

3rd Anniversary Of The Stalin- Hitler Pact

August 23 is an anniversary which the Stalinists would prefer to forget: the third anniversary of the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

As the catastrophic defeats of the Red Army continue without a sign of relief, more and more members and sympathizers of the Stalinist parties are beginning to think critically about the Kremlin's whole course. Especially they are re-thinking the question of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

The pact which gave Hitler a free hand to crush Poland, France, Norway, Denmark, Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, with non-interference of the Red Army guaranteed in advance, and then, with all Europe subjugated, to send the German armies at their own chosen moment to invade the Soviet Union—that pact was a deadly blow to the Soviet Union. That is now clear to many in the Stalinist ranks.

In an attempt to stifle their thoughts and doubts, the August Communist publishes an article, "On the Third Anniversary of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact." Its main alibi is that "The signing of the pact was the result of the systematic sabotage of the peace policy of the Soviet Union by the English and French governments of that time" who "refused to make a pact with the Soviet Union on the basis of complete reciprocity and mutual obligations."

Current Stalinist Alibis

This is a plausible-sounding alibi, for everyone knows that British and French imperialism sought to create a situation in which Hitler, after subjugating Poland, would continue eastward against the USSR. But this indubitable fact does not answer the basic question. The issue is not what the imperialists did but what the policy of the USSR should have been.

How did it happen that the Kremlin permitted Hitler to become Chancellor in 1933 and prepare for eight years to make war against the Soviet Union? Even before Hitler came to the helm, Trotsky declared that the day a fascist regime was established in Germany, without giving it time to re-arm Germany the Red Army should be mobilized to crush Hitler, both to aid the German workers and to protect the Soviet Union. Stalin did otherwise.

Note that the latest Stalinist alibi blames the pact on the "English and French governments of that time." However, Chamberlain fell in April 1940 and was replaced by the Churchill government, now so abjectly supported by the British Stalinists against the growing hostility of the British masses. Churchill was Prime Minister before the fall of France and the Balkans; he was in office for fourteen crucial months before Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, and his emissaries (including Cripps) were in Moscow offering the Kremlin an alliance. But throughout that period, while one country after another fell, the Hitler-Stalin pact remained in force.

The irrefutable fact is that Stalin's entire course since the rise of Hitler has been one of passivity and provincial blindness in the face of the main danger to the Soviet Union.

The criminality of the Hitler-Stalin pact is only partially indicated by the fact that it facilitated Hitler's subjugation of Europe. The full extent of Stalin's crime is realized only if we recall what the Kremlin and the Stalinist press said and stood for during the period of the pact.

Was the pact originally explained as necessitated by the failure of Moscow to secure an adequate alliance from England and France, as the latest Stalinist alibi says? Not at all! Far from attempting to justify it as a bitter necessity resulting from such a failure, the pact was explained as a great victory for the might of the Soviet Union. "Pact Splits Axis," was the front-page headline of the Daily Worker of August 26, 1939. "U.S. and World Peace Aided by Soviet Blow to Axis" was another headline in that sheet. "The pact represents a victory for peace and socialism against the war plans of fascism and the pro-fascist party of Chamberlain. Hitler is forced to recognize the strength and power of the Soviet Union. It is therefore a salutary check to his aggressive policy in Eastern Europe against Poland," declared the official statement of the British Communist Party.

The Lies of 1939

After the war began, all the Stalinist parties switched from the People's Front line to denunciation of the war as imperialist. Soon this came to mean that Anglo-French imperialism was the main factor responsible. On November 2, 1939, Dimitroff, "helmsman of the Comintern," declared:

"In the first stage" of the war, Hitler was the aggressor. "Now, on the other hand, it is the British and French imperialists who have come forward as the most zealous supporters of the continuation and further incitement of war."

And Browder echoed: "At this moment the responsibility for continuing the war lies, before all, upon the British and French imperialists."

These Comintern efforts to aid Hitler's "peace" campaign merely reiterated the September 28, 1939 Soviet-German statement on the partitioning of Poland, which stated:

"... The treaty signed today settled the question resulting from the disintegration of the Polish State, thus creating a safe foundation for lasting peace in Eastern Europe... But should the efforts of both governments fail then the fact would be established that England and France are responsible for the continuation of the war, and in case of continuation of the war the Governments of Germany and Soviet Russia will consult each other regarding the necessary measures."

In the same speech in which he declared that Germany "is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace," Molotov boasted about the collaboration of the Nazi and Soviet armies in Poland: "One swift blow to Poland, first by the German Army and then by the Red Army, and nothing was left..." (Daily Worker, Nov. 1, 1939.)

And Stalin wrote a message to Ribbentrop, expressing his satisfaction at the partition of Poland, declaring: "The friendship of the peoples of Germany and the Soviet Union, CEMENTED BY BLOOD, has all grounds to be prolonged and stable." (Daily Worker, Dec. 26, 1939.)

These infamous Stalinist statements are sufficient to prove that, in addition to giving Hitler a free hand to subjugate Europe, Stalin aided him by Comintern propaganda.

The Pact Strengthened Hitler

This policy sacrificed the interests of the peoples of Europe without gaining anything for the Soviet Union. When Hitler invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, he was stronger than on August 23, 1939, thanks to the Stalin-Hitler pact.

This much has now become clear to many workers in the Stalinist ranks. But this must become for them merely the starting point for further clarification. They must come to understand that Stalin's false course did not begin with the Stalin-Hitler pact nor did it end with that pact. Stalin's servility toward German imperialism is now merely replaced by similar servility toward the "democratic" imperialisms. The Anglo-American-Soviet pacts and Stalinist support of the "democracies" will safeguard the Soviet Union as little as did the Stalin-Hitler pact. The salvation of the Soviet Union depends on workers' revolutions in the capitalist empires. That is what the thinking Communist workers, already aware of the consequences of the Hitler-Stalin pact, must now come to understand.

F. M.

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INDIA PEASANTS JOIN FIGHT

Hitler Bans Trotsky's Works In France

"The Germans arrived with a long list giving the titles of all proscribed books. Very few authors were banned in toto. DeGaulle was one, TROTSKY another..."

—From a review of Reports on France in the British Tribune, March 20, 1942.

OPA Permits New Rise In Food Prices

Increases in the food prices of some 400 to 500 food items are scheduled for the month of September, according to an announcement last week by Leon Henderson, head of the Office of Price Administration.

As a result of these price advances, the overall increase in food costs will be about 1½%. This increase will strike particularly hard at the lower paid workers' families which spend nearly half their income for food.

The price advances represent a victory for the food manufacturers who demanded an increase in the price ceilings of these items. They claimed they could not secure normal profits unless the prices were boosted.

The complete surrender of the government is clearly shown by the statement of Paul S. Willis, president of the Grocery Manufacturers of America, who said that the plan for price increases "contemplated by the OPA, as I understand it, is patterned after the urgent suggestions which the food industry repeatedly made to the agency during the last few months."

In other words, the government accepted the manufacturers' terms (suggestions).

The manufacturers withheld goods from the grocery stores in order to secure the price increases. While store shelves were empty, and consumers were answered with "All out" when they requested these articles, the warehouses were overstocked. This was admitted by the spokesman of the grocer manufacturers.

In his statement Willis revealed how the manufacturers had placed pressure on the OPA to secure the price rises and how the manufacturers are now prodding the OPA to get prompt action. The weapon they used and are using is the threat to stop processing food. They are prepared to let the food rot on the ground unless they secure their price increase. Willis stated:

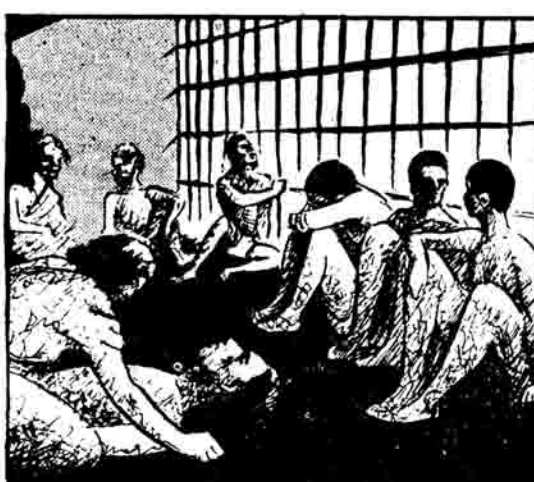
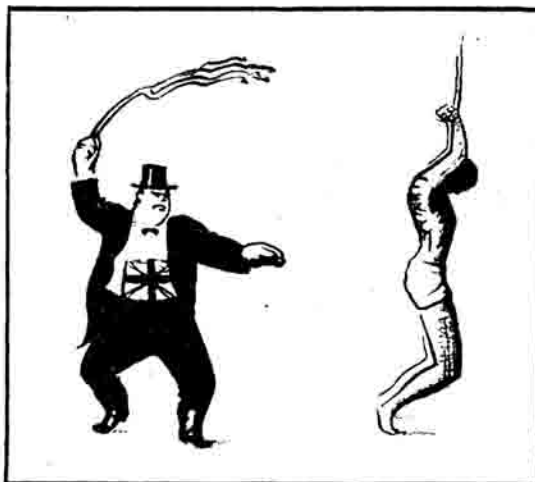
"Time is of the essence... and the formula (for price increases) will only have value if it comes in time to permit harvesting of the ripening crops..."

