

Taxes Cut Labor's Standard of Living, While -- BOSSSES RAISE PROFIT 2420%

"Equality of Sacrifice" -- OPA Version!

Some time ago the Office of Price Administration in Washington started a special study of war profits. According to Jonathan Stout, of the New Leader, the four volumes of the study have been ready since November and the information in them since some time before. But until he started to report the astronomical

figures, which he got from private contacts, the public knew nothing of the study. It was an empty scoop in one respect. Of the papers we saw, only PM mentioned the OPA release that followed Stout's revelation. The 1,735 large industrial firms studied increased their profits more than 150 per cent over the period

1939-41. But this is small potatoes compared with what the big boys got. Over 70 per cent of war contracts have been awarded to 100 of the largest companies, and a study of these 100 corporations, together with 100 sub-contractors, reveals the enormous profits LABOR ACTION has been telling you about.

Some of them are listed in the table on this page. "In general," the OPA report reads, "the rate of profits expansion varied with the industry's ability to produce war goods without converting its existing facilities. In aircraft and shipbuilding, where there was no conversion problem, profits in 1939 were already showing the effects of mounting war orders. In shipbuilding 1939 profits before taxes were twice the pre-war average; in 1941 they were 10 times as great. In aircraft, profits in 1939 were 81 per cent above the 1936-39 average, while in 1941 they were almost 17 times as large."

By 1941, 69 of the 100 contractors had increased their profits by 400 per cent or more. Most of this profit was based on government funds, lent the corporations at very low rates of interest, to finance new building and conversion.

Meanwhile the HIGHEST increase for workers the War Labor Board has been haggling over is 15 per cent!

Corporation Profits After Deduction of Taxes

	Average 1936-1939	1941	Pct. Increase
General Motors	\$184,261,000	\$220,339,000	20
Curtiss-Wright	3,038,000	33,233,000	994
Bethlehem Steel	19,269,000	42,929,000	123
Douglas Aircraft	1,765,000	18,177,000	930
Consolidated Aircraft	824,000	8,754,000	962
Glenn Martin	2,084,000	5,773,000	177
Boeing Airplane	840,000*	6,113,000	N. C.
United Aircraft	5,161,000	21,721,000	321
New York Shipbuilding	122,000	3,075,000	2420
Lockheed Aircraft	953,000	10,109,000	961

*—Deficit.
N. C.—Not computed because of loss in base period.

By JOHN BERNE

Through government contracts for war production, the New York Shipbuilding Corp. stepped up its 1941 net profits 2,420 per cent above its average peacetime gains for 1936-39.

Even rapacious captains of industry will admit that a 2,420 per cent increase in profits is pretty neat.

In general the capitalist press did not see fit to print—at least not where it would be noticed—the results of OPA studies of war profits, revealing outrageous money-grubbing by industry.

President Roosevelt, in his two recent speeches before Congress, made no reference to the damning scandal of a 2,420 per cent increase in corporation profits at the expense of the people—in blood and suffering.

Sperry Foists Staggered Shift on Men

A notice posted in all Sperry plants on Monday, January 18, announced a nine-hour shift and a staggered work week, effective the following week. Earlier on that very same day the UE "Shop News" had announced to Sperry workers that the company had agreed not to establish new shifts or longer hours until it had settled with the union regarding wages and hours.

Thus the first company attack on Sperry workers' rights finds the union leadership making blatant pretenses of action, yet doing nothing. Sperry employees will work longer hours with every seventh Sunday off, and no double time paid for the six consecutive Sundays worked!

Now, what will Local 450, UE, do about it? In all likelihood the leadership will merely send telegrams to the War Labor Board or the War Manpower Commission, thereby delaying for months any action that might be taken. That the company expects no real action is clear from their light treatment of the union leadership's pretense at opposition.

Danger of Capitulation

And what of the contract the union is supposed to be negotiating? It is being handled by the same "Policy Committee" which recently arrogated to itself the representation of the workers on the shift change question. Can we then expect the same sort of "fight" for the contract, and the wage raises it contains, and will that too be willingly laid aside at the slightest nod from the company big-wigs?

Militants in the union have already pointed out the danger of capitulation by the UE bureaucrats. Any possibility that pressure from shops would force the spineless UE organizers to take even a half-militant stand has now vanished. The recent history of Dermody, Rooney and Raben has only strengthened the conviction that they have nothing to offer but words; that their bungling and mismanagement during the organizing drive, evident to everyone familiar with the union, was due to their absolute inability to talk or think anything but production. It becomes obvious that they are a clique who fear nothing more than a disagreement with the management.

Sperry workers can expect no ac-
(Continued on page 2)

Skyrocketing multiplications of war profits are not exceptional. What about Curtiss-Wright with a 994 per cent profit increase for 1941? And Consolidated Aircraft with its 962 per cent increase, Lockheed Aircraft with its 961 per cent, Douglas Aircraft with its 930 per cent?

These second-class industrial hierarchs did not, to be sure, increase their profits twenty-five times, as did the New York Shipbuilding Corp. But an increase of more than nine times is still something to write home about.

Then there are United Aircraft, which shows an increase in 1941 of 321 per cent, Glenn Martin with 177 per cent, Bethlehem Steel with 123 per cent, and General Motors with 20 per cent.

Don't start weeping over poor General Motors. It made up in volume of profits for a mere twenty points in percentage. Its net war pickings amounted to \$220,339,000 in 1941 after deductions for taxes, munificent salaries, fancy bonuses, very adequate reserves, and what not. These hundreds of millions of dollars were made out of the sweat of the workers.

Where is the justice in taxing the working people to pay for this war out of which the bosses are reaping a golden harvest!

All talk of "sharing the tax burden" is so much dust in the eyes of the people carrying it. These fabulous profits are rolling right over the top of corporation taxes. But taxes on the working people are cramping their already pinched way of life.

The luscious profits of the big corporations mentioned above are typical of all industry. The OPA findings show that in 1941—after tax and other expensive deductions—200 major war contractors averaged 80 per cent more in profits than in 1936-39. Profits out of destruction and death are indeed the rule—not the exception.

What is wrong, therefore, with demanding that the plutocrats of industry be prevented from raking in their bloody lucre? What is wrong with demanding that the government confiscate every cent of war profits? This is elemental justice!

Not a penny of taxes on workers' wages is justified. Not a penny of taxes on consumer goods is justified. Not a penny of forced savings is justified. Let the government dig into the spacious, well-filled "war chests" of big business—instead of the cupboards of the working people.
(Continued on page 2)

Wage Raise Is Real Issue in Hard Coal Strike

Boss Press in Ridiculous Effort to Picture Unprecedented Defiance of Government Boards, Union Leaders as Dues Quarrel

By DAVID COOLIDGE

For close to three weeks, thousands of coal miners in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania have been on strike. They have so far resisted the efforts of the union leadership and the WLB to force them back into the mine pits.

Following the refusal of the hard coal miners to obey its "order" to return to work, the National War Labor Board referred the strike to the President for settlement. At the time this is written there is no indication as to what course Roosevelt will take. He can request the miners to return to work. Under his wartime powers he can order the miners

back to the pits, or he can call out the Army to drive them back into the mines as he did in the North American strike.

