

Odell Waller Is Dead

By Albert Parker

After keeping him in "death row" for 630 days, they strapped Odell Waller into the electric chair in Richmond, Virginia, on the morning of July 2.

They burned him to death because he was a Negro, because he was a sharecropper, because he had dared in self-defense to shoot the white landlord who cheated the Waller family out of their share of the crop.

They wanted his blood because the Waller case exposed in all its rottenness the "American way of life" in the south—the system of Jim Crowism, of economic super-exploitation on the land, of political oppression and discrimination through the poll-tax.

They snuffed out this boy's life because they wanted to show in the most demonstrative way their bitter hatred of all those who, consciously or unwittingly, presented a threat to that "American way of life."

This legal lynching was opposed by the whole labor movement. Philip Murray, president of the CIO, said, "The execution of Odell Waller would be a gross miscarriage of justice." William Green, president of the AFL, informed the governor of Virginia that "labor throughout the nation will be grateful" if he would extend executive clemency. Numerous trade unions in both the south and the north protested against the pending execution.

The Negro people were completely united on this issue too. Every prominent Negro organization and leader appealed for Waller's life.

But the pressure of the masses, although it delayed the legal lynching for almost two years, was unable to save Waller. For on the other side, arrayed against the groups defending the sharecropper, were powerful forces, influential in both state and federal governments, who did not want to antagonize the reactionary southern powers—that he and who gave these powers the blood which they were demanding.

Behind the Switch

Who were these people behind the switch of the Richmond electric chair?

The Virginia courts as exemplified by Judge Turner Clement of the Pittsylvania Co. Circuit Court. As presiding judge at the



ODELL WALLER

Odell Waller's Last Testament

Shortly before he was taken to the electric chair, Odell Waller wrote a last statement which he asked be given to the newspapers.

This unlettered sharecropper, railroaded to death because he was poor and black, penned a damning indictment of the capitalist, Jim Crow system:

"Have you thought about (how) some people are allowed a chance over and over again, then there are others allowed little chance, some no chance at all . . .

"I accident(ally) fell and some good people tried to help me. Others did everything they could against me so the Governor and the courts (courts) don't no (know) the true facts.

"In my case I worked from sunup until sundown trying to make a living for my family and it ended in death for me.

"You take big people as the President, Governors, judge, their children don't never have to suffer. They has plenty money. Born in a mansion (mansion) nothing ever to worry about. I am glad some people are that lucky.

"The penitentiary all over the United States are full of people ho (who) was pore (poor), tried to work and have something, couldn't, so that maid (made) them steel (steal) an rob."

from voting, he upheld the poll tax system which denied Waller trial by a jury of his peers. Calling the viciously prejudiced proceedings that condemned Waller to death "a fair and impartial trial," he gave the go-ahead signal for the execution. Not content with that, he attacked those who were defending Waller with the statement that "the widespread propaganda campaign which has been carried on without regard for the facts in this case" was "extremely detrimental to the public interests" and resulted in sowing "racial discord at a critical time when every loyal citizen should strive to promote unity."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Author of pretty speeches about "the four freedoms" and "democracy," he had the power to set up a Presidential Commission of Inquiry into the Waller case, which would have resulted in the almost automatic postponement of the execution, but refused to even answer the thousands of people who requested the establishment of such a Commission. Elected with the help of the poll tax and the support of the reactionary southern Democrats, he gave the runaround to a delegation of Negro leaders who came to Washington on July 1 to ask his intervention, and by refusing to meet with them, gave the final green light to Virginia's executioner.

And to whose wishes were the "humanitarian" president, the "conscientious" governor and the "progressive" Supreme Court Justices acceding, when they callously rejected the appeals of labor and Negro organizations representing millions of workers?

A Symbol and a Lesson

To the wishes of Jim Crow and Judge Lynch, of the parasitic

(Continued on page 3)

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Pétain Statement Bares Role Of French Bosses

Proves That Capitalists Preferred Nazi Rule to a Victorious Workers' France

By MARC LORIS

"A nation has to be whipped sometime."

Who was it last week that uttered these terrible words about France? Hitler? No. They came from the lips of the French Chief of State, Marshal Pétain.

If we are to measure the full import of these words, we must not forget who the Marshal is. He is not a political adventurer like Doriot, nor even like Laval. Considerations not only of material gain but even of personal power are completely alien to this 86 year old soldier. It is precisely this which gives his words so much significance: Pétain speaks in the name of his class, the French capitalists.

Our epoch has not lacked examples of supreme abjectness and vileness. When future generations look for examples, they will surely direct their attention to Pétain and his flunkies, who recall to mind Thiers and the French capitalist class of the 1870's who shot down thousands of Communards and found delight in watching their society women gouge out the eyes of the dying with the points of their parasols. Just as Thiers received his Great Fright from the Paris Commune, so Pétain and the capitalists re-

ceived their Great Fright from the strike wave of June, 1936.

And like Thiers, they think only of revenge. With this difference, that they have assigned this mission to Hitler: "A nation has to be whipped sometime."

PRECIOUS LESSONS

For all its repugnant cynicism, Pétain's declaration contains precious lessons for the workers. The first is the lie of "national defense" coming from the lips of the capitalists.

The capitalist state, aided by its agents of all kinds, always and everywhere tries to paralyze the struggles of the workers on the pretext that history has placed the defense of the nation in its hands. In reality, the capitalists never defend the nation except as an object of exploitation. When the mechanism of this exploitation is menaced, the capitalists take the road of defeatism. Pétain openly declares: "A nation corrects itself only after an unhappy war."

The conduct of the French capitalist class gives particular prominence to these truths only because it is feebler than the others. Up to now the capitalists in the other countries have not been placed in this position. They also, behind the hypocrisy of national defense, defend only their profits and privileges. When their privileged position, within their own countries becomes endangered, as was Pétain's, they will think only of using the whip against their own people, without caring who wields this whip.

"Democracy"

Another precious lesson which Pétain's declaration teaches the workers is about the meaning of capitalist democracy. For more than sixty years Pétain was a soldier, "a servant of the Republic." When it became necessary in the interests of his class, the "servant" blithely threw the Republic into the garbage can together with its venerable president, senators and deputies.

Now Pétain speaks to his people in the tones of a feudal lord to his serfs: "A nation has to be whipped sometime." Pétain remains what he has always been

(Continued on page 2)

C. P.'s Scab-Like Role In Waller Case

By PHILIP BLAKE

About the most contemptible and scab-like role the Communist Party has played in a long time was in connection with the Odell Waller case.

For almost two years, while the Workers Defense League and other organizations conducted a hard up-hill struggle to rally support for the condemned sharecropper and four times won him a reprieve from the electric chair the Stalinists remained as silent as the tomb.

Then last month, when the Waller case began to receive nationwide attention, when it was clear that the Negro masses were fighting mad about the attempts to carry through the legal lynching, the Stalinists broke down and said something.

On June 18 Benjamin Davis Jr. of the DAILY WORKER staff devoted a whole sentence to the case—the first to appear in the DAILY WORKER. (Waller was scheduled to die the next day.) Most of this sentence was an attack on the "Trotskyite defeatists" (that is, the non-Trotskyist Workers Defense League and all the other groups fighting to save Waller's life) for their "sinister exploitation" of the case (that is, for their efforts to cheat Judge Lynch of his victim).

Another and somewhat longer article in the Daily Worker the next day showed that the Stalinists had adopted the formula put forth by Davis for covering up their treacherous role throughout the whole case. That formula called for paying a little lip-service to the need for defending Waller—and hurling the most damnable slanders at the defenders of Waller. This was the formula followed by the Communist Party up to and past the execution.

On June 30, the same day that poll-tax Governor Darden issued his statement authorizing the Virginia executioner to go ahead with the murder of Waller, the DAILY WORKER published a story approvingly quoting Darden's attacks on the Workers Defense League for issuing a "malicious" pamphlet "filled with falsehoods" on the Waller case.

This aid from one of Waller's hangmen, the Stalinists thought, is a good way to attack the Workers Defense League, which is gaining support in many quarters for its vigorous defense campaign, and at the same time divert attention from the Stalin-

(Continued on page 3)

Congress, OPA Help To Lower Living Standards

They Oppose A Rising Scale of Wages for the Workers, and Prevent the Effective Enforcement of the Price Ceilings

The excuse that government uses for its "wage stabilization" drive and that the bosses use for refusing any wage increases to the workers is that prices have been fixed.

