25th Anniversary Of The Russian Revolution

By George Collins

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

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

But the revolution spreading through Europe was defeated by the capitalists aided by the treacherous social-democrats. These defeats left deep, open wounds in the Russian Revolution. Reaction forced its way to power in the person of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Promising a paradise of prosperity in a socialist society that would ed in her campaign, the Stalinnot extend beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy erected its own dictatorship by strangling Soviets, unions and | yesterday launched into a vicifactory committees and by physically exterminating the entire gen- ous attack on the Trotskyists eration of Bolsheviks who had made the revolution and who might in some future time lead the opposition to the recationary Stalinist | address over WLOL. dictatorship.

Revolution Endures Despite Isolation

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

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

Stalin scorned the truths of Marxism; his was the "practical politics" of a "realist." He swung from an anti-Versailles alliance to the League of Nations, from the Popular Front to the Nazi-Soviet pact. He succeeded in closing the mouths of the Marxists in the Soviet Union by concentration camps and firing squads; his agents assassinated the outstanding Marxist of our times, Leon Trotsky. when he appeared on the same But Stalin could not isolate the Soviet Union from the iron logic platform with her. Mackie did of the international class struggle; he could not provide an escape | not dare make these slanderous for the Soviet Union from world developments hurrying rapidly into charges because the membership war. On the day Hitler invaded the Soviet Union the last justifica- of the Minneapolis branch of the tion for Stalin's anti-Bolshevik policies was blown up.

The Russian Revolution triumphed in the midst of war. More shown by their applause and correctly said: it triumphed in opposition to the imperialist war. their enthusiasm that they ap-But the Soviets did not find immediate peace; on the contrary, they proved of the Trotskyist program had to fight for their lives against the self-same powers that today which Carlson presented at the profess friendship for the Soviet Union,

The Bolshevik Program of Internationalism

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

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

The nationalized property taken from capitalists, bankers and landlords twenty-five years ago still remains. For this the Russian workers are shedding their life-blood. The Russian workers prevented Stalin from robbing them of the greatest conquest of their revolution up to the present war. Now they fight again to prevent Hitler and world capitalism from destroying the foundation they still lives. As his best troops are crushed in the nutcracker of Soviet matic looting of the public rank of Vice Admiral is now up that the company not only had to receive the subsidy, resistance, Hitler above all has no doubt of the continued virility treasury by a partnership of ate. Land, well-known on the but then realized an additional from subsidies alone, according private corporations which have

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

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

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Stalinists Attack **SWP Candidate** In Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. Nov. I-Angered by the interest which has been aroused by the principled workingclass program which Grace Carlson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator in Minnesota, has presentist candidate for governor as "fifth columnists" in a radio

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

WHEN MACKIE WAS SILENT

Only five days before this lying attack on the Socialist Workers Party, Mackie had an opportunity to make these charges to the candidate herself National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had

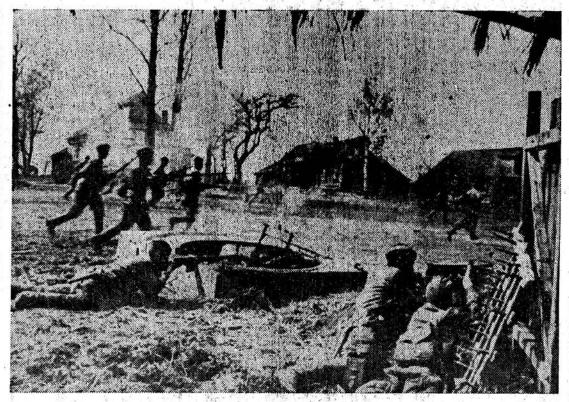
Grace Carlson was one of some by the NAACP to explain their program for the Negro people and how they would put it into practice if elected. But Comrade Carlson was the only one who had a program for the solution of masses—the abolition of discrimination through a Workers'

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

(Continued on page 2)

Administration Moves Closer To Regimentation Of Labor

Defending the Gains of October



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

Stalinists Aid British Against Indian Masses

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

By Felix Morrow

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

When the British imprisoned in Minnesota who were invited strikes began, protesting the ar- rialists. As they write: rests. The Stalinists openly opposed the strikes and moved heaven and earth to get the workers back into the mills. To their eternal infamy, the Stalinists were the only political group the problems of the colored in India whom the British authorities permitted to hold public meetings - to speak against the strikes, of course. Here is how P. S. Joshi, head of the CP of India, tries to embellish this ugly

> THEY GET PERMISSION "Meetings were banned, so we rush to the Police Commissioner (of Bombay) for permission. He asks us to drop our political slogans and only ask the workers to keep the peace. We stand firm, ed their tactics slightly. Here is we refuse to suit the police, we how Joshi describes it: seek to serve our class our way. (Daily Worker, Nov. 1.)

the All-India Congress leader- all" because they were doing the the peace. . . (We gave) the or-30 candidates for political office ship, a great wave of political dirty work of the British impeders of the Communist Party:

> begins) or as soon as the mill if mills remain closed." gates open the Communists send the workers back to work for the country's defense and their with the workers. Only "some own livelihood." (Daily Worker, non-worker disrupters" threw Oct. 27.)

> own livelihood" - the classic argument of every strikebreaker! But in spite of all the Stalinists could do, the workers kept white! - as follows: closing mills. As Joshi sadly admits: "It would be suicidal to Hell of a job to put workers to show our strength(!) and sween their pickets aside and demand that the mill gates be opened."

'A HELL OF A JOB" Thereupon the Stalinists chang

We get the permission after all." mills remained closed, we changed the emphasis of our propa-They got the permission "after ganda from go to work to keep

'Down with police terror! Go to "The next day (after a strike mills if they open! Maintain peace

This tactic, according to Joshi enabled the Stalinists to get by stones at Stalinist meetings. Fi-Note that touch about "their nally, on August 16 - after a week of strikes - the Bombay mills were opened. Joshi reports this, then writes - in black and

> "We heaved a sigh of relief. work despite the provocation of the police and the stinging cries from misguided fellow patriots.' (Daily Worker, Nov. 1.)