The WLB procedure in turning the strike over to Roosevelt was accompanied by the usual bluster and billingsgate from the most reactionary members of Congress. Ramspeck, of Georgia, declared that "the government should take whatever action is necessary to open and operate the coal mines." Andreson, of Minnesota, announced that the strike was close to treason. He wants the Department of Justice to hail the leaders of the strike into court. We presume that he intends that they be tried for treason. Strikes and racketeering are the same thing to Andreson: "Labor leaders responsible for strikes and racketeering are doing more than giving aid and comfort to our enemies. They are the advance invasion army of Hitler and the Japs, primarily engaged in sabotaging war production and in destroying public morale and confidence."

This wild and ignorant explosion will really just scare the pants off the miners. Andreson perhaps does not know that the coal diggers are accustomed to the real thing in explosions and will be no more perturbed by his gas than they were by the suggestion of Hatton Summers that they might be frightened by electricity.

Outcome Uncertain

We have no way of knowing what the outcome of this strike will be, nor do we know all the facts relating to the causes of the strike.

The papers report that the miners in "The Anthracite" are on strike against the increase in dues voted by the last convention and also for an increase of \$2.00 a day in wages. These two demands placed together don't make sense. One demand is to their own international, and the other to the coal companies. The wage demand involves the government, the union and the coal operators; the dues question is an internal union matter into which the government and the operators cannot enter since neither has any authority there.

It has to be emphasized (as the daily papers have not) that the action of the convention in making the dues \$1.50 a month was not an increase in the total amount of monthly payments to the union. Before the convention the miners paid \$1.00 monthly dues and an assessment of fifty cents a month. The total amount paid now is the same as before. This was explained in the last convention in a speech on this subject by Secretary-Treasurer Kennedy. It was also reported to the convention by the committee on Officers' Reports that the assessment had been levied by a vote of the membership.

Real Issue Is Wages

On the matter of the demand for an increase of \$2.00 a day in wages, it is interesting that this demand by the anthracite miners is in line with the sentiment expressed at the last convention, but the general opinion was in support of a \$2.00 lift in wages. It is improbable that Lewis and the other international officers are really against the demand for the increase in pay. However, it is difficult to understand why, with Kennedy, a resident of the area, and on the scene, it has been impossible for the international officers to settle the dues controversy, if this is really a factor in the strike. Also, why does this strike against dues come over three months after the convention? Even if these miners are striking against the operators checking off the extra fifty cents, it seems that the strike would have come sooner. It may be true that Lewis is not popular among the hard coal miners, but the \$1.50 dues was voted by a convention of 2,800 delegates by an overwhelming majority.

We are of the opinion that Senator Truman was correct when he gave the opinion that the strike was not over dues but about wages. The coal industry as a whole has not been very much excited by the agitation for keeping the mines at work six days a week. One of the complaints at the last miners' convention was that the government was demanding the six-day week at a time when thousands of miners were not even working five days, as stipulated in the agreement. It seems that the anthracite

operators were the worst offenders of all.

Since the United States entered the war the coal industry has averaged only four days a week. Some mines have worked only a day and a half a week. In the face of a greater demand for coal, due to conversion from oil to coal, the mine owners refused to operate the full five days a week.

If there is a shortage in hard coal it has been created by the mine owners. The production of soft coal for 1942 was around 70,000,000 tons over 1941. Now, when the hard coal miners are on strike, there is a howl about lowering production and sabotage—but nothing is said about the contribution of the operators to the situation.

Sixth Day Problem

Working six days for the whole industry has been delayed because the international union and the companies cannot come to agreement on the demand of the union for time and a half pay for the sixth day. This is the demand of the union, adopted and approved by the convention. Because of the complexity of the wage structure in the anthracite region it is more difficult to adjust wages than in the bituminous regions. Also, the anthracite operators have demanded an increase in the price if they agree to the wage increase. The union claims that negotiations are being held up by the Office of Price Administration.

All of the procedure of the international in connection with the wage situation, including the old agreement and the proposed amendments containing the demands for pay and a half for the sixth day, have been sent to all districts—including the three anthracite districts. Negotiations were under way but broke down. It is clear, therefore, that this issue is not in the foreground in the present strike.

The question remains, why at the time the international is conducting negotiations for extending the work-week to six days, with the demand for time and a half and weight and a half, the hard coal miners should

John L. Silent



Roosevelt has ordered the striking coal miners back to work. As we go to press, it is uncertain what the reaction will be among the miners. News bulletins report that thousands of miners are still out.

Tresca Slaying Still Unsolved

The mystery surrounding the cold-blooded assassination in New York of Carlo Tresca remained unresolved by the official investigation being conducted by the authorities which, so far as is known publicly, has thus far produced no serious clue leading to the assassins.

Nevertheless, nothing has happened to make the comrades and friends of the distinguished anti-fascist speaker, writer and organizer change their conviction that nothing but a political motive could have existed for the murder of Tresca.

Tresca's activities among Italian workers in this country, and more broadly in the radical and labor movements, both in recent years and just before he was killed, undoubtedly aroused the violent hatred of two groups of political adversaries in particular, namely, the blackshirts—and whiteshirts!—supporters of the Mussolini regime, and the Stalinists. He gave no quarter to either group in the pages of his paper, *Il Martello*, or from the platform, or in

the movements with which he was associated.

The fascists, both open and covert, had reason to hate and fear Tresca, because, perhaps more than anyone else in this country, he devoted his tireless pen and oratory to arousing Italian workers against this dirty gang and exposing them when they felt it advisable to assume a disguise. It appears that in the Mazzini Society, with which he was working, Tresca fought vigorously against the "democratic" pretensions of a number of prominent Italian politicians and public personages who had been notorious fascist supporters until the war broke out, after which they found it more convenient to announce their "conversion" to the principles of democracy.

That these really unreconstructed friends and admirers of fascism would be quite capable of planning and executing the assassination of a man like Tresca is quite beyond debate. The whole history of fascism
(Continued on page 2)

More Merchants of Death:

Anaconda Does a Repeat

For the second time, the Anaconda Wire & Cable Co. is charged with making profits out of the blood of American soldiers. Their plant in Pawtucket, R. I., has just been accused of selling defective communication wire to the American and British armies for use in combat service. The government charged that a conspiracy on the part of the corporation resulted in the passing of this wire by inspectors.

More than a million dollars' worth of wire had been sold from November, 1940, to September, 1942, at a profit of 30 to 70 per cent. The testing equipment of the corporation had been fixed to fool the government inspectors by reducing the voltage to as little as 20 per cent of the amount required by the government. This process of "fixed" inspection equipment was later simplified by merely removing the inspected labels from accepted materials and placing them on pieces which were found to be defective or had not even been inspected. In addition the workers

were instructed to repair only one out of every four defects.

Only a month ago the Marion, Ind., plant of the same company was charged with similar mal-practices. No decision has as yet been reached. Whether it ever will be reached is a matter open to doubt! And of course all plants of the Anaconda Wire & Cable Co. still continue to work and make profits on government contracts. No reactionary senator has as yet raised the cry of "Remember the boys at Guadalcanal" against these war profiteers, as they do when the workers make a legitimate effort to raise their standard of living.

Don't be surprised if this company has a lobbyist in Washington shouting: "Kill the forty-hour week," "Pass no-strike legislation."

And Still More—

Government records show that over NINE HUNDRED fraud cases are

now in various stages of prosecution. In Iowa, a company was caught putting government inspected tags on defective shells and leaving those shells which had been approved without tags to be inspected again.