But events of the last week or two are making it perfectly plain that neither Congress nor the Office of Price Administration is taking any really serious steps to enforce the price regulations.

Instead, the House of Representatives voted last week to grant the OPA only \$75,000,000 to enforce the regulations. OPA Administrator Leon Henderson had stated that \$210,000,000 were necessary for the job, and the Bureau of the Budget had recommended \$161,000,000.

In effect, the House was cutting the OPA staff of a proposed 100,000 people to between 20,000 and 30,000. This would mean approximately less than 10 people to a county, including the OPA's big office personnel, to police the tens of thousands of prices throughout the country.

While the House vote sufficiently indicates the attitude of the same representatives who passed the Smith slave-labor bill last winter, the program of Henderson and the administration is not much better.

For the job of policing forces is such a vast and ramified field that it could never be effectively carried out even if Henderson got twice or ten times the appropriation and the personnel which he requested.

The answer to the problem of price ceiling enforcement lies in the direction of mobilizing the mass workers', farmers' and consumers' organization, and training the hundreds of thousands of housewives, etc., to check on prices and to compel compliance with the regulations. This step alone would not solve all the problems of concealed and open inflation, but it would be a thousand times more effective than Henderson's plans.

Hundreds of trade unions and consumers' organizations have called on the OPA to institute such a program, and have volunteered the services of their members in carrying it out. But

opponents to wage increases for the steel, auto and aircraft workers whose cases are now before government boards, has been extremely liberal and "co-operative" with the employers and manufacturers. Last week he announced a 15% increase in retail prices of canned and dried fruits. This was believed to be only the first in a series of general increases by the OPA to benefit the employers.

A few months from now, when prices will have undergone a general rise, Henderson and Congress will begin howling again for freezing of all wages.

The answer of the unions to both Congress and Henderson should be clear and curt:

"You talk about controlling prices—but our cost of living rises every day. Until prices are really controlled—and we have no good reason to believe you can or will control them—don't waste your time trying to convince us that we are not entitled to, and should not fight for, a rising scale of wages to meet rising living costs."

24,000 Factories To Be Shut Down, WPB Says

War Increases the Monopolies' Control Over Production

More than 24,000 manufacturing establishments will be forced out of business before October, according to a War Production Board forecast made last month.

The companies produce about 4 million dollars in goods each year, representing 13% of the nation's productive capacity and 8% of the volume of business.

How many more of the country's 185,000 manufacturing establishments will be forced to close down before the war ends, nobody can now predict with certainty.

But the report of the Senate Committee on Small Business, made last February, indicated that the number will be far greater than 24,000.

At that time, the Committee reported, a mere 56 firms had received 75% of army and navy contracts and over 174,000 companies had not received any war orders at all.

Since then, the War Production Board has paid a little lip-service to the idea of granting contracts and sub-contracts to small business, and has set up a special committee to handle this. But nothing has really been done, as the latest figures show.

The government spokesmen make a lot of speeches about how after the war is over there will be plenty of production and security for the masses.

But the cold facts behind these speeches belie the nice-sounding promises. The facts are that through their dollar-a-year agents in the government procurement agencies, the big monopoly corporations are using the war not only to reap tremendous profits now, but also to lay the groundwork for greater monopolistic control of the nation's productive forces after the war.

The facts are that after the war the same forces whose domination of the productive forces before the war prevented the workers from achieving security, will be in even stronger control than before.

cists were reported shot in Berlin and 3 sentenced to die in Hamburg. As yet no names or details are available about these latest executions in Germany.

All this opposition is wartime opposition, reported by the Nazis themselves, and at least as significant as the reports of resistance to the Nazis in the occupied countries, on which the capitalist press here places so much emphasis!

American anti-fascist workers should not permit themselves to be misled by capitalist propaganda and the difficulty of getting information from within Germany: we have real allies inside Germany, who are risking their lives daily to organize the overthrow of Hitlerism. In the final analysis, it will be these allies of ours who will destroy the terrible system of capitalist oppression in Germany. Let us help them by working to set up a Workers' and Farmers' Government in this country which will lend them every assistance and join with them in the establishment of a world socialist federation of security and peace.

Bootleg Rings In Operation On Both Coasts

Illegal Sales of Oil And Tires Give Them Millions In Profit

Following shortly after the announcement of activities of oil bootleggers in New York, OPA officials on the West Coast reported this week the existence of a powerful ring of tire bootleggers who have made more than a million dollars in profits since they began their operations last December.

Reminiscent of the activities of the alcohol bootleggers of the Prohibition Era, the West Coast tire bootleggers opened on a small scale in Los Angeles last Dec. 12, when the government froze tires, and have spread throughout the city.

Their prices for bootleg tires now range from \$35 to \$50 a piece. People acquainted with the operations of the ring have been warned not to "sneak" or they would get a dose of hot lead. Bribery, probably of law enforcement agents, is also reported.

WEALTHY BUY BOOTLEG TIRES AND 1942 CARS

In addition to bootlegging tires, the ring has begun the illegal sale of 1942 model automobiles. According to Bates Booth, attorney for the OPA, "They are bought from dealers in the East and driven out here. The most expensive makes are most popular."

This is clearly a sign that the cars are bought by the more wealthy people, who are fond of lecturing to the workers about the necessity for abiding by "law and order."

In all major details the operations of the oil bootleggers along the Atlantic Coast and the tire bootleggers on the West Coast resemble the early activities of the "black market" agents in Europe, who sell at tremendously inflated prices the commodities which the various governments have frozen or put under price ceilings. In every case where commodities became scarce in these European countries, large quantities have been diverted from the legal market where the prices are frozen to the bootleg market where the sky is the limit.

SIGN FOR THE FUTURE INDICATES BOOTLEGGING IN WIDER FIELDS

Of course most commodities in this country are still available, even though at much higher prices than two years ago. But the comparatively minor operations of the tire and oil bootleggers are a sign of what is to come in the future unless control and policing of prices and rationing is placed in the hands of the workers and consumers' organizations. For when the scarcities begin to make themselves felt next year, bootleg operations will expand throughout the country, and workers who need certain commodities will find themselves forced against their will to patronize the bootleggers. Then their living costs will reach new, unheard of levels. If their wages are frozen at that time, it will mean a drastic slash in their living standards.

The workers must redouble their efforts now, to combat all attempts to freeze wages. They must fight for a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.

At the same time the workers must insist that the present plans to "control inflation" offer no assurance that the workers' standard of living will not be cut.

Unions Representing 1,000,000 Workers Have Aided 18

Civil Rights Defense Committee Has Conducted Vigorous Defense Campaign

July 15, 1942, marks one year since the beginning of the Minneapolis case. On that date a Federal Grand Jury in St. Paul handed down an indictment against 29 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and officials of the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union Local 544-CIO, on charges of "seditious conspiracy" and violation of the Smith "Gag" Act.

Immediately after the indictment the Civil Rights Defense Committee was organized, and authorized to take charge of the defense in the case, publicize the important issues involved, and raise the funds necessary to defray the heavy court costs.

This week the CRDC announced that almost 150 central labor bodies and local unions representing over one million workers have in the last year rallied to the cause of the Minneapolis defendants by passing resolutions of support and sending financial aid to the Committee.

ORIGIN OF INDICTMENT

The indictment followed the disaffiliation of the Minneapolis truck drivers on June 9, 1941, from the AFL Teamsters International, and their affiliation with the CIO. This action had taken place after Daniel J. Tobin, AFL Teamsters President, had attempted to impose a dictator-receiver on Local 544. The indictment followed an appeal from Tobin to

President Roosevelt that "in some way the local be prevented from pursuing this dangerous course." The American Civil Liberties Union on August 21 stated in a letter to Attorney General Biddle: "It is reasonable to conclude that the action taken by the government arose from the President's reaction to Mr. Tobin's request."

The labor movement recognizes that the use of the criminal code against one labor organization in favor of another constitutes a dangerous precedent for government interference in the internal affairs of the unions.

After a 5-week trial beginning on October 27, 18 of the defendants were convicted and sentenced to 16 month and 12 month prison terms. Five of the defendants had been previously discharged by the judge, and five were acquitted on a directed verdict.

The 18 were found guilty under provisions of the Smith "Gag" Act of 1940, which made the advocacy of socialism a crime. All were acquitted of the "seditious conspiracy" charge.

