Association who paid out twenty million lire to finance the March on Rome. Through Mussolini, the Italian capitalists perpetuated their rule over the country. Exactly the same thing took place later in Germany.

Many people, especially the German socialists, tried to explain away the rise of fascism and its victory under Mussolini as something that could happen only in a backward country like Italy. It could never happen, they said, in such a country as Germany, with its great culture, its Weimar constitution, etc. The events in Italy and Germany proved one and for all that wherever the workers do not take power, establish their own government and lead society forward with their own socialist program, there the way is cleared for Big Business to institute a fascist regime, to destroy all the independent organizations of the workers and every vestige of democracy in the country.

Big Business in the United States, England and all other "democratic" countries will unless prevented, do exactly what Italian and German capitalists did in order to perpetuate their rule. Whoever tells the workers otherwise is repeating the treacherous role of Italian and German labor leaders who paved the way for the victories of Mussolini and Hitler.

BIG BUSINESS' AIMS

The exhaustion of Italian fascism, after a brief two decades, demonstrates the blind-alley in which capitalism has arrived. Mussolini boasted that he had instituted the most vigorous regime in history and that he would restore to Italy her former imperial glory. Assuredly, from the standpoint of the capitalists, Mussolini did establish the strongest kind of regime. He never lacked for boosters and admirers, especially in Wall Street. The kind of "law and order" he established appears ideal to all capitalists. And so, indeed, it is.

But what happened even under this "ideal" system? Without exaggeration one can say that it is today the weakest in the world.

The Italian people are now on a starvation diet, their food rations being among the lowest in Europe. Their economy is completely bankrupt. The national debt, by official admission, has already reached the astronomical figure of 315 billion lire. The capitalist press of Britain and America insists that the conditions inside Italy are so terrible that the people are on the verge of revolution and that the only thing that keeps Mussolini in power are Hitler's bayonets, and his Gestapo.

There have been many factual reports relating to conditions in Italy which bear out this contention that Mussolini's regime has become completely discredited, and is heading for collapse. This is further borne out by the fact that Mussolini refrained from making his customary anniversary speech. He preferred not to make himself too conspicuous. Nor was he the only one. According to the *N. Y. Times* of October 29, the secretary of the Italian Fascist party "warned local representatives that failure to wear their party badges will be severely punished."

FASCISM EXPOSED

Still another indication of the exhaustion of Italian fascism is the low morale of her soldiers.

During the Greek campaign, for instance, Italian soldiers singing revolutionary songs, surrendered to the Greeks. This report was substantiated by the official organ of the German General Staff.

Mussolini's regime now lies stripped of all its illusory trappings of vigor, "dynamism," etc. The existing condition of Italy is incontrovertible proof that fascism instead of retarding, ends

by speeding up the decay of the capitalist system. The very same processes of decay but at a different tempo are likewise taking place in Hitler's Germany. This means that not only Italy but all of Europe is heading toward revolution. We Trotskyists maintain that the only revolutions possible in Italy and Germany and in the other European countries are the socialist revolutions. The socialist program and the struggle for the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe point the only way out for the peoples of Europe.

The Social-Democrats In India's Struggle

By A. ROLAND

Strange are the ways of politics. The complications of the second imperialist war have exposed, one after the other, all the contradictions in program of parties and groups who were unprepared for its impact. Hitler's sudden turn on Russia not only brought a sharp reversal of Stalinist policies from favoring Hitler to enthusiastic support of Churchill and Roosevelt. It also brought confusion to the ranks of all those who were attempting to identify the Soviet Union, even under Stalin, with Nazi Germany. Social-Democracy was particularly hard hit in this respect. In fact, it has never really recovered fully from the blow. Its function now seems to be sputtering warnings to the democratic governments of the United Nations to beware of Stalin, arch-enemy in "the camp of democracy."

The entry of Russia into the war on the side of England and the United States—a shotgun alliance, it is true—is not the only nut too hard for social-democratic teeth to crack. There is also the movement for national freedom in the imperialist colonies, first and foremost that of India. The tremendous ferment in the Far East acts exactly like salt applied to an open wound so far as the social-imperialists are concerned. They wail plaintively to the master-class on the one hand: "Please, for God's sake, have mercy. Can't you see what you are doing to us?" And on the other, they berate bitterly the Indian nationalist leaders for putting them on the spot.