A shipyard official, who had a "cost-plus" contract with the Maritime Commission used his hired shipbuilders to paint and remodel his home. Of course, this was charged to the government and paid for by your outrageously high taxes.

These are the profiteers who are fighting to undermine the forty-hour week.

These are the profiteers who are pressing for no-strike legislation, labor's only real weapon in its fight for a living wage and tolerable working conditions.

And these are the profiteers who oppose any ceiling on income which they fraudulently receive at the expense of human life!

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

FRENCH STALINISTS JOIN DE GAULLE MOVEMENT

Last week one of the top leaders of the French Stalinists, Ferdinand Grenier, arrived in London from occupied France and declared that the Communist Party of France pledges its complete cooperation with the de Gaulle movement. The monarchist generals of de Gaulle's clique and the "communist" representatives will collaborate closely from now on.

This is much less astonishing than it may seem to those naive people who still think that Stalinism in one way or another reflects a revolutionary or socialist policy. This is just one more illustration of the fact that the Stalinists are guided exclusively by the interests of Russian foreign policy. What does it matter to them that in the same council in which Mr. Grenier is going to sit there are many who could be counted on to vote for every measure directed against the French workers. What does it matter to them if they sit with people who—as a former right wing socialist member of the French Parliament has revealed—are tools of the great French armament trust which has its agents in both camps of the war?

For more than a year the French Stalinists have tried to establish a kind of new "National" Popular Front. Apparently this did not succeed any too well. Former right wingers and bourgeois politicians in general preferred de Gaulle because

they were aware of the sharp differences within the United Nations as to spheres of influence between Stalin and Churchill and Roosevelt. They preferred to go along with the bloc of the old imperialist powers, not trusting Stalin's intentions in Europe. De Gaulle, on the other hand, hoped he would be able to monopolize the French opposition to Hitler and be recognized by England and America as the future Gauleiter of France.

Both calculations have gone wrong. The English still hold fast to de Gaulle. They still hope that this heavy investment will prove to have been a good one. But America is now definitely favoring another clique as against the pro-English de Gaulle. The general's position, therefore, is considerably weakened. He must, above all, try to show that all parties of France are united behind him. In such a situation even the Stalinists are very welcome recruits.

The Stalinists want to sabotage the German war machine as much as they can, not because it might serve the interests of the French workers, but solely because it will aid Russia. Of course they will not relinquish their own organization, but they will try to penetrate as much as possible into the ranks of the de Gaulleists and, boring from within, win this movement (at least inside France) over to their side.

HIS DECLARATION A TYPICAL STALINIST PRODUCT

The declaration which Grenier gave to the press when arriving in London is a typical Stalinist product. "Many Germans on the Russian front have died because of the poisoned preserves made in French factories," said this scoundrel. In former days, the communist would have enclosed propaganda leaflets in those cans as a means of reaching the German worker-soldier; today he advocates poisoning them. Thus can the anti-labor and counter-revolutionary character of the Stalinists be exposed.

You have to "kill the German beast"—that is the only slogan of the French Stalinists right now, as it is the slogan of their Russian masters. It is the consequence of an abandonment of all internationalist thinking. It is to be hoped that there remain in France those elements which will make an effort to contact the German worker in uniform in order to propagandize him for a socialist Europe in which German and French workers alike will decide their own fate.

Grenier's declaration once more exposes the fact that the Stalinists are among the most dangerous opponents of socialism in the world. Grenier once was instrumental in chasing Doriot (French fascist) from his only stronghold in the "Red" suburbs of Paris. The day will come when these same workers will chase this same scoundrel and his friends in exactly the same manner.

Europaeus.

Pollard Pays Off to Stalinists in Shipyard Local 9

Here's One for the Book: Bankhead, Stalinist Stooge, Represents Management on One Committee and Labor on Another!

SAN PEDRO—Certain things about the situation in Local 9 of the shipyard workers have become clearer since the lift of the local's autonomy and the assumption of dictatorial power by Walter S. Pollard, Jr., as emissary of the national office of the union.

LABOR ACTION's reports from the West Coast have made frequent mention of the anti-labor role of the Stalinist henchmen in Local 9—as in other unions. They have gone down the line in supporting every attack by the shipyard companies on the union's gains; in imposing the staggered shift on the men, in putting across the stabilization agreement, in supporting Pollard in chopping down the union hiring hall, and so on. In this sell-out line, they and Pollard have had no difficulty in cooperating.

Big Business Plans Long Range Attack On Eight-Hour Day

By JAMES SHEA
CLEVELAND—Proof, if any is necessary, that big business does not intend to restore the hard-earned gain of which labor is now being deprived, was given last week in this city by Spencer D. Corlett, legislative counsel of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

Corlett, speaking before a group of Ohio legislators on a revision of women's labor laws, said that the Chamber demanded a definite abandonment of the eight-hour day limitation for women workers and "industry will insist on that point even after the emergency. The eight-hour day never was practical, is not now and never will be practical."

The Chamber also supports an upward revision of the forty-five hour week and a seven-day week for women.

The Ohio Federation of Labor, represented by John B. Fitzgerald, told the legislators that it will oppose any revisions of the present law except to protect the health and safety of the women workers. However, the Federation favors a commission which would permit specific relaxation of women's labor laws.

But since Pollard took over, the relations between them have become organizationally much closer. For example: One of Pollard's first acts was to reorganize the grievance committees on the three shifts at the Los Angeles Shipyard, the union stronghold in the Harbor area. He dictatorially dismissed the yard grievance committees then operating, WHICH HAD BEEN ELECTED BY THE STEWARDS, and hand-picked committees on his own say-so.

Whom did he appoint? For the graveyard shift he appointed a committee with a majority of Stalinists. On the day shift (after the company had taken advantage of the situation by firing Chief Shop Steward Boylich), Pollard replaced Boylich on the committee with the loudest-mouthed Stalinist in the yard, Gandall, a new-comer. None of these appointments could have been elected democratically to their new posts.

"Two-in-One" Bankhead

Secondly: This week Local 9 named an appointee for the War Labor Board, Southern California region. The selection was made by Pollard and the Executive Board. The man appointed to this post to represent the union is T. Bankhead. Who is Bankhead? Up to the time he became a sub-foreman not long ago, Bankhead was the leading and most prominent mouthpiece of the Communist Party in the LA yard. This Stalinist expert in the art of giving up labor's gains is now the representative of Californian shipyard labor in the WLB set-up, by grace of Pollard.

There is another angle to this appointment of Bankhead. Believe it or not, Sub-Foreman Bankhead is at present a member of the Labor-Management Committee in the LA Yard, representing... guess whom? The management!

Presto-changeo, and he now represents LABOR, in the showpiece called the War Labor Board—by grace of Pollard.

At the swing shift meeting at which Pollard announced the appointment of Bankhead, his choice was denounced by a vote of sixty-

Workers Take Rap!

Poor capitalism! It doesn't ever seem to be able to straighten out its economies.

Ten years ago we were regaled with the following slogans:
"Don't hoard—buy more."
"Eat one slice of bread more each day and help the farmers."
"Share the work."

Every effort was made to prevent deflation.

Every method was used to put money artificially into circulation—remember "pump priming"?

Today they are worried about exactly the opposite.

There's too much money around. There's less and less to buy. Inflation is the big worry.