Nation-wide support was rallied to the defense. The National Committee of the CRDC included prominent figures from many fields and of diverse political views. James T. Farrell, noted author, served as chairman; vice-chairmen are John Dos Passos, well-known novelist, and Carlo Tresca, editor of the anti-fascist paper *Il Martello*. George E. Novack is the national secretary.

NON-UNION SUPPORT

Labor and liberal spokesmen throughout the country protested the convictions and called for support to the defense.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which has actively assisted the defense, declare, "No more important issue of civil liberties in the courts has arisen in many years."

The Nation, *The New Republic*, and many other liberal publications condemned the prosecution and convictions as a violation of free speech and democratic rights.

The Union for Democratic Action, the Workers Defense League, the Religion and Labor Foundation, the Church Emergency Relief, and many other progressive and religious organizations rallied to the defense.

Over 35 active local committees

were established by the CRDC in cities from coast to coast. To publicize the case the CRDC sponsored two national tours. Dorothy Schultz, freed by the judge, toured the branches of the CRDC, speaking at open meetings and before many sympathetic organizations, on the issues confronting the labor movement in the case.

V. R. Dunne, one of the 18 convicted in December, made a coast-to-coast tour, visiting every branch of the CRDC, and meeting with many trade unionists. He spoke before meetings sponsored and organized by CIO councils and local unions, and in the course of his tour attracted many liberal friends to active participation in the Committee's work. As a result of the tour of Dunne, new branches of the CRDC were set up in several cities.

By the energetic work of the local committees, and by means of contributions sent in by individuals and organizations the CRDC provided the finances necessary to carry on the case. Over \$15,000 was raised in the first year of the case, the CRDC announced this week. Contributions from local unions have continued to arrive in a steady stream since the beginning of the war, the donations ranging from \$2.50 to \$50.00.

LITERATURE OF THE CASE

Two pamphlets were published by the CRDC: *Wich Hunt in Minnesota*, and *The Bill of Rights in Danger*, both written by George E. Novack. Pioneer Publishers

(116 University Place, N. Y.) has published two pamphlets on the trial. The first, *Socialism on Trial* by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, and one of those convicted, contains his verbatim testimony; the second, *In Defense of Socialism*, by Albert Goldman, chief defense counsel and also one of the convicted defendants, contains the closing address for the defense to the jury.

The case is now being prepared for appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis. It will probably be heard there in October, the CRDC announced. It is expected that the appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, in which the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" act will be tested for the first time, will take place some time in February, 1943. The CRDC is now appealing to all friends of civil liberties to contribute toward this fight to carry the case to the highest courts, which will necessitate the expenditure of over \$5,000.

In the very recent period the CRDC upon the request of Teamsters Local 544-CIO has undertaken to give assistance in the appeal of the district court conviction of Kelly Postal, local secretary-treasurer, and in the defense of other members of the local union executive board. Also, the Committee is aiding in the defense of Carl Skoglund, who faces deportation charges as well as state charges. The Committee has announced that it must raise \$1500 to fight these state cases.

List Of Central Labor Bodies And Local Unions Which Aided Defense

The Civil Rights Defense Committee issued this week a complete list of the labor councils and local unions which have contributed to the work of the CRDC in supporting the members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO who were indicted a year ago in the famous Minneapolis case. In addition, the CRDC announced the names of the national, state and district labor bodies which have passed resolutions condemning the convictions arising out of the indictment, and calling on their affiliates to support the CRDC in its efforts to appeal the convictions. According to the CRDC statement, many other local unions have also passed resolutions condemning the convictions, but they are releasing the names at this time of only those who made contributions to the work of the CRDC.

JOINT LABOR BODIES WHICH HAVE MADE DIRECT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CRDC:

San Francisco Industrial Union Council, CIO
Bucks County Industrial Union Council No. 2, CIO, Quakertown, Pa.
Bridgeport (Conn.) Industrial Union Council, CIO
Baltimore ILGWU Joint Board, AFL
New York City ILGWU Joint Board of Locals 10, 22, 60, 89, AFL
Rochester (N. Y.) Railroad Council
District 11 Council, United Auto Workers, CIO, Buffalo, N. Y.
Buffalo Council 13, United Shoe Workers, CIO, New York
Joint Advisory Council, United Retail and Wholesale Employees, CIO, St. Louis, Mo.

JOINT LABOR BODIES WHICH HAVE PASSED RESOLUTIONS SUPPORTING THE WORK OF THE CRDC

National Convention, United Transport Service Employees, CIO
New Jersey State Industrial Union Council, CIO
Steel City Industrial Union Council, CIO, Pittsburgh, Pa.
St. Louis (Mo.) Industrial Union Council, CIO
Louisville (Ky.) Industrial Union Council, CIO
Trenton (N. J.) Industrial Union Council, CIO
New Haven (Conn.) Industrial Union Council, CIO

LOCAL UNIONS WHICH HAVE MADE DIRECT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CRDC:

Locals of United Auto Workers, CIO:

No. 3, Detroit, Mich.
45, Cleveland, O.
51, Detroit, Mich.
82, Racine, Wisc.
88, Cleveland, O.
102, Eau Claire, Wisc.
198, Cleveland, O.
203, Detroit, Mich.
212, Detroit, Mich.
216, Southgate, Calif.
260, Newark, N. J.
262, Detroit, Mich.
263, Cleveland, O.
398, Torrington, Conn.
407, Milwaukee, Wisc.
410, Detroit, Mich.
425, Buffalo, N. Y.
486, Cleveland, O.
490, Highland Park, Mich.
501, Buffalo, N. Y.
511, Newark, N. J.
560, Richmond, Calif.
578, Oshkosh, Wisc.
594, Pontiac, Mich.
662, Anderson, Ind.
663, Anderson, Ind.
666, Jackson, Mich.
672, Trenton, N. J.
751, Roxbury, Mass.
764, Elkhart, Ind.
805, Chicago, Ill.
818, Detroit, Mich.
836, Saginaw, Mich.
837, Elkhart, Ind.
854, Syracuse, N. Y.
856, Akron, O.

Lodges of United Steelworkers, CIO:

No. 1010, E. Chicago, Ill.
1060, Buffalo, N. Y.
1330, Youngstown, O.
1339, Jersey City, N. J.
1486, New Haven, Conn.
1725, Newark, N. J.
1743, Buffalo, N. Y.
1753, Buffalo, N. Y.
1833, Newark, N. J.
1845, Huntington Park, Cal.
2014, Newark, N. J.
2017, Buffalo, N. Y.
2106, Newark, N. J.
2111, Trenton, N. J.
2141, New Haven, Conn.
2448, Plainfield, Conn.

Locals of United Rubber Workers, CIO:

No. 5, Akron, O.
69, Trenton, N. J.
107, Trenton, N. J.
120, Chicago, Ill.
182, Rahway, N. J.
187, Newark, N. J.
205, Trenton, N. J.

Locals of Textile Workers Union, CIO:

No. 87, Paterson, N. J.
277, Newark, N. J.
356, Elizabeth, N. J.
363, Roseville Park, N. J.
Dyers and Finishers, No. 1932, Passaic, N. J.
Freehold, N. J., TWOC

Locals of Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO:

No. 9, Los Angeles, Calif.
13, Staten Island, N. Y.
15, Hoboken, N. J.
44, Bayonne, N. J.

Locals of International Ladies' Garment Workers, AFL:

No. 24, New York
25, New York
66, New York
155, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Locals of Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO:

No. 169, New York
1, (Journymen Tailors), New York
3, (Journymen Tailors), New York
195, (Journymen Tailors), Newark, N. J.

Locals of United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, CIO:

No. 135, Chicago, Ill.
172, Chicago, Ill.
177, Chicago, Ill.
245, Melrose Park, Ill.

Locals of Plaything, Toy and Novelty Workers, CIO:

No. 225, Trenton, N. J.
226, Trenton, N. J.
433, Bridgeport, Conn.
Paper, Novelty and Toy Local, Chicago, Ill.

Locals of International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union, CIO:

No. 1-10, San Francisco, Calif.
1-13, San Pedro, Calif.
1-29, San Diego, Calif.

Locals of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO:

No. 203, Bridgeport, Conn.
402, Newark, N. J.
426, Newark, N. J.
No. 2, Newark, N. J.
4, Buffalo, N. Y.
148, Newark, N. J.