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

> > (Continued on page 3)

Right To Change Jobs Would Be Limited Under New Plan

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

By Anthony Massini

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

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

cy for all employment. The only

considered "satisfactory" by the

Under this provision no work-

er would be able to change his

job without the approval of the

USES. No employer with a war

contract would be able to hire

workers without the approval of

the USES; federal inspectors

would be stationed in the plants

No reports about proposed pen-

alties for violation of this provi-

sion have yet been published. A

worker would still presumably be

able to quit his job. But obvious-

ly, since the only way he could

get a new one would be through

the USES, his real right to leave

the job would be considerably

restricted. For the USES would

have the power to reject his ex-

cuse for leaving the job and to in-

form him that the only job he

could get would be the one he

Actually, therefore, there is

not much real difference between

this proposal and the "national

service" bill McNutt originally

the next thing to it. No wonder

Needless to say, this plan will

meet the enthusiastic approval of

the capitalist class as a whole.

There may be some griping from

individual employers - especial-

ly those not doing the most es-

sential war work or those faced

the whole the bosses will approve

this plan because it will give

them new opportunities to attack

it appeared clear that steps will osoon be taken to limit the right | Service, now under the jurisdicof workers to freely select the tion of McNutt, as the sole agenplace of their employment. These same steps could be used in the exceptions to this arrangement future by the government to put would be for union hiring halls over a program of complete labor freezing.

WMC Chairman Paul V. ("Hoosier Hitler") McNutt, who had HOW THIS WOULD previously called for the pass AFFECT THE WORKERS age of a "national service" bill giving the WMC complete control of hiring and transferring labor, announced that he was fully satisfied with the recommendations of his labor-management com-

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

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

At N.Y. Meeting on

NEW YORK - An active de- had asked for. This plan may fender of the Russian Revolution | not be labor freezing, but it is for a quarter of a century, James P. Cannon, National Secretary of McNut praised it so highly! the Socialist Workers Party and founder of the American Trotskyist movement, will be the main speaker at the New York meeting celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Russian Revo-

All advance reports indicate with labor shortages — but on that this meeting will be one of the most important and inspiring public gatherings in the history of the New York Trotskvist movement.

The meeting will be held Sunday, Nov. 8, at 8 P. M., in the Irving Plaza Grand Ballroom. Irving Place and 15th Street. will include Eloise Black and Joseph Hansen.

labor's living standards, increase the speed-up, refuse higher classwhose defensive struggles are already badly hampered by the labor leaders' no-strike pledge, will Other speakers at the meeting find it much harder to resist boss attacks and provocations when they are unable to secure new jobs without the approval of the As for the top leadership of the

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

An interesting aspect of the Navy at higher prices which were present situation is that McNutt not justified by increases in already has the powers to put into effect the provision putting the USES in charge of all employment. These powers were conferred on him by Roosevelt last April when the WMC was established by executive decree.

McNutt's referral of the matter back to Roosevelt indicates On the basis of these charges that the administration realizes Land is not being court-martial- how packed with dynamite the promotion. If Aiken's charges publicly launching it through the Commission will have to continue CIO leaderships rather than anti-labor appointee McNutt.

$Admiral\ Land\ Aids\ Shipowners\ In\ War\ Profiteering$

Last week, while a series of Maritime Commission Accused of Helping Bosses Cheat Gov't naval reverses in the Pacific gave graphic demonstration of the incompetency of the Amer-

exposed a series of transactions between the Maritime Commissulted in maritime Big Business shipowners. lining its pockets to the tune of the Admirals who run the Maritime Commission with "extravagance and incompetence." On to private pockets—one, a deal be

Aiken's fire was directed juggle its books in order to boost tion of foreign yards. There has primarily at Rear Admiral Emory its valuation by over a million been no real competition from ican officer caste, revelations in (Shoot - Organizers - at -Sunrise) dollars when the Navy took over foreign yards for the past three

Washington aired the syste- Land, whose elevation to the the Tampa facilities. This meant years, but Alcoa has continued the military and Big Business. waterfront as a labor-baiter, has million dollars from the Navy by to Aiken. In a letter to Senator David a huge fund at his disposal with the simple procedure of book-Walsh, chairman of the Senate which he is supposed to be build- keeping. Naval Affairs Committee, Sen- ing the merchant marine needed ator George D. Aiken (Rep., Vt.) to win the war and secure the imperialism. He has used the fund to line the pockets of the

latest diversion of public funds

for confirmation before the Sen- new yards given it at no cost,

"This very questionable revaluation was apparently indulged that the Commission: world's markets for American in to justify further financial assistance. . ." wrote Aiken. He old and obsolete ships: added that it would be "virtually necessary to discredit the Comp- sidies for construction based on troller General's Office" to clear foreign costs long after foreign the Maritime Commission of the competition had ceased to exist; holding contracts with the Com-Aiken cites two cases of the charge of "incompetence and collusion with private interests." after foreign competition had

sidies is another method used by rate of subsidy; charges, but Aiken's terminology and the Tampa Shipbuilding and the Commission to siphon funds was tempered by the fact that he Engineering Company, and the out of the government into the in subsidizing ships for private ed, but only blocked from a plan is and sees the necessity for was not so much interested in at- other with the Alcoa (aluminum pockets of Big Business. The corporations; tacking the shipowners involved trust) Line. Admiral Land Aluminum Company of America (5) Failed to collect the statu- stick; the head of the Maritime "liberal" Roosevelt and the AFLas in "getting" the Roosevelt- greatly enlarged the Tampa has been receiving a subsidy of tory 31/2% interest charge from appointed brass hats who run the yards (with public funds), and 50% on the construction of its shipping corporations on miscel- his work for the shipowners as a through Roosevelt's notoriously then allowed the company to ships in order to offset competi-laneous accounts;

Alcoa is richer by \$15,000.000

THE COMMISSION . The detailed accusations ar

(1) Paid exorbitant prices for

(2) Paid unwarranted The use of differential sub- ceased, and even increased the

(4) Spent millions of dollars

(6) Failed to recover excess profits from shipbuilding cor-(7) Failed to collect 25% down

payment on all ships sold, although required to do so by law; (8) Been a party to transactions whereby it sold ships to thereupon, in accordance with understandings had with the commission before it transferred title, resold the same ships to the

(9) Permitted extravagance, ncompetent management and looting to prevail at shipyards mission for the construction of vessels on a cost-plus-fixed-fee

mere Rear Admiral.

How To Put An End To Imperialist War

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

Only the Beginning

Yet the second world war has scarcely

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

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

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

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

There Is A Way Out

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

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

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

But what were the realities?

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

James P. Cannon's Radio Speech

Over Station WPAT on Saturday, October 31

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

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

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

What Causes Imperialist War?

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

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

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

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

Post-War Aims of the *Imperialists*

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

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

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

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

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

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

Socialism — Alternative

To War

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

Of a Union

illustrate this fact took place in

union meeting would take up a

Charities (Red Cross, Salvation

fight that the California labor

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

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

Most Important Issue Today

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

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

Celebrating

The 25th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

Speakers:

James P. Cannon

National Secretary Socialist Workers Pary

Eloise Black Joseph Hansen

Sunday, Nov. 8

at 8 P. M.

in Grand Ballroom

Irving Plaza

Irving Pl. & 15 St.

Auspices:

Socialist Workers Party

New York Local

116 University Place

New York Boss Attacks On Local 9 Have Stalinists Slander SWP Meeting Intensified Since War Began

Harbor, the militants in Local 9 of the CIO Shipyard Workers Union have had to resist not Union Hiring Hall only the pressure of the government and the hostility of them out of the jurisdiction of Drydock Corporation.

its violent hatred of unions, has keeping them in line. used the war to redouble its atwas willing to sign a contract- week. but without any union condi-

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

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

COMPANY INTIMIDATION

The L.A. yard has in recent yard in its attack on the union and union conditions and in its contempt for the men in yards. Stewards are being fired and inall union-busting companies. worked for a regular wage and were under the jurisdiction of the union, were made into sub-foremen at monthly salaries, taking

WHERE YOU CAN GET THE MILITANT

Boston-Ademan's Newsstand 284 Tremont St.

Detroit-The Saturday Bookshop, Room 5, 3513 Woodward Ave., open Saturday evenings from 6 to 9 o'clock. Harlem—Newsstands at northwest corner of Lenox Ave. and 125th St. and at the northeast corner of Lenox

Ave. and 135th St. Newark (Downtown) - Newsstand, 11 Springfield Ave., near Court House. New Haven - Nodelman's

near Chapel.

News Depot, 106 Church St.,

LOS ANGELES—Since Pearl Gov't Agents, Union to break through the iron barrier Leaders Help Destroy barred them from industry.

their own union officials, but the union. The move left the leadmen without protection from the of retreat and surrender, are also a series of anti-union company and the workers with- having their effect on the morale attacks and provocations by the out any protection from the lead-Bethlehem Steel Company and men. The purpose of the move the Los Angeles Shipping and was to turn the leadmen into company agents whose jobs now Bethlehem Steel, notorious for depend on driving the men and

Next the company introduced tack on Local 9. Although the the "staggered" or "rotating dues. A diminishing number of local had won an NLRB election work week," which in a nutshell by a 95% vote, Bethlehem refused | means straight time for Saturday | Bethlehem several shop stewards | to offer a single concession-no and Sunday work. The particular have resigned their posts. no seniority; no type of staggered shift which after one year had been estab- one day off, paying time-and- policies of the union officials and

HIRING HALL WITHDRAWN

Now the administration and the union officials have openly program: Practice of the shop nation of one of the union's important defensive instrumentsthe hiring hall. The hiring hall 'interferes" with the government's absolute control over manpower and the government's bers with the history of the attack on it has been scheduled as the first on hiring halls all along the Coast.

Production Board sent a certain Pollard as "arbitrator" for a new contract eliminating the hiring hall. Pollard came with the consent of the union. He participated weeks outdone the Bethlehem in all phases of the secret negoin all phases of the secret negotiations over the elimination of Russian Revolution Featured the hiring hall, and undoubtedly was the one who drew up the contract. In addition, he took personal charge of the campaign to timidated—the stock-in-trade of sonal charge of the campaign to put the new contract over on the Leadmen, who had previously membership. In line with a number of other recent government feature of the November issue Comment of the month, analyzing board decisions, Local 9 was granted a closed shop in return for giving up the hiring hall. Local 9 was the only one in the industry to have the weapon of this topic: the hiring hall, which was won through militant strikes and battles several years ago.

Although Local 9 has a rich tradition of militant struggle, it here for the first time. It is ducting. numbered only 800 members be- particularly important as Trot- "A Defamer of Trotsky" is the fore the war boom. Many of these sky's definitive statement on his title of an article by Joseph Han-"old-timers" are gone from the local, and the present member- with Lenin on the theory of the memorial article on Trotsky ship of 15,000 is composed largely of workers new to the applied to the Russian revolution. industry and to unionism. Thousands of young men streamed Five Years of the Russian into the yards from the farm Revolution." areas and the small towns of 3. James P. Cannon's "The Fifth the midwest. Many salesmen, Year of the Russian Revolution," Yugoslav partisan movement. clerical workers and students a lecture delivered on a national were attracted by the relatively tour after his return from Rushigh wages paid in the yards. sia where he spent the months of the subscription rate is \$2 per And hundreds of Negro and May-December, 1922. This ap-year. The address of Fourth In-Mexican workers have but recent-pears in the regular department, ly found their first opportunity "From the Arsenal of Marxism." Place, New York City.

of race discrimination that had

EFFECTS ON UNION

The continuous pounding of the administration and the management, the treacherous policy of the rank and file. Already it is reported that 50% of the men at Bethlehem are not members of the union in good standing, and that approximately 2000 in the men attend union meetings. At country."

so long as sufficient income rolls didates." into the union treasury.