In plain language, people could go hungry, but if the food manufacturers did not receive their "normal" rate of profit, the food could decay in the fields!

Instead of exposing the cold-blooded attitude of the food processors, Henderson hastened to place himself completely at their service.

There was no cry of indignation on the part of the government and press at the manufacturers' open threat to starve the masses. The President did not denounce Henderson did not scream about the danger of inflation, the capitalist press did not print editorial protests, there was no outcry from the radio commentators. Not even a whisper about "equality of sacrifice." Why? Because here the bosses' profits were affected, not the workers' wages.

The Four Freedoms In India



Bayonne Strike Broken By FDR, Union Heads and WLB

'Seizure' of Plant Is Entirely In Interests Of the Management

Cracking down on the 1000 striking workers of the General Cable Corporation in Bayonne, N. J., President Roosevelt last week ordered the Navy to take over the plant and operate it until he determines that it "will be privately operated in a manner consistent with the war effort."

In this way the administration demonstratively indicated how it is prepared to act in those cases where the trade union leaders can't carry out the job of restraining the workers from independent action against anti-labor decisions of the War Labor Board.

The next day, on August 14, the General Cable workers—whose strike had been repudiated by both local and national leaders of their union, the AFL International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers—voted to return to work. Their rank-and-file strike leaders hailed Roosevelt's order as some kind of victory for the workers. But the administration quickly made it clear that its aim in sending in the Navy was to break the strike and nothing else.

EXPLAINING THE ORDER

The first statement of Admiral Bowen, now in charge of the plant, said, "Any interference with the operation of this plant is an offense against the United States."

His second statement dealt with conditions, including wages, in the plant while it was under Navy control.

The workers had struck in protest against a War Labor Board decision refusing to grant a 10 cent an hour increase, plus an additional 5 cents an hour for workers on the night shift. Basing itself on the "Little Steel formula," the WLB had rejected the workers' demands and voted to grant only a 3 cent an hour increase for night workers.

Bowen's statement that the wages, hours and working conditions in effect before the strike would continue so long as the Navy was in control meant not

only that the workers would not get their wage demands granted, but also possibly that the night workers might not even get the 3 cents recommended by the WLB.

In a press conference Bowen said that the Navy was operating the plant with the assistance of the same private managers who ran the plant before the strike. A Washington official said "The Navy would not run the plant in any fiscal sense but that control over all matters except labor relations would remain with the old management." (N. Y. Times, August, 15).

Secretary of Navy Knox also informed the workers that gov-

ernmental seizure of the plant "must under no circumstances be construed as an endorsement of the attitude of the employees who precipitated such action."

FDR PLANNED EVEN MORE DRASTIC ACTION

Roosevelt was prepared to follow up his "seizure" order with even more drastic action. According to the July 15 N. Y. Times: "If the workers had refused to end their defiance, the President was prepared to order troops sent to Bayonne and guarantee protection for those who wanted to work, it was learned. He was also contemplating a 'work or fight' order under which those who stayed out would have been barred from employment in any war industry and those classified as indispensable on occupational grounds would have lost their draft exemptions."

ROLE OF LABOR LEADERS

The labor leaders in this case did their bit in helping the administration to defeat the demands of the workers.

Although the AFL and CIO leaders had tried to justify their no-strike pledge on the ground that the labor leaders would protect the workers' interests before the War Labor Board, the AFL representative on the WLB, Robert J. Watt, joined the employer and "public" members of the Board in the decision against the General Cable workers.

And after the workers had voted unanimously to reject the Board decision, AFL President William Green and IBEW President Edward Brown ordered them to return to work.

When this failed, AFL and CIO representatives joined with the other members of the WLB in asking Roosevelt "to proceed with such action as you deem appropriate"—an appeal which was immediately followed by Roosevelt's "seizure" order.

HARLEM WORKERS TO HOLD MEETING IN SUPPORT OF INDIA

NEW YORK, Aug. 17 — Announcing its wholehearted support of the Indian struggle for independence, the Harlem Workers Club reported today that it will hold a mass meeting in support of the Indian struggle on Friday, August 28, 8:30 P. M., at its headquarters, 72 West 125 St. Speakers for the meeting will be announced later this week.

"Civil Disobedience" Spreads To Villages At Gandhi's Call

All India Demands Release of Congressmen And End of Repressions Against Masses

By Felix Morrow

India's vast peasant masses are beginning to join in the "civil disobedience" campaign for independence.

The bare fact of this tremendously significant development was reported by A. T. Steele in an August 17 cable from Bombay to the Chicago Daily News. It stated:

"One week after Gandhi's arrest, civil disobedience is entering its second and organized phase. It is apparent that underground Congress activists are beginning — just beginning — to incite to action isolated groups in India's vast peasantry, where many think Gandhi's greatest strength lies... Here and there the peasants are already taking a hand."

The development of peasant struggles is also indicated in the following from an August 18 A. P. dispatch:

"Authority has been received by civilian officials to impose blanket fines on an entire community for sabotage. The first such case was a fine on the Ramtek area in the Nagpur cotton-growing area."

Such blanket fines on peasant villages has been a characteristic British punitive device during previous struggles of the Indian peasantry. The "sabotage" reported may be, in reality, as in previous struggles, a decision by the village not to pay taxes and rents.

BRITISH STRIP PEASANTS

Since the blanket fine is invariably not paid by the village, the next step of the British is to sell the peasants' belongings at auction to pay the fine. Usually the peasants involved do not own land, and the belongings consist of a miserable hovel, primitive

agricultural implements and a few cattle. Purchasers are not to be found in the neighborhood; often the British bring money-lenders from considerable distances to bid in the auctioned goods. The auction can be carried out only under the cover of troops and machine-guns.

Blanket fines are but one means used by the British to punish whole villages. In previous struggles villages have been bombed by airplanes and machine-gunned by armored trains. A notorious instance of this was in Punjab province in 1919 by troops under General Dyer. The same Dyer perpetrated the Amritsar massacre of 1919, when his troops fired on a peasants' meeting, killing 379 men, women and children and wounding 1200 more.

Reports during the last few days of attacks on district courts and police stations are another sign of peasant activity, for these district buildings are out in the countryside.

PRO-BRITISH PROPAGANDA

Gleaning these facts about the development of peasant struggles from the American press dispatches is a difficult business, for, quite apart from the rigid British censorship, the American press as a whole is closely co-operating with the British to picture the Congress campaign as declining and as involving only small numbers of people. The British require this picture in order to cover up the vast extent of their repressions.

Perhaps the best expression of this Anglo-American formula was a letter from a businessman in the August 19 N. Y. Times, referring to "the pitifully few

(Continued on page 2)

WLB Acts Against Demands of Alcoa And GM Workers

By two actions last week the War Labor Board has made it clear that its "Little Steel formula" is aimed above all at preventing the organized workers from achieving their justified demands for wage increases.

On August 15 the WLB flatly turned down the demand of 32,000 ALCOA workers for a dollar-a-day wage increase. The Board majority contended that the aluminum workers had received wage increases since January 1941 to compensate for the increased cost of living. The labor members of the board dissented.

This refusal to grant the ALCOA workers' wage demands followed on the heels of the recommendation of a WLB panel on the demands of General Motors workers, rejecting the UAW-CIO demand for dollar-a-day wage increases, and proposing that the WLB grant a raise of only 5 cents an hour, less than that given to the Little Steel workers.

The GM Panel of the WLB based its recommendations on the "Little Steel formula," which provides that purchasing power of the workers shall be pegged to the low level of January 1941. The panel stated that according to this formula the GM workers were entitled to 1.5 cents an hour increase. Another 3.5 cents an hour was recommended to bring GM wage levels up to those at Ford.

Under this formula the Ford workers, who also are requesting a dollar-a-day increase, would be entitled only to 1.5 cents an hour.

These two decisions make it abundantly clear that the "Little Steel formula"—which has been accepted by Philip Murray and other CIO leaders—is a weapon that can have the same disastrous consequences for the labor movement that outright wage freezing would have.

Who Gets The Cream!