Branches of American Federation of Hosiery Workers, AFL:

Branch 49, Newark, N. J.
Boonton, N. J., Branch

Locals of Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers, Independent:

New York Branch
San Pedro, Calif., Branch

Locals of International Woodworkers of America, CIO:

No. 2-9, Tacoma, Wash.
6-28, Portola, Calif.

Locals of Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee, CIO:

Agar Local, Chicago, Ill.
Local, St. Paul, Minn.

Locals of Oil Workers Organizing Committee, CIO:

No. 337, Linden, N. J.
397, Carteret, N. J.

Miscellaneous CIO Unions:

Aluminum Workers No. 4, Chicago, Ill.
Mine, Mill and Smeiter Workers No. 462, Newark, N. J.
Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers Union No. 190, Minneapolis, Minn.
Gas By-Products Coke Workers No. 12065, Edgewater, N. J.
United Mine Workers No. 12160, West Haven, Conn.
Fur Workers No. 30, Boston, Mass.
State, County and Municipal Workers, Newark, N. J.
United Hospital Workers No. 787, Chicago, Ill.
United Retail and Wholesale Employees No. 108, Newark, N. J.
Newton Tile No. 75, Newton, N. J.

Miscellaneous AFL Unions:

Amalgamated Lithographers of America No. 1, N. Y.
Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Makers No. 60, New York

Miscellaneous Independent Unions:

Mechanics Educational Society, Detroit, Mich.
International Typographical Union No. 103, Newark, N. J.

Contents of July

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

THEIR "PEACE" AIMS:

1. Washington's "New Order" by Marc Loris
2. The Soviet Pacts and the Peace by Editorial Comment

LABOR UNDER THE THIRD TERM
Roosevelt's Election Promises — and What Happened to Them by Joe Andrews
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IN MEMORIAM

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First American Trotskyist casualties of World War II are three young merchant marine seamen who were lost at sea after their ship had been attacked by a German U-boat. All three were members of the Seafarers International Union. All three were active young revolutionists who carried the message of socialism to their fellow-workers in the midst of the greatest perils. That was their work. They were killed at their posts.

We dip our banners over the watery grave of our martyrs. We honor their memories by continuing the fight to which they had dedicated their lives.

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WORKERS' FORUM

Editor:

On June 22 there appeared in the N. Y. Times an advertisement addressed to Churchill, paid for by the Committee for a Jewish Army, and signed by Pierre van Passen, national chairman of this committee. The appeal to Churchill solicits support for a "Jewish Army based on Palestine" which will fight on all required battlefields side by side with the United States, Great Britain, and the other Allied nations.

Simultaneously with this appeal came the report of the fall of Tobruk and the advance of the Nazi forces into Egypt. Palestine, as a strategic military point, lies in the path of the Nazis seeking to reach the rich oil fields of the Near East, and it is no wonder that the Jewish people everywhere are increasingly concerned over the possibility of a German invasion of Palestine. This appeal, expressing the sentiments of a vast section of the Zionists, is a very interesting document. We can see clearly from it what is meant by the Jewish Army for which some forces have been asking.

It is entirely possible that such a Jewish army would be sent to India or South Africa to be used as foreign mercenaries to keep the native peoples in subjection. Perhaps it would be used to stifle the Arabs fighting for independence in the Near East. Rather than a tool of defense, the Jewish army could easily be used as a tool of British oppression. To the Zionist leaders the Jewish army is a political barter! In return for selling the Palestinian masses into the service of British imperialism, the Zionist leadership hopes to get a few concessions in the future.

Palestine is a nation of 1,650,000 people, two-thirds of whom are Arabs. Can an army be "based on Palestine" and yet not include the Arabs? Defense against imperialist invasion is as vital to the Arab workers and peasants as to the Jews. Yet the Zionist leaders completely ignore the Arabs, that is, the majority of the population.

The Zionist leadership will reject the idea of cooperation with the Arabs on the grounds that the Arabs are "antagonistic." But

Petaim Statement Bares Role Of French Bosses

(Continued from page 1)

and thus clearly reveals the character of capitalist democracy: an apparatus of domination covered over with some decorative curtains. Petaim has not "betrayed." He has simply lifted the threadbare curtains.

WHO WAS "GUILTY"?

Since the defeat of France, a big polemic has begun between the right and the left over the question of "responsibility." The right, which now holds power, even arranged the Riom trial to establish the responsibility of the left. Many accusations have been exchanged and we must recognize that most of them are justified. The truth is that both sides are often correct at the same time.

For us, those responsible for the present misfortunes of France are obviously those who held the power in their hands, that is, the French ruling class. Its domination had been maintained alternately by its lackeys of the right and of the left. And both are equally guilty: from Poincare and

Clemenceau, architects of the Versailles Treaty, to Blum and Thorez, saviors of the regime of June '36.

FRANCE IN 1936

The recent history of France remains incomprehensible if one does not take into consideration this fundamental fact: In June 1936 France had entered a revolutionary period. Victory was possible and even relatively easy with a bold working class leadership. The misfortune was that the two workers' parties, Socialist and Stalinist, as well as the trade union leadership, did everything in their power to check the offensive of the masses.

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

The Pittsburgh Courier pointed out editorially on June 27 that the leaders of the March-on-Washington movement "do not have a program" of action and that there is no "machinery for carrying out a program if there were one." This is undoubtedly correct, and constitutes the chief weakness of the movement. But what follows from that?

The Courier, which does not have any program either, concludes from this that the movement is "unnecessary" and implies that time spent trying to build it is wasted. We, the Trotskyists, who do have a program, reach the entirely different conclusion that the job for class-conscious Negro workers is to join this movement and do everything possible to strengthen and build it by advancing the program that will best protect the interests of the Negro people, and trying to get the movement to adopt this program.

The objective of the March-on-Washington movement, as expressed in its recently-adopted 8 points, is the abolition of racial discrimination wherever it exists. With this objective the Negro masses, sick of being told to fight for freedom abroad and of being denied it at home, are in full agreement. Because the movement has urged the necessity of FIGHTING for democracy at home NOW, the masses are looking to it for leadership in that fight. What we offer here is a program of action indicating HOW the masses can carry on this struggle for democratic rights:

1. The movement must be placed on a stable, democratic basis.

At present, except for a few leading committees in some of the larger cities, the movement does not have a definite and clearly recognizable membership. The rank-and-file workers who want to build the movement have been offered nothing to do in the last year but to help swell the attendance at one mass meeting. The only sense in which they belong to the movement therefore is in their willingness to support it. Everybody is a member in this sense — and nobody. It is hard for a worker to have sustained interest and confidence in such a movement.

The March-on-Washington movement is more than a year old, its name is well known, and it is time that it became a definite organization — with members belonging to it in the same sense that they belong to active, democratic trade unions; with a constitution clearly stating the responsibilities and the privileges of membership; with officers who are elected by and responsible to the rank-and-file.

This last point, involving the problem of leadership of the movement, is very important. The present national leaders do more or less what, when and how they think is best. They were never elected by anyone; consequently they do not consult anyone, and run the organization as though it belonged to them. Even if they were following the most correct policies in the world, this would not make for a healthy situation. When they follow incorrect policies under these circumstances, the rank and file — in whom we have far more confidence than the leaders — has no way of correcting them, has no way of showing their dissatisfaction except by walking out of the organization. The undemocratic setup of the movement resulted in just such a walkout a year ago when Randolph called off the March on Washington without the approval or consultation of the members.

The future of the movement depends, therefore, on creating an organization with a definite membership and a leadership which will be responsible to the membership.

2. The movement must make an alliance with the labor movement.

The Negro people will never achieve their emancipation unless they themselves actively enter and assume leadership of that struggle. That goes without saying. But it does not mean that the Negro people can obtain their emancipation by their own efforts alone.

The ruling class that exploits and oppresses the Negroes is only a small minority of the population, much smaller than the Negro one-tenth of the nation. But that ruling class, although small in numbers, is powerful enough to maintain its rule over not only the Negro but also the

white workers. Without the aid and support of the white workers, the Negroes will never be able to gain their rights from America's Sixty Families.

