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 superexploitation on the land, of political oppression and discrimination through the polltax.

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 gratefull" 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-be 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



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 neonle are al



ODELL WALLER

speedy two-day Waller trial

which ended on Sept. 27,

1940, he refused to disqualify

himself after making pre-

judicial and infammatory re-

marks in the presence of the

jury panel. He refused to

grant Waller a change of

venue after evidence had

been introduced showing that

a lynch spirit spreading

thru the county would pre-

vent Waller from receiving a

fair trial there. Last month,

ment explaining its refusal

Finally, on June 27, appeals

for a stay of execution were

made to four individual Jus-

tices of the Court, each of

whom had the power to grant

a stay that would have en-

abled the case to come be-

fore the Court when it meets

again in October. Each of

the four Justices refused to

grant the stay. The super-

"liberal" Frankfurter, de-

clared: "As a Federal judge

I am unable to find any jus-

tification for summary in-

terference with the orderly

process of Virginia's courts

sentence.

cisely this which gives his words be whipped sometime." so much significance: Petain PRECIOUS LESSONS speaks in the name of his class, the French capitalists. For all its repugnant cynicism, Our epoch has not lacked ex-Petain's declaration contains preamples of supreme abjectness and clous lessons for the workers. The vindictiveness. When future gen-

material gain but even of person-

al power are completely alien to

this 86 year old soldier. It is pre-

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erations look for examples, they will surely direct their attention capitalists. to Petain and his flunkeys, who The capitalist state, aided by recall to mind Thiers and the its agents of all kinds, always and French capitalist class of the everywhere tries to paralyze the

By MARC LORIS

If we are to measure the full import of these words, we

the strike wave of June. 1936.

And like Thiers, they think only

of revenge. With this difference

that they have assigned this mis-

sion to Hitler: "A nation has to

only after an unhappy war."

"A nation has to be whipped sometime."

1870's who shot down thousands struggles of the workers on the of Communards and found delight pretext that history has placed the in 'watching their society women defense of the nation in its hands. gouge out the eyes of the dying In reality, the capitalists never with the points of their parasols. defend the nation except as an Just as Thiers received his Great object of exploitation. When the Fright from the Paris Commune. mechanism of this exploitation is so Petain and the capitalists re-



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

after the N. Y. Times had For almost two years, while raised certain questions about the case, he sent that paper a letter reeking of class hatred, defending the conviction and insisting on the execution of the death him a reprieve from the electric

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JULY 11, 1942 267 FIVE (5) CENTS Congress, OPA Help To Petain Statement Bares Role Of French Bosses **Lower Living Standards**

They Oppose A Rising Scale of Wages for the Workers, and Who was it last week that uttered these terrible words about Prevent the Effective Enforcement of the Price Ceilings

been sent out to be photographed

talking to grocers-but not, the

newspapers said, to check on

War Increases the

Monopolies' Control

listened to prohibited stations.

Average sentence is four years.

OPA regulations.

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.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

But events of the last week or two are making it perfectly plain that neither Congress nor the Of-

fice of Price Administration is taking any really serious steps to enforce the

price regulations. Instead, the House of Representatives voted last week to

first is the lie of "national de- grant the OPA only \$75,000,000 fense" coming from the lips of the 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.

24,000 Factories To Be

The answer to the problem

Over Production ing the mass workers', farmers' and consumers' organization, and training the hundreds of thousands of housewives, etc., to check on prices and to

opponents to wage increases for the steel, auto and aircraft workers whose cases are now before government boards, has been extremely liberal and "cooperative" 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 Henderson continues stubbornly of general increases by the to resist all such proposals, and OPA to benefit the employers. Henderson's assistants continue to assure conventions of man-A few months from now, when

ufacturers and employers that prices will have undergone a the OPA does not intend to hire general rise. Henderson and Con-"an army of inspectors" or 'snoopers" to check on prices. for freezing of all wages. A few pretty actresses have

The answer of the unions to both Congress and Henderson should be clear and curt: "You talk about controlling

prices or compliance with the 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 themdon'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."

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 gress will begin howling again reported this week the existence of a powerful ring of tire boot-

leggers 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 apiece. People acquainted with the operations of the ring have been warned not to "squeal" or they would get a dose of hot lead. Bribery, probably of law enforcement agents, is also reported

WEALTHY BUY

But the report of the Senate BOOTLEG' TIRES Committee on Small Business, AND 1942 CARS made last February, indicated that

In addition to bootlegging the number will be far greater tires, the ring has begun the illegal sale of 1942 model automo-At that time, the Committee rebiles. According to Bates Booth, ported, a mere 56 firms had reattorney for the OPA, "They are bought from dealers in the East tracts and over 174,000 companies

This is clearly a sign that the

October, according to a War had not received any war orders and driven out here. The most expensive makes are most popular."



the Workers Defense League and other organizations conducted a hard up-hill struggle to rally support for the condemmed sharecropper and four times won

own people, without caring who wields this whip. "DEMOCRACY"

defense, defend only their profits and privileges. When their privil-By PHILIP BLAKE About the most contemptible

Another precious lesson which Petain's declaration teaches the workers is about the meaning of capitalist democracy. For more than sixty years Petain was a soldier, "a servant of the Republic."



For the job of policing force is such a vast and ramified field eged position, within their own that it could never be effectively countries becomes endangered, as carried out even if Henderson got was Petain's, they will think only twice or ten times the appropriaof using the whip against their tion and the personnel which h

requested. of price ceiling enforcement lies in the direction of mobiliz-

compel compliance with the

More than 24,000 manufacuring establishments will be ceived 75% of army and navy conforced out of business before Production Board forecast at all.

Early this week Henderson announced a "complete reorganization" of the consumer division of OPA in an obvious effort to take off some of the pressure. But he has not relaxed at all his opposition to mass participation in the price control program. Henderson, one of the chief

lowed 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 coats (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 mention (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 somthing, 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 intcrests" and resulted in sowing "racial discord at a critical time when every loval 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 aimost 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 come 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)

The United States Suchair the Stalinists remained as preme Court. Twice, while silent as the tomb. Waller sat in death row, ap-Then last month, when the peals for Supreme Court re-

Waller case began to receive naview of the case were made tion-wide attention, when it was and deputies. by counsel for the defense. clear that the Negro masses were Twice this Court which has fighting mad about the attempts been filled with a majority to carry through the legal lynchof 'New Deal "liberals," reing, the Stalinists broke down fused to halt the execution and said something. - each time without a state-

> 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.)

of justice." Virginia's Governor Colgate W. Darden, Jr. Elected by the poll tax which excludes the overwhelming majority of Virginia citizens

Another and somewhat longer anti-Nazi opposition. But it is article in the Daily Worker the. possible from an incomplete surnext day showed that the Stalinvey of German newspapers pubists had adopted the formula put lished since the beginning of the forth by Davis for covering up war to draw certain conclusions. their treacherous role throughout The Nazis themselves have the whole case. That formula claimed on more than one occacalled for paying a little lip-ser- | sion since the war began that all political opposition to Hitlerism vice to the need for defending Waller-and hurling the most within Germany, has been destroyed. The organ of the SS damnable slanders at the defend-(Elite Guards), * Das Schwarze ers of Waller. This was the for-

mula followed by the Commun-1940: ist Party up to and past the ex-

ecution.

On June 30, the same day even the very last remnant of polthat poll-tax Governor Darden itical opposition has dissolved issued his statement authorizinto nothing." ing the Virginia executioner to WHAT THE GERMAN go ahead with the murder of PAPERS REVEALED Waller, the DAILY WORKER But according to their own

published a story approvingly press releases since then, this was quoting Darden's attacks on wishful thinking. On October 12, the Workers Defense League 1940, they reported the execution for issuing a "malicious" pamof four German workers. The phlet "filled with falsehoods" charge against them mocks the on the Waller case. SS statement: "Karl Hoffman,

This aid from one of Waller's Erich Schulz, Willy Tesch and hangmen, the Stalinists thought, Herman Chill, members of an illegal organization, attempted to of "criminal offenses," which s a good way to attack the Workers Defense League, which is gaining support in many offensive value of the army." quarters for its vigorous defense Some of the leading German campaign, and at the same time papers from December 1939 to divert attention from the Stalin-(Continued on page 3) which the Stalin-Hitler pact

hen it became necessary in the regulations. This step alone interests of his class, the "servant" blithely threw the Republic would not solve all the probinto the garbage can together with lems of concealed and open inits venerable president, senators flation, but it would be a thousand times more effective than

Now Petain speaks to his people Henderson's plans. in the tones of a feudal lord to his serfs: "A nation has to be whipped sometime." Petain re-

(Continued on page 2)

ness. Hundreds of trade unions and How many more of the counconsumers' organizations have try's 185.000 manufacturing escalled on the OPA to institute tablishments will be forced to

such a program, and have vol- close down before the war ends. mains what he has always been unteered the services of their nobody can now predict with cermembers in carrying it out. But tainty.

Opposition To Hitler Still Fights On Inside Germany

By B. JOHNSON

Executions in Poland, the Balkans, France and the other broadcasts written and distributed occupied countries testify to the existence of resistance to the attacks on the Fuehrer, and the fascists. But what about Germany itself? Is there unity behind army. The papers mentioned 82 persons by name who were senthe Nazi rulers? Is there an opposition? tenced to a total of 3713 months

The writer does not pretend to have any special informaof penal servitude for having tion about the existence of an **E**

was in effect, reported 19 executions for political activities. They ranged from the printing of leaflets to participation in the building of an illegal party apparatus. These executions were spread throughout the

political illegal work. In addition, during the same period, the fascist press announced a list three times as long

women were given from 12 to 3 ranged from communication with years' sentences for participating in an "anti-militaristic organization.'

And naturally the fascists use IN RECENT WEEKS additional methods to destroy

There is no reason to believe their opponents, often not bothering to go through the formalities that the resistance has disappearof a trial. During this same 18 ed or decreased just because Cormonth period, there were reports many is now at war with the of 37 cases of "political suspects" United States and German news who were "shot while resisting papers are no longer received in arrest." (Cases of people accused this country,

On May 20, 1942, 48 hours after weaken by terror and sabotage the might mean anything, are not in- a very heavy RAF attack, the ofcluded in this list). ficial German news agency, DNB.

On May 20, 1941, Johann Wild reported the discovery of a "comwas executed for listening to the munist organization" in Mannthem in the establishment of a the middle of 1941, during British Broadcasting Corporation heim and the execution of 14 peoworld socialist federation of se-'and having with help of these ple. Four days later 8 anti-fas- curity and peace.

Since then, the nade last month. Board has paid a little lip-service The companies produce ato the idea of granting contracts bout 4 million dollars in goods each year, representing 13% of the nation's productive capacity and 8% of the volume of busi-

ity for the masses.

forces after the war.

ed the workers from achieving

security, will be in even strong-

opposition, reported by the

Nazis themselves, and at least

as significant as the reports of

resistance to the Nazis in the

er control than before.

executions in Germany.

so much emphasis!

than 24,000.

Shut Down, WPB Says

cars are bought by the more and sub-contracts to small busi- wealthy people, who are fond of ness, and has set up a special lecturing to the workers about committee to handle this. But no- the necessity for abiding by "law, thing has really been done, as the and order." latest figures show.

In all major details the opera-The government spokesmen tions of the oil bootleggers along make a lot of speeches about how the Atlantic Coast and the tire after the war is over there will bootleggers on the West Coast be plenty of production and secur- resemble the early activities of the "black market" agents in Eu-

But the cold facts behind these rope, who sell at tremendously speeches belie the nice-sounding inflated .prices the commodities promises. The facts are that which the various governments through their dollar-a-year agents have frozen or put under price in the government procurement ceilings. In every case where agencies, the big monopoly cor commodities became scarce in porations are using the war not these European countries, large. only to reap tremendous profits quantities have been diverted now, but also to lay the ground from the legal market where the work for greater monopolistic conprices are frozen to the bootleg trol of the nation's productive market where the sky is the limit

SIGN FOR THE FUTURE The facts are that after the INDICATES BOOTLEGGING war the same forces whose domination of the productive IN WIDER FIELDS forces before the war prevent-

Of course most commodities in this country are still available, even though at much higher prices than two years ago. But the comparatively minor opera-

tions of the tire and oil bootlegcists were reported shot in Berlin and 3 sentenced to die in Ham- gers are a sign of what is to burg. As yet no names or details come in the future unless control are available about these latest and policing of prices and rationing is placed in the hands of the

workers and consumers' organi-All this opposition is wartime zations. For when the scarcities begin to make themselves felt next year, bootleg operations will expand throughout the country. occupied countries, on which and workers who need certain the capitalist press here places commodities will find themselves forced against their will to pa-

American anti-fascist workers tronize the bootleggers. Then should not permit themselves to their living costs will reach new. be misled by capitalist propa- unheard of levels. If their wages ganda and the difficulty of getting are frozen at that time, it will information from within Germean a drastic slash in their livmany: we have real allies inside ing standards. Germany, who are risking their

The workers must redouble lives daily to organize the overtheir efforts now, to combat all throw of Hitlerism. In the final attempts to freeze wages. They analysis, it will be these allies must fight for a rising scale of of ours who will destroy the terrible system of capitalist oppress. wages to meet the rising cost of ion in Germany. Let us help them | living.

by working to set up a Workers' At the same time the workers and Farmers' Government in this country which will lend them must insist that the present plans every assistance and join with to "control inflation" offer no assurance that the workers' standard of living will not be cut.

which is extended till the end of the war. Innumerable sentences are meted out for expressing oppositional viewpoints or having participated in activities" contrary to the incountry and were for specified terests of the state." Specific charges listed include: aiding war prisoners to escape; giving pris-

oners from the Eastern Front in formation about the situation of the German army in the East; repeating atrocity propaganda. Stephen Meyer, former Social-Democratic deputy, received 3 years of penal servitude for the latter

signated as political opponents of the regime. Reasons for the ex-

refugees to espionage. "RESISTING ARREST"

Korps, declared on August 15, of people sentenced to death simply as "traitors." Every two "But now we really have no weeks at least one "traitor" was more political opponents. . . . No,

shot in addition to the people deoffense. Three men and two

ecution of "traitors," when listed,

THE MILLTANT

IOINT LABOR BODIES WHICH

HAVE PASSED RESOLUTIONS SUP-

PORTING THE WORK OF THE

National Convention, United Transport Service

New Jersey State Industrial Union Council, CIO

Steel City Industrial Union Council, CIO, Pitts-

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,

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 mittee of the CRDC included pro-Allied Workers Industrial Union Local 544-CIO, on charges of "seditious conspiracy" and viola-S tion of the Smith "Gag" Act. President Roosevelt that "in some

quest.

Immediately after the indict- way the local be prevented from ment the Civil Rights Defense pursuing this dangerous course." Committee was organized, and au-The American Civil Liberties thorized to take charge of the de- Union on August 21 stated in a fense in the case, publicize the letter to Attorney General Bidimportant issues involved, and dle: "It is reasonable to conclude 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 hy passing resolutions of support and sending financial aid to the Committee.

ORIGIN OF INDICTMENT

The indictment followed the truck drivers on June 9, 1941, from the AFL Teamsters International, and their affiliation with a directed verdict.

The 18 were found guilty under the Religion and Labor Foundathe CIO. This action had taken place after Daniel J. Tobin, AFL provisions of the Smith "Gag" Act tion, the Church Emergency Re Teamsters President, had attempt | of 1940, which made the advocacy | lief, and many other progressive ed to impose a dictator-receiver of socialism a crime. All were ac- and religious organizations rallied on Local 544. The indictment fol- quitted of the "seditious conspirto the defense. lowed an appeal from Tobin to acy" charge.

Nation-wide support was rallied to the defense. The National Comminent figures from many fields and of diverse political views.

> served as chairman: vice-chairmen are John Dos Passos, wellknown novelist, and Carlo Tresca. editor of the anti-fascist paper Il Martello. George E. Novack is the national secretary.

ernment arose from the Presi-

the convictions and called for The labor movement recognizes support to the defense. that the use of the criminal code The American Civil Liberties against one labor organization in Union, which has actively assisted favor of another constitutes a the defense, declare, "No more dangerous precedent for governimportant issue of civil liberties ment interference in the internal in the courts has arisen in many affairs of the unions. years. After a 5-week trial beginning The Nation, the New Republic,

on October 27, 18 of the defend- and many other liberal publicaants were convicted and sentenced tions condemned the prosecution to 16 month and 12 month prison and convictions as a violation of disaffiliation of the Minneapolis terms. Five of the defendants had free speech and democratic rights been previously discharged by the The Union for Democratic Acjudge, and five were acquitted on tion, the Workers Defense League the General Defense Committee

LITERATURE OF THE CASE Two pamphlets were published nesota, and The Bill of Rights in

\$50.00.

were established by the CRDC in (116 University Place, N. Y.) has cities from coast to coast. To pub- published two pamphlets on the licize the case the CRDC sponsor- trial. The first, Socialism Or ed the branches of the CRDC, Workers Party, and one of those speaking at open meetings and beconvicted, contains his verbatim fore many sympathetic organiza- testimony; the second, In Defense tions, on the issues confronting Of Socialism, by Albert Goldman, the labor movement in the case. chief defense counsel and also one of the convicted defendants; con-V. R. Dunne, one of the 18 convicted in December, made a coasttains the closing address for the to-coast tour, visiting every defense to the jury.

The case is now being prepared for appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis. spoke before meetings sponsored and organized by CIO councils It will probably be heard there and local unions, and in the in October, the CRDC announccourse of his tour attracted many ed. It is expected that the apliberal friends to active participapeal to the U.S. Supreme tion in the Committee's work. As Court, in which the constitua result of the tour of Dunne, new tionality of the Smith "Gag" branches of the CRDC were set up act will be tested for the first time, will take place some time

By the energetic work of the in February, 1943. The CRDC local committees, and by is now appealing to all friends means of contributions sent in of civil liberties to contribute by individuals and organizatoward this fight to carry the tions the CRDC provided the case to the highest courts, finances necessary to carry on which will necessitate the exthe case. Over \$15,000 was penditure of over \$5,000. raised in the first year of the case, the CRDC announced this CRDC upon the request of Teamweek. Contributions from local sters Local 544-CIO has under unions have continued to arrive taken to give assistance in the an in a steady stream since the. peal of the district court convic beginning of the war, the donation of Kelly Postal, local secre tions ranging from \$2.50 to tary-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 by the CRDC: WitchHunt in Min- deportation charges as well as state charges. The Committee has Danger, both written by George announced that it must raise Over 35 active local committees E. Novack. Pioneer Publishers \$1500 to fight these state cases.

what has been the cause of this

antagonism? Zionists time and

again have acknowledged that

Britain has intentionally foster-ed antagonism of Jew and Arab

in order to be able to divide and

rule. Yet today these same Zion-

ists are trying to forget what

ing directly into the hands of

the British - to say nothing of

the fact that they are thus mak-

ing it easier for Hitler to make

The Jewish and Arab workers

and peasants have a common

basis for cooperation. That basis

exists in the joint struggle for

independence from imperialist ty-

ranny, the Arab landlords and

Jewish reactionary elements

(Ruttenberg, Plantation Owners'

Association). In this struggle

they will destroy those very ele-

ments which have instigated the

They must join hands in the

1. A Jewish-Arab workers' and

2. Unification of all organized

and unorganized Arab and Jew-

animosity between them.

struggle for:

peasants' militia.

headway in the Near East.

they said yesterday and are play-

List Of Central Labor Bodies And ed two national tours. Dorothy Trial by James P. Cannon, Natio-Schultz, freed-by the judge, tour-nal Secretary of the Socialist 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.

> > CRDC

Employees, CIO

burgh, Pa.

CIO

JOINT LABOR BODIES WHICH HAVE MADE DIRECT CONTRIBU-TIONS 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 In the very recent period the District 11 Council, United Auto Workers, CIO,

Workers, CIO:

No. 3, Detroit, Mich.

45, Cleveland, O.

51, Detroit, Mich.

82, Racine, Wisc.

88, Cleveland, O.

198, Cleveland, O.

203. Detroit, Mich.

212, Detroit, Mich.

260, Newark, N. J.

262, Detroit, Mich.

263, Cleveland, O.

410, Detroit, Mich.

486. Cleveland, O.

511, Newark, N. J.

764, Elkhart, Ind.

818, Detroit, Mich

837. Elkhart, Ind.

805, Chicago, Ill.

Buffalo, N. Y. Joint Council 13, United Shoe Workers, CIO. New York

bint Advisory Council, United Retail and Wholesale Employes, CIO, St. Louis, Mo.

LOCAL UNIONS WHICH HAVE MADE DIRECT CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE CRDC:

Locals of United Auto Locals of Amalgamated **Locals of International Clothing Workers, CIO:** Woodworkers of Amer-No. 169, New . York ica, CIO: 1, (Journeymen Tailors), No. 2-9, Tacoma, Wash. New York · 6-28, Portela, Calif. 3, (Journeymen Tailors). New York Locals of Packinghouse 195, (Journeymen Tailors), 102, Eau Claire, Wisc. Newark, N. J. Workers Organizing Locals of United Con-Committee, CIO: struction Workers Or-216, Southgate, Calif. Agar Local, Chicago, Ill. ganizing Committee, Local, St. Paul, Minn. CIO: **Locals of Oil Workers** No. 135, Chicago, Ill. 398, Torrington, Conn. 172, Chicago, Ill. 407, Milwaukee, Wisc. **Organizing Committee**, 177, Chicago, Ill. CIO: 425, Buffalo, N. Y. 245, Melrose Park, Ill. **Locals of Plaything, Toy** No. 337, Linden, N. J. 490, Highland Park. Mich. 397, Carteret, N. J. and Novelty Workers, 501, Buffaio, N. Y. CIO: **Miscellaneous** CIO 560, Richmond, Calif. No. 225, Trenton, N. J. 578, Oshkosh, Wisc. Unions: 11. V E a 226, Trenton, N. J. 594, Pontiac, Mich. 662, Anderson, Ind. 433, Bridgeport, Conn. Aluminum Workers No. 4, Paper, Novelty and Toy Lo-663, Anderson, Ind. Chicago, Ill. cal, Chicago, Ill. 666, Jackson, Mich. Mine, Mill and Smelter Work-672, Trenton, N. J. Locals of International ers No. 462, Newark, N. J. 751, Roxbury, Mass. Wood, Wire and Metal Lath-Longshoremen and ers Union No. 190, Minnea-Warehousemen Union, polis, Minn. Gas By-Products Coke Work-836, Saginaw, Mich. CIO: ers No. 12065, Edgewater,