The present state of the local makes necessary the following ved! Broadening of the demounion activities. Educational work to acquaint the new memunion and the necessity to safeguard the remaining union gains.

Only in this way can the Local In order to secure the giving 9 workers be mobilized to sucup of the hiring hall, the War cessfully resist the new employer-government attacks being

The 25th anniversary of the

Three articles appear under

permanent revolution as directly

2. John G. Wright's "Twenty-

Russian revolution is the topical on Labor," is the Editorial

of Fourth International which the anti-labor consequences of

came off the press last Wednes- the tax bill signed by Roosevelt

1. Leon Trotsky's "The Three Boot," the second of his articles

Conceptions of the Russian on the subject in the discussion

Revolution," written about a year on the national question in Eu-

before his death, and published rope which the magazine is con-

agreements and disagreements sen, dealing with a so-called

on October 21.

Candidate In Minnesota

(Continued from page 1)

when she said that if elected she would introduce a bill to the U. S. Senate "to abolish discrimina-A measure of the real en- over station WLOL on October

thusiasm felt by the Negro work- 28 were mailed to hundreds of ers at the meeting was expressed workers and farmers throughout by one member who stood up to the state. The speech was also rewho is going to get my vote and Duluth and station KWLM in that's Grace Carlson. She spoke Willmar on October 30. like an abolitionist! Her voice suspended for non-payment of rang out like a tocsin. I wish that called for support of the Trotskyshe could be heard all over this ist program in these ringing

The job of the militants—to was secure from challengers vacation with pay, except after the company instituted is com- rebuild and strengthen the local Martin Mackie shamefacedly told three years although vacations posed of seven days work and -requires a rejection of the the NAACP that "the issue of lished up and down the West half for the sixth consecutive the Stalinists, who consider that that the only issue now before Coast; no union bulletin boards day and straight time for the the union is in a sound state so the people is the winning of the in the yard; and no permission seventh. The seventh consecutive, long as the workers are producture, war. "If you are not ready to to union officials to come into in this scheme, is considered the ing the maximum possible vote Communist," he added, the yard on business. Bethlehem first day of the worker's next amount of ships for the navy, or "then vote for win-the-war can-

WHOM THE C.P. SUPPORTS

The outstanding "win-the-war" candidates in Minnesota today are joined the company in the elimi- stewards system must be revi- Harold Stassen, "labor - hating Republican governor, and author cratic procedure to encourage of the infamous state labor act, rank and filers to participate in and his cohort, Joseph Ball, candidate for the U.S. Senate. Although Mackie did not dare to come out openly for Stassen and Ball at this meeting, the Minnesota Stalinists are supporting these arch-enemies of the workers in this campaign.

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

> > Marc Loris contributes "Revo-

lutionary Tasks Under the Nazi

written by Max Shachtman.

The "International Notes" de-

partment is particularly in-

teresting this month, carrying

items from France, England,

India, and an analysis of the

Copies of the monthly mag-

azine sell at 20 cents each and

| vote for reactionary Republican governor Stassen on election day:

'We acknowledge the win-thewar efforts of Governor Stassen and his endorsement and support tion in the United States armed of President Roosvelt's win-theforces which are supposed to be war program." Copies of the radio speech fighting for democracy all over which Comrade Carlson delivered

"There is one woman here broadcast from station WDSM in In this radio address Carlson words, "In this fall's election campaign, all other party labels the San Francisco local of the

In contrast to his boldness in have become meaningless. There Pile Drivers Union recently. the broadcasting booth, where he is left only a confusion of opportunistic maneuvering for poli- ly attended, the Stalinists usualtical position without regard for ly have a field day and are able principles or program. The to control the ordinary affairs socialism must be postponed" and Socialist Workers Party alone of the local. But recently the stands for a principled program membership learned that the next of independent working-class action. Only such a program of in- proposal to assess the members ternational socialism, based on a day's pay for the Associated the principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky can solve the problems

of the workers and farmers of

this state, of the nation, and of

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BORUM movement was waging against They Know the Tasks the "hot cargo" bill - better

ORKERS'

known as the California slavelabor bill. As soon as the special order of After two years of the "nabusiness was placed on the floor, tional defense" program and althe Stalinists started whooping it up to donate a day's pay to the most a year of war, during which the workers have been propa-Associated Charities, using their gandized intensively from every stock arguments that this is a conceivable angle, they have by "People's War" and therefore it no means forgotten their experiwas the duty of all good unionences of the past. An incident to ists to give their last dollar to

"defend democracy," etc. The rank and file members immediately began to show their rein the past, some of these "charity" organizations had used as much as 80% of their take for overhead which made a lot of cushy jobs for professional "so-

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

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

> J. LONG San Francisco, Calif.

Next Week's

Classes

of the New York School of Social Science

Wednesday, Nov. 11, 8:15 P. M. American Cartels and

Monopolies C. CHARLES, Instructor

Friday, November 13, 8:15 P. M. The Chinese Revolution,

1925-1927 JOHN G. WRIGHT, Instructor

At 116 University Place-2d FL

Negro Struggle

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

1917. The Stalinist bureaucracy has trampled upon the democra-Soviets and all their elementary mass organizations: factory committees, trade unions, cooperatives, etc. Stalin's crimes have greatly weakened the Soviet Union, facilitating the military victories of Hitler's armies by stifling the initiative of the masses, and by killing off the leading figures that made the revolution and successfully defended it against the armies of 14 capitalist countries and the Russian white guards.

GAINS OF THE REVOLUTION

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

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

tell the whole story. Comparable just as clear is the necessity for progress has been made in the the workers of all races in all sphere of racial relations.