Negro and white workers have both a common enemy and common problems to solve. There are still some white workers misguided by capitalist propaganda who do not know it, but they can never win real security and freedom as long as the bosses are able to keep the working class divided along racial or other lines. The white worker needs the Negro, the Negro worker needs the white worker. The trade union movement needs Negro support in the fight against the employers, the March-on-Washington movement needs the support of the great trade union movement in the fight against Jim Crow. Only through unity will the labor movement and the Negro struggle make progress.

Nothing would be better at this stage than for the March-on-Washington movement to say to the trade unions: "We are organizing to fight our own special problems, but we are aware of the connection between our problems as Negroes and our problems as workers. We pledge you full support in your fight, we promise to aid you in your fight in every way we can. In return we ask you for help in our fight, we call on you to launch a campaign to wipe out all traces of racial discrimination that still remain in the labor movement, we ask you to insist that the employers cease all discrimination in the factories."

The natural result of such an appeal to the unions would be progress all up and down the line, and particularly the mobilization of that kind of support for the objectives of the March-on-Washington movement which the Jim Crow ruling class fears most of all.

3. The movement must recognize the political character of its struggle and take steps to fight its enemies on the political field.

Only a blind man or a fool would deny that Jim Crow has some of its most powerful defenders sitting in the seats of public office and blocking all efforts to outlaw discrimination by legislation. Congress refuses to pass anti-lynch and anti-poll-tax bills because the southern Democrats don't want them passed, because the Democrats and the Republicans of the north want the support and friendship of the southern Democrats. The influence of these poll-tax politicians extends into all branches of the government, including the White House.

These southern Democrats will never peacefully compromise on the question of Negro rights, they have boasted a thousand times that they will fight to the death rather than give in on it. There is no sense in verbally denouncing these defenders of Jim Crow unless at the same time you prepare a relentless campaign to drive them out of power — and that can be done only by breaking with, and fighting against, the Democratic and Republican Parties, which have for more than half-a-century stood united against the Negro people.

There will of course be some people who will say, "Let's not bring politics into the organization." But that is like saying, "Let us fight our enemies with one hand tied behind our back." Or like saying, "Let us fight to force the adoption of new laws, but let's leave our enemies in control of the government, so that they can sabotage and prevent the carrying out of the new laws as they did with the old laws."

Like the white workers, the Negro people need a party which will represent the interests of the masses and raise the same demands on the political field which the masses raise in their unions and on their picket lines: an independent labor party controlled by the workers' organizations, particularly the unions and Negro organizations.

There are other steps the March-on-Washington movement can and should take, and we will discuss them some other time. But if the movement starts the ball rolling by adopting this three-point program of action, no power on earth will be able to keep it from becoming the most important and effective Negro organization this country has ever seen.

Niemoeller Admits Church Helped Hitler To Power

By A. ROLAND

An Allied victory would bring the attempt to establish some form of German state satisfactory to the "democratic" victors. The dictatorship of the victorious armed forces would at some stage (granted that they could tighten control to the point where proletarian revolution could be prevented—this only for the sake of argument) try to cloak itself

under some German puppet government, democratic in form only. The Allies would undoubtedly turn to some of those Church figures who have been martyred by Hitler. Niemoeller, if still alive, would become a very likely candidate for high office.

It is therefore of interest to see where the Protestant Church guided by the Niemoellers stood during the entire period of reaction. Some light is thrown on the position of the Church in the book written by the Jewish refugee, Leo Stein. This refugee, a former German judge ousted by the Nazis when they came to power, met and talked with Niemoeller in prison. What he tells is of the greatest importance. Since it is told in the spirit of great admiration for Niemoeller, it cannot be considered as prejudiced against the evangelical pastor.

Through Niemoeller one sees the attitude of the Church to the Weimar Republic. The Weimar constitution proclaimed the separation of Church and State. The formal separation that had theoretically existed prior to the formation of the democratic state, was a myth. The Church received financial support from the various crowned heads of the German principalities. Stein quotes directly the words of Niemoeller:

RELATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

"The crowned heads of the states, who themselves derived the right from God, according to the theory of that time, were interested in the moral authority of the Church, which, on her part, did everything she could to justify and confirm those claims by connecting the worldly power of the Crowns with the mysticism of the Faith. So the Faith and the Church were protected by their mutual interests. That meant that State did not allow any attack on Church or religion and that the Church supported with all her power the Crown and State. Furthermore, the Church received financial support from the State, so that she could fulfill her manifold tasks without having to resort to heavy taxation of her followers."

The Weimar Republic changed all of this. Separation of church

and state became a very practical matter, since it meant a heavy blow at Church finances. The state permitted members who did not wish to continue paying money to the Church, to discontinue their membership. Niemoeller stated: "In Berlin alone, at a single meeting, many hundreds availed themselves of this easy opportunity to void their church membership and thus escape contributions to church support." Marriage became a simple legal contract, requiring no Church ceremonies. Children were no longer required to give compulsory attendance to Church schools. "Statistics showed that if these conditions continued, the Church as an organization would be destroyed within thirty years."

It became clear to Niemoeller and the others that the existence of the Evangelical Church depended on continued close connection with the State. But the Church could not and would not come to terms with a Social-Democratic government. Hence it looked around for some political force that would restore the conditions which had existed before 1918. At first Niemoeller flirted with the reactionary German National Party under Hugenberg. When it became clear that not this party but the National Socialist Party would come to power, the Evangelical Church gave its support to Hitler.

THEY UNDERSTOOD THE NAZI PROGRAM

The Niemoellers were quite aware of the program of the Nazis, but their own reactionary interests tied in with those of the entire counter-revolution. "Although we were aware that the Nazi ideology was, in part directed against the Jews and that it apparently favored some sort of paganism, we were, as I must admit, little concerned with that. For we took these shibboleths merely as slogans which would be useful to attract the masses, which would be dropped as soon as the Nazis attained power and assumed political responsibility." Niemoeller was in direct touch with Hitler and gave the Fuehrer the support of the Church. The churchmen were also among the go-betweens who served to reconcile the decrepit Hindenburg, and the conservatives in general, with the middle-class fascists.

The rude awakening of the Niemoellers came after they had

helped boost Hitler to power. The Nazi movement felt itself endangered so long as any other movement remained in existence that was not completely dominated by the totalitarian state. Even a Church that was theoretically independent, that professed loyalty to forces other than those of National Socialism, might become a focal point for serious competition and opposition. No organized force was to be permitted to exist unless it was completely integrated into the totalitarian state. That meant that the Church was to become another merely subordinate institution of the state. The Church was to become a purely national affair, subscribing wholeheartedly to whatever doctrines suited Hitler. The Nazis were quite willing to give financial support to an institution of this kind.

The rude, direct intervention of the Nazis in Church affairs without any by-your-leave requests made to the incumbent Church officials, brought a very quick rupture. The Church hierarchy felt its interests completely undermined and recoiled—too late!

These interests were then interpreted in terms of Holy Doctrines. The latter had played no part at all in the early negotiations, as admitted by the pastor himself. Only when the clash became one of fundamental interests, financial and authoritarian, did the matter of doctrine assume "importance." That is the inevitable conclusion of any objective study of the relations between Hitler and the Evangelical Church. The reactionary attitude and activities of the Church stand here self-confessed.

The C. P.'s Scab-Like Role In Waller Case

(Continued from page 1)

ist failure to say anything about the case.

THEIR MAIN THEME

When their source for quotations then condemned Waller to die, the Stalinists criticized him for his "stupidity." From then on, they concentrated on one main theme: The execution of Waller is bad because it will give "the foul and hypocritical defeatists" an opportunity "to divide national unity and weaken our whole war effort" (July 2, Daily Worker). And after Waller was electrocuted, they continued to lament about the "stupidity" of Darden and others for giving

"all the politically unscrupulous elements—the unspeakable Trotskyists and their Norman Thomas bedfellows—a handle 'to undermine the war effort' (July 3). This was really their chief lament. They were worried about the bitterness of the Negro and concerned with curbing it. The Harlem C. P. functionary, A. W. Berry, announced the holding of a Waller protest rally—the first meeting they held on the case was 3 days after Waller's death—whose aim would be to awaken the Negro people "to their real stakes in the war."

And naturally, when the Stalinists' chief concern in the Waller case was using it as a vehicle for gaining support for the war from the Negro masses, they could not be too critical about the role of Roosevelt in refusing to meet with the delegations of Negro leaders who came to Washington to plead with him at the last moment for the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry that would have the effect of holding up the execution.