Editor. It is entirely possible that such On June 22 there appeared in a Jewish army would be sent to the N. Y. Times an advertisement | India or South Africa to be used addressed to Churchill, paid for as foreign mercenaries to keep by the Committee for a Jewish the native peoples in subjection. Army, and signed by Pierre van Perhaps it would be used to sti-Passen, national chairman of this fle the Arabs fighting for indecommittee. The appeal to pendence in the Near East. Rath-Churchill solicits support for a er than a tool of defense, the Jewish Army based on Pales- Jewish army could easily be used tine. . . (which) will fight on all as a tool of British oppression. required battlefields side by side To the Zionist leaders the Jewwith the United States, Great ish army is a political barter Britain, and the other Allied na- In return for selling the Palestions.'

tinian masses into the service of Simultaneously with this ap-British imperialism, the Zionist peal came the report of the fall leadership hopes to get a few of Tobruk and the advance of concessions in the future. the Nazi forces into Egypt. Pal-Palestine is a nation of 1.650,estine, as a strategic military 000 people, two-thirds of whom point, lies in the path of the and Ampha Can an annar be the

IN MEMORIAM Edwin N. Jaffee

Ronald J. Tearse

David H. Udell

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.

TWO-

James T. Farrell, noted author, branch of the CRDC, and meeting with many trade unionists. He

NON-UNION SUPPORT that the action taken by the gov-

Labor and liberal spokesmen

dent's reaction to Mr. Tobin's rethroughout the country protested in several cities.

	oil felds of the Near Fast and it	ed on Palestine" and yet not in- federation. Abolition of the pre-	854, Syracuse, N. 1.	1-13, San Prancisco, Calif.	N.J. United Mine Workers N
	is no wonder that the Jewish peo-	clude the Arabs? Defense against ent All-Jewish Labor Policy a	ad 856, Akron, O.	1-29, San Diego, Calif.	12160, West Haven, Conn
ORDER NOW	ple everywhere are increasingly	imperialist invasion is as vital in its stead establish an A	^{II-} Lodges of United	Locals of United Elec-	Fur Workers No. 30, Bosto
WITHER WE GAN OF IT OUDDIN FROM	concerned over the possibility of a German invasion of Palestine.	to the Arab workers and peas- ants as to the Jews. Yet the 3. Replacement of the dictato		trical, Radio and Mach-	Mass. State, County and Municip
WHILE WE CAN STILL SUPPLY FROM	This appeal, expressing the	Zionist leaders completely ignore ial rule of the British Coloni			Workers, Newark, N. J.
OUR STOCK	sentiments of a vast section of	the Arabs, that is, the majority Office with a Constituent Areas	No. 1010, E. Chicago, Ill.	ine Workers, CIO:	United Hospital Workers N
	the Zionists, is a very interesting document. We can see clearly		1060, Builaio, N. Y.	No. 203, Bridgeport, Conn. 402, Newark, N. J.	787, Chicago, Ill.
By LEON TROTSKY	from it what is meant by the	The Zionist leadership will re-	1000, 1000g500001, 0.	426, Newark, N. J.	United Retail and Wholesa Employes No. 108, Newar
I STAKE MY LIFE, 24 p. paper	Jewish Army for which some for-	the Arabs on the grounds that New York, N		Locals of Brewery	N. J.
IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION,	ces have been asking.	the Arabs are "antagonistic." But June 29, 194	2. 1725, Newark, N. J.	and the second sec	Newton Tile No. 75, Newto
40 p. paper			1743, Buffalo, N. Y. 1753, Buffalo, N. Y.	Workers, Independent:	N. J.
STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM, 40 p. paper 10	Petain State	"It is necessary first of all	to 1833 Newark N J	No. 2, Newark, N. J. 4, Buffalo, N. Y.	Miscellaneous AFL
LEON SEDOFF, 32 p. paper	I Clam State	ment bares struggle against fascism." But t claws of fascism now extend ov	Lo ro, Lunington Luni, out	148, Newark, N. J.	Bank and an and an
184 p. cloth	Role Of Fre	all of Europe! "We must defe	er 2014, Newark, N. J. nd 2017, Buffalo, N. Y.	Branches of American	Unions:
184 p. cloth 1.25 STALIN SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION, 326 p. cloth 2.50			up 2106. Newark, N. J.		Amalgamated Lithographe
THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN,	(Continued from page 1)	Clemenceau, architects of the rise to the defense of the rest	1st 2111, Trenton, N. J.	Federation of Hosiery	of America No. 1, N. Y.
357 p. cloth	and thus clearly reveals the shere	Versailles Treaty, to Blum and Dut the notion has been hund		Workers, AFL:	Suitcase, Bag and Portfo Makers No. 60, New Yo
WHITHER FRANCE, 160 p. paper	acter of capitalist democracy: an	Thorez, saviors of the regime of into defeat and oppression!	ed 2448, Plainfield, Conn.	Branch 49, Newark, N. J.	manero reo, new re
cloth .50 By the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry	apparatus of domination covered	The only road of salvation f	or Locals of United Rubber	Boonton, N. J., Branch	Miscellaneous
By the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry THE CASE OF LEON TROTSKY (Report of Hear-	over with some decorative cur- tains. Petain has not "betrayed."	FRANCE IN 1936 France is workers' power. Gu	ilt Workers CIO	Locals of Marine Fire-	Independent Unions:
ings on the Charges Made Against Him in the	He has simply lifted the thread-	The recent history of France for the present misfortunes of t French people rests above all	an l	men, Oilers, Watertend-	independent Unions:
Moscow Trials), 600 p. paper		remains incomprehensible if one those who blocked the worke	rs' No. 5, Akron, O.	ers and Wipers,	Mechanics Educational So-
By JAMES P. CANNON		this fundamental fact, in Tunn (march forward, the wretches w	69, Trenton, N. J. 107, Trenton, N. J.	Independent:	ciety, Detroit, Mich.
MEMORIAL ADDRESS "To the Memory of		1936 France had entered a revo- had placed in them: Jouhan	18 120 Chicago III	New York Branch	International Typographics Union No. 103, Newar
the Old Man", 16 p. paper	big polemic has begun between	futionary period. victory was Blum Thorez	182, Rahway, N. J.	San Pedro, Calif., Branch	N. J.
By FARRELL DOBBS	the right and the left over the question of "responsibility." The	with a bold working class leader. Petain's declaration shows t	he 187, Newark, N. J. 205, Trenton, N. J.		
TRADE UNION PROBLEMS, 44 p. paper	right, which now holds power,	ship. The misfortune was that determination and intransigean	ce	A with the second secon	
By ALBERT GOLDMAN	even arranged the Riom trial to	the two workers' parties. Social with which the French capitalisist and Stalinist as well as the defend their class interests. I		C.	e T 1
ASSASSINATION OF LEON TROTSKY, 74 p. paper .15		ist and Stalinist, as well as the defend their class interests. I trade union leadership, did every the workers create a leadersh		. Contents	or July
WHAT IS SOCIALISM?, 48 p. paper	exchanged and we must recognize	thing in their power to check the which has the same fierce loyal	No 87 Patarson N I	EAHDTU INT	EDNATIONAL
32 p. paper		offensive of the masses. to the interests of the oppress	ed 277, Newark, N. J.	FOURTH INT	EKNAIIVAAL
By DANIEL GUERIN	The truth is that both sides are often correct at the same time.	They had no lack of arguments: and their victory is assured!	356, Elizabeth, N. J.	THEIR "PE	ACE" ALMS.
FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS, 339 p. paper50	For us, those responsible for the		363, Roseile Park, N. J. Dyers and Finishers, No.		" by Marc Loris
By FELIX MORROW	present misfortunes of France are		1932, Passaic, N. J.	2. The Soviet Pacts and the I	
REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION	obviously those who held the pow- er in their hands, that is, the	THE CIVIL DICHTS DEPENCE COMMITTEE	Freehold, N. J., TWOC		
- IN SPAIN, 202 p. paper	French ruling class. Its domina-	THE CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE	Locals of Industrial	LABOR UNDER T Roosevelt's Election Pledges -	
cloth 1.00	tion had been maintained alter-	New York Branch			
By VICTOR SERGE	nately by its lackeys of the right and of the left. And both are		Union of Marine and	The United States of Europe.	by Leon Trotsky
FROM LENIN TO STALIN, 112 p. paper	equally guilty: from Poincare and	DANCE	Shipbuilding Workers,	The Wailing Liberals	by Art Preis
	×		CIO:	The Crisis in Agriculture	by C. Charles
Manifesto of the Fourth International		Hotel Diplomat Roof Garden	No. 9, Los Angeles, Calif.	International Notes Stalin's "New" Tradition	hr A Deley J
MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ON IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE PROLETA-	TAL TELEVISION		13, Staten Island, N. Y.		
RIAN REVOLUTION, 48 p. paper	IN HARLEM	Observing	15, Hoboken, N. J.	Book R	eviews
2 set and set and set as a set as the set of set as a set of set of set as a set of set	The Militant	A YEAR OF STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES	44, Bayonne, N. J.		
FOUNDING CONFERENCE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, 127 p. paper		A TEAR OF STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL LIDERTIES	Locals of International	Single copy 20 cents ::	Year's subscription \$2.00
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			155, Brooklyn, N. Y.	9	

JULY 11, 1942



The Pittsburgh Courier pointed out editorially on June 27 that the leaders of the Marchon-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 mem bers 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.

and support of the white work ers, 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 only. The Allies would undoubtare still some white workers misguided by capitalist propaganda who do not know it, but martyrized by Hitler. Niemoelthey can never win real security ler, if still alive, would become and freedom as long as the boss-

es are able to keep the working office. class divided along racial or other lines. The white worker needs the Negro, the Negro see where the Protestant Church worker needs the white worker. guided by the Niemoellers stood during the entire period of reac-The trade union movement tion. Some light is thrown on the needs Negro support in the fight against the employers, the position of the Church in the March-on-Washington movement book written by the Jewish reneeds the support of the great fugee, Leo Stein. This refugee, a trade union movement in the former German judge ousted by fight against Jim Crow. Only the Nazis when they came to through unity will the labor power, met and talked with Niemovement and the Negro moeller in prison. What he tells struggle make progress. is of the greatest importance. Nothing would be better at Since it is told in the spirit of

this stage than for the Marchgreat admiration for Niemoeller, on-Washington movement to say t cannot be considered as preto the trade unions: "We are judiced against the evangelical organizing to fight our own spepastor. cial problems, but we are aware

Through Niemoeller one sees of the connection between our the attitude of the Church to the problems as Negroes and our Weimar Republic. The Weimar problems as workers. We pledge constitution proclaimed the sepayou full support in your fight, ration of Church and State. The we promise to aid you in your formal separation that had theorfight in every way we can. In etically existed prior to the forreturn we ask you for help in mation of the democratic state, our fight, we call on you to was a myth. The Church receivlaunch a campaign to wipe out ed financial support from the vaall traces of racial discrimination that still remain in the larious crowned heads of the German principalities. Stein quotes bor movement, we ask you to insist that the employers cease directy the words of Niemoller: all discrimination in the fac-

RELATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

The natural result of such an "The crowned heads of the appeal to the unions would be states, who themselves derived progress all up and down the line, and particularly the mobilthe right from God, according to the theory of that time, were inization of that kind of support for the objectives of the Marchterested in the moral authority on-Washington movement which of the Church, which, on her the Jim Crow ruling class fears part, did everything she could to justify and confirm those claims by connecting the worldly power 3. The movement must

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

tories."

most of all.

Only a blind man or a fool fenders sitting in the seats of her followers." By A. ROLAND

An Allied victory would bring the attempt to establish some helped boost Hitler to power. The The rude, direct intervention of white workers. Without the aid form of German state satisfactory to the "democratic" victors. Nazi movement felt itself endang- the Nazis in Church affairs with-The dictatorship of the victorious armed forces would at some ered so long as any other move- out any by-your-leave requests 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

ernment, democratic in form matter, since it meant a heavy to forces other than those of Naa very likely candidate for high

gle meeting, many hundreds a-It is therefore of interest to vailed 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."

and the others that the existence of the Evangelical Church depend ed 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. of the Crowns with the mysticism For we took these shibboleths meof the Faith. So the Faith and rely as slogans which would be the Church were protected by useful to attract the masses, their mutual interests. That which would be dropped as soon meant that State did not allow as the Nazis attained power and any attack on Church or religion assumed political responsibility." and that the Church supported Niemoeller was in direct touch with all her power the Crown and with Hitler and gave the Fuehrer State: Furthermore, the Church the support of the Church. The

received financial support from churchmen were also among the the State, so that she could fulfill go-betweens who served to reconwould deny that Jim Crow has her manifold tasks without hav- cile the decrepit Hindenburg, and ler case was using it as a vehicle some of its most powerful de ing to resort to heavy taxation of the conservatives in general, with the middle-class fascists. The Weimar Republic changed The rude awakening of the Nie-

public office and blocking all ef- all of this. Separation of church moellers came after they had

THE MILITANT

Niemoeller Admits Church Helped Hitler To Power

ment remained in existence that made to the incumbent Church ofwas not completely dominated by ficials, brought a very quick rupthe totalitarian state. Even a ture. The Church hierarchy felt Church that was theoretically in- | its interests completely underminunder some German puppet gov- and state became a very pratical dependent, that professed loyalty ed and recoiled-too late!

These interests were then inblow at Church finances. The tional Socialism, might become a terpreted in terms of Holy Docedly turn to some of those state permitted members who did focal point for serious competition trines. The latter had played no Church figures who have been not wish to continue paying mo- and opposition. No organized part at all in the early negotianey to the Church, to discontinue force was to be permitted to exist tions, as admitted by the pastor their membership. Niemoeller unless it was completely integrathimself. Only when the clash bestated: "In Berlin alone, at a sin- | ed into the totalitarian state. That | came one of fundamental interests, meant that the Church was to befinancial and authoritarian, did come another merely subordinate the matter of doctrine assume institution of the state. The "importance." That is the inevi-Church was to become a purely | table conclusion of any objective national affair, subscribing whole- study of the relations between heartedly to whatever doctrines Hitler and the Evangelical suited Hitler. The Nazis were Church. The reactionary attitude quite willing to give financial sup- | and activities of the Church stand port to an institution of this kind, here self-confessed.

The C. P.'s Scab-Like It became clear to Niemoeller Role In Waller Case

(Continued from page 1)

that they have employed at any

time in the last year. They

ist failure to say anything about | the case.

said: "President's Roosevelt's THEIR MAIN THEME failure to speak out and to in-When their source for quotatercede in the name of simple tions then condemned Waller to justice and national unity, is to be deplored." Deplored! As long as Roose-

Darden and others for giving For two days later, on a page devoted to the Waller case and the polltax, The Daily Worker an nounced in very large type that Roosevelt too had once said he

was opposed to the poll tax.

the Negro people. "to their real 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.

the role of Roosevelt in refusing tack Roosevelt (for that would "harm the war effort"), they with the delegations of o meet 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. WHITEWASH ROOSEVELT

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

By M. MORRISON

If we eliminate from the agreements which the Soviet Un ion 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 Red Army would have the task, ialist 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 tendencles 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 reestablishment 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

when Stalin is still in power. Without a strong revolutionary party to give leadership to the masses. Stalin may succeeded 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

- THREE

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 hureaucracy to account. We look to the Russian workers to play a decisive role in thwarting any attempt by Stalin either to crush 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' re-volution 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 stav in office. It is almost a classic formula for free trade under capi-One would be foolish to make

a positive assertion that Stalin

intends to abide by the implica-

tions of this provision. Observ-

is, destroy the basic instrument

freely would result in undermin-

ing 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 for-

eign trade monopoly, Stalin

will hardly introduce a measure

which will threaten the very ex-istence of the caste which he

leads.

die. the Stalinists criticized him for his "stupidity." From then on, they concentrated on one velt has such servile tools as the main theme: The execution of Stalinists in the working class, Waller is bad because it will give no wonder he feels he can get a-"the foul and hypocritical defeatway with such things. ists" an opportunity "to divide national unity and weaken our But even so, there must have whole war effort" (July 2, Daily been some complaints from the Worker). And after Waller was Stalinist leaders about such strong language against their electrocuted, they continued to lament about the "stupidity" of 'commander-in-chief.'

"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 Since nothing else on the page lament. They were worried about | had anything to say about the the bitterness of the Negro and Waller case and Roosevelt's role concerned with curbing it. The in it, this was obviously an at-Harlem C. P. functionary, A. W. | tempt to whitewash the Presi-Berry, announced the holding of dent who has three times been a Waller protest rally-the first elected to the highest office in meeting they held on the case the nation with the aid of the was 3 days after Waller's death poll tax and the poll taxers. -whose aim would be to awaken

stakes in the war." And naturally, when the Stalinists' chief concern in the Walfor gaining support for the war from the Negro masses, they could not be too critical about

And since they couldn't at-

Union. If these provisions were to be strictly observed. then the together with the British imper-

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

by legislation. Congress refuse to pass anti-lynch and anti-polltax 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 ver bally 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 par ty controlled by the workers' organizations, particularly the un ions 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.



(Continued from page 1)

and brutal ruling class of the south which rules by the rope, the torch and the poll tax, of the capitalist class of employers and landowners who openly stated on June 29 during the last hearing on the Waller case that if Waller escaped the chair, a wave of violence would break out against the Negroes in Pittsylvania County, and that from then on Negroes would get lynchings instead of trials.