As for the working class—whether it is unemployment or manpower shortage, they get the short end of the stick.

eight to five! If one needs more evidence to indicate the relationship of Pollard to the Stalinists, just look at the five: all of them advocates of the now scrapped staggered week; five who urged surrender of the hiring hall and acceptance of the gagging contract. Judge a man by the company he keeps!

Gandall's Forum "Committee"

Thirdly: There is the matter of the "High Cost of Living Committee" organized by the above-mentioned Gandall at his noon-time forum meeting in the LA Yard. The outrageous do-nothingness of the government and the abuses by the prof-

iteers in this area have made the men rarin' to go on this question. Many of them have made the proposal that the union step in and get to work in protection of the workers' pay checks.

So far, Pollard has done nothing. Instead, using his own audience, who meet in one corner of the yard, Gandall has announced his committee, appointed a secretary, pushed through the election of a "chairman of the committee," and announced that an "executive committee" will be "elected"—all at his lunch-time forum, where any real discussion is impossible and which is not, of course, representative of the union.

But for all the show of chairman, executive committee and so on, there is, in fact, no committee. Gandall explains that the forum audience itself is the "committee"—anyone who happens to be there on a particular day. In effect, the "High Cost of Liv-

ing Committee" is Gandall's personal property.

And with such a set-up, Gandall announced triumphantly this week that Pollard and the Executive Board have given their sanction to this state of affairs and have decided to leave this important issue to be a plaything for Gandall and his Stalinist friends!

Pollard Paying Off

This is enough to understand what has happened and is happening. The fact is that when Pollard arrived in the Harbor area with his notice of foreclosure on the local union's democracy, he was met with a wall of cold hostility by the men in the yards. Outside of the stooges he appointed, like Mulholland and Detrez, only one voice spoke up for the junior dictator and tried to make him palatable to the men. That was the voice of the Communist Party spokesmen in the yards. They constituted themselves his bridge to the

rank and file and his base in the union membership.

With good reason to fear the rank and file and to be jittery about his ability to control them, Pollard was glad enough to strike a deal with the Stalinists—and to pay for their support. He is paying off now and will continue to pay off, since his own popularity has not been increased.

The Stalinist end of this deal is easy enough to understand. They are counting on being in a position to take over things on the day when Pollard packs his bags and goes home to receive his reward for his hatchet job. Right now, Friend Pollard is a useful stepladder for their ambitions. This pack, who have fastened themselves on Local 9, are not wanted by the membership. It is up to the rank and file militants in the yards to rekindle the spirit of militant unionism which built the union, and throw these labor fakery out of the high places which they have usurped.

Tresca Slaying Unsolved --

(Continued from page 1)

in Italy and Germany and everywhere else shows that, far from hesitating to employ the weapon of political murder, the black-and-brown shirts make assassination an integral and decisive part of their arsenal. That they are directly responsible for Tresca's murder cannot possibly be ruled out.

Relentless Opponent of Stalinism

Tresca was unrelenting, too, in his opposition to Stalinism. Time and again he came forward against their sinister machinations, not only in this country, but elsewhere. He did yeoman work in the campaign to bring to the public the available facts in the strange disappearance of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, whom the Stalinists were suspected of spiriting out of this country and assassinating, either en route or in Russia, for reasons best known to themselves.

Tresca was also prominent in the publicity campaign made by radicals and liberals around the "Robinson-Rubens" case in Moscow, which remains unsolved to this day because of the suspicious silence maintained about these two American Stalinists by the Russian bureaucracy and its apologists in this country.

The late militant especially incurred Stalinist wrath when he joined and participated actively in the work of the Commission to Investigate the Charges Made at the Moscow Trial Against Leon Trotsky, presided over by John Dewey—a commission which reached the conclusion that the charges made against Trotsky were false to the core and were part of a stupendous frame-up. More recently, Tresca had been active in keeping Stalinists out of the Mazzini Society.

That the Stalinists are subject to suspicion as possible authors of the crime against Tresca, is taken for granted by all informed persons. It is a known fact that they have not hesitated in the past to rid themselves of embarrassing political opponents by the method of murder. Their record ranges from the public judicial murders of the series of Moscow Trials, through secret murders in the prisons and concentration camps of the GPU, to murders such as the one committed against Leon Trotsky in Mexico—not acknowledged, to be sure, but unmistakably the product of their abominable handiwork. It is by reason of their ugly record that the Stalinists have by no means been ruled out by Tresca's friends as suspects in the assassination.

And these friends have made it

plain that they do not intend to rest until every effort humanly possible has been made to ferret out the true authors of the crime.

Political "Complications"

How far the authorities will go with their investigations remains to be seen. The political "complications" confronting the authorities have already been commented on by cynical, but rather candid, capitalist newspapers. "Converted" Italian fascist and semi-fascist personalities who were the object of Tresca's telling attacks, and who are suspects in the murder, happen to be on very good terms with reactionary imperialist elements in government circles.

To bring them to trial, should they be disclosed as the criminals, would greatly embarrass these elements in their policy of appeasing the whole vile fascist camarilla in Italy as well as in this country. It is their hope that it will help get rid of Mussolini, and Mussolini, ONLY, with the aim of knocking Italy out of the Axis WITHOUT knocking it out of control by fascism, which might mean unloosing a socialist revolution.

Sperry--

(Continued from page 1)

tion from such a clique, nor from the WLB nor any other boss agency in Washington. They can expect action only from themselves, and from those militant shop stewards who stand behind them. Workers in other places have already learned that the only way to get what they want is to take things into their own hands. San Pedro shipyard workers of Local 9, IUMSWA, forced company capitulation on the staggered work week. The method they used was to stay out on Sundays, regardless of the pay lost by doing so.

The Sperry workers are in a position to demand action. By letting their shop stewards know how they feel on the matter, they can press for membership meetings where they can question a leadership that attempts to put over a raw deal like this one. No union bureaucracy has ever been able to withstand the attacks of an aroused membership which demands that they change their habits. This is the only way Sperry workers can obtain a favorable contract and abolish the staggered work week which forces them to work on Sundays but denies them their rightful pay for doing so.

Similarly with the Stalinists. Should it turn out that they are the criminals, newspapers have already made it clear, the prosecuting authorities are worried about the effect a trial of Stalinists on the charge of assassinating a political adversary would have on the none-too-firm alliance that American capitalism has with the gentlemen of the Kremlin.

New York newspapers have already hinted that these circumstances may exercise a deterring influence, or at least a good deal of circumspection upon any inclination the authorities may have to pursue their investigations along the obviously indicated lines.

Friends of Tresca have made no special effort to conceal their fear that the bringing to book of the real criminals may be subordinated by the authorities to the international political considerations of Washington, thus providing an additional illustration of the piety of capitalist "morals" and "justice."

Carwile Denied Writ By Supreme Court

In a gross violation of civil rights, the U.S. Supreme Court has denied Howard Carwile the right to bring suit against the poll-tax Commonwealth of Virginia.

Carwile, a sharecropper who worked his way through law school, had charged that, while a charity patient at a state sanatorium, he was miserably treated for a period of eleven months and was finally evicted from the hospital while he was still sick.

He therefore sued the Commonwealth of Virginia as much in an effort to expose mistreatment of poor patients in the state hospitals as to challenge the immunity of the state from human-rights suits. In his two-year fight he carried the case through the courts of Virginia and finally to the U.S. Supreme Court, which upheld the Virginia courts.