And since they couldn't attack Roosevelt (for that would "harm the war effort"), they attacked — the Trotskyists. James Ford, one of the main speakers declared that "mis-handling of the case by the Trotskyists did great harm to Waller." He urged that "the errors they committed be adequately investigated!"

WHITEWASH ROOSEVELT

So Roosevelt's role was lightly glossed over by the DAILY WORKER. On this question, it is true, they used the strongest language against Roosevelt

that they have employed at any time in the last year. They said: "President's Roosevelt's failure to speak out and to intercede in the name of simple justice and national unity, is to be deplored."

Deplored! As long as Roosevelt has such servile tools as the Stalinists in the working class, no wonder he feels he can get away with such things.

But even so, there must have been some complaints from the Stalinist leaders about such strong language against their "commander-in-chief."

For two days later, on a page devoted to the Waller case and the poll tax, The Daily Worker announced in very large type that Roosevelt too had once said he was opposed to the poll tax. Since nothing else on the page had anything to say about the Waller case and Roosevelt's role in it, this was obviously an attempt to whitewash the President who has three times been elected to the highest office in the nation with the aid of the poll tax and the poll taxes.

But while the editorial of July 3 "deplored" Roosevelt's "failure," the Stalinist protest rally in Harlem on July 5 did nothing of the kind, according to their own report on the meeting the next day.

And since they couldn't attack Roosevelt (for that would "harm the war effort"), they attacked — the Trotskyists. James Ford, one of the main speakers declared that "mis-handling of the case by the Trotskyists did great harm to Waller." He urged that "the errors they committed be adequately investigated!"

Truly, when it comes to brazen slander and hypocritical defamation, the Stalinists have nothing to learn from the Nazis.

Notes On The Soviet-U. S.-British Pacts

By M. MORRISON

If we eliminate from the agreements which the Soviet Union entered into with Great Britain and the United States all clauses dealing with immediate economic and military aid, there remain provisions which have exceedingly dangerous implications for any workers' revolution in Europe and for the continued existence of the Soviet Union. If these provisions were to be strictly observed, then the Red Army would have the task, together with the British imperialist army, of crushing any workers' uprising. Furthermore the Stalinist government would open wide the doors of the Soviet Union to foreign capital and commodities.

As I indicated last week, we need not expect observance of any treaties but that does not mean that they do not have any significance. They may, of course, be observed and even if they are not, they show tendencies that are important to note.

Roosevelt and Churchill know what kind of Europe they want if and when Hitler is defeated. They want a Europe with Germany completely crushed and the European people sufficiently alive to purchase British and American goods. They want a capitalist Europe with workers satisfied to be exploited and native capitalists satisfied with a small share of the profits.

And this is the kind of Europe that the agreements in actuality provide for. There are no specific clauses to that effect but there is no other conclusion possible when one takes the realities of the situation into consideration.

The clause in the British pact which appears to be the most significant is the first one in Article V, which provides that "the high contracting parties, having regard to the interests and security of each of them, agree to work together in close and friendly collaboration after re-establishment of peace for organization of security and economic prosperity in Europe."

This clause obviously takes it for granted that it is possible to organize peace and economic security in Europe under a capitalist regime. The crime of inserting clauses which confuse the masses and blunt their revolutionary energies is already an old one with the Stalinist bureaucrats. What is new in the clause is that for the first time, as far as I can ascertain, the Stalinist bureaucrats have openly indicated their intention to work together with a capitalist power for the purpose of preserving the capitalist system in Europe.

It is a reasonable interpretation of this clause to conclude that Stalin agrees to do all in his power to prevent revolutionary disturbances of any kind in Europe. Surely, for the British government to organize "security" means to suppress any attempt by the workers to institute their own revolutionary government.

The question is: will Stalin attempt to suppress a workers' revolution and thus carry out the clear implication of the pact? That the Soviet bureaucracy is capable of doing so can be taken for granted. It has already done so in Spain. Whether it will attempt to do so in a post-war Europe is something that one can not predict with any degree of certainty because it will depend entirely upon the circumstances that will prevail at that time.

If Hitler should be defeated we can look forward to powerful revolutionary movements in Europe. Whether Stalin attempts to suppress them will depend largely upon the strength of these uprisings. If they are too powerful to be suppressed, he will undoubtedly follow the policy of trying to assume leadership and thus controlling them bureaucratically.

It must be recognized that the heroic resistance of the Red Army has given great prestige to Stalin, a prestige that undoubtedly will be enhanced if Hitler should be defeated at a time

when Stalin is still in power. Without a strong revolutionary party to give leadership to the masses, Stalin may succeed in placing himself at the head of any revolutionary movement. It is true that a revolution in Europe means his doom, but that is only in the long run. It is quite probable that with the powerful resources at his command he will be able, for a time at least, to have the GPU take control of the revolutionary masses.

In all probability the Russian masses will represent the greatest danger to Stalin in case of strong revolutionary uprisings in Europe. For they know what the Stalinist regime means in practice. The English workers, knowing only their capitalist and labor leaders operating on the basis of a decaying capitalism, may look upon Stalin as a great revolutionary leader, but not the Russian masses who tolerate his leadership because they see nothing but reaction in the west. Let the workers of Western Europe raise their heads and the Russian masses will no longer fear calling the Stalinist bureaucracy to account. We look to the Russian workers to play a decisive role in thwarting any attempt by Stalin either to crush a workers' revolution in Europe or to gain control of it for the benefit of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In the Lend-Lease agreement signed by Secretary of State Hull and Ambassador Litvinov, we have the false and treacherous idea that permanent peace can be achieved under capitalism provided only that men of good will are at the head of the various governments. One of the purposes of the agreement is to lay "the bases of a just and enduring world peace securing order under law to themselves and all nations." It is quite well known that in the eyes of the capitalist world a workers' revolution is a violation of law and order.

But the unique and highly dangerous provision as far as the existence of the Soviet Union is concerned is the one that looks "to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment to international commerce, and to the reduction of tariff and other trade barriers." This is the idea that Hull has been championing since his stay in office. It is almost a classic formula for free trade under capitalism.

One would be foolish to make a positive assertion that Stalin intends to abide by the implications of this provision. Observing this clause of the agreement would mean that Stalin must destroy the monopoly of foreign trade in the Soviet Union, that is, destroy the basic instrument of the Soviet government for guarding nationalized property in peace time. To permit capitalists to send their goods into the Soviet Union and sell them freely would result in undermining the economic structure upon which the Soviet Union is based and therefore to undermine the basis of the Soviet bureaucracy. Although he once suggested the idea of removing the Soviet foreign trade monopoly, Stalin will hardly introduce a measure which will threaten the very existence of the caste which he leads.

It must be recognized, however, that the extensive destruction caused by the war will leave the Soviet Union in a very precarious situation. Stalin may be compelled to make serious economic and political concessions to the capitalist world. The Lend-Lease agreement may constitute the pretext for such concessions.

The Anglo-Soviet and Soviet-United States agreements show clearly that a defeat of Hitler, though absolutely essential for the continued existence of the Soviet Union, does not in the least assure that existence. The workers' revolution in the advanced countries and the elimination of the Stalinist bureaucracy will alone save the Soviet Union.

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One Year After The Indictment Of The 18

A year has passed since the federal indictment charging "seditious conspiracy" and violation of the Smith "Gag" Act was handed down against 29 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis.

The primary aim of this indictment, secured at the request of President Roosevelt, was—aside from helping the bureaucratic president of the AFL teamsters in his fight against the militant leaders of Local 544—to terrorize and outlaw the revolutionary socialist party.

But that party, the inheritor of the revolutionary principles and traditions of the Marxist movement which has been subjected since its inception to violent persecution by the capitalist class of all countries, does not scare easily. Facing long prison terms because they had dared to tell the workers the truth about the imperialist war and to urge them to replace the present capitalist system with a socialist society of peace and security, the members of this party went into the Minneapolis courtroom and courageously expounded and defended their socialist principles.

They did more than that, however. They also challenged the right of the government to prosecute them for expounding their ideas and conducting their socialist activities. So vigorously did they pursue this line that the jurors, most of whom had never heard an exposition of socialism before, were visibly impressed; the acquittal of all the defendants on the "seditious conspiracy" charge and the comparatively light sentences imposed on 18 of them on the second charge can probably be attributed to the effectiveness with which the defense upheld their right to free speech for even opponents of capitalism.