"OPA statisticians have estimated that national income will grow by about \$11,000,000,000 during 1942... where is this money going? Well, more than \$8,000,000,000 of it, or about 75 percent, is going into the income groups earning \$5,000 a year or more; \$7,000,000,000 of it, or 64 percent, is going to the income groups earning \$10,000 a year or more. And only 6 percent of the nation's income earners are in the above \$5,000 groups. "There are precious few wage-earners who ever saw \$5,000 a year. The fact is that the increased national income is enriching the 75 percent of the families and individuals earning less than \$2500 a year least of all."

—From Bread & Butter, weekly bulletin of Consumers Union.

File Defense Arguments For 18 In District Court

Decision In Minneapolis Convictions May Be Handed Down by December of This Year

The Civil Rights Defense

Committee announced this week that briefs on behalf of the eighteen members of the Socialist Workers Party and leaders of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO, who were convicted last December and sentenced to prison terms under provisions of the Smith "Gag" Act, have been filed with the Clerk of the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis. This is the first step in the appeal of the Minneapolis convictions to the higher Federal courts.

The government will reply to the defense briefs at the end of September, following which the defendants can file a reply brief if they deem it necessary.

DEFENSE ARGUMENTS

The defense brief consists of 80 pages of argument on the legal questions involved in the trial, in which the defendants were ac-

cused of "advocating" overthrow of the government. The defense contention is that the Smith "Gag" Act under which the convictions were obtained is unconstitutional; the defense further contends that even if the law is constitutional, it was not applied in a constitutional manner in this case.

The latter contention is made in view of the fact there is no proof in the record of the prosecution's case that the circumstances under which the alleged conspiracy was entered into created any danger of the overthrow of the government, or the creation of insubordination in the army which is claimed by the government. The defense attorneys contend that the "clear and present danger" doctrine applies to the Smith Law, while the government takes the contrary position.

The defense also makes the argument in its brief that the Socialist Workers Party does not advocate violence, but simply predicts that the capitalist minority will not permit the majority to take power and will use violence to prevent the majority from doing so, and that consequently the workers should prepare to defend their right to take power.

Defense attorneys who filed the brief are: Osmond Fraenkel and James Lipsig of New York; M. J. Myer and Albert Goldman of Chicago; Gilbert Carlson and David Shama of Minneapolis. It is expected that oral argument will take place in the Circuit Court of Appeals sometime in November, with a decision likely in December.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, which has taken charge of the Minneapolis cases since the indictment in July 1941, is appealing for funds to finance the appeal of the convictions. All labor organizations and individuals interested in this important case, and in the defense of free speech and civil liberties, are asked to write to the CRDC, 160 Fifth Avenue New York City.

Spokesmen for Bosses Urge 10% Sales Tax

AFL Representative Echoes Big Business Before Senate Body

On August 14 the Senate Finance Committee closed public hearings on the tax bill. The last hearings — like those before them — were devoted primarily to hearing spokesmen for Big Business and to attacks on the living standards of the lower paid sections of the population.

An AFL representative appeared before the Committee. His views, however, bore a remarkable similarity to those of the representatives of the bosses.

A Chamber of Commerce spokesman, E. C. Alvord, demanded a 10% sales tax and a 5% withholding tax for all salaries. He made this proposal fully aware that it would mean a cut in the living standards of the lowest-paid workers. He said:

"The arguments against both sales and withholding taxes are the same, that they fall more heavily on the lower income group and curtail the standards of living. . . These are precisely the reasons why we should have sales and withholding taxes now."

The Chamber of Commerce representative went on to oppose the limitation of \$25,000 on individual incomes and to advocate a lower excess profits tax. He proposed that 20% of all taxes paid by individuals and corporations should be refunded after the war in the form of tax rebates.

In other words, the Chamber of Commerce wants the workers not only now but also after the war to bear increased tax burdens while the capitalists receive huge payments as a result of tax rebates. This is part of their plans for the world of things in the post-war period.

PAID BY WORKERS SPOKE FOR BOSSES

The so-called labor spokesman's name was Raymond G. Cranch. His remarks before the Finance Committee so favored the capitalists that much of the time it seemed as if the bosses had two spokesmen that day—one from the Chamber of Commerce, and one paid by a labor organization but speaking for the bosses.

Just as the representatives of the capitalists opposed the \$25,000 a year income limitation, so did the AFL representative. Just as the representatives of the capitalists wanted a post-war rebate on their taxes, so did Cranch.

He was asked by Senator Vandenberg of Michigan if the AFL would favor a sales tax over a payroll withholding levy if forced to choose between the two. The "champion" of labor—instead of rejecting both, instead of demanding that the bosses be forced to pay for the war—stated that the AFL would choose the sales tax in that case.

Cranch recommended that the sales tax should not be applied to food and low cost clothing and that income tax exemptions should begin at \$750 rather than \$600 for single persons and at \$1500 instead of \$1200 for married persons. It was only in these timid, inadequate proposals that he slightly differentiated himself from the Chamber of Commerce spokesman.

It seems unfair that the workers who belong to the AFL should have to pay the salary of Cranch. Justice demands that the bill for Cranch's services be sent to the Chamber of Commerce.

The Senate Committee gave the CIO representative about two minutes to present the opposition of his organization to the sales tax as well as the endorsement by the CIO of the \$25,000 limitation on individual incomes.

THE TRUTH ABOUT WAR-TIME WAGES

"Seventy-five percent of consumer units (families and individuals living alone) this year will receive less than \$2500. And 43 percent of our factory workers are earning less than 70 cents an hour—less than \$30 a week."

"Yet the authoritative Heller Committee declares that a minimum wartime budget necessary to maintain a family of four at a level of health and decency requires about \$50 a week."

—From Bread & Butter, weekly bulletin of Consumers Union.

A Wave Of Jim Crow Terror Has Begun In The South

Landlords and Employers Have Increased Attacks On Negro Rights In Last Six Weeks

By PHILIP BLAKE

Afraid that the Southern Negro people may take the talk about a "war for democracy" seriously, the ruling class of landlords, employers and poll-tax politicians is preparing a bloody reign of terror against the Negro masses in the South.

The attitude of these reactionary elements has been amply indicated by many statements in the last six weeks. Numerous attacks on Negroes in this same period have shown that the Southern rulers are ready and

willing to back up their "white supremacy" words with action.

Especially since the beginning of July the tempo of attacks on Negro rights has been speeded up. In the last week or so alone the following things happened:

JIM CROW JUSTICE

In Beaumont, Texas, a Negro soldier, Private Charles J. Reco, was ordered off a bus because he took a vacant seat in a section "reserved for white passengers."

According to the Department of Justice, these are the facts:

That after he got out of the bus, a police officer "struck him several times with a nightstick and forced him into the back seat of a police car; that during the trip to police headquarters one of the officers shot him once through the shoulder and once through the arm. . . Reports to the Department of Justice indicate that Reco had caused no disturbance on the bus and that he had not resisted the police officers until after he had been struck several times."

The Department has announced its intention of taking legal action against the cops. The Beaumont chief of police says he is going to "stand back" of his men.

In Georgia, Colonel Lindley Camp, commander of the State Guard, has issued an order instructing his subordinates to be on the "alert" against "racial disturbances." He declared that "suspected subversive influences" were attempting to cause race trouble in Georgia and that the "same condition exists in Alabama, South Carolina and other Southern states."

ON THE "ALERT" FOR LYNCH OPPORTUNITIES

His order said: "There have been reported an unusual number of assault cases and attempts to assault white ladies. Other communities have reported efforts on the part of Negro men and women to demand certain privileges which are not granted in Georgia and never will be. These occurrences are believed to be the direct result of the work of white agents and colored agents who seem to be active throughout the state."

He asserted that the Army, which supervises the State Guard, was "fully aware" of the order.

In a New Orleans draft office, police severely beat up a Negro draftee, Herman Lee, and his mother because he stepped out of

line to say good-bye to her. In addition to beating them, the cops arrested several other Negroes who protested against the unprovoked brutality.

In Birmingham, Alabama, a mine company guard assaulted and then shot to death a Negro miner, Jack Bloodworth, when he protested against an unauthorized pay deduction by a company clerk. The next day the killing was declared "justifiable" by the coroner.

Both Negro and white workers at the mine went out on strike after the killing, and although they returned to work the next day, they threatened to go out again unless the killer and other anti-labor officials were fired by the company.

VIOLENCE, THREATS, SLANDERS, FRAMEUPS

Earlier this month, the Negro press reported the following events:

The arrest of six Negro soldiers in Jacksonville, Fla., by military police, civilian police, sheriff's deputies and city police armed with sub-machine guns and service weapons. The soldiers were accused of "attempting to incite a riot" because they had objected to an arbitrary arrest of one of them.

Threats and acts of violence against CIO organizers and members in Birmingham, Alabama, because they had stated Negroes had the right to jobs like anyone else.

The demand by Alabama's U. S. Senator John D. Bankhead that Negro troops be taken out of the South or that Northern Negroes not be trained in the South. The implication in his statement was that Negro soldiers were responsible for so-called

ed "riots" and acts of violence against Negro troops.