Carwile, writing to LABOR ACTION, has pointed out that the state, whose poll-tax Legislature is elected by four per cent of its citizens, permits suits by business corporations, but claims immunity from any human-rights suit. It was to test this immunity on constitutional grounds that Carwile took the case to the Supreme Court.

(A recent letter from Carwile appears in the letter columns of this issue.—Editor.)

Bosses Raise Profit 2420% --

(Continued from page 1)

Besides current profits there are the huge capital reserves of every corporation and of every bank. Don't for a minute think that the tremendous war profits of industrialists and financiers make a complete picture of their wartime gains. They are salting away unprecedented reserves of new capital—which are not reckoned as profit. All corporations are adding—very substantially to their basic untaxed wealth—while banks are grabbing everything that is not nailed down. In the last three months of 1942 Chase National Bank got hold of \$669,540,099 additional assets—and National City Bank increased its resources by \$561,982,854.

Therefore, let the government put a levy on capital to cover the cost of a war springing from the rotten soil of the capitalist system. No child will have to do without butter and eggs because of a tax on capital. But many are doing without butter and eggs because taxes on wages reduce the buying power of working people.

The apologists for industrialists

and bankers claim that the peak profits of 1941 will not be repeated. What! No further 2,420 per cent increases in bloody lucre! That is really a tragedy—which, however, is somewhat assuaged by the rosy prediction of Dr. Galbraith of the OPA about 1942 average profits. When they are all counted, the doctor expects "they will be higher than in 1941, and they promise to be some 200 per cent over 1939."

Against this background of conclusive evidence from government sources that of the "fruits" of war the juice goes to the ruling class and the squeezed-out rind to the working people, Congress is getting busy with its new tax legislation.

From the welter of bills and suggestions put forth, two things are very plain: (1) war profits will continue to be sacred and capital reserves—the unearned wealth of America's Sixty Families—will remain the holy of holies; but (2) higher income taxes, larger percentages of withholding taxes, wider taxes on consumer goods, more force in forced savings—these

are in store for the workers.

For did not Representative Martin, Republican leader of the new House, declare that taxes "must not destroy initiative or business expansion"? And does not Representative Martin express the majority of Republican and Democratic opinion in this reactionary Congress? And do not "initiative and business expansion" require—if not 2,420 per cent profit increases—at least 900 per cent increases?

There is, however, still time for organized labor to exert its tremendous power on the lawmakers. Resolutions from the thousands of trade union locals demanding that all war profits be confiscated and that untaxed wealth be taxed will compel a few second thoughts on the subject of piling more burdens on labor.

But it must be understood by every worker that an all-out program to soak the rich instead of the poor can be carried out only through a bona fide Independent Labor Party. LABOR MUST START WALKING ON ITS OWN POLITICAL LEGS!

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

'More Power to You' Says Iowa Reader

Dear Editor:
In regard to your paper coming late, please don't let that bother you. If I only get a copy once in six months, it is okay with me. I'll get more facts and truth in it and more knowledge than I would in a lifetime of any capitalist sheet.
More power to you and I will help you in any way possible.
Don't let my subscription run out. I have forgotten when it expires.
G. P. (Iowa.)

abuse or persecution of charity patients in our state hospitals can never be heard on their merits so long as this doctrine of state immunity prevails—that a state is not liable for the gross negligence and malicious acts of its agents and servants.
Howard Carwile.
Charlotte Court House, Va.

Race Discrimination And 'Labor Shortage'

Dear Editor:
For the past few months Washington has been lamenting the shortage of labor. Housewives have been urged to enter the factories and do their "bit" for democracy, signs in the subways and buses beg for women to volunteer their services.
In the light of all this, it seems ridiculous that many of the large war plants still persist in their anti-Negro and anti-Semitic methods of employment.
The du Pont Co. at Pompton Lakes, N. J., has its aid in the papers continually, yet when I applied six Negro girls were told that the company "had to check their references." It wasn't necessary to check the references of the others, though. Those Negro girls have never heard from the company, yet two of them had just completed courses at a training school.
My first trip to the Sperry Gyro-

scope plant was fruitless because I did not have a release from my former company. When I returned with my credentials and asked to see the interviewer again, I was handed an application and told to mail it in. I met all the requirements, I was skilled and I had experience, but the company preferred taking unskilled help rather than employ a Jewish girl.

At General Aircraft I was told that I was too young for the night shift, but other plants in the city accept 18-year-olds on all shifts. At Ford, I saw unskilled girls being hired while the Negroes and Jews were told to mail in applications.
How the hell can the government expect its citizens to believe in and support a war they claim is against fascism and for "democracy" when in the factories that work under government contracts the bosses are allowed to discriminate against and exploit the workers because of race or religion?
C. W.

Bridges Puts Over Another Retreat

Dear Editor:
The shipyard workers in Local 9 are not the only ones who are getting a bum deal. We longshoremen are also beginning to have our conditions given away by our union officials. Here in Pedro we have had the best conditions on the Coast, plus a real strong militant union.
BUT, ever since Harry Bridges, formerly of "The Yanks Are Not Coming" committee, discovered that he has to win the war for Uncle Joe Stalin, we have been losing condition after condition.
Last week it took Harry himself to sell the latest retreat to the men. That is the order putting all the men in regular gangs and anyone who drops out is to be laid off for thirty days. And at that Bridges didn't persuade anyone. We were just told we had to take it and like it. No vote was taken. Schmitt and Coleman, members of the Maritime Industry Board, were just about booted off the floor!
We were told we haven't lost any conditions yet, but here are a few:
1. The installation of the plug board instead of the old system of dispatching.
2. Order No. 16.
3. The freezing of men into gangs.
One of the phoniest set-ups is this Maritime Industry Board. It is supposed to be half union and half waterfront employers. But just look at the chairman—Professor Eliel of Stanford, expert on business administration and how to combat unionism. Also, this board puts out a sheet called "The Victory Hook" without a union label on it. This is the government board that Bridges

and Schmitt want us to put our faith in.

To save his face, Bridges talked about a raise—something we are certainly entitled to—and combatting the rising cost of living. Well, we certainly need action there; also on the obtaining of meat. The local should follow through and set up a rank and file high cost of living committee and get going. Because with the line of appeasement that is being followed by our officials, it is going to take the rank and file to get anything done.
West Coast Longshoreman.

Many of the papers failed to mention this important event at all, and those that did (including the liberal PM) had no comment to make about this flagrant violation of a basic democratic right.

This only serves to illustrate the fact that the ruling class regards capitalist "democracy" as being applicable to itself and not to the working class.

Rulers for Free Press When It Suits Them

Dear Editor:
We were recently given a perfect example of how the boss press regards any infringement of the democratic right of the free press when it affects themselves and when it affects a working class paper.
We all remember the hue and cry that was raised by all capitalist papers from the respectable New York Times down to the New York Daily News when the Justice Department instituted suit against the Associated Press. Compare this with the treatment given the papers to the attack on the mailing rights of LABOR ACTION and The Militant by the Post Office.

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Three Giants of the Revolution

January is a month of cruel anniversaries for the international working class. That is the month, in 1919, when the German reactionaries took Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht into a military murder-car and shot them to death in Berlin, in the hope of decapitating the head of the German revolutionary movement. It is also the month, in 1924, when the working class movement throughout the world was stupefied and inexpressibly grieved at the report that Lenin, genius of the great Russian Revolution, had died, after a long illness.

Militant, class-conscious workers have for many years commemorated the lives and work of these titans of thought and action during Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg week. In memory of these three leaders of the international socialist revolution, we publish below selected excerpts from their writings.

Liebknecht

On the day before his murder, Karl Liebknecht wrote "In Spite of All!" for the *Rote Fahne*. It proved to be his last article:

General storm against Spartacus! "Down with the Spartacists!" The shouts resound through the side streets. "Seize them, shoot them, trample them underfoot, tear the mto pieces!" Atrocities which put those of the German troops in Belgium into the shade are committed everywhere.

The shout of jubilation runs from the *Morgenpost* to the *Vorwaerts*: "Spartacus smashed!" And the disarmament of the revolutionary workers, and the re-established imperial police with rifle, sabre and revolver will seal its defeat.

"Spartacus smashed!" Yes, revolutionary workers of Reinhardt, under the machine guns of General Luettwitz the elections for the Constituent Assembly will take place as a plebiscite for Napoleon-Ebert.

"Spartacus smashed!" Yes, the revolutionary workers of Berlin have been defeated, hundreds of their best have been thrown into prison. Yes, they are defeated, for they were abandoned by the sailors, by the soldiers, by the safety troops, by the people's guard, whose help they firmly expected. Their strength was wasted by the indecision and weakness of their leaders, and the immense counter-revolutionary back-wash of the propertied classes overwhelmed and drowned them. Yes, they were defeated, for history had demanded that they should be. The time was not then ripe. But yet, the struggle itself was inevitable. To surrender the Police Headquarters, the stronghold of the Revolution, without resistance to Ernst and Hirsch would have been a shameful defeat. The fight was forced upon the workers by the Ebert gang, and it burst from the Berlin masses violently, brushing aside all doubts and objections. . . . And Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske have won, they have won for the militarists, for the bureaucrats, for the junkers of industry and agriculture, for the parsons, the priests, for the money-bags. And all that was narrow, limited and mean stood with them and fought victoriously with rifle, bomb and bayonet.

DEFEATED OF TODAY WILL BE THE VICTORS OF TOMORROW

But there are defeats which are victories and victories which are defeats. The vanquished of the bloody January week have fought gloriously. They have fought for a great cause, for the noblest aims of suffering humanity, for the mental and material salvation of the tortured masses. They have shed only sacred blood, blood made sacred by this fight, and for every drop of this blood, dragon's seed for the victors of today, avengers of the fallen will arise, new fighters for the cause which is as unforgettable and eternal as the firmament. He defeated of today will be the victors of tomorrow, for this defeat is their instruction. The proletariat still lacks revolutionary tradition, and experiences, and only by tentative actions and youthful errors, by painful defeats and failures, can it gain the practical training which guarantees its future success. For the fundamental forces of the revolution, the unceasing growth of which is the natural law of social development, every defeat spells . . . swift recovery.

And over defeat and defeat the way leads to victory.

But what of the victors of today? For a criminal cause they carry on their criminal bloody work. For the powers of the past for the deadly enemies of the proletariat.

Already they are defeated, for they are the prisoners of those whom they intended to use as their tools but whose tools they always were. Their name is still the cover but they have only a little longer to live. They stand already in the Pillory of History. Never were there such Judases in the world, not only have they betrayed their most sacred trust, but they have crucified it with their own hands. As in August, 1914, the official German Social Democracy sank deeper than any other Social Democratic Party, so now at the dawn of the social revolution it presents the most detestable picture.

The defeated of today have already learned, they have recovered from the insanity of relying upon leaders who have proved weak and incapable, they have recovered from a belief in the Independent Social-Democratic Party which has abandoned them faithlessly. They can rely only on themselves, they will fight their own battles in the future, their future victories. And the truth that the liberation of the working class can only be the work of the working class, has received a new and deep significance through the bitter experience of this week. The deceived soldiers also will realize the nature of their tasks when they feel the knout of re-established militarism. They too will wake from their stupor.

OUR PROGRAM WILL LIVE—IN SPITE OF ALL!

Spartacus smashed? Not so fast! We have not fled, we are not defeated, and if they fetter us, we are there, and we remain there and victory will be ours.

For Spartacus means fire and spirit, means soul and heart means will and action of the proletarian revolution; means all the suffering and longing for happiness, all the determination of the class-conscious proletariat to struggle. For Spartacus means socialism and world revolution.

The Golgotha of the working class has not yet ended, but the day of salvation approaches. The day of trial for Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske and for the capitalist rulers who hide behind them. Events rise high to the sky; we are used to being thrown from the heights to the depths—but our ship continues its straight course firmly toward its goal.

Whether we still live when the end is attained, our programme will live. It will rule the world of a saved humanity, in spite of all!

Under the rumblings of the approaching economic collapse, the still sleeping masses of the proletariat will awaken as from the trumpets of the last judgment, and the corpses of the murdered fighters will arise again and demand a reckoning from the curse-laden criminals.

Today, only the underground mutterings of the volcano. Tomorrow it will burst and bury them all in a torrent of glowing ashes and streams of lava.

THE PAMPHLET OF THE HOUR:

India in Revolt

An Up-to-Date Study by
HENRY JUDD

From the Table of Contents:

India—the Land and Its People
The British Stake in India
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Lenin - - Revolution's Genius

The following excerpts are taken from a "Letter to American Workers" written by Lenin during the First World War, and at a time when the American government was aiding an Anglo-Japanese armed expedition against the newly established Soviet Republic. The "Letter" is dated August 20, 1918:

The history of modern civilized America opens with one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there have been so few among the large number of wars of conquest that were caused, like the present imperialist war, by squabbles among kings, landowners and capitalists over the division of seized lands and stolen profits. It was a war of the American people against English robbers who subjected America and held it in colonial slavery as these "civilized" blood-suckers are now subjecting and hold in colonial slavery hundreds of millions of people in India, Egypt and in all corners of the world.

Since that time about 150 years have passed. Bourgeois civilization has borne all its luxuriant fruits. By the high level of development of the productive forces of organized human labor, by utilizing machines and all the wonders of modern technique, America has taken the first place among free and cultured nations. But at the same time America has become one of the foremost countries as regards the depth of the abyss which divides a handful of brazen billionaires who are wallowing in dirt and in luxury on the one hand, and millions of toilers who are always on the verge of starvation. The American people, who gave the world an example of a revolutionary war against feudal subjection, now appears as a new capitalist wage slave of a handful of billionaires; finds itself playing the role of a hired assassin for the wealthy gang, having strangled the Philippines in 1898 under the pretext of "liberating" them, and strangling the Russian Socialist Republic in 1918 under the pretext of "protecting" it from the Germans.

WAR OF 1914-18 EXPOSED WORKINGS OF CAPITALISM

But four years of the imperialist slaughter of peoples have not passed in vain. Obvious and irrefutable facts have exposed to the end the duping of peoples by the scoundrels of both the English and the German groups of brigands. The four years of war have shown in their results the general law of capitalism as applied to war between murderers for the division of spoils: that he who was richest and mightiest profited and robbed the most; that he who was weakest was robbed, decimated, crushed and strangled to the utmost.

In the number of "colonial slaves" the English imperialist cut-throats have always been most powerful. English capitalists did not lose a foot of their "own" territory (acquired through centuries of robbery) but have managed to appropriate all the German colonies in Africa, have grabbed Mesopotamia and Palestine, have stifled Greece and have begun to plunder Russia.

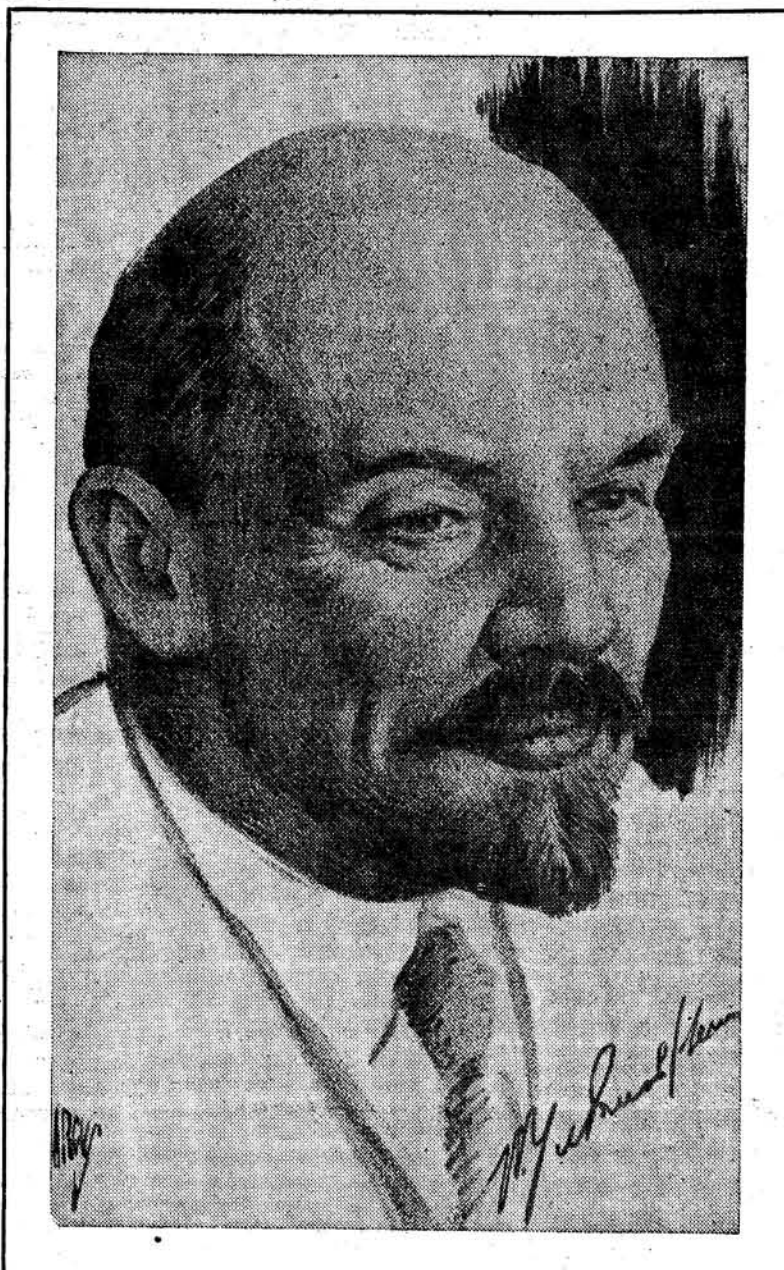
German imperialist cut-throats were stronger in regard to the organization and discipline of "their" armies, but weaker in colonies. They have lost all their colonies, but have robbed half of Europe and throttled most of the small countries and weaker peoples. What a great war of "liberation" on both sides! How well they have "defended the fatherland"—these bandits of both groups, the Anglo-French and the German capitalists together with their lackeys, the social-chauvinists, i.e., socialists who went over to the side of "their own" bourgeoisie!

The American billionaires were richest of all and geographically the most secure. They have profited most of all. They have made all, even the richest countries, their vassals. They have plundered hundreds of billions of dollars. And every dollar is stained with filth: filthy secret pacts between England and her "allies," between Germany and her vassals, pacts on the division of spoils, pacts on mutual "aid" in oppressing the workers and persecuting the socialist-internationalists. Every dollar is stained with the filth of "profitable" military deliveries enriching the

rich and despoiling the poor in every country. And every dollar is stained with blood—of that sea of blood which was shed by the ten millions killed and twenty millions maimed in the great, noble, liberating and holy war which was to decide whether the English or the German cut-throats will get more of the spoils, whether the English or the German executioners will be the first to smother the weak peoples the world over. . . .

crush the resistance of exploiters when we, the workers and toiling peasants, seized state power. We are proud that we have been doing it and are continuing to do it. We only regret that we are not doing it in a sufficiently firm and determined manner.

We know that the fierce resistance of the bourgeoisie to the socialist revolution is inevitable in all countries and that it will grow with the growth of this revolution. The proletariat



RECALLS DEBS' WORDS DURING THE LAST WAR

. . . I also recall the words of one of the most beloved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene Debs, who wrote in *The Appeal to Reason*, I believe toward the end of 1915, in the article, "In Whose War I Will Fight" (I quoted that article in the beginning of 1916 at a public meeting of workers in Berne, Switzerland) that he, Debs, would rather be shot than vote for loans for the present criminal and reactionary imperialist war; that he, Debs, knows of only one holy and, from the standpoint of the proletariat, legal war, namely: the war against the capitalists, the war for the liberation of mankind from wage slavery!

I am not at all surprised that Wilson, the head of the American billionaires and servant of the capitalist sharks, has thrown Debs into prison. Let the bourgeoisie be brutal to the true internationalists, the true representatives of the revolutionary proletariat! The more obduracy and bestiality it displays, the nearer comes the day of the victorious proletarian revolution. . . .

The international imperialist bourgeoisie has killed off ten million men and maimed twenty million in "its" war, the war to decide whether the English or the German robbers are to rule the world.

If our war, the war of oppressed and exploited against oppressors and exploiters, results in half a million or a million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie will say that the sacrifice of the former is justified while the latter is criminal.

Now, amid the ravages of the imperialist war, the proletariat is thoroughly mastering that great truth taught by all revolutions and left as a heritage to the workers by their best teachers, the founders of modern socialism. That truth is, that there can be no successful revolution without crushing the resistance of the exploiters. It was our duty to

will crush this resistance; it will definitely mature to victory and power in the course of struggle against the resisting bourgeoisie. . . .

"THE WORLD REVOLUTION IS INVINCIBLE"

We know that help from you, comrade American workers, will probably not come soon, for the development of the revolution proceeds with a different tempo and in different forms in different countries (and it cannot be otherwise). We know that the European proletarian revolution also may not blaze forth during the next few weeks, no matter how rapidly it has been ripening lately. We stake our chances on the inevitability of the international revolution, but this in no way means that we are so foolish as to stake our chances on the inevitability of the revolution within a stated short period. We have seen in our country two great revolutions, in 1905 and in 1917, and we know that revolutions are made neither to order nor by agreement. We know that circumstances brought to the fore our Russian detachment of the socialist proletariat, not by virtue of our merits, but due to the particular backwardness of Russia, and that before the outburst of the international revolution there may be several defeats of separate revolutions.

Despite this, we are firmly convinced that we are invincible, because mankind will not break down under the imperialist slaughter, but will overcome it. And the first country which demolished the galley chains of imperialist war, was our country. We made the greatest sacrifices in the struggle for the demolition of this chain, but we broke it. We are beyond imperialist dependence, we raised before the whole world the banner of struggle for the complete overthrow of imperialism. . . .