HOW THEY GET EVEN

This war is a war of the peoples, say the social-patriots, for freedom and liberation. Very well, say the Indians, we demand our full freedom. Come see us after the war is won, says Churchill. Nothing doing, we heard that before, say the Indian masses. Why, oh why, must you bring that up now! say those of the New Leader. And as the only way of taking revenge on the Indian masses for such conduct, the New Leader proceeds to expose the present leader of Indian nationalism, Gandhi.

Needless to say, we hold no brief for Gandhi. There is nothing that the New Leader can tell us about Gandhi that we have not said in the past. Only, when we were pointing out the dangers of Gandhi-ism for the Indian masses, the social-democrats were placing the halo of sainthood about the head of the Mahatma.

Now they are destroying the

halo. Harry Paxton Howard finds that Gandhi's whole philosophy is reactionary. He tells over the deeds of Gandhi's life and finds that this great leader acted always to save England. In the Boer War Gandhi supported England, not because he believed in the justice of its cause, but: "If we desire to win our freedom and achieve our welfare as members of the British Empire, here is a golden opportunity for us to do so by helping the British with all the means at our disposal." Howard shows how again and again Gandhi performed the services of a Gunga Din for England.

Howard closes his eyes to the attitude of the South African white workers to the Indians and tries to lay the entire blame on Gandhi for the separation of the Indians from these workers. This was during the work in South Africa that gave Gandhi his great reputation. "The illiterate Indian workers were thus brought under Gandhi's control and separated from the international labor movement," says Howard. This helped the South African government of Smuts.

THE IRONY OF IT

If we quote some of the phrases of the New Leader, it is for the purpose of exposing their unconscious irony. Howard tries to show that Gandhi had some peculiar brand of "nationalism" which was reactionary and unworthy of support by the international labor movement. The irony consists for us first of all in the fact that while Gandhi was acting against the interests of the Indian toilers by reconciling them to British rule, he was the beloved saint of the social-democrats. Now that he is apparently unable to sell out the movement for national freedom—at least at the moment—he is denounced as a Japanese agent and a scoundrel!

But the irony goes much deeper than this. The Howards denounce Gandhi's role of the past in serving the British

masters, when that is precisely their own role in the present! They are completely the lackeys of the imperialists. It is perfectly clear from their attitude to Gandhi now that the sort of "freedom" they are fighting for, demands the continued enslavement of the Indians. This is not at all negated by their whining for some sort of compromise to save the dangerous situation. They want a face-saving compromise, not any real step towards Indian national liberation. The very fact of begging for such a compromise from the arch-reactionary imperialists is its own commentary. If mere begging could have obtained Indian freedom, it would have been achieved long ago.

WHAT THEY DEFEND

The social-democrats try to perform a service for their imperialist masters by picturing the Indian movement the way the capitalists picture great strike struggles, as something fomented by a handful of wilful agitators. But Gandhi is the merest atom carried on the crest of a gigantic social wave. The social-patriots do not dare to denounce the long-suffering Indian masses who constitute this wave. At least not directly. They do so indirectly and lyingly by aiming their blows through Gandhi. This will fool no one.

Every cataclysmic social event exposes political shams and hypocrisies. This war and the revolutions which it will engender serve to etch boldly all the contradictions in the politics of the social patriots. The very title given by the New Leader to the articles on Gandhi—"Nationalism and Democracy Clash in India"—serve to expose the lie. The nationalism is the progressive nationalism of an oppressed colony, the "democracy" is the oppressing democracy of an imperialist power. This is the democracy defended by the New Leader. We defend the democracy of the oppressed.

Why The Bosses Are Happy About The New Tax Bill

By WILLIAM F. WARDE

A Victory for Big Business

By this time most workers have realized how hard the 1942 tax bill hits their incomes. What they do not know, because of the conspiracy of silence in the press, is the flagrant favoritism Congress exhibited toward the rich and the giant corporations. Says the *Wall Street Journal*: "More concern for business was shown in this bill than in any other recent tax measures."

Last March, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau asked Congress to increase taxes by 7.6 billion dollars. Of this sum, 3.2 billions was to come from additional corporation taxes. In obedience to the protest of the National Association of Manufacturers, Congress cut this to less than half, increasing corporation taxes by only 1.5 billions. And \$550,000,000 will be returned to the corporations in post-war refunds! The "Victory Tax" was imposed upon everyone earning \$12 a week and over to make up the difference. The "Victory Tax" is indeed a victory for Big Business.