Outside the courtroom, the Civil Rights Defense Committee also conducted a campaign, directed primarily toward the workers in the trade unions, stressing the democratic rights of minority political working class organizations such as the Socialist Workers Party.

Undoubtedly, the great majority of the workers in this country do not yet agree with the views of the Trotskyists—otherwise the Socialist Workers Party would not be the small organization it is today. But the great majority of the organized workers do believe in freedom of speech even for those workers' organizations with whom they do not agree on many questions; they are opposed to government intervention in the union movement for the purpose of suppressing a minority group. Nor has all the pressure and propaganda of the war-time administration persuaded them that free speech should not be defended.

That is why the Civil Rights Defense Committee was able to report this week, a year after the

indictment was handed down, that despite its limited resources it had brought the issue of civil liberties before many trade unions, and that almost 150 central labor bodies and union locals, representing more than a million organized workers, had shown their support of the 18 defendants by passing resolutions condemning the conviction and/or contributing finances to support the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

Thus, a year after the indictment, the purposes of the administration in instituting the Minneapolis trial have not yet been achieved. The Socialist Workers Party, far from being terrorized, has increased its activities. The pamphlets containing the important defense testimony and arguments are the most popular Trotskyist literature ever issued in this country. The trial gave the Trotskyists the opportunity to address the widest audience they ever had. The response of the trade unions to their defense campaign is not only a tremendous aid to the struggle to keep the 18 from going to jail, but an encouraging sign for the future when the workers will listen with increasing sympathy to the arguments for socialism.

Adherence to principle, defense of the workers' rights—these cannot always save the revolutionists from the blows of the class enemy, but even in these dark days of the second world war they bring to the revolutionists a sense of satisfaction in things done that inspires and prepares them for the things to be done in the future.

The Meaning Of The Fall Of Sevastopol

The fall of Sevastopol represents a major reverse in the struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union. The capture of this strategic stronghold after its heroic defense of eight months leaves the Nazi armies in complete possession of Crimea. The Soviet control of the Black Sea is now gravely imperiled, while, at the same time, the enemy is freer to use the sea lanes for transportation. The Caucasus with its vital oilfields is under direct threat of a simultaneous assault from two directions: on the one hand, by a drive from the Kerch peninsula, and, on the other, by an overland offensive which is unfolding at the present time and which is aimed at Rostov and the Caucasus.

The Kremlin with its customary brazenness first tried to pass off the loss of Sevastopol as in reality a great victory. The Red defenders of Sevastopol have indeed distinguished themselves signally by their unbounded heroism and their unflinching resistance to the end. They died in the defense of the socialist conquests of the Russian revolution as have so many other heroic fighters of the Red Army. The Kremlin has for a long time utilized the heroism of these fighters to cover up the series of defeats suffered by the USSR under the Stalinist leadership.

The "democratic" capitalists are for their part likewise lavish in acclaim of the heroism of the Red defenders. They are satisfied so long as the Red Army continues to resist, no matter how many defeats are suffered. Their real concern is not at all the victory of the Soviet Union but rather the sapping of the strength of their imperialist rival.

We Trotskyists are primarily concerned with the victory of the Soviet Union. That is why we say that all genuine defenders of the first workers' state must seriously pose the question: *Why does the Red Army, despite its unprecedented heroism, continue to suffer grave defeats?* The true answer is: Because of the policies and the leadership of the Stalin regime.

These policies and this leadership cannot bring anything but disaster. Stalin had solemnly promised the Soviet people victory over Hitler in 1942. Moscow itself now admits that immediate danger of defeat hangs over the country. In a special dispatch to the *N. Y. Times* of July 7, Ralph Parker wires from Moscow:

"The newspaper Pravda echoes today the grave note of yesterday's editorial and for the first time since last November reminds its readers that their country is in mortal danger."

Swallowing his own boasts of quick triumph, Stalin himself now admits the mortal danger. But in this hour of gravest crisis Stalin continues to deprive the Red Army and the Soviet of their most potent weapons and their only reliable allies. Stalin dares not issue a revolutionary summons to the German masses to join the heroic Red soldiers in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe. Instead he drives the German masses into Hitler's arms by underwriting the program of Anglo-American domination of the world.

There is no other way to avert the mortal danger which confronts the USSR except by returning to the policies that guaranteed victory in 1917. The Red Army can march to victory only under the banner of the irreconcilable struggle for socialism. There is still time to return to the policies of Lenin and Trotsky.

British Confess Truth About Burma

Why, when the British are shouting about a crusade for "democracy," do the oppressed masses in the British Empire show so little enthusiasm for the war? Is it perhaps because they want the Axis to win—as so many lying propagandists have claimed?

The answer to these questions was recently given by none other than an officer commanding British forces in the Far East, General Arnold. At a press interview in New Delhi, he described the attitude of the Burmese people to the war in Burma as follows:

"The Burmese were 10 percent pro-British, 10 percent pro-Japanese, 80 percent pro-Burmese and therefore indifferent."

British Rule In Egypt During World War I

White Book Reveals British Atrocities Terrorized Nationalist Movement In 1919

By HOWARD ALLEN

This is not the first time that England has felt called upon to protect its right to carry the "white man's burden" in Egypt. In 1914, England placed Egypt under its protectorate, jealously guarding its fertile soil, its Suez Canal which meant water transportation to India, and its strategic position because of geography and its position as cultural center of the Mohammedan world.

Since the Egyptian monarch Abbas was considered a supporter of the Germans, he was deposed by the British and a Sultan was found to fill his place. The country was placed under martial law and 1,000,000 natives, one-third of the population at that time were enrolled in a labor army under British supervision.

The role of the Egyptians in this drafted army was not very pretty. According to Arthur Settel, writing in the Feb. 1941 *Living Age*, "objections availed little. The Fellahs continued to scrub mules . . . Expenses of the British Army were met out of the Royal Egyptian Treasury."

"We also commandeered food, fodder, animals," says E. M. Forster of the Labor Research Department, London, "often paying tardily and inadequately. Before the war was over the countryside had experienced under British auspices many of the exactions of an Oriental despotism; and as prices rose and pneumonic influenza took its toll the misery and discontent increased."

AFTER THE WAR

"After the war . . ." he continues, "martial law was sterner than ever and they (Egyptians) were treated as members of a subject race. They were the more amazed because President Wilson had proclaimed and Great Britain had adhered to the principle of self-determination."

In spite of the fact that the Egyptian government had broken off relations with Germany immediately upon the declaration of World War I, and had interned Germans as enemy aliens, they were not rewarded as they had hoped.

Instead, when delegates from

petrated by the British troops "in reprisals."

In spite of the terror unleashed by the British, the struggle for the national independence of Egypt continued. By 1923, the Wafd, leading nationalist party, extracted a Constitution from King Fuad. On August 31, 1936 the British Egyptian Treaty, which nominally made Egypt a sovereign independent state, was signed. The British however, retained the right to police the Suez Canal, and to take over Alexandria and other military strategic points in the event of war.

The control of Egypt's political and economic life was not abandoned by the British. In 1935, they made the Egyptian government put a 40% ad valorem duty on Japanese textiles. Many important official posts are still filled by the English. Anglo-Egyptian capital constructed textile mills, railroads and irrigation projects. Egyptian currency continued to be founded upon the British pound. And finally, the British Army of the Nile remained to convince the Egyptians that their "independence" should not be taken too literally.

It is this record of British hypocrisy, violence, repression and robbery that makes possible the invasion of Egypt by a comparatively insignificant military force. An armed Egyptian people could resist five times the forces that Marshal Rommel has deployed on the Libyan and Egyptian desert.

The Egyptians however, possess only a lightly equipped force of some 30,000. The fact that Britain has not even been able to prevail upon Egypt to declare war on Germany, in spite of the invasion, indicates why the English have hesitated to arm the Egyptians.

What portion of the Egyptian population—if any—sympathizes with the Axis is a subject for speculation. But it can be said with certainty that virtually the entire Egyptian people hates the rule of England.

If they fight, it will be to achieve their own freedom—not to perpetuate their present oppressors or to secure new imperialist masters.

The appendix to the White Book contains specific sworn testimony and photos of the looting, robbery, rapine, murders, burning of homes and villages per-

Hoover-Gibson Present Imperialist Peace Plan

THE PROBLEMS OF LASTING PEACE. By Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson. Doubleday, Doran. 295 pages. \$2.00.