A "new Scottsboro case" in Louisiana when three Negro soldiers were convicted on charges of "rape" after being threatened by police that they would be turned over to the Ku Klux Klan if they didn't admit guilt.

JULY EVENTS

In the month of July, the following occurrences and statements were recorded:

The legal lynching of share-cropper Odell Waller in Virginia, with the "liberal" U. S. Supreme Court and the "humanitarian" President refusing to intervene.

The brutal lynching of Willie Vinson in Texarkana, Texas.

The killing of Private Jesse Smith, Negro soldier, by civilian police in Flagstaff, Arizona; the exonerated of his killers; and the court-martial of five other Negro soldiers who were with Smith.

The beating and arrest of the noted singer, Roland Hayes, and his wife in Georgia, and the approval of this action expressed by Governor Talmadge.

The flat refusal by Alabama's Governor Dixon to accept a war contract because of his opposition to Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, which calls for no discrimination in hiring.

The inflammatory statements by elements such as Horace Wilkinson, Alabama attorney, threatening lynch action against Negroes who ask for their constitutional rights and advocating the formation of a League to Maintain White Supremacy.

The beating of a Negro soldier, Private Alfred Knox, and his mother, by white M. P.'s and civilian policemen in Houston, Texas, because he dared to use the telephone booth in the white waiting room of a railroad station. Knox, who may lose an eye because of the beating, was then arrested.

The unprovoked killing of a Negro worker, Walter Gunn, by a Jim Crow sheriff in Tuskegee, Alabama, and the terrorizing of the Negro population to prevent their testifying in the case.

The refusal by a federal grand jury to indict the known lynchers of Cleo Wright in Sikeston, Missouri, on the ground that "the facts disclosed do not constitute any federal offense."

The cold-blooded murder of a young Negro, Herman Jones, by a police officer in Suffolk, Virginia, after Jones had been arrested for an alleged misdemeanor.

Who can doubt, after examining this incomplete record of six weeks in the South, that the most important place for the Negro people to be fighting for democracy is right here at home?

Seattle CRDC To Hold Affair To Aid Postal

SEATTLE, Aug. 11 — An old-fashioned melodrama, "No Mother To Guide Her," will be presented here on August 28 by the local branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, official defense agency of the 18 Trotskyist and CIO leaders convicted in Minneapolis last December.

Proceeds from the affair will be used for the defense of Kelly Postal, Minneapolis CIO leader, who has also been sentenced to jail as a result of the anti-labor drive conducted jointly by the government and Tobin of the AFL Teamsters.

The play will be given in the Repertory Playhouse, E. 41st and University Way. Tickets, including tax sell for 87c and 58c, and may be purchased at Room 201, 905 E. Pine, Seattle. The show begins at 8 P. M.

Michigan Bosses Prepare For New Drive Against The Unions

By LARISSA REED

Michigan Big Business, alarmed at the growing power of the labor movement in this key state, is actively preparing a long-range program to smash the trade unions, in cooperation with so-called farm groups which are nothing more than big agricultural capitalists and their agents.

A sensational report in the August 7 *Michigan CIO News* reveals the formation of an "active and open alliance" between the Michigan State Farm Bureau, composed of wealthy farm-owners, and the Michigan Labor Relations Service, anti-labor agency of Big Business for the purpose of combining their union-busting activities. The "meeting ground" of this unholy alliance is "the Michigan Labor Relations Service plan for American fascism."

Last week the *CIO News* exposed the Michigan Labor Relations Service as "a group of ex-political office holders, promoters and corporation executives, out to openly wreck organized labor unions through restrictive legislation and the defeat of collective bargaining through a united front of employers." Their general program, it declares, "is to amend the Wagner Act; force government regulation of unions; abolish all picketing; settle all strikes by 'compulsion'; prohibit unions from engaging in political activity; and form a political lobby of business men to tell Congress and the states what laws to pass." The money for these union-busting activities will be raised through assessments of from \$25 to \$2,500 "charged those who take the 'service'" among Michigan's "17,500 corporations organized for profit."

The Michigan State Farm Bureau, far from representing the interests of the working farmers, the *CIO News*, points out "represents interests of the large rich 'farmers' who lay claim to the title through renting farms to tenants, or who operate their farms by remote control from seaside resorts."

AIM TO SMASH UNIONS

"Revelation of the tie-up between the Michigan Labor Relations Service and the State Farm Bureau comes directly from printed literature that has been circulated privately among corporation heads," declares the *CIO News*. A complete section is devoted to explaining just how the corporations will form a united front with the 'farmers' to so restrict labor unions that they will be forced to disband." The wealthy farm owners are more than willing to aid in driving a wedge between the real working farmers and their brother workers in industry.

Last February, the *CIO News*, explains the authors of the printed prospectus of the Michigan Labor Relations Service, "Journeyed to Coldwater to have a talk with a Mr. Coffman. The revelation that Coffman owns and operates three farms and serves

war. In his present job, Raab no longer needs to conceal his labor-hating activities behind a pro-labor cloak, as he did in those two years.

"ADEQUATELY" FINANCED

These farmer-labor-hating conspirators have also apparently come to a financial agreement, for according to the Michigan Labor Relations Service prospectus: "The farm groups of Michigan will adequately finance their labor relations program. If you knew how adequately, you'd be amazed."

The prospectus further declares: "The farm group educational campaign is under the direction of the State Farm Bureau Federation's gifted Organization Director, Jack F. Yeager. If you knew him, you'd know the story will be told and told in a winning way." According to the *CIO News* this so-called spokesman of the farmers became prominent last winter in a series of conferences between the State Farm Bureau and State Grange on the one hand and representatives of organized labor on the other, when he helped to smash every effort made by CIO and AFL spokesmen "to begin discussion on a constructive program on which real farmers and industrial workers could work together."

The big corporations and big capitalist farmers will stop at nothing to crush the growing tendency of the dirt farmers and dairy farmers to organize themselves independently and seek collaboration with the labor movement. Their aim is to divide the working farmers from the workers in the factories and break up their common struggle against the big capitalist interests. This organization is similar to the notorious Associated Farmers, Inc. of California.

British and the 'Scorched' Earth

Time of July 27 gives the following interesting information as a comment on the British attitude toward the "scorched earth policy."

"London Asiatic Rubber & Produce Co. Ltd., with properties in Malaya, issued a report to comfort its stockholders: 'But for the enemy occupation the financial results for the year would have been very satisfactory. . . At the time of the enemy occupation the estates were in good condition and were among the cheapest producers. . . If the estates, etc., are recovered without having sustained very serious damage, the prospects of this company should again compare very favorably with those of any other producer in the East.'"

PROBLEMS OF THE INDIAN REVOLUTION

Two recent issues of the monthly magazine, *Fourth International*, contain several articles which should be read by every supporter of the Indian struggle for independence from imperialism.

In the March, 1942 issue are "Democratic" *Enemies of India*, an editorial; *The Classes of India and Their Political Roles*, a thesis of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India; *The Mind of India's Bourgeoisie*, a book review.

In the April, 1942 issue are *Why India Spurned Cripps*, an editorial; *Britain's Role in India*, by the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India; *Ceylon's Road to Freedom*, by the Ceylon Socialist Party; *Cripps, Too Little, Too Late*, a book review.

A limited number of these issues is still available. The price is 20 cents per issue. Send your orders at once to Business Manager, *Fourth International*, 116 University Place, New York City.

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The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX

By Albert Parker

Negroes and the Indian Struggle

Every militant Negro in this country should follow the developments in the current struggle for Indian independence with the closest attention. For the cause of the Indian masses in this struggle is the cause of the oppressed toilers everywhere.

What is it that the Indian people are fighting for? The same thing that the American colonists demanded and fought for in 1776. The same thing for which the Chinese people are fighting the Japanese imperialists today. Freedom, the right to determine their own destiny.

The British rulers seem to regard this as some kind of unspeakable crime, and they react to it in the same way that the Jim Crow rulers in our Southern states react when the Negro workers and sharecroppers ask for the right to vote or the right to get a job on an equal basis with other workers. But the Negro people — whose ancestors also knew what oppression was and who were shot and hanged and whipped when they organized numerous slave revolts — can have nothing but sympathy for the aspirations of the Indian masses.

Similarity Between Arguments

There is a remarkable similarity between the arguments used by the British rulers to oppose granting independence to India now and those used by the American ruling class to deny equal rights to the Negro people now.

1. We cannot give you independence now, the British rulers say to the Indians, because it would lead to "internal strife."

And the American Negroes are told they cannot have equality now because it would disrupt "national unity."

2. The struggle for Indian independence at this time leaves the way open for the "common enemy" Japan to invade and subjugate India, say the spokesmen for British imperialism; consequently, the interests of the Indian people themselves require that this struggle be stopped at once (even if it takes bullets and whips and jails to do it).