In the eyes of this ruling class the struggle to save Waller had become a symbol. For them the murder of Waller was likewise a symbol.

The working class, Negro and white, must also regard the death of Waller as a symbol — and as a lesson.

It is a symbol of the ruling class's unrelenting hatred for all those who challenge the system where the Negro must "stay in his place" regardless of what his white masters do to him. where the sharecropper must not fight back against his landlord even in self-defense.

It teaches the lesson that the working class cannot expect anything from the capitalist courts but class injustice. That they cannot get any concessions from the capitalist class except by conducting the most irreconcilable class struggle against them. That they must prepare themselves, when they fight for their rights, to resist all the violence that the capitalists can organize.

* * *

Good-bye, Odell Waller. Take your place beside Sacco and Vanzetti, Joe Hill, the Haymarket Martyrs and the other sons of the working class who like you never had a "chance" for justice in the capitalist courts.

The N. Y. Times, which donned a semi-liberal mask in writing about your case during the last weeks of your life, took it off the day after you were killed. "Odell Waller," their editorial said, ". . . is beyond all explanations or forgiveness. . .It will never again be of much importance to determine whether or not he intended to kill Oscar Davis, and whether or not Oscar Davis had cheated him."

Do not fear, Odell Waller. The advanced Negro and white workers will not be deceived by the attempts of the capitalist press to gloss over the significance of your case. We shall not forget you or the fact that you were killed because the bosses fear the working class.

We shall not forget you, and we shall not rest until we have avenged your death and the sufferings of the million other Odell Wallers in the south who may die more slowly and with less publcity than you received, but who are no less the victims of the capitalist-landlord system of exploitation and oppression.

We shall avenge you, Odell Waller, by the abolition of that system and the creation of a new society where humanity will live in brotherhood and peace.

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 | to learn from the Nazis.

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attacked - the Trotskvists. James Ford, one of the main speakers declared that "mishandling of the case by the Trotskyists did great harm to Waller." He urged that "the errors they committed be adequately investigated!"

But while the editorial of

Truly, when it comes to brazen slander and hypocritical defamation, the Stalinists have nothing

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

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.



ing this clause of the agreement would mean that Stalin must destroy the monopoly of foreign trade in the Soviet Union, that of the Soviet government for guarding nationalized property in peace time. To permit canitalists to send their goods into the Soviet Union and sell them

FOUR-



"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

- 1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
- 2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
- 3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries-Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
- 4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- 5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- 6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- 8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

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.

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 Right's 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 - they 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:

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 the British Egyptian Treaty, transportation to India, and its strategic position because of which nominally made Egypt a

geography and its position as cultural center of the Mohammedan the Egyptian Legislative Assem-

world. bly tried to get passports from Since the Egyptian monarch Britain and France to attend the Abbas was considered a supporter Paris Peace Conference of 1919 of the Germans, he was deposed they were turned down. Not only by the British and a Sultan was were they denied the passports, found to fill his place. The counbut having made themselves obtry was placed under martial law noxious to the British by insistand 1,000,000 natives. one-thiring on their right to attend, they teenth of the population at that were summarily arrested and four time were enrolled in a labor arof them, including Zagloul Pasha, my under British supervision. nationalist leader, were exiled to The role. of the Egyptians in the Island of Malta.

According to the White Book this drafted army was not very pretty. According to Arthur Setpublished by the Egyptian deletel, writing in the Feb. 1941 Livgation to the Paris Peace Confering Age, "objections availed little. ence, this is what happened: The Fellahe'en continued to scrub THE WHITE BOOK

mules . . . Expenses of the British Army were met out of the fused passports by British and Royal Egyptian Treasury."

"We also commandeered food, French. Four leaders arrested and deported to Malta. fodder, animals," says E. M. Forster of the Labor Research Dedents of Al-Ashar University department, London, "often paying monstrated peacefully. tardily and inadequately. Before the war was over the countryside had experienced under British demonstrations were machine volley of shots which killed a auspices many of the exactions of an Oriental despotism; and as certain number. prices rose and pneumonic influenza took its toll the misery and demonstration were machine discontent increased." gunned.

AFTER THE WAR "After the war . . . " he contiish Army in Cairo fired directnues, "martial law was sterner ly into unarmed groups on the than ever and they (Egyptians) streets.' A rebellion which included the were treated as members of a subject race. They were the more amazed because President Wilson dynamiting of bridges and mining had proclaimed and Great Britain had adhered to the principle of of railroads. But the British refused to let go of their burden. self-determination." A deliberate campaign of re-In spite of the fact that the Egyptian government had broken prisals in which whole villages were burned to the ground was off relations with Germany immediately upon the declaration of carried out by the British. World War I, and had interned

Book contains specific sworn tes-Germans as enemy aliens, they were not rewarded as they had hoped. Instead, when delegates from burning of homes and villages per masters.

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 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 aban doned 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 "Delegation to conference retheir "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 compara tively 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 Copts (native Egyptian Chris- have hesitated to arm the Egyptians) flared up in a series of tians.

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 The appendix to the White achieve their own freedom-not to timony and photos of the flog- perpetuate their present oppresgings, robbery, rapine, murders, sors or to secure new imperialist

Hoover-Gibson Present Imperialist Peace Plan

"Next day, March 10, the stu-

"March 11, another peaceful

"March 12, similar peaceful

"March 13 and 14, the Brit-

9. A W

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 enthuse the masses for war?

as the Versailles peace following World War I prepared the present World War II. The book is filled with misstatements. To men-

tion a few:

The authors declare: "Two-thirds of the peo-

Churchill Chides Parliament For Asking Questions By M. STEIN

The British parliamentary score board has recorded another triumph for Mr. Churchiil. 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 fuight, 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 Pariiament. 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

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

"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 Stalinism 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."

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

ple 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 he 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 tho 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 for 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

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 voluble 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**