

Workers Still Out On Political Strikes In India

'Daily Worker' Boasts About Strikebreaking
Activities of the Indian Communist Party

By FELIX MORROW

A general strike of the workers of the textile city of Ahmedabad, where some 27 per cent of India's textile mills are concentrated, is still going on after ten weeks, according to a dispatch in the New York Herald-Tribune of October 24. The strike, a political one in protest against the arrest of the All-India Congress leaders, began on August 9, the day they were jailed by the British authorities.

The fact that this strike is still going on is a significant indication that India's struggle for independence goes on unabated.

An earlier Herald-Tribune dispatch, on Oct. 11, gave the following details of the Ahmedabad strike:

"Thousands of spinners, weavers and other millhands on strike have left the city to return to their native villages.

"I drove through the mill belt this morning and saw its tenement dwellings virtually empty. Only here and there have some families remained."

We can be sure that the workers, with considerable experience of political and trade union struggle, on returning to the villages become leaders in arousing the peasants to refuse to pay rents and taxes.

Stalinists Admit Strikebreaking

That the Stalinists have throughout been playing the role of strikebreakers is quite openly admitted in a dispatch mailed from Bombay on Sept. 6 and published in the Oct. 27 Daily Worker. It says:

"All the mills are working but the Congress propaganda for going on strike goes on unabated. . .

"Now and then the owners of the factories, operating through the jobbers and clerks, manage to incite a strike in one or two mills.

"The next day 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."

The reference to the strikes as "incited" by the owners is of course the merest subterfuge. The naked fact stands out — the workers go on strike and the Stalinists attempt to break the strike in the name of the "country's defense," i.e., in deference to British imperialism.

Even while thus openly acting as strikebreakers, the Stalinists are constrained to admit, in another dispatch, in the Oct. 24 Daily Worker, that "government intransigence and mass arrests are increasing bitterness among the people."

News has belatedly arrived that the British have removed from office Allah Baksh, the Moslem Premier of Sind Province, without consultation of the provincial legislature. This makes the eighth of the eleven British provinces which no longer have any semblance of any rule other than British bayonets. Baksh had recently been condemning the British repressions against the Congress.

Censorship Tighter Than Ever

During the past month, apart from these few items, virtually nothing has gotten through the British censorship and been published in the American press. For a time, there were two correspondents who were sending some information: A. T. Steele of the Chicago Daily News and Herbert L. Matthews of the N. Y. Times. During the last few weeks, however, these two have been on a junket to "picturesque" and out-of-the-way places in India, away from the key centers.

One explanation for the lack of news from India comes in an unsigned dispatch from New Delhi to the Oct. 27 N. Y. Times. It says:

"The fact that American correspondents have stopped sending detailed reports of daily disturbances throughout India does not mean they have ended. It is only that they have become commonplace and rarely assume important dimensions in any one place."

Is this a lame excuse of correspondents who are collaborating with the British censorship — or is it, perhaps, the only form in which one correspondent was able to get a hint of the situation through the censorship? In either case, it is clear, the American public is being deprived of any real coverage of the situation in India.

Perhaps far more important than any of the recent "news" dispatches from India is Wendell Willkie's speech of October 26 which quite frankly indicated that he had no hope whatever that the British could halt the rising tide in India.

(See the editorial, "Willkie's Speech," on page 4 of this issue.)

To Celebrate 25th Anniversary of Russian Revolution On Nov. 8

A mass meeting celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution will be held by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party on Sunday evening, Nov. 8, at 8 o'clock. The meeting will be held at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street.

The main address of the meeting will be given by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Other speakers will be Eloise Black and Joseph Hansen, with George Grant acting as chairman.

Military Experts Report Needless Loss Of Life In Solomon Islands

It Is Time To Build An Independent Labor Party

AN EDITORIAL

The daily press is complaining bitterly about the general apathy of the masses over this year's election campaigns. It is attempting to stimulate a bigger vote by reminding the workers that this is a year of world crisis and that great issues confront the people.

It is true that great issues now confront the masses. But it is also true that these issues are not reflected in most of the current election campaigns.

Many workers are not concerned about the outcome of the elections precisely because they understand that the November 3 elections do not provide them with a genuine opportunity to fight for their interests at the polls.

The workers are confronted in most states this year as in the past with the choice between Republican and Democratic candidates — the choice between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. It is not surprising that hundreds of thousands of workers have not even registered. They realize that the old capitalist parties have nothing to offer them.

The Democrats and Republicans are campaigning on practically identical platforms. Both parties are supporting Wall Street's war of world conquest;

both are in favor of Roosevelt's program of unloading the costs of the war onto the backs of the working class; both stand for taxing the poor and sparing the rich; both defend the right of the corporations to make tremendous profits; both are for hamstringing the union movement.

Is it any wonder that so many workers feel it does not make any difference whether the Republican or Democratic candidates are elected?

Of course, the composition of Congress and the personnel of the government do make a lot of difference to the workers, and they know it too. In wartime every immediate economic problem of the workers is intimately connected with political questions. Unions must now deal not only with individual employers, but with the whole apparatus of the government. To win even a nickel's wage increase, the workers must fight not only the boss, but a pro-employer National War Labor Board and economic dictator appointed by the administration. To conduct a strike against anti-union provocations requires a struggle not only against the employer and his local agents, but also against the power and pressure of the whole government and its political sup-

porters, including the trade union bureaucrats.

It is now no longer possible for the workers to better their conditions, or even to defend their present standards, by ordinary trade union methods. Now, more than ever, it is inadequate for the workers to oppose the employers on the trade union field while at the same time supporting the candidates and agents of the employers on the political field. Political action of organized labor on a nation-wide scale is today a crying necessity.

An independent labor party, based on the trade unions, armed with a militant program to defend the living standards and the democratic rights of the workers, would inspire the support of the millions of toilers. The capitalist press would no longer complain that election campaigns are met with apathy — on the contrary, they would begin to complain about the whole-hearted enthusiasm and fighting response by the masses to all election contests.

It is time that the organized labor movement, 11 millions strong, representing over 40 million people, took its rightful place as the single most powerful political force in the country.

Anti-Poll Tax Bill Is Threatened by Delay in Senate

Mass Pressure Is
Needed to Force
Immediate Vote

An anti-poll tax bill, similar to the one recently passed by the House of Representatives, will soon be acted on by the U. S. Senate as a whole, it was decided on Oct. 26 by the Senate Judiciary Committee which has kept the measure bottled up in committee for more than a year and a half.

But there are still many obstacles to passage of anti-poll tax legislation.

Unless the bill is acted on and signed by Roosevelt by the last day of the year, it is automatically killed and the long fight to force a vote on the question will have to be started from the beginning with the seating of the new Congress next January. And a newly elected Congress is always far less responsive to the demands of the masses than one most of whose members are seeking reelection.

There is little likelihood that the Senate will act on the bill until after the elections, or even until after Armistice Day. This plays into the hands of the poll tax congressmen opposing the bill, whose strategy is to delay the beginning of the discussion, so that when they start their filibuster against the bill they will have the best possible chance of holding out until Dec. 31.

Even if the filibuster is stopped and the bill is passed by the Senate, the poll taxers still hope to prevent it from becoming a law, because the measure — which is similar but not identical to the one passed by the House — will have to go back to the House where it may be buried in the pro-poll tax House Rules Committee. It is therefore necessary that every workers' organization take steps at once to demand an end to the stalling and an immediate vote on the bill. If the bill is adopted, it will be only because of mass pressure. Without such pressure, the bill is a dead duck.

Tax Law Takes Drastic Cut In Workers' Income

The tax bill which became law last week is a brutal blow at labor and at the same time a great victory for the capitalist class.

In effect, the tax bill, which added \$9,000,000,000 to present taxes, is a wage slash for the working class as a whole. 29,000,000 more workers and dirt farmers will pay taxes this year than did last. These workers were previously exempt from payment of taxes because of low incomes.

No one, married or single, earning over \$12 a week will be able to avoid paying taxes. The so-called Victory Tax of 5% on all wages starts at that figure.

Workers who earn \$20 a week will have to pay \$2 of this in taxes if single and will have to pay 1.5% of their incomes if married and without dependents. Workers who earn \$30 a week will pay \$3 if single, and if married and without dependents they will pay \$1.50. Those earning \$40 a week will pay \$6.50 a week if single, and if married and without dependents the taxes will extract \$3.50 out of their wages.

The new levies are not the only taxes the workers pay. Besides these direct income taxes, the workers are paying the federal government consumption taxes on numerous articles. Among the articles taxed are tobacco, beer and amusements. In many states there are general sales taxes on all goods bought by workers, besides other types of taxes. The workers also pay taxes to the local and state governments.

The capitalist class is able to shift many taxes onto the workers in the form of higher prices. For example, federal and state taxes on gasoline are passed on to the ultimate consumer in the form of increased prices for truck-transported goods.

In the year 1939, it was estimated that the workers paid from 17 to 21% of their wages in hidden and open national, state and local taxes. Since that year both concealed and open taxes have been increased while tens of millions who paid no income taxes because of low wages are now on the tax rolls.

Even before the tax bill was finally adopted, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau announced that he would request \$6,000,000,000 in additional taxes. This is the first of a long series of taxes,

it will probably be enacted early next year.

BOSSES TREATED NICE

While Congress was imposing taxes on workers who exist on starvation levels, it openly favored the capitalist class. Any suggestion of certain champions of the middle class, such as LaFollette, that the normal and surtaxes on the corporations and upper income groups be set at 50%, was curtly rejected. The tax was finally set at 40% on the plea of Senator George that to set the taxes at a figure higher than 40% "would result in many hardships on corporations."

That this was a victory for the capitalist class can be clearly seen by the reaction of the stock market. When it became clear that Congress was going to pass the

tax bill and that profits were going to continue at a high rate, the stock market soared to the highest point reached since Pearl Harbor.