The Treasury also requested Congress to eliminate three special privileges which enable the rich to escape taxation: (1) tax-exempt securities; (2) deductions for depreciation on oil, gas and mining properties held by big corporations; and (3) separate returns for husbands and wives. Congress not only refused to plug these loop-holes but even exempted many metal mines, lumber mills, coal and iron mines from "excess-profits" taxes.

Loopholes for the Capitalists

The possessing classes own 20 billion dollars worth of tax-exempt securities. One magnate with a 1940 income of \$1,106,300 had \$817,400 of it in tax-exempts! A \$30-a-week wage-worker can't escape the tax collector by putting his salary in tax-exempt bonds. But a tax-dodging millionaire with over \$15,000 a week from clipping coupons pays nothing at all, can dine with the President, and contribute to the Democratic Party's campaign fund. This is called "equality of sacrifice."

The new tax bill contains hundreds of "relief provisions" for Big Business. In it nearly every corporation will find a particular set of provisions to fit its tax-dodging needs. For example, if a corporation has had a poor profit year in the four-year base period on which average earnings were previously calculated, it can substitute a figure representing the average earnings for the other three years. Corporations whose bonds are selling below par may buy and retire them from profits without incurring tax liability in so doing. Corporations which derive 75% of their income from business outside the United States but in the Western Hemisphere pay no surtaxes. Corporations which have to pay higher prices to replace their goods may deduct the difference in calculating their taxes. But workers cannot deduct the 30% rise in the cost of living since August 1939 before paying their taxes. Utility companies will save \$18,000,000 a year by deducting preferred stock dividends from their surtaxes.

Bosses Get "Post-War Relief" Now

Full of swindle are the post-war refunds on excess profits taxes. The giant monopolies are already benefiting from these rebates. The U. S. Steel Corporation announced last week that it would redeem 30 million dollars of its debentures at the end of this year. "U. S. Steel, therefore, becomes the first major corporation," comments the *N. Y. Times*, "to take advantage of the 10% post-war relief provision of the revenue act of 1942."

How, you ask, can a post-war relief provision be applied today? "The law provides for a refund of excess profits in an amount equal to 10% of the tax paid, and permits such refunds to be used immediately to retire debt." Debt-ridden workers, however, cannot get their promised "Victory Tax" refunds until years after the war ends.

The Senate Finance Committee which wrote the final draft of this bill is entirely composed of millionaires and ex-corporation lawyers. These political rascals had not only a class need but a direct personal interest in squeezing the poor and sparing the rich.

"Very Favorable Picture" — For the Bosses

No wonder the U. S. News for October 30 chortles: "The 1942 Revenue Act is not so hard on income of corporations. Its underlying policies are rather conservative," and rejoices that net corporation profits for 1942, after taxes and with refunds "will be about 5% under 1941. . . . nearly 25% above 1940. That is a very favorable picture."

After Congress rejected the suggestion that salaries be legally limited to \$25,000 a year, economic czar Byrnes issued an edict which professes to limit salaries to \$25,000. This executive order, obviously designed to placate the growing anger among the workers at the privations they will suffer from the new taxes, is as full of loopholes as the tax bill itself.

Since it applies solely to net salaries, and not to income, coupon-clippers remain untouched by it. By utilizing various special provisions for deductions, a corporation-executive is still able to receive, according to the figures given by the Treasury Department, itself, at least \$67,200 in salary. In reality, the corporation executive can receive many thousands more in salaries alone. They can get around even these limitations by receiving bonuses in stock dividends, by reorganizing their corporations as partnerships, by large expense accounts, etc. But workers, whose taxes are deducted before they receive wages, cannot evade taxes on their incomes like the bosses.

The new tax bill represents the greatest victory to date in the capitalists' campaign to make the poor pay for the war from which they are harvesting tremendous profits. This is but the beginning. The Treasury is preparing bigger taxes for the coming year. Roosevelt's tax-collectors will strip the workers to their skins before this war is many months older. Then, they will start to peel off the skins—if the workers let them.

A Timely Political Document!

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By LEON TROTSKY

(A Compilation — 1927-1937)

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116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

NEW YORK