RACE RELATIONS UNDER THE CZAR

Not unless one is fully acquainted with the conditions under the Czar, is one struck by the impact of the change. Lenin peoples of the world. The tremproperly termed Holy Russia the huge Czarist empire encompass- brown and yellow-skinned masses ed 165 different nationalities, of Asia. They refuse to remain THE CP'S ALLIES with separate languages and at in the status of "inferiors" to different cultural levels. These which they have been condemned. Stalinists wholeheartedly speak peoples, who constituted 57% of They clamor for independence of with approval are the industhe Russian population, were op- and freedom. The Russian Revo- trialists and financiers. Joshi pressed not only by the land- lution has inspired them with complains that the petty bourgelords and industrialists, but by confidence and courage. The oisie is for struggle; other Stathe Great Russian as well. front lines of privileges have al- linist reports complain that the The Poles and the Finns, the Ukranians and the Georgians, nial peoples are ready to widen who opposed school strikes; still the Mongols and the Armenians, the White Russians and the Jews and countless others had no free cultural life of their own but had to submit to the dominance of St. Petersburg.

White and yellow and brownall had to pay obeisance to the Russian master race. None of and China are transmitting this these people were thought wor- impulse to other lands, especialthy of self-government. Each ly to the Negro people of this new crisis of capitalism evoked country. No race or nationality more brutal pogroms and attacks has better reason for celebrating against Jews, Armenians and the October Revolution. The Rusother minorities. This was the sian Revolution has given the Czarist racial madhouse. The Negro masses new hope and concondition of the minorities before fidence in themselves, the attribthe revolution was comparable utes of the "New Negro." The only to that of the Indian masses today, with the Czar playing for all revealed the real cause the role of the British Lion.

THE REVOLUTION BROUGHT COMPLETE EQUALITY

The Russian Revolution swept away this structure of decrepit capitalism intertwined with the barbarous relics of feudalism. One of the very first acts of the workers' state was to grant complete equality and full autonomy Virtually overnight there disapall traces of discrimination against people because of their race or color. The persecution of lions of people began to live a

fuller and happier existence. The former "prison house of the Socialist Workers Party.

This week we celebrate the | nations" recognizes no superiortwenty-fifth anniversary of the ity of one race over another. Russian Revolution, the greatest This conquest of the revolution still accounts in great part for event in the history of mankind. still accounts in great part the complete unity on the part Many of the conquests of the Russian people in their sian workers have been lost since resistance to the Nazi invaders. The revolution recognized no second-class citizenship with regard to race. It destroyed forever the tic rights of the masses, depriv- false theory of racial inferiority. ing them of the protection of So natural has it become for the various peoples to respect one another, their traditions and their cultures, that not even Stalin's prise. The limits of time are too narrow, and my counter-revolutionary p o l i cies have been able to eliminate most of the gains made by the

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

THE CAUSE OF JIM CROW

And isn't the story of Czarist before the politicians of bourgeois liberalism get a which in its heyday was able to free nations from feudal oppression and permit · them to flower into a full rich life of national existence - is now in its death throes forced to sharpen the conflicts between the various races and minority groups lest these peoples unite against the small exploiting clique of mono polists and replace their rule with victorious proletariat will not stop at the program Workers' and Farmers' Governments. Europe has today become the prison house of nations whereas the prison house of nations under the Czar became the land of equal freedom for all nationalities and minorities, despite the foul hand of Stalinism.

So it becomes only too clear that the capitalist system of exploitation is the real cause for hatred and friction among the a country as it is for war beomic gains do not tween nations. What becomes example and end forever the nightmare of exploitation and oppression of one race or nationality by another.

Nor has the lesson of the Rus sian Revolution been lost on the prison house of nations." The revolution has permeated the and peasants. frightened at this prospect.

A LESSON OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In turn the masses of India Russian Revolution has once and of discrimination and suppression of minorities. And the Russian Revolution has shown us the only way out. The Negro people will take that same road as they come to understand that the only kind of government that has ever ended the oppression of minorities was a workers' state.

double meaning for the Negro way back into the schools. In- burning down the landlord's maup to the point of separation to workers. It means not only the stead of continuing the 'strike,' nor, or as in this case, the govthe many Russian nationalities. mastery of their economic fate strive to get the colleges reopenbut absolute equality with all ed, and that will be a victory." peared within the Soviet borders races and peoples. For that rea- (Daily Worker, Oct. 30.) son we are certain that the Negro workers will fight side by RELATION TO THE side with the white workers to PEASANT STRUGGLES minority groups had been ended achieve a similar revolution in Likewise the Stalinists called time, in India, the Mensheviks forever and for the first time mil- this country. They will do so un- upon the peasantry to cease and agents of the capitalists call der the stainless banner of Len- struggle against the British and

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

Marxist fighter, Leon Trotsky, who had been exiled to Turkey by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, was granted permission by the government of Denmark to visit Copenhagen for the purpose of delivering a lecture "In Defense of the Russian Revolution" before a Social-Democratic student organization. After delivering the lecture, which was all the title indicated - a powerful defense of the workers' revolution that abolished capitalism in one-sixth of the

world - Trotsky was also able before returning to Turkey, to deliver a 15-minute radio address to the United States.

I will make an attempt to give the American radio

audience a short exposé of my lecture on the Russian

revolution. This, in two senses, is a daring enter-

English - my poor English - is in no proportion

to my admiration for Anglo-Saxon culture. I beg

your indulgence all the more since it is the first

What questions does the Russian revolution raise

in the mind of a thinking man? First, why at all did

this revolution take place? And, second, has the

revolution stood the test? The fact that the prole-

tariat reached power for the first time in such a

backward country as Czarist Russia seems myster-

ious only at first glance. In reality it is wholly in

accord with its historical background. It could have

been predicted, and it was predicted. Still more,

on the basis of that prediction the revolutionists built

Permit me to quote here a passage from a work of

"In an economically backward country, the pro-

letariat can come to power sooner than in a country

capitalistically advanced. . . The Russian revolution,

according to our view, will create conditions in which

the power may (and with the victory of the revolu-

tion must) pass into the hands of the proletariat

chance to develop their statesmanly genius to the

I quote this passage to show that the theory of

the Russian revolution which we advocated, preceded

Let me sum up the events which date from 1905.

In accordance with its immediate tasks, the Russian

revolution was a bourgeois revolution but the Rus-

sian bourgeoisie was already entirely reactionary. The

victory of the Russian revolution was, therefore, pos-

sible only as the victory of the proletariat. But the

of the bourgeoisie; it will go on to the program of

This was the theory of the permanent revolution

formulated by me in 1905, and since then exposed to

severest criticism under the name of "Trotskyism."

It is clear, therefore, that the general causes of the

revolution were visible to the Marxists long before it

The first and most general explanation is that Rus-

sia was a backward country, but only a part of world

the October revolution by a long time.

up the strategy long before the decisive events.

nine in 1905. I quote:

time I am addressing an audience in English.

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

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

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

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

In 1932 they accused Trotsky of collaborating with British imperialism

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

The question now comes up: What was achieved at the high cost of the revolution? Many critics take malicious joy over the fact that the land of the Soviets bears but little resemblance to a realm of general well-being. What did the revolution do and why the Indian masses for their freedid the sacrifices justify themselves ? Permit me to think that the difficulties and mis-

takes, as well as the achievements of the Soviets, are out the colonial world and inspirno less familiar to me than to anyone else. But in ed all Asia. Willkie reported that criticism as well as in acclamation, perspective is needed. Fifteen years! Fifteen years is a long period in the life of a man. But fifteen years in the life of a people is just a minute on the clock of history.

In the course of the Civil War in the United States, Asia. 500,000 men were killed. Can such sacrifices be justified? From the standpoint of the American slaveholder and the ruling classes of Great Britain who marched with them - No! From the standpoint of the Negro or of the British working man - absolutely! And from the standpoint of the development of humanity as a whole, there can be no doubt whatever. Out of the Civil War came the present United States, with its unbounded practical initiative, its technology and its economic life. On these achievements of Americanism humanity will build the new society.

The deepest, the most objective and most indisputable criterion says-progress can be measured by the growth of the productivity of social labor. The evaluation of the October revolution from this point of view is already given by experience. The principle of planned economy has for the first time in history cratic imperialists, his concrete shown its ability in recording unheard-of results in production in a short space of time.***

For an explanation of the extraordinary persistence Willkie proposes that the U.S. which the masses of the people of the Soviet Union are showing throughout the years of the revolution, many foreign observers rely, in accord with ancient habit, on the "passivity" of the Russian character. The revolutionary masses of today endure their privations, patiently but not passively. With their own hands they are creating a better future, and they want to create it at any cost. But let any enemy attempt to impose its will from the outside on the patient masses, liver the promised armaments and you will see whether they are passive or not.

I am sure that the great American people have the highest interest, moral as well as material, and are in sympathy with the effort of the great Russian people to reorganize their social life on a higher level.

If my short talk can help a few thousand, or even a hundred, Americans to understand the internal inevitability in the development of the Russian revolution, my efforts will have been well rewarded.

economy, only an element of the capitalist world sys-

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

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

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

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

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

Trotsky Defends The Revolution Why Wilkie Is Worried

By MILTON ALVIN . . .

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

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

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

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

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

No one should be fooled by Willkie's present "howling" about of strikes and sabotage is sweep- His fine words are inspired by his fear that the present niggardly help given the Soviet to have lost 200,000 tons of coal Union and the Asiatic peoples because of a ten day strike in will turn them from dependence lower Saambre, while workers in on the United States and British the Marie Jose pits at Maurage governments toward independent were said to have slowed up struggle for their freedom. He production to the extent of 5,800 is afraid that the colonial and Soviet masses will see the imperialist face behind the democratic mask. Willkie knows that when this happens and the colonial peoples take their destiny Swedish seamen returning from Mills in Ghent, the Belgian into their own hands, it will remove forever the possibility of ica's Sixty Families as well as by the British ruling class.

The colonial masses will be no more satisfied with Wilkie's democratic words than they have been with Roosevelt's. Willkie's have been called in, it was learn- report showed that what the col-Cologne, but the seamen say that ed today. Three men have been onies want now is some action in at Hamburg and Bremen police executed and many been sen- line with the democratic promisrefused to fire on the workers tenced to long imprisonment ac- es. No defender of the capitalist order can give them such action - and in this simple fact lies the heartening assurance that the

Against India Masses

(Continued from page 1)

Causes of the Revolution

endous impulse generated by that much success with the students

Indeed, the only group that the ready been pierced and the colo- students outvoted the Stalinists the breach. Even the smug and other Stalinist reports sadly note complacent Willkie has become workers' and peasants' struggles. But of the big capitalists, Joshi writes with approval:

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

- the Indian big bourgeoisie, partners of British imperialism

in exploiting the masses! It was in the name of continuthat the Stalinists attempted to break the strikes of the workers. The same pretext could scarcely schools. Nevertheless the Stalin- October revolution successful. ists openly opposed these strikes

weeks of August, the two prin- ish imperialism.

dal activities." Deliberately ig- linists themselves. noring the fact that the peasant attacks on railway stations and post offices are attacks on govcampaigns of the peasants, the Stalinist appeal declared:

has ever gained its freedom by indulging in acts of goondaism, looting, robbery and sabotage. History offers no such example." (Daily Worker, Nov. 1.)

The record of history to which these Stalinist scoundrels appeal tells a very different story than theirs. It is true that many such peasant struggles have failed to achieve victory. Why? Because they were not supported by the ing "democratic" war production cities, without which the peasants cannot win. That is why the peasant wars of the middle ages, for example, failed. But the peasant be used to justify opposition to uprising in Russia, which began the political strikes of the stu- in the summer of 1917, when comdents who walked out of the Brit- bined with the struggle of the ish-controlled c o l l e g e s and workers in the cities, made the

The struggles of the Russian too. They called upon the students | peasants were like those of peasto fight - their way back into ant wars from time immemorial the schools! "Therefore keep the | - anarchic, brutal, destructive. The Russian Revolution has a peace, keep organized, fight your The peasant always begins by ernment buildings. In Russia too there were people who condemned the peasants as "indulging in 125th St. acts of looting, robbery and sabotage." They were the Mensheviks and the capitalists. This

cipal Stalinist functionaries in | Fortunately ,the Stalinists are gress) issued an appeal to the more - from large sections of peasants of Bihar province, the the workers and peasants. This land, printed in the N. Y. Times: fiery center of the peasant strug- is indicated by several significgle, "to abstain from these suici- ant admissions made by the Sta-

HOW MASSES REACTED

For example, writing of the ernment centers from which the situation in Bihar province, which government has always planned is the key center of war indusand launched its repressions tries and also the center of the against the no-tax and no-rent struggle for freedom, the Stalinists complain: "The 'national' struggle for freedom has been "Can anyone call this a strug- turned into a struggle against gle for freedom?... No country the Communists and the peasants are daily contacts between the (read: Stalinist peasant officials.) They burned down the office of the Bihar Provincial Students 28.) The federation is, of course, a Stalinist front.