The anti-labor, pro-boss tax bill was passed nearly unanimously by Congress. Roosevelt, the self-proclaimed "friend of labor" hastened to sign the bill. The feeble protests of the CIO were curtly brushed aside.

While influential spokesmen, such as the head of the Senate Finance Committee, Senator George, arose to defend the interests of Big Business, no one championed the workers and the dirt farmers.

The tax bill just passed and the new tax bills looming, prove further that labor must have its own party to represent it on the political field.

Cannon To Speak Over Radio For Breitman On October 31

NEWARK, N. J. — James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will deliver a radio broadcast on behalf of the party's candidate for U. S. Senator from New Jersey, George Breitman, on Saturday, Oct. 31, from 5:15 to 5:30 P. M. The subject of his address will be "How to put An End to Imperialist War." It will be broadcast over Station WPAT, 930 kilocycles on the dial, which can be heard in New York as well as in New Jersey.

DENOUNCES LYNCHINGS

Before delivering his second broadcast of the campaign, on Oct. 24, George Breitman issued a statement to the local press, denouncing the lynching of three Negroes in Mississippi, two of them still children, and calling for the immediate passage of the anti-lynch and anti-poll tax bills which are bottled up in Congress.

"I place the responsibility for these lynchings on the Democratic and Republican Parties," said Breitman, "because each of these parties has been in power over a period lasting a good many years since the first world war, and

each of them has consistently refused to pass the anti-lynch and anti-poll tax bills when they had the opportunity to do so.

"These horrible lynchings again emphasize the need for labor to organize its own party, and to run candidates for office who will fight for the interests of the working people, including the oppressed Negroes."

Two days after Breitman's vigorous denunciation of the enemies of the Negro people, the Communist Party began distributing in the Negro neighborhoods of Newark a leaflet viciously attacking Breitman! The Stalinists, who are supporting most of the Hague Democratic candidates, said:

"The Negro people will not be misled by the Fifth Column group headed by George Breitman, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party and the newspaper, THE MILITANT."

"This little clique plays upon every just grievance of the Negro people in order to direct them against the war, the government, and the unity necessary for victory over Hitlerism."

LABOR PARTY POSSIBLE NOW

Breitman has also called attention to an interesting aspect of the current campaigns of Smathers and Hawkes, Democratic and Republican candidates for U. S. Senator:

Reshuffling of Officers Is No Guard Against Similar Disasters

Ordinary Seamen Know Enough to Avoid
Military Blunders Committed in Pacific

By GEORGE COLLINS

Men fighting in a war count on the chances of losing their lives in battle.

Many soldiers and sailors have already died in this war as a result of enemy action. But large numbers of men are also being killed in battle as a result of incompetence, stupidity and just plain ignorance on the part of their own commanding officers.

Pearl Harbor was the first example of this wanton sacrifice of human lives. The Roberts Commission clearly established that the lives of thousands of soldiers, sailors and airmen were snuffed out because of the failure of the high navy and army command to take even the most elementary precautions.

After all the shouting to "Remember Pearl Harbor" another disaster of the same kind has overtaken the fighting forces in the Solomon Islands, reports Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y. Times military editor. As at Pearl Harbor, sailors were trapped on their warships and blasted to the bottom of the sea by the big guns of the Japanese fleet. Four cruisers, five destroyers and three transport ships were sunk.

While it might be claimed in extreme charity to the Pearl Harbor command that the country was at peace and didn't expect an attack, the forces at the Solomons were engaged in a full-dress sea, air and land offensive. Listen to Baldwin, who writes a semi-official government report:

BALDWIN'S REPORT

"The bad chapters of our Solomons operations followed hard upon the heels of the initial landing. The Astoria, Quincy, Vincennes and Canberra were sunk in night action two days after the initial landings were made. OUR SHIPS WERE SURPRISED LIKE SITTING DUCKS; none of them had a chance to get off more than a few ineffectual salvos. They were surprised despite the fact that a REPORT SENT BY ONE OF OUR PLANES OF THE APPROACH OF THE JAPANESE CRUISERS HAD BEEN RECEIVED THE AFTERNOON PRIOR TO THE NIGHT ACTION."

"They were surprised, first, because they had assumed a defensive station, patrolling back and forth over a fixed course in narrow waters and awaiting the

enemy instead of going out to attack him. . . Second, because their dispositions enabled the enemy to approach almost within gun range without detection; third, because only a small part of the crews were at battle stations when the action started, and fourth, because THE ADMIRAL IN COMMAND OF THE NORTHERN CRUISER SCREEN HAD LEFT THE SCENE IN HIS FLAGSHIP and, judging from the Navy Department's communique, NO ONE HAD SUCCEEDED HIM IN ACTUAL TACTICAL COMMAND."

"On the night of Sept. 4, the Little and Gregory, old 'Tin Cans' of World War I vintage, which had been converted to light transports were off Lunga Bay patrolling. . . That night the old ships with their four-inch 'pop' guns fought their first and last fight of World War II. A Japanese cruiser and other vessels caught them, as the Quincy, Astoria and Vincennes had been caught, SILHOUETTED BRILLIANTLY IN THE DARK AGAINST THE LIGHT OF BURNING FLARES."

"The inevitable result of these defensive dispositions was more loss — almost all of it caused by heavy concentrations of Japanese submarines. ONE VESSEL WAS SUNK WHEN STEAMING AT A LOW SPEED AND ON A FIXED PATROL COURSE IN AREAS KNOWN TO BE INFESTED BY ENEMY SUBMARINES."

The Navy has not yet released a casualty list in these sinkings. Undoubtedly they will be high as is usually the case where ships are sunk by surprise without a chance of putting up a fight. The responsibility for these deaths rests squarely upon the heads of the naval commanders who led their men into this trap.

A LITTLE SHUFFLING

What is the Navy doing about the blundering stupidity and woeful ignorance of its commanders

(Continued on page 4)

New York School Opens Fall Term On November 4

The New York School for Social Science will open its 1942 fall term next week with a series of two classes on "American Economy at War" and "Colonial Peoples and the Second World War." The classes will be held in the New Hall, Second Floor, 116 University Place; registrations are being taken on the Fourth Floor in the same building.

The classes on American economy will begin Wednesday, Nov. 4, at 8:15 to 9:30 P. M., lasting for six weeks. The instructor will be C. Charles.

The classes dealing with colonial problems will also last for six weeks, beginning on Friday, Nov. 6, at 8:15 to 9:30 P. M. The instructor will be John G. Wright.

Boss' Taxes Are Cut

The Oct. 29 N. Y. Times carries a self-explanatory story from which we quote:

"Earnings of R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., for the six months ended on Aug. 1 have been revised to give effect to a reduction of \$236,000 in taxes based on the 42 per cent rate enacted in the 1942 revenue bill. . ."

Workers And The Second Imperialist War

Stenographic Record Of James P. Cannon's Report At Tenth Convention Of American Trotskyists, Oct. 2, 1942

Comrades: Since we last came together in national conference a year ago in Chicago we have had to record with sorrow the loss of numerous soldiers of our cause who have fallen in the fight.

In far away China a brave and selfless revolutionist, the pioneer of Chinese communism, Chen Tu-hsiu, succumbed at last to the blows of persecution, imprisonment, slander and poverty which had rained down upon him through so many years of his struggle. He died, as befits an honest revolutionist, in the ranks of the Fourth International.

In France a noble fighter for international communism, one of the founders of the French section of the Fourth International, Jean Meichler, perished before a Nazi firing squad. We do not doubt that he died bravely.

Our own party has lost five of her best and most devoted sons who served the party and the working class in the most dangerous posts as merchant seamen. Comrades Edward Parker, Carl Palmer, David Udell, Ronald Tearse, Edwin Jaffe, have lost their lives at sea, our first victims of the imperialist war.

We honor the bright, untarnished names of our noble dead. The Fourth International will carry on their work and keep their memory green.

It is more than two years now since the assassin Stalin took the life of Comrade Trotsky and sought thereby to kill the movement that he had created and inspired. This present conference of our party, the largest and most imposing in our entire history, representing an active and growing party, self-confident, unified and strong — this conference is living testimony, it is living proof, that the assassin failed in his main objective. The ideas of our greatest leader and teacher live and guide our work and struggle. The memory of our martyr is with us always, the inspiring force of our indestructible movement.

The Fifth Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, which is the Tenth National Convention of the American Trotskyists, meets in the midst of the Second Imperialist War, a war in which the United States is now an open and active participant. The war, this terrible paroxysm of an outlived social system in its death agony, dominates everything in the world today. Upon the outcome of this war depends the future of humanity. But we must understand that this war is not an abnormal phenomenon. It is not an accidental catastrophe; not an interlude to be followed, in the course of events, by a long period of peace and normal functioning of capitalist society. On the contrary, this war is the most characteristic expression of bankrupt capitalism. The war is the very image of capitalism, as it is now, and as it will be until the workers and the oppressed peoples rise in revolution and make an end of it.

How unrealistic, how ridiculous, are those people who speak of settling problems "after the war," who set up "Post-War Planning Committees," etc., who proceed on the theory that the natural order of things is simply arrested now for a while, and then the war will end and then we will settle all questions and begin all over again. Utterly utopian are all such ideas. All the great problems will be settled in the war and through the war. That is the basic thesis of the Fourth International.

Capitalism today signifies permanent war and universal militarism. And from this conception we draw our tactics and our strategy. We foresaw the war. We prepared for the war, and we understood that the war would pose all the social problems for solution by military means. That is why our program is a war program, a military program, which excludes any form of pacifist abstentionism. That is why our ranks are animated by the conception that in the arena of militarism, which is today the main arena, we will learn how to participate and how to prevail.