And the fight for Negro equality while the war is going on aids the Axis powers which will take away even those rights which the Negro people now possess, because this fight undermines "morale" and "hampers" the war effort, say the spokesmen for Jim Crow; consequently the interests of the Negroes themselves demand the discontinuation of the fight against racial discrimination (even if it takes ropes, torches and jails to do it).

"After the War" Promises

3. Besides, say the British rulers, haven't we stated that we recognize your right to eventual independence, and haven't we openly promised that when this war is over we are going to give it to you?

And besides, say the American rulers, haven't we stated that we are opposed to discrimination and haven't we promised that things will be different when we win the war?

But the Indian people are not impressed or convinced by this propaganda, just as the Negro militants are not. Like their Negro brothers and sisters in this country, the Indian masses say to their oppressors:

"Get Off Our Backs" Say Negroes and Indians

"You talk about 'internal strife,' but you are the people responsible for whatever strife there is. Get off our backs, stop denying us our rights, and there will be no strife."

"You lie when you say that the struggle for our rights aids the Axis. The world has seen what happened to the people of Malaya and Burma as a result of your policies and your rule, and we do not intend to have the same fate befall us. Your rule and your policies aid the Axis, and we are fighting to get rid of them so that we will really have the opportunity to defeat the fascists. Victory for our fight will inspire the peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world to renewed struggles against their oppressors."

"You not only slander us when you say that our fight aids the fascists, but you also show how hypocritical are your claims to be fighting a war for democracy. We cannot believe any of your promises, because you have made and broken them before. Whatever your 'post-war promises' are, they are worthless in our eyes, and we don't believe them any more than the promises made to us by Japanese agents."

Negro workers, the Indian struggle is yours too! You cannot remain true to the principles of your own century-old struggle in this country unless you actively help to defend the Indian masses against their defamers and to aid them against their enemies.

War In Egypt Provides Some Important Lessons

British Trotskyists Show How Brass Hats Stifle the Initiative of Worker-Soldiers

Some of the reasons for the fall of Tobruk and Rommel's advances in Egypt are analyzed in the following article, which is reprinted from the July issue of Socialist Appeal, a Trotskyist paper published by the Workers International League:

The amazing advances which the German armies are making in Libya and Egypt have stupefied the workers and soldiers of Britain and the whole world.

At a time when the Russians are performing almost unbelievable deeds of valor in the defense of the workers' state against the Nazis, the defeats stand out in a particularly glaring light. When nine-tenths and more of the German army is being used in Russia and to hold down Europe, the fact that the British cannot put up an adequate resistance in the Middle East, indicates that there is something rotten in the British army—and it is not the British soldiers who comprise some of the best fighting material in the world.

The entire blame for the defeats must be laid at the door of the ruling class and their Colonel Blimp officer caste which is responsible for the blood and sacrifices which the soldiers are making. The people in control—the whole of the officer caste in Libya and Egypt—come from the boneheads of the old school-tie.

Not concerned with the welfare of the soldiers, these people are more pre-occupied with "keeping the soldier in his place." Spit and polish, saluting and "yes sirring" are the narrow horizon beyond which they cannot see.

They regard their own soldiers with more hostility, as being from a class fundamentally opposed to their own, than they regard the officers of the enemy.

A SPECIAL ORDER
This situation could not better be illustrated than in the words of an N. C. O. correspondent to Hannan Swaffer:

"About two days before Tobruk fell," he writes, "our commanding officer issued a special order—on saluting."
It appears that the men had not been saluting officers riding in cars flying a small flag and that this omission of military duty was the cause of great dismay among the higher command.

"Failure to salute" ran this long screed, "shows a lack of efficiency, a lack of spirit and a lack of discipline. A soldier who fails to salute an officer is either ill-trained, insolent or idle."

The document then argued that "all this lack of discipline leads to wars being lost."

Obviously the loss of Tobruk is due to bad saluting!
The old "squire" mentality is still predominant among the officers, who think that a servant who doesn't tip his hat is a discontented fellow—probably a trade unionist.

"Why should we peer into every passing car travelling at about 40 to 50 miles per hour and salute a uniform, which in five cases out of ten, contains only an A. T. S. driver or an officer's batman?"

ONE OF THE REASONS
The latest defeats have been contributed in large part by the blunders and stupidities of the officer caste, by their stifling of the initiative and resourcefulness of the rank and file soldier.

One of the reasons for Rommel's victories was the fact that in the terrible heat of the African desert at the hottest period of the year, the British generals concluded that an offensive was impossible . . . and just at this period Rommel launched his attack.

The reason for his success was that, although under normal circumstances tanks cannot operate in such weather due to the unbearable heat—the Germans made use of air conditioned tanks.

In the Daily Herald of June 30, Hannan Swaffer points out: "It may, or may not, surprise the War Office to know that a private serving in a tank battalion conceived the idea of a refrigerator tank in 1939! He met only with ridicule."

"And the desert was our, not German, terrain."

EXPERT INSULTED
Then, while serving in India, a lance-corporal hit upon a plan to remove rapidly from heavy vehicles tires very stubborn to move.

His commanding officer, much impressed, had the drawing carried out, and then, when its success was proved, sent to Ordnance.

There some Colonel Blimp ordered him "not to tinker around, but to carry out maintenance operations for wheeled vehicles as orders lay down."

INVENTIVENESS A SIN
The same inventive corporal, just before the general was killed, submitted at his request an idea for disabling tanks on roads.

Alas, it never reached him—but the wicked inventor was hauled before a junior officer and ordered not to write to the War Office about the invention. . . .

He had thought of something—and so he was a naughty boy! These reports give an annihilating indictment of the whole rotten incompetent officer caste of the ruling class. The inventiveness and initiative of the rank and file soldiers is stifled. Soldiers of inventive genius like the one described above, mentally and in their knowledge of mechanical warfare, are far in advance of their so-called "superiors." In addition to that, they are the ones who are concerned with a genuine war against fascism.

FOR UNION CONTROL OF MILITARY TRAINING
The Labor Party and Trade Union leaders claim that this war is against fascism in the interests of democracy—then let them set up schools under the control of the trade unions to train the most intelligent and able of the workers to become officers.

This would mean that the worker soldiers would not be at

erals in 1935, i.e., men like Uborevich, Yakir, Feldman—in short, all those who were murdered in the purges.

The bulk of the factual material cited in Kournakoff's book comes not as he apparently believes from the lips of Voroshilov, but from the official reports of precisely the General Staff headed by Tukhachevsky. It was these men who modernized and mechanized the Red Army, created its air force, built the fortifications and drew up plans for future military actions. Kournakoff simply refrains from mentioning their names or their role and assigns full credit to Stalin and Voroshilov and later on to Timoshenko.

As for the purges and their effects, these are summarily dismissed with two references. On page 107 he writes:

"There is a general willingness now in the United States to acknowledge the wisdom of Soviet measures which, when they were taken were misunderstood and misrepresented. The best example of this was the cleaning out of the fifth column."

And again on page 157 he laments the "persistent depreciation of Soviet military strategy and leadership" especially "The elimination of Tukhachevsky and the other generals who, for a variety of reasons, were defeatist about the looming war and sought an appeasers' settlement with Germany and Japan, surrendering to them large Soviet areas for the privilege of being tolerated in the rest."

As is well known, Hitler and the Mikado found Stalin very amenable to collaboration.

The Stalinist liar also hopes that people have forgotten that it was not only a handful of generals that was purged, but along with them

A DISCUSSION ON MILITARY AND ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM

A Letter To

THE MILITANT

Editor:

In his column of June 27, M. Morrison debunks Vice-President Wallace's recent "people's revolution" speech. Wallace's claim that the U.S. will do away with economic imperialism is adequately refuted. But at the same time Morrison draws a nice distinction between military and economic imperialism. He, Morrison, seems to believe it quite possible for the U.S. to create a colonial empire without the need for territorial seizure and the exercise of direct political and military control in the colonial countries. These of course are the time-dishonored methods of the French and English empire builders. They were military as well as economic imperialists, says Morrison.

As evidence to support his belief that the U.S. imperialists will dispense with military imperialism, Morrison cites the following factors: the past history of U.S. imperialism, which in the main did not include direct political and military control; the advantage of a promise to the colonial peoples which seemingly costs U.S. imperialism nothing—freedom from British rule; and finally, confidence of U.S. capitalists that in an economic free-for-all they can beat any competition.

It seems to me that the evidence is not very weighty. The past tradition of U.S. imperialism means nothing in view of the tremendous changes taking place in the world role of the U.S. The surplus wealth which permitted the U.S. to play the rich uncle is being devoured by the militarization of the economy. Finally, can any imperialist nation permit autonomy, military and political, to a native capitalist class? Such autonomy is the necessary condition for the growth and expansion of the native bourgeoisie. No imperialism will allow this. These and other questions call for a clarification of Morrison's article.

Comradely yours,

A. S.
New York

An Answer By M. Morrison

There is of course only one type of imperialism, by which term is meant, roughly speaking, the present stage in the development of capitalism when monopoly has displaced competition, when finance capital has obtained control of the economic life of all advanced countries and when capital is exported, in addition to consumers' goods.

In his "peoples' revolution" speech, Vice-President Wallace, on behalf of the United States, promised to do away with "military and economic imperialism." Under Secretary of State Welles had previously promised to bring an end to the "age of imperialism."

Not even the liberal and sanctimonious Wallace, let alone the reactionary Welles, meant that American capitalism intends to surrender its right to invest capital in backward countries and extract huge profits from the people of those countries. What they meant was that American capitalism was willing to do away with the more obviously reactionary aspects of imperialism. This promise has two motives: one, to get the support of the colonial and semi-colonial masses for the imperialist democracies; and two, to serve warning on British imperialism that it must surrender political control of its colonies, open the door to economic competition by the United States and thus end its monopoly.

The distinction made by Wallace between military (or better, political) and economic imperialism is quite legitimate if understood correctly. The fact is that imperialism can and has worked with or without political control of the backward countries, in the sense of openly designating political and military rulers of a country, as the British imperialists do in India and Ceylon. The fundamental difference between a colonial and semi-colonial country is that in the former the imperialist metropolitan center controls not only the economic but also the political life of the country, while in the latter political control is, ostensibly at least, in the hands of the native capitalist class.

Advantages And Disadvantages

The advantages of controlling a colonial country politically are very great. The imperialists are then able to pass any legislation they desire to aid in exploiting the colony and to exclude any possible competitors. They need not cater to the native capitalists as much as they would have to do if they did not control the politics of the country, and they can, more readily, through legislation, prevent the economic development of the colony.

The disadvantage of political control is that it invariably generates a strong nationalist movement in opposition to imperialist exploitation.

When American capitalism reached the imperialist stage it found most of the non-industrial world divided among the earlier birds of prey. Luckily for it the Monroe Doctrine had kept the Latin-American countries out of the political control of the older imperialist countries. By the time American capitalism was ready for colonies it was not so easy for an imperialist country to take possession of a backward country by military force. The nationalist tradition had already developed to a point where serious opposition could be expected. American capitalism did of course take some colonies from Spain, but by and large it had to content itself, and therefore favored, the method of peaceful economic penetration, with the use of force only when absolutely necessary.

American capitalism became the champion of the "open-door" policy, claiming equal rights for imperialists in the exploitation of backward countries. Not because it had anything in principle against political control of backward nations but because it came too late upon the scene and its dominant economic strength made certain that the open-door policy would assure it a favorable position. It made a virtue of historic necessity. Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines prove that whenever American imperialism can get political control it does not hesitate to do so.

At the present moment the "good neighbor" policy and the doctrine of political freedom for the backward nations are powerful weapons utilized by American capitalism not only against German and Japanese but also against British imperialism.

Japan could not hope to compete with the United States in the exploitation of China. It therefore wanted to gain military control of China. Great Britain cannot compete with the United States in India or elsewhere. It therefore wants political control of India and its other colonies. It is highly significant that none of the spokesmen for British imperialism has said anything about bringing an end to the age of imperialism. Political freedom for all colonies is what the American capitalists want in order to tie the backward countries to their imperialism.

A Weapon Against Britain

American imperialism has achieved a preeminent position in Latin America by virtue of its economic influence and not because it directly controls the political life of the Latin-American countries. Naturally it wields great political influence in those countries but not directly. In general it operates on the principle of buying up any political party that gains control. It is wealthy enough to afford that luxury.

The question whether American imperialism will be able to continue this "liberal" role in the future was not raised in my column of June 27, dealing with the Wallace speech. In that article I was simply interested in explaining the motives of the representatives of American imperialism in advocating an "end to imperialism." It is highly doubtful, however, that in the epoch of capitalist decay, even American imperialism is able to exploit backward nations without the use of military force. As A.S. points out in his letter, political freedom enables the native capitalists to develop their own industries, thus competing with the industries of the imperialist nations.

But this factor does not prevent the representatives of American imperialism from making a distinction between military and economic imperialism, and, at the present time, from using that distinction as a weapon against British imperialism.

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NEW YORK

Kournakoff Book Rehashes Stalinist Slanders About Red Army

Russia's Fighting Forces, by Capt. Sergei N. Kournakoff; International Publishers, New York.

Since the Nazi invasion of the USSR the Stalinist factory of falsifications has been working overtime. First of all, it was necessary to whitewash the past crimes of the Kremlin, especially the monstrous purges which weakened the defensive strength of the country and which, in addition, beheaded the Red Army on the very eve of its life and death struggle. Moreover, it was necessary to cover up and minimize the terrible defeats suffered on the military arena under Stalin's leadership. Last but not least, Stalin's tarnished prestige had to be refurbished.

"Russia's Fighting Forces" is one of the books designed to fulfill these tasks. The author is typical of a large section of the latter-day Stalinist hirelings and apologists. He is a former Czarist officer who fought throughout the Civil War of 1918-1920 in the armies of the counter-revolution. After emigrating to America he finally found his way into Stalinist employ, writing for Soviet Russia Today and other Stalinist publications in the guise of a military expert writing for the layman.

In his book this expert tries of course to rewrite the history of the Civil War. In the role of a participant and eye-witness of the events, Kournakoff adds his voice to the lie that it was not Trotsky but Stalin who played the primary role in this period. What this expert lacks in skill he tries to make up for by brazenness.

He rehashes the whole catalogue of the lies of Stalinist historiography about Trotsky's role at Brest-Litovsk; about the defense of Petrograd against Yudenich and Stalin's mythical role in this connection; about the formation of Soviet

cavalry initiated by Trotsky and now assigned to Stalin; about the disputes relating to the strategy on the Southern front for which Stalin is given credit by the simple expedient of reversing the roles played by Stalin and Trotsky in this situation; precisely the same thing is done in relation to the Polish campaign, etc., etc.

Kournakoff contrives even to avoid mentioning the fact that Trotsky was the Commissar of War. The sole explanation that he offers to refute the well-known and established facts of history reads as follows:

"The reason is that the history of the Russian Civil War has become known in this country mainly through the pages of the writer with the biggest anti-Stalin propaganda axe to grind, Leon Trotsky. . ." (Page 164.)

For almost two decades the entire apparatus of the Kremlin has been geared to the task of falsifying history and trying to expunge Trotsky's role from the events. Now another liar tries to make it appear that Stalin was, if you please, the victim of a one-man campaign of misrepresentation. The reviewers of this book in the capitalist press have preferred to pass over in silence this "authoritative" and embarrassing explanation.

Lies About The Red Army Generals

Having lied about the Civil War, Kournakoff goes on to lie about the development and organization of the Red Army in the period of the Five Year Plans. Who modernized and mechanized the Red Army? Voroshilov was never more than a figurehead. The real leaders of the Red Army in this period were Tukhachevsky and Gamarnik together with their collaborators whom Stalin himself raised to the rank of Marshals and Gen-

erals in 1935, i.e., men like Uborevich, Yakir, Feldman—in short, all those who were murdered in the purges.

The bulk of the factual material cited in Kournakoff's book comes not as he apparently believes from the lips of Voroshilov, but from the official reports of precisely the General Staff headed by Tukhachevsky. It was these men who modernized and mechanized the Red Army, created its air force, built the fortifications and drew up plans for future military actions. Kournakoff simply refrains from mentioning their names or their role and assigns full credit to Stalin and Voroshilov and later on to Timoshenko.

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As is well known, Hitler and the Mikado found Stalin very amenable to collaboration.

The Stalinist liar also hopes that people have forgotten that it was not only a handful of generals that was purged, but along with them

the great bulk of the Red officer corps who had emerged from the Civil War and organized the Red Army under these men. The Soviet Union has paid and continues to pay in terrible defeats because of the lack of adequate and reliable leadership.

Following The Kremlin Line

Kournakoff surpasses himself in the final section of the book, the aim of which is to prove that the Nazis have already lost the war: "The question now arises: Why is Hitler losing the war? When did he lose it?" (p. 194); that the USSR really lost nothing at all in the first year of the war: "The land the Germans won was a doubtful gain. Most of its productive capacity had been destroyed by the scorched-earth tactic. Most of its industry has been evacuated eastward. The territory itself was guerrilla-infested and exacted a constant drain on German manpower and arms" (p. 161); that the defeats of the Red Army were really victories and that the retreats were in accordance with profound strategic plans which led to victories: "From the way things are going, it appears certain that Germany cannot win. The knockout blow will come, but the time of its delivery is unpredictable" (p. 212).

In this as in all his previous lies Kournakoff is not expressing his own views but merely hewing strictly to the Kremlin's line. This is precisely the way in which the course of the war was represented to the Soviet masses since last December and right up to the beginning of the latest Nazi offensive. Stalin has been boasting of complete victory in 1942.

Events themselves are acquainting the world with the true nature of Stalin's regime of boasts, lies, frame-ups, crimes and defeats.

Reviewed by JOHN G. WRIGHT

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2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

India And The Atlantic Charter

On August 14, 1941, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, met on a warship in mid-ocean and solemnly signed a paper which they asserted embodied the war aims of their respective governments. To the peoples of the world it was proclaimed as a pledge of freedom, the Atlantic Charter.

Point three of the Atlantic Charter declares: "They (Roosevelt and Churchill) respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." One year later men, women and children were being shot to death on the streets of Bombay, New Delhi and other Indian cities for demanding their independence, that is, their right to "choose the form of government under which they will live." They wish to rid their country of British imperialism which has "forcibly deprived" them of their "sovereign rights and self-government."

Churchill, co-signer of the Atlantic Charter, ordered his Indian Government's measures for suppressing this movement for freedom: shooting unarmed demonstrators, restoring the flogging law, outlawing the Congress Party, jailing its leaders, Gandhi, Nehru and hundreds of others. Roosevelt, co-signer of the Atlantic Charter and author of "the four freedoms everywhere in the world," has acquiesced silently to this suppression.

The accusation has continually been made against Hitler that he violates all his promises; after his aggression against Czechoslovakia he declared that he desired no more European territory. Then he proceeded to invade and subjugate Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia and Greece. The accusation is correct. Hitler's promises were broken as readily as they were given. His treaties are just scraps of paper.

But what of the promises and treaties of Roosevelt and Churchill? The peoples of the world were assured that the word of these statesmen would be honored as a sacred oath; after all, were they not fighting Hitler, the double-dealer, the treaty-buster? With the fortunes of war against them, the signers of the "charter of freedom" have thus far found it easy to evade the test of whether or not they would make good their pledges for the people of occupied Europe.

But India is different. India is not in Hitler's hands, not in the Mikado's hands. India is a British colony forcibly held under British control by British police and British troops. Here then is their golden opportunity to prove the sincerity of the Atlantic Charter. Yet the Indian cry for freedom is met by rebuffs, bullets, jails and whipping posts. Is the Atlantic Charter in the same category with Hitler's treaties — just a scrap of paper?

Through their agents and spokesmen, the Stalinists among them, Churchill and Roosevelt are assuring the peoples of China and of occupied Eu-

rope (not to speak of British and American masses) that they have the best intentions towards India; the people are urged not to become cynical towards the Atlantic Charter even if the fighters for Indian freedom are handled in much the same way as the fighters for Polish, Czech, French or Dutch freedom. The war, they say, requires us to be very circumspect in our policy towards India. Should we grant India her independence, they continue, Japan waiting at the border will pounce upon India and make it very difficult to apply the Charter not only in India but in the rest of the world as well.

If these were honest men, this argument would stick in their throats like a bone — for it demonstrates that all their pledges and promises are nothing but lies and hypocrisy. For the moment we ignore the fact that long before Japan was poised at India's border — for two hundred years! — the British imperialists were keeping India in bondage and weren't in the least inclined to grant her freedom. Now it is necessary — according to the logic of the colonial bosses — to forcibly, by mass slaughter if necessary, chain the Indians to British domination so that they shall not fall victim to Japanese domination!

This line of reasoning is not an argument in the interests of freedom for which the Atlantic Charter presumes to speak. It is the coarse voice of imperialism. Far from aiding in an effective resistance to Japanese invasion, the refusal to grant independence paves the way for Japanese victory. The experience of Burma, Singapore and Malaya must be remembered. A British general in the Far East has admitted that the British slaves in Burma were "10% pro-British, 10% pro-Japanese, 80% pro-Burmese and therefore indifferent (to Britain's war)."

A Free India Can Defeat Japan

People must have a nation of their own before they become worried about its destruction, they must have independence before they will fight against a foreign invasion. The Indians have neither. And despite the Atlantic Charter, the British are determined that they shall have neither nation nor independence. The British prefer an India conquered by Japan to an India that is independent. In the first case, the colony may be regained with a favorable turn of the war; in the second case, it is irretrievably lost together with all the super-profits wrung from 400,000,000 colonial slaves.

Arthur Greenwood, British labor leader whose chief occupation since the war began was to sell Churchill to the British workers as an anti-fascist and anti-imperialist, is now compelled by the Indian masses to once again cover up his master. "The world does not expect," says this flunkey, "that President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms and the wide declarations contained in the Atlantic Charter can be implemented until we begin to reap the fruits of victory."

These promises are always made during war time to secure the support of oppressed masses and are then violated after the war when their support is no longer needed. The Indian masses have already passed through this experience in England's last war to "save the world for democracy."

There are undoubtedly many sincere and glib people in India who look to the America of Roosevelt and Hull, to the "Four Freedoms" and the Atlantic Charter for inspiration and assistance. They will be sadly disillusioned. Yet the people of India can find inspiration and weapons in their fight for freedom in America — not in the war Roosevelt carries on today but in the Revolutionary War for Independence (likewise from the British Empire); not in the Atlantic Charter but in the Declaration of Independence.

1776 Showed The Way For India

The revolutionary British colonies in America in 1776 sounded the tocsin for the masses of Europe and the world oppressed by absolute monarchs and feudal tyrants; just so the revolutionary colonials in India in 1942 can sound the tocsin for the masses of all Asia and of all colonies everywhere against the imperialist capitalist tyrants of today.

The Indians will find that in the First American Revolution there were not a few cowards, weaklings and even paid agents of the British monarchy who counselled the colonies to wait and not fight. Later, they said, the British will have a change of heart and become more lenient. They were not averse to bending their knee and begging for a few crumbs from the master's table. The Indians will find that the arguments of the British have not changed very much in all these years: then too the Americans were presumably "not prepared for self-government."

Bold, audacious men rejected the counsel of compromise and surrender. They set up their own independent government, the Continental Congress, and with far less men than India now has at its disposal, the Revolutionary Army drove the hired British mercenaries from American soil.

Revolutionists in India will spurn "The Atlantic Charter" as another scrap of paper. They will find far better inspirations and guidance in the Declaration of Independence, which asserted that:

"When a long train of abuses and inspirations, pursuing invariably the same object, evidence a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government, and to provide new Guards for their future security."

Army Paper Discusses Use Of Germs In War

Only Problem of Effectiveness As War Weapon Interests Military Journal

By GRACE CARLSON

In the 21 year period from the close of World War I to the beginning of World War II, professional pacifists were pleading with the representatives of the armed forces of the various great powers to abandon chemical warfare and to pledge themselves never to use disease germs as weapons of war.

At the insistence of the pacifists, the Limitations of Armaments Conference in 1922 and the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations in 1932 devoted considerable time and thought to the question of bacterial warfare. While the controversy over this question was raging, Colonel Leon Fox of the U. S. Army Medical Corps made a study of the use of bacteria in warfare for the U. S. military authorities, the results of which were published in 1933 in the Army Medical Corps journal, *The Military Surgeon*. Because of the interest of the large, new contingent of Army medical men in the question, his article has been reprinted in the May, 1942 issue of the same journal.

A FRANK APPROACH

Expressing contempt for the futile efforts of the League of Nations pacifists of the Thirties, Colonel Fox wrote in this article, "We know how little treaties protect, so we should study the question to see if the use of biologic weapons is a real problem for the military minds of the future." Weapons, whether biologic, chemical or mechanical, should not be abandoned by the military forces on the ground that they inflict cruel punishment, he argues, but only if they are ineffective or if better weapons are devised.

Then this professional officer in Roosevelt's army, which is alleged to be "fighting aggression" in every corner of the globe, pays this glowing tribute to war and conquest:

"It takes more than the harpings of the minds of yesterday to scotch the wheels of progress. It may startle many to talk of world

progress in connection with implements of warfare. However, it is not believed that any fair-minded individual can deny the place in world advancement that is due to the spirit of conquest. The peaceful shepherd, content to watch his flocks, has added little to the world's knowledge. The trader and warrior have discovered and spread knowledge. Development of weapons has always been for the purpose of using intelligence to overcome mere physical force."

Disease germs are not satisfactory weapons of warfare, however, according to the remarkably frank Colonel Fox, because one cannot infect enemy armies with deadly bacteria without running great risk of having one's own troops infected by the epidemic diseases thus started in enemy camps.

For disease-producing bacteria show a complete disregard for nationalistic boundaries. History has produced hundreds of instances where epidemic diseases originating in one army — cholera, typhus fever, plague, smallpox, influenza, etc. — have jumped the battlefield and attacked the forces of the opposing army.

SANITARY PRECAUTIONS ARE INEFFECTIVE

Some of the diseases, which decimated the armies in past wars, notably cholera, plague, smallpox and typhus fever, can now be held in check by the use of vaccines and serums along with the application of scientific sanitary precautions — proper disposal of sewage, protection of the water supply, inspection of food, etc.

However, if a virulent epidemic of even one of these diseases began, or was started behind the enemy lines, no medical corps officer of the opposing army could feel confident that his troops would be spared, says Colonel Fox, because no one will guarantee that sanitary procedures can be maintained under the conditions of modern warfare.

The use of the germs producing influenza, cerebrospinal meningitis, malaria or dysentery would be still more dangerous weapons for an army to loose upon its enemy, because these diseases have been found even more difficult to control, he maintains. Statistics from public health sources show that these diseases are already on the increase in the war-torn countries of Europe, Asia and Africa.

As to the question of dropping billions of destructive bacteria from airplanes over the livestock and fields of enemy countries, Colonel Fox has this hard-headed, matter-of-fact reply:

"These destructive agents take several years to advance over a large area and might prove an economic problem years after the war has been completed; therefore, they violate one of the fundamental ideas in warfare, since they would interfere with the ability of the conquered nation to pay for the beating they had received."

Apparently Colonel Fox — who states in a foreword to the May, 1942 reprint of his article that he did not feel the need to change

a single line of the original 1933 article — has not been impressed by the idealistic phrases of Roosevelt, Wallace and Hull as to the completely unselfish intentions of the United States toward the defeated nations in the post-war world.

GERM WARFARE IN CHINA

The Chinese Embassy in Washington has charged the Japanese with using disease germs as weapons against Chinese civilians on four different occasions during 1940 and 1941. An editorial in the August issue of *The Military Surgeon* reports these charges that Japanese planes scattered grain impregnated with bubonic plague-producing germs over Chinese cities, as a result of which three small epidemics of plague appeared in cities, from which it had been absent for many years.

The chief comment of the editor of this official army journal was that the Japanese had achieved only a very "limited success" by these operations, and that they would probably have done more damage to the Chinese if their planes had been loaded with explosives, rather than bacteria-laden grain.

Imperialist wars will not be fought out on a humanitarian basis despite all the pleas of pacifists. As long as the capitalist system continues to breed war, military authorities will continue to utilize every weapon which will forward the cause of their particular imperialist master, regardless of the cruel suffering which may be thus inflicted on millions of people.

The trials and tribulations of the masses, caught in the convulsions of world capitalism "in its death agony," will not be ended by pacifist measures, which attack the symptoms, and not the cause. Only the determined struggle of the world's workers, to replace this outworn system by the establishment of a system of international socialism can bring lasting peace, freedom and plenty to the peoples of the earth.

Pioneer Issues New Pamphlet By Leon Trotsky

THEIR MORALS AND OURS. by Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Publishers, New York. 48 pages. 20 cents.

Pioneer Publishers have done another service to the revolutionary movement by the publication in pamphlet form of Leon Trotsky's two articles aimed against those philistines who sought to indict Bolshevism on the grounds of morality on the eve of the second imperialist world war.

"Their Morals and Ours" was written in 1938; the sequel, "The Moralists and Sycophants Against Marxism," in 1939.

These two articles present a revolutionary Marxist analysis of the problems of morality as one of the ideological functions of the class struggle. They show what really underlies the criticism of those "moralists" who used the Moscow frameups as a pretext to identify Leninism with Stalinism, and to condemn revolutionary Marxism on the grounds of "amoralism."

This pamphlet is indispensable for the education of revolutionaries, above all, the younger generation who will bear the brunt of the impending struggles. It is well printed and very reasonably priced.

For Centuries Britain Has Ruled And Looted India

By HOWARD ALLEN

The hideous hypocrisy of the "democratic" nations and the inherent barbarism of capitalist civilization stands naked before our eyes when we look at Britain's role in India.

Probably the most incredibly vulgar attempt at rationalization of British terror in India came over the air last week. "Teddy Roosevelt" said one commentator, "told the British to 'Either rule India or get out.' Well," continued this mastermind explainer, "the British have decided to rule!"

"The British have decided to rule!" What a cozy picture it must evoke in the minds of an audience innocent of any acquaintance with Indian history. Consider the patient Briton, trying so doggedly to bring civilization to the ungrateful Indian! "Ah, how we have slaved," the British rulers sigh as they shoot down freedom-seeking Indians, "to elevate these wretches and now they repay our tender solicitude with a demand for independence."

The press and the radio then go on to explain the shooting and beating and jailing of the Indians as a kind of "stiffening of the British backbone." Let us consider the facts, then, and witness whether the British have ever spared the lathi or the bullet.

No "Gentlemen" Wanted

Let there be any doubt of the intentions to plunder India on the part of the merchant-adventurers who organized the East India Company in the year 1600, they stipulated that they were "not to employ any gentlemen in any place of charge." They also kept their ships down to 499 tons, to evade the law that ships of 500 tons and over required a chaplain!

The real history of British domination of India starts, however, in 1757 when Clive, agent of the British capitalist defenders of "law and order," "sacred rights of property," etc., engineered a revolution against the Subahdar Suraj-ad-dowla.

"The servants of the (East India) Company," writes Lord Macaulay in his essay on Clive, "forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap...Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the last extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never under tyranny like this."

An English merchant named William Bolts, writing in 1772, described the condition of the Indian weavers as that of slaves. He told how they were flogged if they refused to sign the labor contracts, which fixed prices between 15% and 40% below market rates.

In 1770 the Calcutta Council of the Company recorded that "in the famine which has ensued, the mortality, the beggary, exceed all description. Above one-third of the inhabitants have perished in the once plentiful province of Purneah."

Their collections of revenue however, "fell less short than they supposed they would." About 10,000,000 people died, according to the official estimate.

The treatment of those Indians who protested against the inhuman robbery that paved the way for the famine is exemplified by the case of the Sepoy mutineers in 1764:

24 of the mutineers were selected. They were tied to the front of cannons and blown away.

"A Greater In Their Stead"

The poet Cowper, appalled by the horrors perpetrated on the Indians, asked: "Hast thou, though suckled at fair freedom's breast, Exported slavery to the conquered East? Pulled down the tyrants India served with dread, And raised thyself, a greater in their stead? Gone thither, armed and hungry, returned full, Fed from the richest veins of the Mogul, A despot big with power obtained by wealth, And that obtained by rapine and by stealth? With Asiatic vices stored thy mind, But left thy virtues and thine own behind? And having trucked thy soul, brought home the fee To tempt the poor to sell himself to thee."

Those phoney liberals, who protest that the Indians should have their independence "but this is an inopportune time," should be reminded that in 1857 there was no danger from the Japanese, but when the Indians again attempted to gain their freedom, they were reduced by cold steel and hot lead.

"Death was the accepted punishment for mutiny," wrote Mr. Dodwell in the Cambridge Short History of India. "The blot on British conduct does not lie in the military punishments which were exacted but in the conduct of a number of officers who took a bloody revenge upon guilty and innocent alike. Indiscriminate executions had accompanied the suppression of the mutinies at Benares and Allahabad. They help to explain the pitiless slaughter at Cawnpore."

"Enjoyed Amazingly"

Young boys were sentenced to death. Women and children were burned to death in their villages. Englishmen boasted that they had spared no one and that "peppering away at niggers" was a jolly sport "enjoyed amazingly."

And to prove that our modern apologists for barbarism have not invented a new line, we read in a history book of that time (Holmes, *History of the Mutiny*): "For this splendid assumption of authority, Cooper (British general in charge of the slaughter) was assailed by the hysterical cries of ignorant humanitarians."

Thus was the employment of barbaric means of repression, involving mass torture and mass murder, benignly portrayed as a virtue of the British. Protest against the vengeful savagery that was employed by the British is considered simply to be ignorant humanitarianism.

It is this history of murderous repression during three centuries that has called forth the latest struggle of the Indians for independence. Despite the slanders of the venal mouth-pieces of imperialism, despite the most brutal attacks, the Indian struggle for freedom will continue because conditions there are the breeding ground of revolt.

In future articles we shall examine other aspects of British exploitation in India.

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING

Friday, August 21, at 8:30 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA 15th St and Irving Pl

Speakers:

ALBERT GOLDMAN

Defendant and Defense Attorney in the Minneapolis Trials

JULES GELLER

Chairman:

GEORGE GRANT

ORGANIZER, LOCAL N. Y.

For the Defense of the Soviet Union!
For Indian Independence!

Commemorating the Second Anniversary of the Death of the Great
Revolutionary Leader at the hands of Stalin's GPU