In Ahmedabad, textile center, where the strike is still going on and the Stalinists vainly urged the workers to return to work, the Stalinists were unable to secure general strike was called, alprinters for a regional edition of though illegal under the orders the Stalinist organ, The People's of Marshal Henri Philippe War, because printers "declined Petain, the Chief of State. under 'patriotic' pressure" (Daily impossible for the Stalinists to | tories." print their strikebreaking sheet.

Geller to Speak at Harlem Workers Club

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

Jules Geller, assistant national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, an organization devoted to the maintenance themselves "Communists," mean- of labor's democratic rights, will in and Trotsky, in the ranks of the landowners. In the first ing agents of Stalin serving Brit- be the main speaker of the Bund (the revolutionary organ- authorities and their puppet gov- colonial masses will keep fightevening. Admission is free.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

forced labor in Germany has seamen." the Kisan Sabha (Peasants' Con- meeting with contempt - and finally appeared in an October 30 dispatch from Berne, Switzer-

"All factories have closed in union of government railway emthe French Department of Haute- ployees illegal because three of Savoie after a widespread strike its officers are not railway emmovement and feeling is running high against working in Germany, reports reaching here said today. Important reinforcements does when a union is striving for

able to prevent such news from own representatives so that the leaking out but the case of boss will have a pretext for not Haute-Savole is different. It recognizing it. borders on Switzerland and there French and the Swiss. . .

"The movement began yester-Federation." (Daily Worker, Oct. designated as 'volunteers' had been instructed by the local labor inspector to report at the town hall for medical inspection. At Cluses, Marnaz, Scionzier and Marignier not a single worker put in an appearance and soon a

"At Annecy and Annemasse Worker, Oct. 29.) That is, the also, many men have failed to attitude of the masses made it report for duty in various fac-

> runs to Germany have reported anti-fascist struggles in three Belgian News Agency gets some imperialist exploitation, by Amer-German cities, according to the of its information from the Dutch British New Leader:

"Reports reach us from Sweden of serious riots in Hamburg, Bremen and Cologne "It is stated that 400 persons

were killed. "Details are lacking from

and that S.S. men had to be called to quell the revolt.

Some concrete news about the Rosa Luxemburg in the last war) French workers' resistance to was reported six weeks ago by Prime Minister Churchill, did

> In Kingston, Jamaica: "The government has declared the ployees." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 27.)

case is doing what every boss of State Police have arrived. . . recognition: denying the union's "The French censors have been democratic right to determine its

According to the Independent Belgian News Agency, an organ of the Belgian Government-inday when a number of men Exile in London, a fresh wave freedom new world systems, etc. ing Belgium. From this source, the N. Y. Times reports:

"The Germans were estimated

"Strikes are also reported to have interrupted the work in the Vandenplas Automobile Works in Brussels, in several metalurgical plants and the Lys Linen agency said." The Independent Nazi publication Het Volk.

Reuters in London claims that, Widespread strikes have broken out in Athens and Piracus (Greece) and occupation troops cording to information reaching here. The strikes began with "It was at Hamburg that the street demonstrations against reestablishment of the Spartacus German and Italian occupation ization of Karl Liebknecht and ernment." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 28.) ing for their freedom.

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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.
- 2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
- 3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries-Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
- 4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- 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.

Roosevelt Answers Willkie

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Churchill, on the other hand, does not dare to

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

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

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

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

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

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

Quit Stalling The Anti-Poll Tax Bill!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For if the monopolists and their poll-tax colleagues have their way, this war will be followed by a reactionary drive intended to deprive ALL the people in the United States of the right to vote.

For this reason as well as others, because we want to strengthen the democratic rights so that the masses will be more strongly prepared when the employers try to establish fascism, we repeat: Every workers' organization must act now to demand that the Senate act now on the anti-poll tax

Italian Fascism After **Twenty Years Of Power**

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

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

"Today the Italian people," writes the N. Y. Times, "can measure the cost of twenty years of fascism." There are learned from the Italian ex- solini and Hitler. perience. These lessons are im- BIG BUSINESS' AIMS portant not only to the Italian people but all others as well, above all to the American work-

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

Many people, especially the German socialists, tried to explain away the rise of fascism only in a backward country like world. Italy. It could never happen, democracy in the country.

Big Business in the United States, England and all other reports relating to conditions in "democratic" countries will un- Italy which bear out this contenless prevented, do exactly what tion that Mussolini's regime has Italian and German capitalists become completely discredited, did in order to perpetuate their and is heading for collapse. This rule. Whoever tells the workers otherwise is repeating the that Mussolini refrained from treacherous role of Italian and German labor leaders who paved indeed profound lessons to be the way for the victories of Mus-

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

But what happened even under this "ideal" system? Without and its victory under Mussolini exaggeration one can say that it as something that could happen is today the weakest in the

they said, in such a country as a starvation diet, their food Germany, with its great culture, rations being among the lowest events in Italy and Germany pletely bankrupt. The national wherever the workers do not take already reached the astronomic Business to institute a fascist that the people are on the verge his Gestapo.

is further borne out by the fact making his customary anniversary speech. He preferred not to make himself too conspicuous. Nor was he the only one. According to the N. Y. Times of October 29, the secretary of the Italian Fascist party "warned local representatives that failure to wear their party badges will be severely punished."

FASCISM EXPOSED

Still another indication of the exhaustion of Italian fascism is the low morale of her soldiers. During the Greek campaign, for instance, Italian soldiers singing revolutionary songs, surrendered to the Greeks. This report was substantiated by the official organ of the German General

Mussolini's regime now lies stripped of all its illusory trappings of vigor, "dynamism," etc. The existing condition of Italy is incontrovertible proof that fascism instead of retarding, ends, by speeding up the decay of the The Italian people are now on capitalist system. The very same processes of decay but at a different tempo are likewise taking its Weimar constitution, etc. The in Europe. Their economy is com- place in Hitler's Germany. This means that not only Italy but all proved once and for all that debt, by official admission, has of Europe is heading toward revolution. We Trotskyists mainpower, establish their own gov- figure of 315 billion lire. The tain that the only revolutions ernment and lead society forward capitalist press of Britain and possible in Italy and Germany with their own socialist program, America insists that the condi- and in the other European counthere the way is cleared for Big | tions inside Italy are so terrible | tries are the socialist revolutions. The socialist program and the regime, to destroy all the inde- of revolution and that the only struggle for the establishment of pendent organizations of the thing that keeps Mussolini in the Socialist United States of workers and every vestige of power are Hitler's bayonets, and Europe point the only way out

The Social-Democrats In India's Struggle

the second imperialist war have that this great leader acted feetly clear from their attitude exposed, one after the other, all always to save England. In the to Gandhi now that the sort of the contradictions in program Boer War Gandhi supported Eng- "freedom" they are fighting for, of parties and groups who were the justice of its cause, but: "If ment of the Indians. This is not unprepared for its impact. Hit- we desire to win our freedom and at all negated by their whining ler's sudden turn on Russia not achieve our welfare as members for some sort of compromise to only brought a sharp reversal of the British Empire, here is a save the dangerous situation. of Stalinist policies from favor- golden opportunity for us to do They want a face-saving coming Hitler to enthusiastic support of Churchill and Roosevelt. so by helping the British with all promise, not any real step the means at our disposal." It also brought confusion to the ranks of all those who were attempting to identify the Soviet services of a Gunga Din for Union, even under Stalin, with England. Nazi Germany. Social-Democracy respect. In fact, it has never white workers to the Indians and blow. Its function now seems to Gandhi for the separation of the be sputtering warnings to the Indians from these workers. This democratic governments of the was during the work in South United Nations to beware of Africa that gave Gandhi his Stalin, arch-enemy in the camp' great reputation. "The illiterate of "democracy,"

only nut too hard for social- African government of Smuts. democratic teeth to crack. There is also the movement for national freedom in the imperialist Can't you see what you are doing in the fact that while Gandhi on the spot.

HOW THEY GET EVEN

This war is a war of the peofreedom and liberation. Very well, say the Indians, we demand | and a scoundrel! our full freedom. Come see us chill. Nothing doing, we heard denounce Gandhi's role of the masses. Why, oh why, must you bring that up now! say those of the New Leader. And as the only way of taking revenge on the Indian masses for such conduct. the New Leader proceeds to expose the present leader of Indian nationalism, Gandhi.

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

Now they are destroying the L.

halo. Harry Paxton Howard finds | masters, when that is precisely Strange are the ways of that Gandhi's whole philosophy their own role in the present! politics. The complications of deeds of Gandhi's life and finds of the imperialists. It is peris reactionary. He tells over the They are completely the lackeys land, not because he believed in demands the continued enslave-Howard shows how again and tion. The very fact of begging again Gandhi performed the for such a compromise from the

Howard closes his eyes to the was particularly hard hit in this attitude of the South African really recovered fully from the tries to lay the entire blame on Indian workers were thus The entry of Russia into the brought under Gandhi's control war on the side of England and and separated from the internathe United States-a shotgun tional labor movement," says alliance, it is true-is not the Howard. This helped the South

THE IRONY OF IT

If we quote some of the colonies, first and foremost that phrases of the New Leader, it is of India. The tremendous fer- for the purpose of exposing their ment in the Far East acts ex- unconscious irony. Howard tries actly like salt applied to an open to show that Gandhi had some wound so far as the social-im- peculiar brand of "nationalism" perialists are concerned. They which was reactionary and unwail plaintively to the master- worthy of support by the interclass on the one hand: "Please, national labor movement. The for God's sake, have mercy. irony consists for us first of all to us?" And on the other, they was acting against the interests berate bitterly the Indian na- of the Indian toilers by reconciltionalist leaders for putting them ing them to British rule, he was the beloved saint of the socialparently unable to sell out the movement for national freedom ples, say the social-patriots, for -at least at the moment-he is denounced as a Japanese agent

But the irony goes much after the war is won, says Chur- deeper than this. The Howards that before, say the Indian past in serving the British cy of the oppressed.

arch-reactionary imperialists is its own commentary. If mere begging could have obtained Indian freedom, it would have been achieved long ago.

WHAT THEY DEFEND

The social-democrats try to perform a service for their imperialist masters by picturing the Indian movement the way the capitalists picture great strike struggles, as something fomented by a handful of wilful agitators. But Gandhi is the merest atom carried on the crest of a gigantic social wave. The social-patriots don't dare to denounce the longsuffering Indian masses who constitute this wave. At least not directly. They do so indirectly and lyingly by aiming their blows through Gandhi, This will

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

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NEW YORK

Why The Bosses Are Happy About The New Tax Bill

By WILLIAM F. WARDE

A Victory for Big Business

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

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

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

Loopholes for the Capitalists

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

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

Bosses Get "Post-War Relief" Now

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

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

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

"Very Favorable Picture" -For the Bosses

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

After Congress rejected the suggestion that salaries be legally limited to \$25,000 a year, economic Czar Byrnes issued an edict which professes to limit salaries to \$25,000. This executive order, obviously designed to placate the growing anger among the workers at the privations they will suffer from the new taxes, is as full of loopholes as the tax bill itself. Since it applies solely to net salaries, and not to

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

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