We meet ten months after the formal entry of the United States government into the war. The Second World War is a continuation of the First World War, but not a simple repetition by any means. A continuation signifies, as Comrade Trotsky wrote, a sharpening and a deepening of all the features of the war. And just as this war is not a simple repetition of the first one, although

a continuation, neither is the situation confronting the revolutionary vanguard, nor its tasks and its problems, a simple repetition of the situation and the tasks and the problems of the revolutionary vanguard at the outbreak of the First World War and during its course.

All the differences are in our favor, if we understand the situation to the bottom. The decay of capitalism, which was signaled by the First World War, has become the death agony of capitalism in the Second World War. The enemy, in spite of all superficial appearances, is weaker. On the other hand, the vanguard of the proletariat is better prepared and stronger today than it was in the analogous period of the First World War. If we are able to look beneath the superficial appearance of things we must see that this is the fundamental reality.

In 1914 the workers' vanguard met the war unprepared. The workers' parties and workers' organizations openly betrayed the proletariat in the war only at the last moment, not before. And the betrayal, the catastrophic collapse of the parties of the Second International and the trade unions caused surprise even to the most perspicacious of the leaders of the revolutionary vanguard. When Lenin saw the edition of the Berlin *Vorwarts*, the official organ of German Social-Democracy, with the statement supporting the war, he expressed the opinion that it was a forged edition, put out by the German general staff to deceive the people of other countries. He knew that the parties of the Second International were corroded with opportunism, but not even Lenin was prepared for their complete betrayal in such catastrophic form as took place on the fourth of August, 1914.

The First World War produced deep crises in all the workers' parties; the real discussion of the attitude to be taken toward the war began only after the war was under way. The war even produced discussions and splits in the ranks of the workers' vanguard. There were defections among the Bolsheviks. This is history that is perhaps unknown to many comrades because Bolshevism has been represented as something that was born perfect and carried through to victory without any internal difficulties or errors or defections. Not true at all. Bolshevism, like every other current in the workers' movement, grew and developed in the tests of action and took its final shape only in the fire of great events.

Just consider only these few facts among many which are recorded in the documented volume on "The Bolsheviks and the World War" published by the Hoover Library. The Bolshevik Committee of Organizations Abroad disintegrated. Of the five members, two enlisted in the French army; a third member withdrew. Lenin and Zinoviev remained as the representatives of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks abroad to elaborate the war program of the party. At a Paris meeting of the Bolsheviks in August 1914, eleven out of ninety-four present favored a policy of defensism, more than 11%. The Geneva section of the Bolsheviks opposed with many objections the first thesis submitted by Lenin and Zinoviev. Shliapnikov, a prominent Bolshevik worker from Russia, who spoke to the Swedish Social-Democratic Congress in November 1914, stated that the Bolsheviks in Russia had been taken by surprise; they had felt confident that the socialist parties of Europe would be able to stop the war and were dismayed when the war broke out in full fury with the support of the official Socialist Parties.

Needless to say, I mention these facts not at all to denigrate the Bolsheviks, but rather to show, on the contrary, what a heavy task confronted Lenin, even in his own party, in shaping the revolutionary policy toward war. Lenin's problem was the problem of clarifying the program of the vanguard after the war had started. It was the problem of rehabilitating Marxism on the international field and of taking the banner out of the treacherous hands of the petty-bourgeois opportunists and social patriots. Lenin had the problem of forming the first cadres, of getting hold of two, three or five people, in order to begin all over again the work of building a bona fide revolutionary international party.

Our Party Is Firm

The situation confronting the revolutionary vanguard in this war is different in many important respects. That is why those wretched sectarians who consider it sufficient to simply repeat, word by word, what Lenin wrote in 1914 and 1915 are so far from the reality of the problem of the vanguard today. This time, for this war, the reformist organizations took nobody by surprise. In all countries there never was any question at all what position would be taken by the Social Democrats of the various varieties. They announced their betrayal beforehand. This is an important difference from the side of the Social Democrats.

Likewise, the Fourth International and its sections are not a simple reincarnation of the cadres created by Lenin in 1914 and 1915. The cadres of the Fourth International stand on the shoulders of the original cadres of Bolshevism which were reformed during the war. They are enriched by all the experience of that time and all of the intervening time. Therefore they were able to anticipate this war, and to prepare for it. The entire period, especially since 1929, when the Fourth International cadres were constituted on an international scale under the direction of Trotsky, after his deportation from Russia—this entire period since 1929 can be described as a period of clarifying the program, of drawing the lessons of the experiences, of sifting and selecting the cadres, in short, of preparing for the war and for the revolution which must issue from the war.

Consequently, the formal entry of the United States government into the war last December produced no crisis whatever in the ranks of our party. The war entry and ten months of participation in the war have found the leadership of our party united, the ranks firm. There has been no sign of social-patriotic trends or tendencies; no representatives of such tendencies have appeared or brought forward any proposals in our party.

It is from this reality that we proceed in discussing our war problems and tasks. We don't have to begin from the beginning by explaining what is social-patriotism and why it is wrong. We don't have to spend time gathering one, two or three people wherever we can find them in order to begin anew. No, the situation is not the situation which confronted Lenin in 1914. The sectarians don't understand this. That is too bad. But then, if they understood how to proceed from the real and the concrete they wouldn't be sectarians.

War greatly intensifies and multiplies the pressure of bourgeois society on the workers' vanguard. All the force of material and moral pressure of bourgeois society is brought to bear in the most intensified manner at the time of the declaration of war and immediately following. With this in mind, and remembering the experience of 1914-18, Comrade Trotsky repeatedly warned us of a crisis in our ranks to follow the outbreak of the war. This in spite of our long preparation and our clarification of program. Trotsky warned that even in our ranks we must expect a crisis when the pressure of bourgeois society was brought to bear in full force with the entry into war. Now, this prediction of Comrade Trotsky was not realized in the Socialist Workers Party. Sideline commentators and literary critics may point it out as one more flaw

in Trotsky's infallibility. In reality, what is shown is that Trotsky builded better than he knew. The ranks of the Fourth International throughout the world have stood up firmly against the war, against all the pressure and persecution of the class enemy. That gives us all the more assurance of our right to victory in and through the war.

Our unity is somewhat disturbing to certain people who don't seem to be able to take care of their own affairs but are very anxious to arrange ours for us. I am speaking of the medicine men of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Being politically unemployed otherwise, they have apparently settled down to the rather ungrateful and miserable occupation of unacknowledged physicians for our party. They are greatly worried about the fact that we have so much unity in our ranks, that we are free from crises and factional fights and feverish struggle over conflicting programs. These quack doctors don't understand that we are well, we are healthy, we are free from a war crisis, not by accident or the grace of God, but because we cured ourselves of the petty-bourgeois sickness in good time. We had the good fortune to have an anticipatory crisis before the United States entered the war, a crisis which we conquered with the help of Trotsky. We secured our internal peace by a timely preventive war.

As far as our leadership is concerned we have, so far, required no new discussion of fundamental program in relation to the war. Our problem has been much simpler, the problem of how to maintain our position and carry on our work to the best advantage and with the greatest possible utilization of legality under the conditions of war. These are not easy tasks, but they are minor and secondary and their accomplishment is greatly facilitated by the fact that we are united on the basis of a principled program. Lenin's problem in 1914 was the problem of clarifying the program and of selecting cadres on the basis of it. Our problem is that of the application of the program; of devising effective propaganda approaches to the patriotic workers of today who will be the revolutionary fighters of tomorrow. Our internal cohesion, based on our programmatic unity, enables us to turn our attention outward rather than inward. Hence the emphasis in our press and in all our agitational work on our transitional demands, and on the slogans of our military policy addressed to the rank and file workers.

On the eve of the United States entry into the war we had a rehearsal in the Minneapolis trial. We were given the opportunity to test the firmness of the party leadership and the seriousness of its allegiance to principle under persecution and pressure on the very eve of the war. That was an advantage for the party, if you look at the trial from a broad political standpoint and disregard for the moment the possible consequences for some of the individuals. The trial was a stroke of political good fortune for our movement, but we were entitled to that, too, because we had lived right.

The trial was a forum for us, a forum from which to popularize our program and proclaim our attitude toward the approaching war. I think we made full use of the extraordinary opportunity.

Never in this country, and never in history anywhere, did a political group make such full and complete political utilization of a prosecution in a bourgeois court as our party did. We were able to accomplish this, in spite of small numbers and resources, because we knew exactly what we wanted to do. We knew our program and had no trouble in explaining it. Out of the trial came two big pamphlets of a popular nature, especially devised to explain ourselves in the simplest terms to the ordinary worker, the rank and file American worker, and one pamphlet devoted to a discussion of the methods and propaganda techniques and principles involved

in our defense. These three pamphlets testify to a full and complete utilization of the trial for our purposes.

The war was declared on the very same day that we were sentenced—December 8, 1941. That certainly was a symbolic coincidence. Nothing could better symbolize our irreconcilable opposition to the imperialist war, and to the capitalist state preparing and waging the war; and nothing, also, could better symbolize our enemies' recognition of our attitude than this inexpensive fact: that they declared war and sentenced the party leaders to prison on the same day and at the same hour—December 8, 1941.

Our Program Is Clear

There is not and there has never been the slightest possibility of misunderstanding our position on the war. We were given the opportunity on December 8—the day of our sentencing—to recant. On December 8, the very day that the radios were blaring with jingo speeches in Congress preceding the declaration of war, the defendants were given an opportunity to disavow what they had said in the trial. Nobody did it. Thus our first response to the war was an action in court, a thousand times more important from a political point of view than any ritualistic statement.

A statement, after all, doesn't constitute a fight against the war. There are some people who don't know that yet. A statement is a promise to oppose the war. But our stand in the Minneapolis courtroom was the thing itself. It was followed two weeks later by my formal declaration, as National Secretary of the party, on December 22, simply restating what we had said before, recanting nothing, changing nothing. Again a couple of months later, on the occasion of the St. Paul municipal election, Comrade Grace Carlson spoke out again in the spirit of the party program. Now the party convention, representing the whole organization, surveying the events which have transpired since the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International in May 1940, once again restates the program of Bolshevism in the political resolution which, I am sure, will meet with unanimous approval tonight.

So, I repeat, no misunderstanding has been possible. Neither friend nor foe could have any doubt of our position. Those who pretend otherwise are liars and provocateurs, not misunderstanding people and not honest opponents.

Our political resolution is not a new program. It is not even a complete restatement of the old program. It is intended only as a timely document, a timely supplement, summing up and interpreting in the light of our program, the most important events which have transpired since the manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution, adopted in May 1940.

Trotskyism is the only tendency on the international field that has been able to survive the war. The Second International is completely in the camp of the imperialist democracies. The Stalinists put themselves at the service of one group of imperialists or another alternatively according to the deals or alliances they can make. They sell out the interests of the proletariat of any country, including Russia, in the interests of the diplomatic maneuvers and bargains of the traitorous bureaucracy in the Kremlin.

The "London Bureau"—I venture to say that even comrades present here have forgotten or, perhaps, never heard the name of this vanished ghost—the "London Bureau" was that pretentious international organization of centrists who fought Trotsky and the Fourth International tooth and nail on the ground of our "sectarianism" and their greater "realism" and their greater capacity, self-acknowledged, to build mass parties. And the strongest section of this centrist international, known as the London Bureau, was a rival of ours, an American petty-bourgeois group known, in its final phase before its disappearance into thin air, as the Independent Labor League, the Lovestonites. The Lovestonites agreed with us on one point; that is, they saw the war coming and they prepared in their own way for it just as we did. We prepared by sharpening and clarifying our program, cleaning up the remnants in our ranks of petty-bourgeois weakness. They prepared for it by dissolving their organization before the war started. Needless to say, the leaders of this group, who used to give us lectures on "Leninism"—with quotations—are beating the drums for the imperialist war. The "London Bureau" no longer exists on this mundane sphere.

Of the pretentious sectarian cliques and factions who used to shoot at the Fourth International from ambush and criticize us from the "left"—nearly all of them have disappeared from the scene, most of them in the most disgraceful manner.

But the Fourth International survives, struggles and grows more confident because it alone has a consistent program. The Fourth International is the genuine historical movement, not made

For Socialist U. S. Of Europe

France, which after the last war and the peace of Versailles was the master of Europe, is today a dismembered and oppressed nation. Hitler has conquered all of Europe and transformed it into a horrible concentration camp under Nazi domination. He has proclaimed a new order of permanent oppression and denigration of the peoples of Europe. Some see in these stupendous military victories of Hitler and his military conquest of the continent of Europe only cause for despair. They think that perhaps Hitler's victories are definitive, that Europe is thrown back for decades, or even for centuries, and they envisage Europe beginning again on all fours to crawl forward along the historic path through the medium of national wars. Others, despairing of the force of the people, of the proletariat of Europe, despairing of the one idea, the one program that will spell Hitler's doom, look to the Anglo-American imperialist bandits to liberate Europe from Hitler and transform it into a colony of Anglo-American imperialism.

Both of these perspectives, in our opinion, are utterly fantastic, utterly removed from the reality of things. And unfortunately the first tendency, the tendency to bow down before Hitler's conquest of Europe and regard it as definitive, merges all too easily with the second one of turning to the Anglo-American democratic bandits for relief from Hitler. That is the great danger of exaggerating Hitler's successes and Hitler's power and forgetting the power of the proletariat and the revolutionary program. You can be very sure that Hitler himself and his whole gang do not value their conquest of Europe half so highly as some despairing and disoriented people who are opposed to Nazism do. There is no doubt whatever that Hitler would gladly settle for half of his conquest if he could keep the other half undisturbed, for the next period. What is the meaning of the speech he made the other day? It is an indirect way of saying: Let us have half of what we conquered and you can have the rest until we start the next round of the war.

But Anglo-American imperialism does not and cannot recog-

arbitrarily, but really expressing the historical course of development and the historic mission of the proletariat.

Our political resolution begins with a reference to an imposing series of programmatic documents of the movement of the Fourth International. We don't have to sit down now and rack our brains to write a program of Marxism for the present-day world. We didn't find ourselves thrown into a panic and crisis when the war started and have to begin then to discuss what we should do, as was the case with the vanguard in 1914. We have a program.

Just let me read this imposing list of documents, which are cited in the opening paragraph of our resolution: The War and the Fourth International, the fundamental theses, 1934, eight years ago; the resolutions of the Foundation Congress of the Fourth International in 1938; the S. W. P. Convention resolution on the Soviet Union, 1939, hammered out in the struggle against the petty-bourgeois renegades; the Manifesto of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution, 1940; the S. W. P. Conference resolution on Proletarian Military Policy, 1940; the Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International on the Fall of France, 1940, and in defense of the Soviet Union, 1941; the S. W. P. Manifesto on the Soviet-Nazi War, 1941; the Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International on American Intervention and our Defense of China, 1941; the statement by J. P. Cannon on the entry of the United States into the war, 1942; and the Statement of Grace Carlson as a candidate of the party in the St. Paul elections of this year.

I am not reading a list of journalistic articles. I am reading here a list of consecutively developed programmatic documents in which you can see from beginning to end one clear and consistent line of concept and principled policy. Our convention resolution is on very firm ground when it says that we have a correct program which equips us for the struggle and that we have only to apply this program to the events of the day. The resolution proceeds from there to analyze the events which have transpired since the adoption of those documents. One consistent program. We have no need of any innovations. The program answers the fundamental questions. All that was said before in these documents which I have mentioned is true and timely and pertinent to the problems of the day. We are not interested in any proposal to change, to modify or to repudiate any part of our principled program which has stood the test of events and is more appropriate and burning in its application than ever before.

This applies to all the decisive questions that confront the vanguard in the world today. The nature of the war, the Soviet-Nazi struggle, questions of party organization, democracy and fascism, colonial struggle, China, India, Europe under the iron heel of the Nazis, the national question and the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe — our program has an answer to every one of those questions in principle. We need only to read our program and understand it and we will find the way to answer the current problems correctly.

We proceed from the basic analysis of the war that is contained in the Manifesto of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International which is published under the title "The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution," May, 1940. We proceed from that analysis and apply it to four great new events which have transpired since that time. These outstanding events are: (1) The Fall of France, June, 1940; (2) Hitler's Attack on the Soviet Union, June, 1941; (3) United States Entry Into the War, December, 1941; (4) The Great Uprising of National Self-Confidence on the part of the Peoples of the Orient, the mass of the majority of mankind who are beginning to stir and to make the whole world shake when they move.

In each of these four world-shaking events, the weaknesses of capitalism, its hopeless bankruptcy, its suicidal plunges into the unknown, are clearly demonstrated. Each of these four events reveal new and most promising revolutionary prospects for the proletarian vanguard.

nize Hitler's conquest of Europe. Hitler's domination of Europe means inevitably a further clash with America and England, as a minor partner, for the conquest of the world. Imperialistic interests forbid them to let Hitler have Europe in "peace" to exploit and incorporate in his so-called new order. That is why the war in Europe is still going on and will continue to go on until the workers end it by revolution. For this the workers need more than their own independent organization and their own independent program.

The resistance of the oppressed and doubly exploited peoples of Europe prevents any stabilization of Hitler's regime, leaving aside the interference of the imperialist rivals. The resistance of the oppressed peoples of Europe to Hitler can be the starting point for the revolutionary conflagration that will dispose of Hitler in passing and proceed to the permanent solution of the European problem by its socialist reorganization. The movement against national oppression can be, and may very likely be, the starting point of the inevitable European socialist revolution. But that is only on one condition: that the workers' vanguard sticks to its own program and does not adapt itself to the program of bourgeois nationalism.

Our resolution speaks very clearly and unambiguously on this point. We say the program of bourgeois nationalism is only another Versailles. They want only to turn Hitler's "new order" upside down, dismember Germany and return to the European mad-house of artificially divided states on a capitalist basis. That is the very cause of war. The outlived national boundaries of old Europe have become insuperable barriers against the development of the productive forces. The system of private property combined with the system of national borders of the states, with their standing armies, and separate monetary systems and tariffs, strangled the economic development of Europe and plunged it for the second time in a quarter of a century into the maelstrom of destructive war.

(Continued on page 3)

Cannon's Report To S.W.P. Convention

(Continued from page 2)

It is sheer insanity to contemplate a return to this starting point. We say that under no circumstances can any section of the Fourth International adapt itself to these blind and mad-people who want to go back to Versailles, who propose to solve the problem of Europe by restoring the very conditions which precipitated Europe into this war. Not backward, but forward!—that is the slogan Europe needs. Forward to the socialist reorganization of Europe. The leading and guiding slogan of that fight is, and only can be, "The Socialist United States of Europe."

Revolutionary Marxists are for self-determination as a principle of the program, and thereby they are for national freedom from all forms of oppression or national coercion. We are, and we should be, the foremost fighters and champions of resistance to

Hitler. It is stated in our resolution that the workers of Europe must put themselves at the head of this movement of struggle against Hitler. The parties of the workers' vanguard—the sections of the Fourth International—should participate in this movement with their own program, and lead it to its socialist goal.

This is one of the most interesting and timely questions which we have formulated succinctly in our resolution; it is being dealt with at greater length in the International Bulletin, as you have noted. It will be discussed further in our theoretical magazine. Our National Committee has participated in this international discussion by the adoption of its basic theses in those paragraphs of our resolution dealing with the question, and which will be elaborated and developed in future articles. We think our resolution indicates the correct line and have no doubt that it will prevail throughout the International when the discussion is completed.

In Defense Of The Soviet Union

We don't have to say much about the Soviet-Nazi war in our convention. We discussed that question at the last convention, if you remember. We had to debate with Professor Burnham there. Professor Burnham said that we were allies or indirect supporters of Hitler because we were defending the Soviet Union. Comrade Goldman did such a good job of that debate that we don't have to repeat it here. But I must say that, again on this point, we are the one and only political movement that does not have to retract anything or keep quiet about anything that was said before. We understood this question also and we prepared for it. And we alone were correct.

The fugitives from Bolshevism expounded a magnificent theory to the effect that the original Soviet-Nazi pact was based on an "affinity of ideologies." This theory, spun out of thin air, along with the theory of "Soviet imperialism," succumbed to the very real and substantial conflict of social systems and economic interests between German imperialism and the degenerated workers' state. We maintained all the time—it was stated already in 1934 in the theses "War and the Fourth International"—that regardless of how the Soviet Union may be allied in the beginning of the war, the war in the course of its development must inevitably lead to an attack upon the Soviet Union by one of the imperialist camps, whether allied with it in the beginning or not, or by all of them united. We held that the Soviet Union, standing even as the product of a strangled and betrayed revolution, is in the most principled opposition to the imperialist states, and that war between them couldn't be prevented. We were prepared for this eventuality, and we now only have to restate what we declared before, that we defend the Soviet Union for reasons that we have explained many times. The position taken in our last convention can be adopted in this convention with only a change of dates and a few supplementary remarks to bring it up to date. The principled line was absolutely clear and correct and remains so.

We don't support Stalinism, we support the workers' state. We support what remains of the greatest revolution in the history of mankind because we never abandon a conquest while it still has life in it. The worst and most despicable affliction—the characteristic malady of petty-bourgeois radicals—is this propensity to give up a battle before it is lost. Trotsky said, those who will not defend an old conquest will never be capable of fighting for new ones. The Soviet Union remains the greatest conquest of the proletariat in all its history. In spite of everything, it still stands. The Soviet workers know this. They still give the world a demonstration of heroism, of capacity for sacrifice, such as they could not even dream of in those countries where the workers do not feel that they have anything to fight for.

The U. S. And Colonial Workers

When the United States entered the war it certainly was no surprise to us. It was no surprise to any grown-up person. Our position on the war, as I have remarked before and as our resolution says, was stated in the Minneapolis trial on the basis of the programmatic documents that we had previously adopted. Our position today is the same. Not only are we opposed to American imperialism and consequently to its war; we are also opposed to the theory that American imperialism is invincible and will conquer the world and live a thousand years. We see the United States driven by contradictions. It is caught in the hopeless decay of capitalism as a world system and is going down with it. The formal entry of U. S. imperialism into the war is not an expression of its strength, but of its incurable malady.

They have day-dreams in Washington of America replacing Britain as master of the world, of policing the whole of this vast globe with its teeming millions of people, of becoming the center of tribute and plunder to be extracted from the toil of all the peoples of the world. They dream, as this mad-man Hitler dreams, of a thousand years of world mastery. They will never realize their dream, and we will do our part to see that their disillusionment does not come too late.

The workers in the United States are the power; their power is far greater than that of all the master-minds, the exploiters, the generals and the statesmen. The workers of the United States have been betrayed by their official organizations, they have been betrayed by their whole official leadership. But these leaders, after all, are only transitory, fill-in men. Their days are numbered. The real spirit and quality of the American proletariat are shown by the fact that they more than doubled the membership of the trade unions in the space of less than ten years. Five million workers organized themselves in a series of great class battles. The American workers give formal obedience to the war mainly because they have been deluded into the idea that that is the only way to fight Hitlerism. They want to fight Hitlerism—and they are right in that impulse—and the revolutionary class way of waging the fight, the way outlined in our program, remains as yet unknown to the vast majority.

But in spite of that, in spite of their support of the war, the American workers, every chance they get, demonstrate their hostility to every encroachment of the bourgeoisie at home. They resist step by step every attempt to take from them those things they really value and treasure, which they have won in struggle—their unions, their working conditions, hours, wages, etc. With the further development of the war and the terrible disillusionment that must come to the masses of the people when the burdens of the war lay more and more upon them; when the fight for the very smallest economic question becomes of necessity a political struggle—then, we can be confident, the political awakening of the American proletariat will not lag far behind. That awakening can come long before the imperialists' rosy dreams of world conquests are realized. These dreams will be interrupted forever by the American working class.

The fourth great world event, or rather a connected series of events, which we mention in our resolution, is the upsurge of national self-confidence in Asia. In 1917 the imperialist chain broke at its weakest link, backward Russia. There are many indications that this time Asia, which in two countries alone—China and India—has a population amounting to two-fifths of humanity, will prove to be the weakest link in the chain of world imperialism.

When we see what is done by those Soviet workers today, after all these years of strangulation by the bureaucracy, after all these years of bureaucratic degeneration, we get a glimpse of the boundless power of the proletarian revolution. We can see what miracles of energy will be released by the proletariat of Europe when it finally unites with the Russian proletariat on the revolutionary program. What could the state of the world be today if there had been just a little more energy and capacity in the vanguard of the proletariat to lead Germany to a successful proletarian revolution! All the objective conditions for the victory were present; only the leadership was lacking. Imagine the union of Soviet Russia and Soviet Germany as an economic and military power, with all the irresistible moral force that would be generated by such a union.

If the German revolution had not been defeated, if it had succeeded, we wouldn't be standing here today discussing the program of overthrowing American imperialism. We would more likely be discussing ways and means of finishing up the struggle against the remnants of the counter-revolution. The fact that the workers in Russia took power, the fact that they had a party able to lead the victorious struggle for power—this gives us the assurance for all time that the workers are capable of producing such a party and such a leadership in other countries and on an international scale. Even if the revolution failed once and twice, history is still pushing relentlessly in the direction of its eventual victory.

We are proud of our record on the Russian question. Whatever may befall, whatever future defeats may be in store before the Russian revolution begins the ascending climb again, not one stain of dishonor will fall upon the banner of the Fourth International. It was the Fourth International, it was Trotsky and his disciples, who before any others began the struggle against treacherous and degenerating Stalinism. It was the Fourth International which explained, on the basis of Marxism, the causes of the degeneration. And in spite of all the slanders, the frame-ups, the persecutions, the blood of our comrades shed by the renegade bureaucracy, we never sought to take revenge on the Soviet Union; we never once faltered in its defense. If the Soviet Union should finally succumb to the strangulating grip of the bureaucracy on the one side, and the blows of imperialism on the other—even then no one can justly say by so much as one word that the Fourth International failed in its duty of defending the Russian revolution to the very end. That is one of the proudest assets of our movement.

In the first World War the peoples of Asia were practically nonexistent politically, passive, scarcely heard from in the great reverberations of the world. In this war, from the beginning, the masses of Asia are in the very center of events and are exerting a decisive influence upon their further development. Here is the source of the most optimistic revolutionary hope.

We know Lenin's program, the program of the alliance of the proletariat in the advanced countries with the struggle of the colonial peoples for independence and free national development. In this trend of events in the Orient we see again a brilliant confirmation of this masterful idea. The proletarian revolution in Russia awakened the Asiatic people. Now the insurgent people of China and India, in turn, can stimulate a mass movement of the workers in the imperialist centers and, together with them, begin the upward march of humanity from the black abyss of imperialist reaction, decay and war.

We alone expected these grave events and counted on them. The World Congress of the Fourth International in 1933, considering the approaching war, said that some of the colonial or semi-colonial countries would undoubtedly attempt to utilize the war in order to cast off the yoke of slavery. The World Congress of 1938 not only anticipated that the colonial people would rise during the war, but in advance characterized their war as not imperialist but liberating. That is precisely what the peoples of China and India are doing. They are utilizing the war to the best of their ability to gain some freedom for themselves. We fully support them in every step forward they make, regardless of the initial auspices of the struggle. We are not champions of the colonial bourgeoisie. We are champions of the leadership of the colonial proletariat. But we support each and every forward step that the national bourgeoisie is compelled to take, insofar as it helps the movement forward.

The Manifesto of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International in May 1940, again stated: "By its very creation of enormous difficulties and dangers for the imperialist metropolitan states, the war opens up wide possibilities for the oppressed peoples. The rumbling of cannon in Europe heralds the approaching hour of their liberation."

What prophetic words were written two and one-half years ago by Comrade Trotsky when he drafted the manifesto of the Emergency Conference! He foresaw that precisely in backward Asia, the weakest link of the imperialist chain may snap and create the conditions for the breaking of imperialist domination everywhere.

Consider the Chinese fight. Five years of military resistance to the power of Japanese imperialism, five years of military resistance, not thanks to Chiang Kai-shek and his bourgeois regime, but despite it; despite the strangulation and restriction of the popular mass movement by the innately treacherous bourgeois rule. We see in that five years fight, carried on under such difficulties, what latent powers reside in the Chinese people, what energies would have been released had the great Chinese revolution of 1926-27 been properly led and not betrayed into the hands of its enemies. One of the greatest crimes of Stalinism is the betrayal of the Chinese revolution.

We know Chiang Kai-shek as the hangman of the Chinese revolution, aided by Stalin. But despite Chiang Kai-shek and against him, the Fourth International and its heroic Chinese section has supported China in the war against Japan; and, in the

opinion of our National Committee, there is no valid reason to change now. To be sure, the United States imperialists would like to take the place of Japan in China. There is no doubt of that. There is no doubt that their aims in the Orient are not benevolent but predatory. The replacement of Japan in China and the subjugation of China to the exploitation of the United States money gang is undoubtedly one of their great aims in the war. But it is far from realization yet. Meantime, China exerts more independence than ever, both in the attitude of its people and in the distorted expressions which this attitude finds in the policy of the bourgeois government of China.

We had wonderful gems of wisdom on this question from the ex-disciples of the late professor Burnham. China was supported by the Fourth International and, from force of habit, they also continued to support China up until December, 1941. And then what happened? The United States out-post in Hawaii was bombed by the Japanese; the next day America declared war on Japan; and then, ipso facto, as they say in legal circles, we learned that no more support of the Chinese war against Japan could be allowed. The fact that the very first military consequence of the war was the further isolation of China, the cutting of the Burma road, and the necessarily greater reliance of China on her independent struggle—these facts counted for nothing. Our policy was supposed to be determined, automatically, it would seem, by the developments of diplomacy in Washington and Tokio. Well, the very kindest thing I can say for that kind of theory is that it is absurd schematism. However, that is not a just appraisal, such as one might make of the position of a genuine sectarian leftist who is at least a revolutionist—as Trotsky said—in his own imagination. I think this is an artificial leftism, representing a belated attempt to compensate for errors made in the other direction, errors which amounted to crimes and betrayals. This pseudo-leftism easily turns out to be political treachery on the part of people who are really beginning to be experts in this business.

We support China against Japan as we support India against Great Britain, as long as the war involves the Chinese masses and the element of independence predominates. We don't support the United States against Japan, and needless to say, we don't support Japan against the United States. We support China against all the imperialists, and in this particular case, against the immediate enemy, Japan. And in the further development of military events, if American imperialism replaces Japan, our attitude remains fundamentally the same. We won't quit supporting China; we will continue supporting it against the enemy of the moment, American imperialism instead of Japan. That is the Leninist policy which always seeks an opening for participation in the struggle, not a loop-hole to escape from it. Nothing has happened yet to change fundamentally the situation which prompted the Fourth International to declare its support of the Chinese war in 1937, five years ago.

India was awakened by the war and is properly taking advantage of the difficulties and weaknesses of the British Empire to advance her own rightful claim to independence. India's four hundred million people are rising. That is the great misfortune of world imperialism, and at the same time, it is the source of revolutionary hope and inspiration for the workers of the entire world. We foresaw this also. We prepared for it, we and our co-workers throughout the world.

The great struggle in India is beginning to develop under the leadership of the Congress, that is, the native bourgeoisie. We support this movement, this action, because, as Comrade Trotsky wrote in his Open Letter to the Workers of India, we support every single small forward step the bourgeoisie may feel obliged to take under the pressure of the masses. But what we see and what we count on is the sweeping movement of the masses. We support the first steps even though they are initiated or formally sponsored by others, in order to aid the mass movement to develop on a wider basis, break out of the narrow bounds of the program of the national bourgeois leadership, and eventually turn against them too, to the full unfoldment of the movement of the masses on the program of the permanent revolution.

The workers' vanguard in India enters the struggle with a rounded-out program, with selected and capable cadres, with qualified leaders who have recently consolidated the groups in Ceylon, Burma and India into one centralized organization, the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India. This party has formally affiliated to the Fourth International.

The convention should formally send the Indian comrades our greetings and our promise to give them all possible help in their great historic struggle.

It certainly would be a good thing if this could be the key note of our convention: an action of international solidarity in behalf of a section of the Fourth International which is on the line of fire. That would symbolize the gratitude we feel for all the good things that have been given to us by the international movement, and its great leader, Comrade Trotsky.

This is, properly speaking, our tenth convention. We are not a newly-fledged party. It is fourteen years ago this very month that we raised the banner of Trotsky and the Russian Opposition in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. Then began the rebirth of the veritable movement of American communism under the banner of Trotsky. Behind us there are fourteen years of work and struggle; fourteen years of rich and varied experience, of the testing of programs and the testing of people. Out of that crucible has come a party that is strong and unified and confident of its future.

Next to the Russian section of the Fourth International—which lives we are sure and struggles in totalitarian darkness—next to the Russian section we are the oldest, and are universally regarded as the strongest and most experienced detachment of our international movement. That puts obligations upon us. From those to whom much has been given, much is demanded. We are obliged to give fraternal assistance, material and political, to our struggling comrades in other lands. We have done this since the beginning. We shall continue to do so. But the greatest gift we can give to them, the greatest service we can render to world-wide humanity, is to stick resolutely to our course, to our uncompromising and irreconcilable struggle against the most rapacious enemy of mankind, United States imperialism.

Ah, but the faint hearts say, American imperialism is so rich; it is so strong; who dares to challenge it? We do. We dare. We see not only its strength; we see also its internal weakness, its hopeless contradictions. We see the historic doom that has already been pronounced upon this imperialist monster. We know that this is their day, but we also know, with no less certainty, that tomorrow is our day. Our enemies are strong, but our program, our cadres, our discipline, are stronger and will prevail.

We are inspired in our fight by the most completely self-justifying, the most powerful driving incentive that has ever been known—our faith in man and his grandiose communist future. Whatever may befall any of us individually, participation in the fight for the communist future of mankind is the only justifiable life in this epoch, the happiest and the most satisfying life. Whether we as individuals take part in the final victory—and many who are here in this hall will surely do so—or whether some of us as individuals perish in the fight—that is not of much consequence. That is only the soldier's hazard, it is not the most important thing. The most important thing is that we live in the fight and for the fight. Let all the other things take care of themselves.

Sentiments Of Officer Caste Revealed By Land

By M. MORRISON

The brutally blunt statement of Rear Admiral Emory S. Land on Oct. 19 to the effect that he would like to shoot every labor organizer at sunrise has created consternation in the ranks of middle-class democrats and labor leaders. They live in a land of dreams where democracy reigns supreme and where all persons in charge of running the ship of state are supposedly possessed of the same devotion to the rule of the people as they are. They have begun a campaign to have the individual who disturbed their slumbers removed from office; if they succeeded they will be satisfied, point to the great victory of democracy and slumber on.

While revolutionary workers will not decline to support any movement to oust Land from office, they will be careful not to create the impression that his removal would in any way improve the situation. On the contrary they will utilize the incident to teach the workers that Land did not utter his own personal opinion but the opinion of the officers as a group. On the basis of the statement they will try to convince the workers that under the leadership of men like Land, who rule the armed forces of the nation, there can never be a war against fascism; that the officers are not devoted to democracy but to the rule of the capitalist class and that so long as capitalism exists the army will be under the rule of men who hate organized labor and who would like nothing better than to crush labor in the same way that Hitler crushed German labor.

Here and there an officer who is a sincere democrat may appear on the scene but, as a group, the officers of the armed forces in a capitalist country are most reactionary and will at all times loyally defend the interests of the capitalist class.

In theory the armed forces in a democracy are subject to the control of the elected civilians. The President of the United States is at the same time the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. But in practice the army and navy constitute an independent force not subject to the rule of elected officials. Rarely indeed does even the President interfere with the running of the army and navy. Certainly officers are not chosen or removed on the basis of their progressive or reactionary sentiments.

The President, as a civilian, must necessarily rely on trained officers to lead the army and navy. Although politics in the appointment of higher officers is not altogether eliminated even in war time, an elected civilian would hesitate to interfere with the conduct of an institution which demands leadership that has received extensive training. And it must also be taken into consideration that the armed forces of a nation are most important for maintaining order and stability and by that is meant the order and stability under the rule of the capitalist class.

The result is that governments may change but the armed forces continue as they are. No change occurs in the leadership of the armed forces regardless of what party assumes control of the government, unless it is a revolutionary Marxist party. Only a party that intends to liquidate the capitalist system immediately will completely reorganize the armed forces whenever it gains control of the government. The real nature of a party—whether it is a capitalist party or one really interested in the working class—can be recognized by its attitude to the armed forces after it gains control of the government. The great liberal, Roosevelt, did not make the slightest move, when elected to office, to change the

constitution and leadership of the army and navy. This proved conclusively that essentially he is interested in preserving the rule of the capitalist class.

It is of course possible that an officer may be removed by the President for some particularly glaring indiscretion. It is not unlikely that because of the reaction to the statement of Land that he may be kicked upstairs or given a position where he will no longer appear in the public eye. So long as democracy exists under capitalism, so long as the rulers are required to pay some attention to the sentiments of the masses. The unwritten rule is that officers stay out of politics and refrain from doing or saying anything that may embarrass the government. And that very rule serves the interests of the ruling class because it keeps under cover the reactionary sentiments of the officer caste.

What makes the officers so reactionary? Generally speaking they are not wealthy, but their training and environment are such as to make them the most ardent defenders of the ruling class, the most willing and pliant tools of reaction. Higher officers are on intimate terms with the wealthy capitalists and frequently, through tips on the market, are given the opportunity of adding to their comparatively modest income.

It is significant that in this country a recognized class distinction exists only in the armed forces. The rule requiring soldiers to salute their superiors and the unwritten rule dividing men from officers in every social activity are indications of the truly reactionary nature of the army and navy.

Nowhere does there exist such an anti-labor sentiment as among the officers. It is no exaggeration to say that they would much rather fight against the unions than against the fascists.

If in peace time the officers are compelled more or less to stay in the background, war affords them the opportunity to come forward and assume the real power. Politicians in Congress may do all the talking and their committees may do a lot of investigating but real control rests in the hands of the army and navy. When Jefferson, the rubber czar, stated that the army will get everything they want regardless of any politician, he offended the politicians not because he was saying something out of the ordinary, but because he stated it so openly. It is taken for granted in Washington that the army and navy get what they want.

And the higher officers do not take a single step, certainly on the question of production, without consultation with and advice from the dollar-a-year men who represent Big Business and are actually in control of the productive end of the war. It is very revealing that the army and navy refused to permit any ceiling on the prices of war material, thus assuring their capitalist friends and masters a steady flow of high profits.

The conclusion is inescapable. The war is fought in the interests of monopoly capitalism both on the external and internal fronts.

Whether Land is removed from office is not the most important thing for class-conscious workers. For they understand that another officer put in his place will have the same opinions although he may not express them openly. What is important is to draw the general lesson: do not trust the officers, servants of the capitalist class, to fight a war against fascism. To fight fascism you must establish your own government and create your own group of officers.

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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
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5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
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.

WILLKIE'S SPEECH

The upsurge of national self-confidence of the colonial peoples of Asia, demanding complete freedom from all the imperialist powers, suspicious of all the imperialist powers — this was Willkie's main preoccupation in his radio speech reporting on his trip around the world. It hit him right between the eyes.

He tried to distinguish the United States from the other imperialist powers, including England, claiming that "American business enterprise, unlike that of most other industrial nations, does not necessarily lead to political control or imperialism." Hence, he asserted, there is among the colonial peoples "a great reservoir of good will" toward America.

But he also felt compelled to note so many "holes punched in our reservoir of good will" that, in the end, his asserted distinction between America and the other imperialisms did not sound very convincing. The net effect was a picture of the colonial peoples hostile to all the imperialist powers. Of the attitude of these peoples, Willkie said, in part:

"Their doubts were expressed to me in simple, unmistakable questions. 'Is there to be a charter only for the millions of the Western Hemisphere?' they asked, 'Is there to be no charter of freedom for the billions of the East?'"

"Many of them also asked me the question which has become almost a symbol all through Asia: 'What about India?'"

"After centuries of ignorant and dull compliance hundreds of millions of peoples in Eastern Europe and Asia have opened the books. Old fears no longer frighten them. They are no longer willing to be Eastern slaves for Western profits. . . Men and women in Russia and China and in the Middle East are conscious now of their own potential strength. They are coming to know that many of the decisions about the future of the world lie in their hands."

Willkie's references to semi-colonial China's suspicious attitude toward Washington were particularly significant, coming as they did AFTER Roosevelt's promise immediately to negotiate a treaty ending extra-territorial rights in China. Had Willkie believed that this treaty would substantially change the attitude of the people of China toward Washington, he would have certainly said so.

Nothing that the "democratic" or fascist imperialists can say can win them the confidence of the colonial peoples, whose exploitation is the very foundation-stone of all the imperialisms. China and India's struggle for freedom is awakening all the colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and the Middle East. They cannot be lulled to sleep by the Willkies and Roosevelts, nor by the Mikado and Hitler. The awakening of the colonial peoples is perhaps the most revolutionary factor in the world today.

Leon Henderson Fixes The Consumers

By A. ROLAND

The worker who trusts a capitalist government to pursue economic policies that will benefit the masses of people, will invariably suffer a rude awakening. The Office of Price Administration, under the showmanship of Leon Henderson, has hardly begun to "fix" price ceilings, when already it is found "fixing" the consumer — but good! Even the Congressional co-workers of the Price Administrator have winced at the obvious raw deal that the inestimable Leon is attempting to palm off.

The Roosevelt administration believes in nothing, if not in individualist business enterprise. It would never dream of taking over the strategic mass production industries and running them in the most organized and efficient manner possible, with the workers having a say in control of production. But when there is a chance for the big monopolies to make any kind of extra profit at the expense of the toilers, leave it to the expert administrators. They will always find the proper formula for pulling the wool over unwary eyes.

Who Gets Squeezed?

Take the small item of wheat. It seems that there is an uncontrollable desire on the part of those who bring the wheat to market to jack up its price. Leon gets busy and finds that it is the farmer who wants more for his wheat and who therefore is exerting a "squeeze" on the millers. These poor millers — who are among the greatest monopolists in the United States — find themselves squeezed between the farmers — and the price ceilings just set for flour.

Henderson dislikes to see a squeeze on anybody but the masses of people. He hastens to the rescue of the millers. He proposes that prices to the consumer remain the same by subsidizing the farmer. Congress just refused to permit such subsidies. But that does not faze Henderson. He connives with the Agricultural Department to secure an indirect subsidy. The government has taken over millions of bushels of wheat by loaning money for the wheat to the farmers. (Actually the loan was made to those who really control the wheat, to the big flour mills). Henderson proposes to release this wheat back to the "farmers" at less than the loan price, so that they may sell it to the millers at the ceiling price for wheat. This will enable the poor millers to avoid the "squeeze" and sell flour at its proper ceiling.

Some congressmen have objected to this scheme. But don't get the idea that their objection is based on the fact that the whole idea is false, because in the end it is the public who is laying out the subsidy and thereby paying more for wheat and flour and bread. Their objection is that Henderson is concerned not with the farmer, who will benefit very little if at all, but with the mill monopolists. As the N. Y. Times puts it: "This will remove any danger of flour millers being squeezed between advancing wheat prices and the flour ceiling." It doesn't seem to have occurred to anyone that the middlemen could be eliminated from the picture entirely if the government would take over the marketing of wheat, and that this would not only enable the farmer to get much more for his wheat, but would actually lower prices to the masses. An excellent way to prevent inflation!

Wheat, however, is only one little item in the whole process of inflating prices. Under the guise of "straightening out" injustices that resulted when pork prices were set, Henderson has added to the market price of pork. Subsidies have already been given to soybean "growers" (Henry Ford is one of the largest "growers" in the country) and to those handling coffee. Incidentally the coffee monopolists are withholding coffee from the market, thereby putting the "squeeze" on their government for an increase, which they will probably get. Nor is the matter of subsidies, or indirect price increases, confined to foods. The copper barons have also aroused the deepest sympathies of the Price Administrator.

Other Formulas Used Against Consumers

Other monopolists have not waited patiently for their slice of national administrative kindness. They have found their own well-tried formulas for "adjusting" prices upwards. Campbell's Soup offers the most brazen example. Campbell has suddenly discovered a "New Process" for making clam chowder, tomato soup, and what not. It's a strange thing that in the past new processes have been introduced with an eye to making things better and yet more cheaply. Not so Campbell. Their "New Process" (which is the simple matter of printing these two magic words on their labels, and nothing more) has added so much in the way of health-giving qualities, that the price of a twelve cent can has risen to eighteen cents—a 50 per cent increase at one blow!

The worker, we repeat, who places his trust naively in the capitalist government to carry out its promises of keeping down the cost of living, will find his soup bitter to the taste. The government is quite serious with regard to one thing that enters into the price category; that is, the price of labor. Wages and small salaries will be held rigidly down. Everybody but the workers will cooperate fully to see to that. The administration will dangle the threat of inflation before the masses every time a union dares to ask for increases to meet the rising cost of living.

But actually the government wishes to see a widening gap between earnings of the toilers and the cost of living. It acknowledges as much whenever it talks about decreasing the purchasing power of the masses. The laws having to do with fixing, price fixing, and income and other taxes, are all interlinked with this in mind. Wages have been fixed at what they are, but prices have been set at ceilings that meant in all cases an actual increase over what they had been, as every housewife knows. The worker has only one remedy, his own political power.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

The New York Elections

A Statement by The National Committee of The Socialist Workers Party

If it had been possible, the Socialist Workers Party would have nominated its own candidates in New York in the present election as this would have provided the party with the best means of emphasizing the most important issue: the struggle against the imperialist war and the whole anti-labor program bound up with it. However, the New York election laws are loaded heavily against minority parties and made our participation in the present election with our own candidates technically impossible. Under these conditions, following our established policy, we vote for those candidates of the American Labor Party who are running independently—not on the slate of the Democratic or Republican parties—without thereby endorsing in any way the program of the ALP.

The war program of the official leadership of the ALP is an extension of its peace program, i.e., class collaboration and support of the Roosevelt administration. We are opposed to this program. Our program, in war and peace, is the program of the class struggle. In this election, as in all elections, we advocate only our own program. Our votes for the independent candidates of the ALP are votes for the idea of independent political action by the workers not for the program of the ALP.

The ALP originated in the 1936 presidential election as the result of two contradictory tendencies in a strong section of the New York labor movement. A mass of organized workers desired an independent party of their own and did not want to be registered or counted as Democrats or Republicans. The official leadership was tied body and soul to the Roosevelt administration and wanted at all cost to deliver the labor vote to it. This difficulty was temporarily bridged over, and the official leadership succeeded in accomplishing its immediate object, by the device of forming the ALP as a separate party with Roosevelt, Lehman, etc. as its candidates. In 1937 the ALP supported LaGuardia who was also the candidate of the Republican and Fusion parties.

The same scheme has been employed, to reconcile the same contradiction of tendencies,

in every election since that time. It has not yet been possible for the bureaucrats to dissolve the ALP because of the strong impulse of the rank and file trade unionists for greater political independence and a party of their own. In most of these elections the ALP has found it necessary to nominate some candidates for minor offices independently of the capitalist parties. In every case where this has been done the SWP, making it clear that we oppose the program of the ALP, has given electoral support to such independent candidates while rejecting those candidates of the ALP who ran also as candidates of one or another of the bourgeois parties. The guiding line which determined our position in each case is our support of independent political action by the workers. There is no principle reason to change this position in the present election.

The Decisive Question

To be sure, the miserable and treacherous leaders of the ALP find themselves conducting an independent campaign this year very much against their will. They are doing so only because the Democratic Party rejected their modest request that it nominate one bourgeois scoundrel (Mead) instead of another bourgeois scoundrel (Bennett), and because the sentiments of the workers forbid them to dissolve the ALP at Roosevelt's command.

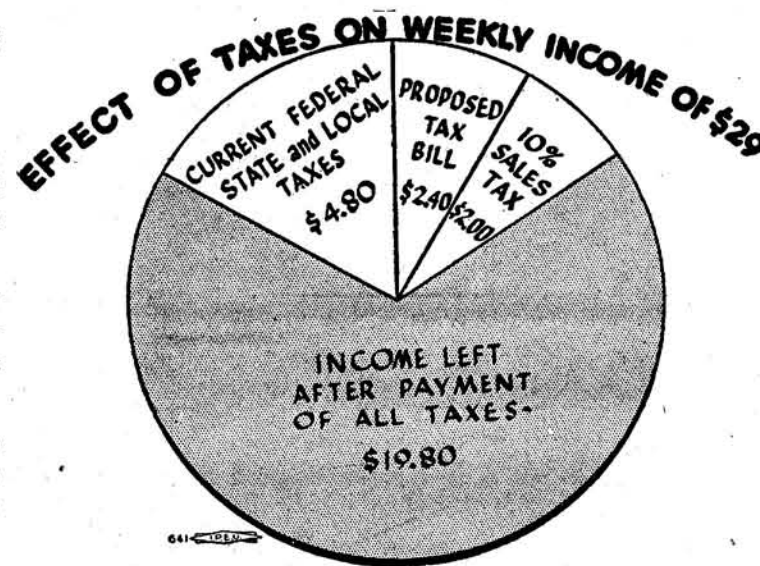
But the reasons which prompt reformist labor leaders to sponsor an independent labor ticket are of no fundamental concern to us. Nor is the personality of the candidate the decisive question. Alfange, the candidate for governor, is a political adventurer from Tammany Hall. But he is no worse and no better than the other leading figures of the ALP. We do not distinguish between good and bad fakers. What is important and decisive is the fact of an independent ticket nominated by a party based on trade unions. We don't support the leaders or their program. We support independent political action by the workers. For that reason, and that reason only, we vote for the independent candidates of the ALP in the present election.

How Wages Are Cut By Taxes

The chart on the right is taken from the September, 1942 issue of the *Economic Outlook* published by the CIO.

It shows very graphically how the wages of a worker earning approximately \$1500 a year are cut by taxes.

The 10 per cent Sales tax was not made into law. In its place Congress levied a 5 per cent "Victory Tax."



Military Experts Report Needless Loss Of Life

(Continued from page 1)

who make mistakes that even an ordinary seaman would know enough to avoid? It has removed Vice-Admiral Robert L. Ghormley and Vice Admiral William S. Pye from their command in the South Pacific and put Vice Admiral William F. Halsey Jr. and Vice Admiral Herbert F. Leary in their place.

The N. Y. Times approves the change and says editorially: "Admiral Halsey has proved himself a resourceful and aggressive leader."

P.M. the darling of the "Liberals," follows closely behind: "Vice-Admiral William F. Halsey, Jr., new Pacific commander, has a record of brilliant successes against the Japs."

What they both carefully refrain from saying is that the same kind of procedure occurred after the disaster at Pearl Harbor: gold braids were dismissed, gold braids were appointed.

What they also refrain from saying, but what sticks out like a sore thumb, is the fact that the RANK AND FILE SAILORS ARE NOT CONSULTED; THEY ARE IGNORED WHEN THE QUESTION OF PREVENTING NEEDLESS LOSS OF LIFE IS INVOLVED. Obviously, according to the present procedure, the duty of the rank and file sailor is to keep his mouth shut and be surprised "on ships like sitting ducks," while "the admiral in command leaves the scene in his flagship" or while ships are sunk "when steaming at a low speed and on a fixed patrol course in areas known to be infested by enemy submarines."

HOW OFFICERS ARE SELECTED

The question of the military outcome of the operations in the South Pacific is not of primary importance to those who understand the real nature of this war. Victory in such actions depends on many and complicated circumstances which we are not inter-

ested in discussing at this time. But defeats such as those suffered in the Solomon Islands disaster described above, originate primarily from the undemocratic system in the armed forces.

Every position of importance in the Navy from the top command down to the rung above chief petty officer is obtained by appointment. The criterion for these appointments is political influence and class position. The privileged and idle sons of the rich find a quick way to the top through the exclusive doors of Annapolis. A college graduate without a single day's sea experience receives a higher commission in the navy than most enlisted sailors can get after years of service. Incompetence, ignorance, fear and stupidity ride the bridge of most American naval vessels. Every crisis has the making of disaster for the sailors on the ships. The men who sail the ships in time of war sometimes have more to fear from the mistakes of their own officers than they have from the onslaughts of the enemy.

FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS!

The two Pearl Harbors which have already been reported may be followed by others. Certainly

they cannot be prevented by the reshuffling of a few top officers. If the men who sail the ships and do the fighting had the right to choose their own officers by democratic vote, officers would then be selected by proved ability, by demonstration of leadership and initiative under fire. If any mistakes were made, corrections could and would quickly be made by the democratic procedure of recall. Privilege, political influence wouldn't stand a chance, and incompetence would soon be rooted out. Only merit would count. And under such a democratic system, the real leaders would quickly and easily make their way to the top.

There is no other solution to the wholesale slaughter of imperialist war than the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a socialist society. But there is an answer to the needless loss of life among soldiers and sailors which results from the incompetence of the privileged officers caste: **DEMOCRATIZE THE ARMED FORCES! GIVE THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS THE RIGHT TO ELECT THEIR OWN OFFICERS!**

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Saturday Night, Oct. 31, 1942

How To Destroy Fascism Abroad And Prevent It At Home

Excerpts from George Breitman's Radio Address Over Station WPAT On October 24

Stated briefly, fascism is the naked dictatorship of the capitalist class, resorted to when Big Business becomes dissatisfied with the amount of profits it is making under the democratic form of capitalism.

World capitalism — the system under which the great majority of the people toil and barely manage to eke out an existence while the employers make profit out of their toil — has reached a stage of permanent crisis and degeneration, offering the masses only the prospect of new periods of depression and unemployment, each worse than the previous one, and interrupted only by outbreaks of war and feverish production for war.

The crisis of capitalism brings not only suffering to the masses, but also a lower rate of profit to Big Business. The answer of Big Business to this crisis is not the scrapping of the outworn capitalist system, but an organized and vicious attack on the living standards of the workers, which can be sure of success only when the workers no longer have unions and parties through which they can resist the bosses' attacks.

In Germany and Italy and Spain the capitalists financed the fascists and brought them to power. Their purpose was to smash the workers' organizations so that wages and living standards would be lowered and profits increased, and to utterly destroy the people's democratic rights — freedom of speech, press and assembly—so that it would be most difficult for them to do away with the decaying capitalist system. . .

The threat of fascism to the American workers doesn't come from abroad alone, it also arises right here in the United States, from the capitalist class which is not interested in democracy but only in profits, and doesn't care under what kind of government it gets them. There are plenty of people in this country who are would-be Hitlers, and there are even more people who are preparing the way for an American Hitler — the politicians who want by legislation or decree to weaken and destroy the trade unions and undermine the democratic rights of the people; the demagogues who preach anti-Semitism; the defenders of Jim Crowism — all those, in short, who pretend that the way to defeat Hitler is by imitating him.

That is why the Socialist Workers Party, also known as the Trotskyist party, which I represent in the current election campaign, says to the American workers that the only way to prevent fascism from coming to power in the United States is by beating the capitalists to the punch, by not giving the capitalists and their Hitlers the time to prepare for fascism or the opportunity to institute it.

The only way to prevent fascism is by disposing of the rotten capitalist system and replacing it with a Workers' and Farmers' Government able to solve the economic and social problems of the masses by putting America's productive forces to work creating the goods the people need. . .

Applying the same criterion to the meaning and origin of fascism, we can say definitely that the present war against the Axis is not a war to destroy fascism. For none of the people at the head of the United States or British governments has the slightest intention of doing away with the capitalist system and the rule of the capitalist class in the Axis countries. Their grievance is not against fascism as such; in fact, it is well known that American and British capital were offered and used to bring Hitler to power. Their grievance is rather against the attempt of the Axis fascists to redivide the world and its markets and colonies. As the British Foreign Minister, Anthony Eden, publicly stated only last January: "The trouble with Hitler was not that he was a Nazi at home. The trouble with him was that he would not stay at home. . ."

The only way to arouse the German masses to revolutionary anti-fascist action is by appealing to them to make a revolution and assuring them that instead of punishing the German people the workers in other lands will support them in that revolution and join them in building a new society after the war.

But this is precisely what the Roosevelt-Churchill governments refuse to do, because they are more afraid of a socialist revolution than they are of fascism or a fascist victory. . . The Socialist Workers Party says that the way to defeat fascism abroad is by establishing a Workers' and Farmers' Government at home which alone would wage revolutionary warfare and could win the confidence and collaboration of the German masses and could disintegrate Hitler's armies from within and from the rear, as the Soviet Union under Lenin and Trotsky did to the armies of the imperialist invaders in the early days of the Russian Revolution.

There are numerous other policies which prove to us that this is not a genuine war to destroy fascism or extend democracy. To mention but a few:

What kind of war to destroy fascism is it when President Roosevelt openly extends a hand of friendship to the fascist butcher of Spain, Franco, and offers to help put the Spanish fascist regime "on its feet economically"? What kind of war for democracy is it that is led by Vargas, the brutal dictator of Brazil, whose record is just as bloody as Hitler's? Are fascists cleansed of their crimes when they are neutral or allied to the United States?

What kind of war for democracy is it when the Negro people are Jim Crowed in industry and in the government's armed forces? The world is revolted by Hitler's vicious persecution of minority groups, but how much better is the ruling class' treatment of the Negro minority in this country? How much better is the theory of "white supremacy" than the theory of "Aryan superiority"? Is discrimination against color any better than discrimination against religion?

What kind of war for democracy is it that denies the Indian people the democratic right to rule themselves, a right the American people fought a revolution to obtain in 1776? If it is criminal for Hitler to subject the people of Europe to his rule, is it not equally criminal for British imperialism to subject India to its rule or for United States imperialism to subject Puerto Rico to its rule?