In a word, we are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible.

Luxemburg

On the day before her brutal murder, Rosa Luxemburg wrote an article, "Order is Established in Berlin," for the *Rote Fahne*. It was published on the actual day of the crime. From the article we publish the following excerpts:

"Order is established in Warsaw," reported Minister Sebastiani in 1831 to the Paris Chamber, when, after the ferrible storming of the suburb of Praga, and the taking of Warsaw, the soldier gangs of Paskievitch commenced their hangman's work amongst the rebels.

"Order is established in Berlin!" triumphantly announces Ebert, announces Noske, announce the officers of the "victorious troops" to whom the Berlin petty bourgeois mob waved their handkerchiefs and hurrahed! The glory and honor of the German arms are saved before the world! The deplorably defeated of Flanders and the Argonne have re-established their reputation by their glorious victory, over the three hundred Spartacists in the *Vorwaerts*. The days of the first glorious invasion of Belgium by German troops, the days of General von Emmich, the conqueror of Luttich, pale into insignificance before the deeds of Reinhardt and his comrades in the streets of Berlin. The massacre of the delegates sent out to negotiate the surrender of the *Vorwaerts*, the delegates who were beaten unrecognizable with rifle butts by the soldiers of the government so that the identification of the bodies was impossible; the prisoners who were put up against a wall and murdered in such a manner that skulls were smashed and brains scattered—who would remember, in the face of such glorious deeds and the shameful defeats before the French, the English and the Americans? "Spartacus" is the enemy, and Berlin is the place where our officers know how to fight; and Noske, the "worker," is the general who knows how to succeed where Ludendorff has failed.

Who does not remember at this time the victory madness of the "law and order" gang in Paris, the bacchanal of the bourgeoisie over the bodies of the fighters of the Commune, the same bourgeoisie who had just previously miserably capitulated before the Prussians, surrendered their capital city to the external enemy and themselves fled like the cowards they were. But against the half-starved and badly armed proletariat of Paris, against their defenseless wives and children—how did the manly courage of the sons of the bourgeoisie, of the "golden youth," of the officers, recover itself! How did the bravery of the sons of Mars, which had so drooped before the external enemy, recover itself in bestial atrocities on the unarmed, on the prisoners, on the dead!

"Order is established in Warsaw!" "Order is established in Paris!" "Order is established in Berlin!" So run the reports of the defenders of "order" every half-century from the one center of the world historical fight to the other. And the joyous "victors" do not understand that an "order" which requires periodical and bloody massacres for its maintenance inevitably approaches its historical fate—collapse. What was the last "Spartacus week" in Berlin, what were its causes, what does it teach us?

THE COURSE OF THE SPARTACIST REVOLUTION

Confronted with the fact, the insolent provocation of the Ebert-Scheidemanns, the revolutionary working class was forced to take up arms. The honor of the revolution demanded the immediate repulse of the attack with all energy, otherwise the counter-revolution would have been encouraged to further attacks, and the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat, and the moral credit of the German revolution in the International, shaken.

The immediate opposition came spontaneously and with such natural energy from the Berlin masses that from the first the moral victory lay with the "street."

It is an axiom of the revolution never to remain in inactivity after the first successful step. The best manifestation of power is a heavy blow. This elementary rule of struggle dominates especially every step of the revolution. It is natural and is proof of the healthy instincts, and of the fresh power of the Berlin proletariat, that it did not content itself with the reinstatement of Eichhorn but that it spontaneously occupied the most powerful posts of the counter-revolution—the bourgeois press buildings, the buildings of the semi-official news service and the *Vorwaerts* building. All these measures resulted from the instinctive knowledge of the workers that the counter-revolution would not remain inactive under its defeat, but would force a general trial of strength.

Here we stand before one of the great historical laws of the revolution, against which all the pedantic cleverness of the little "revolutionists" of the Independent Social-Democratic Party, who in each fight merely search for pretexts to retreat, are wrecked. Immediately the basic problem of the revolution is defined, and in this revolution it is the overthrow of the Ebert-Scheidemann government as the first hindrance for the victory of socialism, it confronts us again and again in all its actuality in every single episode of the fight, may the revolution be ever so unready for its solution, may the situation be ever so unripe. "Down with the Ebert-Scheidemann!"—this slogan confronts us in every revolutionary crisis as the only exhaustive formula in all partial conflicts, and through its own inner objective logic, whether one will or not, forces every episode of the fight to its utmost point.

From this contradiction between the sharpening of the task and the lack of the preliminary conditions for its solution in the opening phases of the revolutionary development, results that the partial struggles of the revolution formally end with defeats. The revolution is the only form of war—it is its special axiom—in which the final victory can only be prepared by a number of defeats.

FROM DEFEATS—TOWARD PROLETARIAN VICTORY

What does the whole history of modern revolution and of socialism show? The first outbreaks of the class struggle in Europe—the revolt of the Lyon silk weavers—ended in a heavy defeat. The Chartist movement in England, in a defeat. The revolt of the Paris proletariat in June, 1848, with a crushing defeat. The Paris Commune of 1871 ended with a terrible defeat. The whole path of socialism, so far as revolutionary fights are concerned, is paved with defeats.

And yet this same history leads inevitably, step by step, to the final end! Where would we be today without these "defeats" from which we have drawn our historical experience, knowledge, power, idealism? Today, when we are near the final struggle of the proletarian class wars, we base ourselves on these defeats, with none of which we can dispense, each one is a part of our strength and understanding.

With the revolutionary struggle it is exactly contrary to parliamentary struggle. We had in Germany, through four decades of parliamentary action, gone from victory to victory and in the great historical trial of August 4, 1914, the result was an annihilating moral and political defeat, an unheard-of collapse, an unequalled bankruptcy. The revolution has brought us till now only defeats, but these inevitable defeats accumulate guarantee us guarantee for a future victory.

However, under one condition, it is a question under what circumstances the defeats have been suffered, whether they resulted from the pressure of the advancing masses against the limits of the immature historical preliminary conditions or whether the defeats of the revolutionary actions were caused through half-heartedness, indecision or internal weakness.

Classic examples for both cases are on the one hand the French February Revolution, and on the other the German March Revolution. The heroic action of the Paris proletariat in 1848 has become a living source of class energy for the whole international proletariat. The poverty of the German March Revolution has dragged upon the whole modern revolution like a manacle. It has affected the history of the official German social democracy up to the present dramatic crisis.

"THE REVOLUTION WILL RISE AGAIN MAJESTIC"

How does the defeat of "Spartacus week" appear in the light of the above historic problem? Did it result from the pressure of the advancing masses against the limits of the immature situation, or did it arise from the weaknesses and half-heartedness of the action?

Both! The double character of this fight, the contradiction between the powerful, determined, offensive attitude of the Berlin masses and the indecision, hesitation and half-heartedness of the Berlin leaders are the special characteristics of this episode.

The leaders have failed. But leaders can and must be newly created out of the masses, and by the masses. The masses are the deciding factor, they are the rock on which the final victory of the revolution is based. The masses were on the heights, they have forged this "defeat" as a link in the chain of those defeats that are the pride and the strength of international socialism. And therefore the future victory will spring from this "defeat."

"Order is established in Berlin!" You fools! Your "order" is built on sand! Tomorrow the revolution will arise again majestic and to your terror announce with a voice of thunder: "I was, I am, I am to be!"

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