The authors, the first a former president of the United States and the second an outstanding American foreign diplomat, remark that when war "came in Europe in 1939 and America in 1941, it came with no popular enthusiasm in any nation. Unlike 1914, there were no bands, no flowers, no flag waving, no cheers."

Is it any wonder that a social system which brought upon the globe two world wars in 25 years, which in between the wars visited upon the masses an economic depression that lasted more than ten years and which called forth fascism, should not be able to enthrone the masses for war?

One of the purposes of this book is to "correct" the people and arouse in them a feeling of ardor for the war. This is a difficult task. Short as the memory of the masses may be, they do recollect that every one of the promises made to them during the first World War was proven a lie.

Hoover and Gibson say in their book: This time it will be different; we have learned from our mistakes; when we establish peace this time it will really be lasting. The entire book is an argument that, under capitalism, lasting peace is possible provided the right sort of people sign the right sort of peace treaties at the right sort of peace conferences.

But this war, like the first world war, does not arise from good or bad treaties, or good or bad men, or good or bad conferences.

Real Cause of War

The basic reason for the war is the rivalry between national groups of capitalists for the domination of the world.

In their search for profits the various national groups of capitalists are not satisfied with the wealth they can get from the exploitation of the workers at home. They want more markets, more territory, more industries, more workers to exploit, and they try to get them by taking them away from other capitalists.

In time of peace this is done by commercial and economic competition. War is the transformation of commercial and economic competition into armed struggle.

These tendencies of international rivalry which result in war cannot be halted by "good" treaties, etc., any more than the economic depression of 1929-40 could be stopped by Hoover's famous assertion that "prosperity was just around the corner!" (A decade of depression followed!) Wars, and depressions are part and parcel of capitalism.

The end of this war (unless the workers of the world intervene) will inevitably see a capitalist peace which will secure for the victorious capitalists the loot they are after. And this peace will prepare the ground for World War III, just

as the Versailles peace following World War I prepared the present World War II.

The book is filled with misstatements. To mention a few:

The authors declare: "Two-thirds of the people of Europe . . . welcomed 'men on horseback' (the fascists). Evidently these two gentlemen want us to take the swindle plebiscites of Hitler, Mussolini and other dictators (including those now in the Allied camps) as good coin. We don't."

We know the great masses of Europe, Asia, yes, and South America—we must not forget bloody Vargas of Brazil—were and are opposed to fascism.

Not two-thirds of the people welcome fascism but the small capitalist minority who saw in fascism the only way of maintaining their wealth and profits. And while we speak of those who really did and do welcome fascism as the means of defense against the toilers, not last come America's Sixty Families and the British ruling class. Let us not forget the loans and other aid they gave Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito. And let us not forget Hoover's role in these events!

The authors also try to identify socialism or communism (we are not speaking of Stalinism) with fascism when they state: "The ideologies of Communism and Fascism have much in common." This is not true; it is a slander.

Socialism or communism strives for a worker's world based on the social ownership of the means of production and distribution; while fascism is the last line of defense against socialism by the capitalists. Fascism is the legitimate, even the horrible, child of the system which Hoover and Gibson defend.

However, this worthy pair is not interested only in lying about the socialist movement. In veiled terms, they indicate that they have other methods of dealing with the toiling masses when they move against capitalism.

They Fear Socialism

At the "peace" negotiations after the war there will be an unseen and unwelcome attendant: the specter of social revolution. The first task will be to crush this threat. The authors declare:

"If the realistic experience of former world wars is any criterion . . . the victorious powers will, with military means, jointly dominate the world so long as their interests do not clash. They will need to do so at least during a period for political and economic recuperation!"

Political and economic recuperation will be induced, they hope, by the medicine of the business end of a machine gun aimed at the rebellious workers, if other methods do not work.

But neither their lies nor their "policing of the world" will avail against the socialist-inspired masses determined to end the system which has brought them misery and degradation.

The only basis for lasting peace is world socialism.

Reviewed by C. CHARLES

Churchill Chides Parliament For Asking Questions

By M. STEIN

The British parliamentary score board has recorded another triumph for Mr. Churchill. The members of Parliament have gone on record 475 to 25 in favor of their Prime Minister in a vote of confidence following closely on the heels of another empire disaster.

We would look in vain for a parliamentary precedent for the unique position which Mr. Churchill occupies. For two years he has been the Prime Minister of the once mightiest world empire, now lying prostrate while it is being dismembered very methodically. And yet there is not a member in Parliament who would rise to challenge the Prime Minister for leadership. The non-confidence motion, which was the basis for the vote, was intended merely as pressure upon the Prime Minister to relinquish his post as Minister of Defense. Not one of the critics, however, was audacious enough to say that he could do better or that he knows someone who could do better in the post of Prime Minister.

What has happened to the Mother of Parliaments? Never before did it have a single, unchallenged leader. For every leader who was raised in her bosom, she also nurtured a challenger. Disraeli, for example, had his Gladstone. In the first World War when Herbert Asquith held the reins of the empire, he had a challenger in the person of Lloyd George. When Asquith failed to bring victory after two years of war, he was compelled to give way to his challenger.

Churchill, however, has been placed by history in a unique position. Hitler and Mussolini maintain their totalitarian rule by brutal terror, the murderous extermination of all opposition and the crushing of all democratic institutions which might give expression to opposition voices. Churchill's rule is maintained by a different sort of terror—a terror with which the Prime Minister himself has nothing to do. He is not the master of this terror, he is its victim just as much as his colleagues in Parliament are its victims. It is the terror before the fate history has in store for the British Empire.

In Return for a Comforting Word

The members of Parliament see the edifice of the huge ancient empire cracking. Helplessly they have watched the fall of one outpost after another. What is to become of them all? What is to become of their big and little privileges? What will become of the British Isles without the empire? As one member of Parliament put it a few months ago: are they to become the western outpost of a Hitlerized Europe, or the eastern outpost of America? Out of sheer fright, the members of Parliament huddle around Churchill. They give him their votes in return for a comforting word, for a soothing phrase.

England is the home of many rare museum pieces. Not least among them is that quaint institution known as the monarchy. It is peculiarly British: a monarchy in name but not in essence, a monarchy in form but not in content. When the feudal lords gave way to the growing capitalist class which emerged as the real force, as the builder of the empire, the king had to yield his powers to Parliament. Now that the capitalist class finds itself in a mortal crisis, Parliament in turn yields its powers to the Prime Minister.

The British Parliament is today an empty shell. Like the monarchy, it is rapidly becoming a museum piece with nothing remaining but the memories of a glorious past.

The British Parliament does not any longer play an independent role, because the British Empire does not play an independent role. The once proud empire is no more than a satellite of the U. S., and the Prime Minister goes to Washington for real decisions, and not to Parliament.

In his speech in Parliament Mr. Churchill upbraided his few critics for their failure to realize this, for their failure to keep their mouths shut after that lightning fall of Tobruk and the Nazi advance to the very gates of Alexandria. Says the King's First Minister:

"Such an atmosphere is naturally injurious to a British representative engaged in negotiating great matters of state upon which the larger issues of the war depend."

Mr. Churchill then goes on to add: "I naturally explained to my host (read: my boss!) that those who were visible in Parliament in no way represent the House of Commons."

And if this did not produce the proper effect upon his Parliamentary audience, if any of them still had illusions about playing independent politics, Mr. Churchill made it even plainer:

"Here I will turn aside to meet the complaint that the Minister of Defense was at Washington when the disaster of Tobruk occurred. Well," says the Prime Minister defiantly, "Washington was the very place where he should be. It was there where most of the future business of the war was being transacted, not only in a general sense but in regard to particular matters in passing."

After pointing to the role of the United States and chiding the members of Parliament for their failure to be as dignified in the face of their master in Washington as they used to be when they themselves were the masters, Churchill demands "that the servants of the Crown and Parliament shall not be harassed by the nagging and snarling of disappointed men." Mr. Churchill would have his M. P.'s surrender even their democratic right of whining in the face of disaster.

Mr. Churchill was once characterized by us as the greatest post-mortem orator of all time. Indeed, he made some memorable orations after the defeats suffered by Britain early in the war. But as the defeats accumulate and grow more menacing in their significance, his orations become shop-worn from too much repetition. He knows that they no longer exercise the magic spell of the earlier days. He now resents being called upon to speak.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs