3rd Anniversary Of The Stalin-**Hitler Pact**

August 23 is an anniversary which the Stalinists would prefer to forget: the third anniversary of the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact. As the catastrophic defeats of the Red Army continue without

a sign of relief, more and more members and sympathizers of the Stalinist parties are beginning to think critically about the Kremlin's whole course. Especially they are re-thinking the question of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

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

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

Current Stalinist Alibis

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VI.--No. 34

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1942

267

FIVE (5) CENTS

INDIA PEASANTS JOIN FIGHT

The Four Freedoms In India

Hitler Bans Trotsky's Works In France

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

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

......

OPA Permits **New Rise In Food Prices**

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

As a result of these price advances, the overall increase in food costs will be about $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ This increase will strike particularly hard at the lower paid workers' families which spend nearly half their income for food. The price advances represent a victory for the food manufacturers who demanded an increase in the price ceilings of these items. They claimed they could not secure normal profits unless the prices were boosted.



CONGRESS PARTY

HEADQUARTERS





Bayonne Strike Broken By FDR, Union Heads and WLB

only that the workers would not ernmental seizure of the plant 'Seizure' of Plant Is get their wage demands grant- "must under no circumstances be ed, but also possibly that the construed as an endorsement of Entirely In Interests night workers might not even the attitude of the employes who get the 3 cents recommended by precipitated such action. Of the Management he WLB. FÓR PLANNED EVEN In a press conference Bowen MORE DRASTIC ACTION said that the Navy was operating Roosevelt was prepared to folthe plant with the assistance of low up his "seizure" order with Cable Corporation in Bayonne, the same private managers who even more drastic action. According to the July 15 N. Y. Times: Washington official said "the

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

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

By Felix Morrow

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

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

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

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

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

Such blanket fines on peasant villages has been a characteristic British punitive device during previous struggles of the Indian peasantry. The "sabotage"

reported may be, in reality, as in agricultural implements and a previous struggles, a decision by few cattle. Purchasers are not the village not to pay taxes and rents.

BRITISH STRIP PEASANTS

Since the blanket fine is invari-

ably not paid by the village, the

next step of the British is to sell

to be found in the neighborhood; often the British bring moneylenders from considerable distances to bid in the auctioned goods. The auction can be carried out only under the cover of troops and machine-guns.

the peasants' belongings at auc-Blanket fines are but one means tion to pay the fine. Usually the used by the British to punish peasants involved do not own whole villages. In previous strugland, and the belongings consist gles villages have been bombed of a miserable hovel, primitive by airplanes and machine-gunned by armored trains. A notorious nstance of this was in Punjab

The Lies of 1939

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Pact Strengthened Hitler

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

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

The complete surrender of the Cracking down on the 1000 government is clearly shown by the statement of Paul S. Willis, striking workers of the General president of the Grocery Manufacturers of America, who said that the plan for price increases N. J., President Roosevelt last ran the plnt before the strike. A ', contemplated by the OPA, as I week ordered the Navy to take Navy would not run the plant understand it, is patterned after the urgent suggestions which the over the plant and operate it in any fiscal sense but that confood industry repeatedly made to until he determines that it "will the agency during the last few months.' ner consistent with the war ef- August, 15). In other words, the government accepted the manufacturers' fort."

terms (suggestions). In this way the administra-The manufacturers withheld tion demonstratively indicated goods from the grocery stores in order to secure the price in creases. While store shelves were those cases where the trade union empty, and consumers were answered with "All out" when restraining the workers from inthey requested these articles, the warehouses were overstocked. dependent action against anti-la-This was admitted by the spokesbor decisions of the War Labor man of the grocer manufacturers. Board. In his statement Willis reveal-

ed how the manufacturers had the General Cable workers placed pressure on the OPA to secure the price rises and how by both local and national leadthe manufacturers are now prodding the OPA to get prompt acternational Brotherhood of Election. The weapon they used and trical Workers - voted to return are using is the threat to stop to work. Their rank-and-file processing food. They are prestrike leaders hailed Roosevelt's pared to let the food rot on the order as some kind of victory ground unless they secure their for the workers. But the adminprice increase. Willis stated: istration quickly made it clear "Time is of the essence . that its aim in sending in the and the formula (for price in-Navy was to break the strike and creases) will only have value if

nothing else. it comes in time to permit harvesting of the ripening EXPLAINING THE ORDER

crops. . The first statement of Admiral In plain language, people could Bowen, now in charge of the go hungry, but if the food manuplant, said, "Any interference facturers did not receive their with the operation of this plant "normal" rate of profit, the food is an offense against the United could decay in the fields! States."

Instead of exposing the cold-His second statement dealt with blooded attitude of the food conditions, including wages, in processors, Henderson hastened the plant while it was under Navy | of the 31 are engaged in one way to place himself completely at control.

heir service. The workers had struck in pro-There was no cry of indignatest against a War Labor Board tion on the part of the government and press at the manucent an hour increase, plus an facturers' open threat to starve additional 5 cents an hour for interest-through purchase of the masses. The President did not workers on the night shift. Basdenounce, Henderson did not ing itself on the "Little Steel formula," the WLB had rejected Bell Telephone System with total scream about the danger of inflation, the capitalist press did the workers' demands and voted assets of \$5,893,000,000. Included not print editorial protests, there was no outcry from the radio increase for night workers. commentators. Not even a whisper about "equality of sacriwages, hours and working condifice." Why? Because here the tions in effect before the strike Chase National Bank. These are bosses' profits were affected, not

the workers' wages.

trol over all matters except labor relations would remain with the be privately operated in a man- old management." (N. Y. Times, Secretary of Navy Knox also

informed the workers that gov-

how it is prepared to act in War Adds Number leaders can't carry out the job of Of Trusts Worth **More Than Billion**

The next day, on August 14, 3 New Billionaire whose strike had been repudiated Outfits In 1941 As ers of their union, the AFL In- Capitalists Prosper

There are now 31 "billionaire" business enterprises in the United States. Since the beginning of the war the number of billionaire companies has increased by three. There were only 20 such companies in 1929.

These 31 billionaire setups had total resources at the end of 1941 of \$66,516,476,898. The total for these same firms jumped

government bonds.

HARLEM WORKERS TO

NEW YORK, Aug. 17 - An The largest enterprise is the nouncing its wholehearted support of the Indian struggle for independence, the Harlem Workto grant only a 3 cent an hour in the list are General Motors, ers Club reported today that it Standard Oil, U. S. Steel, the will hold a mass meeting in sup-Bowen's statement that the Metropolitan Life Insurance, port of the Indian struggle on Consolidated Edison and the Friday, August 28, 8:30 P. M., at its headquarters, 72 West 125 St. would continue so long as the the greatest business units in the Speakers for the meeting will be ment that outright wage freezing Navy was in control meant not world in their respective fields. announced later this week.

WLB Acts Against province in 1919 by troops under General Dyer. The same Dyer perpetrated the Amritsar mas-**Demands of Alcoa** sacre of 1919, when his troops fired on a peasants' meeting, **And GM Workers** killing 379 men, women and chil-"If the workers had refused to dren and wounding 1200 more. end their defiance, the President

By two actions last week the Reports during the last few days of attacks on district courts War Labor Board has made it and police stations are another clear that its "Little Steel forsign of peasant activity, for these contemplating a 'work or fight' | mula" is aimed above all at district buildings are out in the countryside. order under which those who preventing the organized workers from achieving their justi-PRO-BRITISH PROPAGANDA Gleaning these facts about the

red from employment in any war fied demands for wage inndustry and those classified as indispensable on occupational creases.

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

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

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

Ford. Under this formula the Ford workers, who also are requesting a dollar-a-day increase, would be entitled only to 1.5 cents an hour. These two decisions make it abundantly clear that the "Little Steel formula"-which has been accepted by Philip Murray and other CIO leaders-is a weapon that can have the same disastrous consequences for the labor move-

would have.

GM wage levels up to those at

weekly bulletin of Consumers Union.

ture the Congress campaign as declining and as involving only small numbers of people. The British require this picture in order to cover up the vast extent of their repressions, Perhaps the best expression of

development of peasant struggles

from the American press dis-

patches is a difficult business.

for, quite apart from the rigid

British censorship, the American

press as a whole is closely co-op-

erating with the British to pic-

this Anglo-American formulawas a letter from a businessman in the August 19 N. Y. Times, referring to "the pitifully few (Continued on page 2)

Who Gets

The Cream! "OPA statisticians have estimated that national income will grow by about \$11,000.-000,000 during 1942. where is this money going?" Well, more than \$8,000,000,000 of it, or about 75 percent, is going into the income groups earning \$5,000 a year or more; \$7,000,000,000 of it, or 64 per-

cent, is going to the income groups earning \$10,000 a year or more. And only 6 percent of the nation's income earners are in the above \$5,000 groups. "There are precious few wage-earners who ever saw \$5,000 a year. The fact is that the increased national income is enriching the 75 percent of

earning less than \$2500 a year least of all." -From Bread & Butter.

the families and individuals

ROLE OF LABOR LEADERS The labor leaders in this case did their bit in helping the administration to defeat the demands of the workers. Although the AFL and CIO

leaders had tried to justify their no-strike pledge on the ground that the labor leaders would protect the workers' interests before the War Labor Board, the AFL representative on the WLB, Rob-

was prepared to order troops sent

to Bayonne and guarantee pro-

tection for those who wanted to

work, it was learned. He was also

stayed out would have been bar-

draft exemptions."

ert J. Watt, joined the employer and "public" members of the Board in the decision against the General "Cable workers. And after the workers had vo-

ted unanimously to reject the Board decision, AFL President William Green and IBEW Presi-

dent Edward Brown ordered them to return to work. When this failed, AFL and CIO representatives joined with the other members of the WLB in asking Roosevelt "to proceed with" such action as you deem appropriate" - an appeal which was

immediately followed by Roosevelt's "seizure" order.

or another with the war program; they produce munitions and war supplies; transport decision refusing to grant a 10 goods and men; and finance the HOLD MEETING IN war program-at a good rate of SUPPORT OF INDIA

All the members of the group

more than 3 billion dollars in that vear.

TWO-

- AUGUST 22, 1942

File Defense Arguments For 18 In District Court

Decision In Minneapolis Convictions May Be Handed Down by December of This Year dicts that the capitalist minority

The Civil Rights Defense D Committee announced this week | cused of "advocating" overthrow that briefs on behalf of the of the government. The defense eighteen members of the Social- contention is that the Smith ist Workers Party and leaders victions were obtained is unconof Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO, who were convicted last December and sentenced to prison terms under provi- in a constitutional manner in this sions of the Smith "Gag" Act, | case. have been filed with the Clerk of the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis. This is the first proof in the record of the prosestep in the appeal of the Minneapolis convictions to the higher

Federal courts. The government will reply to September, following which the tion of insubordination in the ardefendants can file a reply brief my which is claimed by the govif they deem it necessary.

DEFENSE ARGUMENTS

questions involved in the trial, in which the defendants were ac- gument in its brief that the So- nue New York City.

cialist Workers Party does not a vocate violence, but simply pre-

will not permit the majority to take power and will use violence to prevent the majority from do ing so, and that consequently the workers should prepare to defend their right to take power. "Gag" Act under which the con-Defense attorneys who filed the

brief are: Osmond Fraenkel and stitutional: the defense further contends that even if the law is James Lipsig of New York; M. J. Myer and Albert Goldman of Chiconstitutional, it was not applied cago; Gilbert Carlson and David Shama of Minneapolis. It is ex-The latter contention is made pected that oral argument will take place in the Circuit Court of in view of the fact there is no

Appeals sometime in November, cution's case that the circumwith a decision likely in Decemstances under which the alleged ber. conspiracy was entered into creat-The Civil Rights Defense Comed any danger of the overthrow mittee, which has taken charge the defense briefs at the end of of the government, or the crea- of the Minneapolis cases since the indictment in July 1941, is appeal-

ing for funds to finance the apernment. The defense attorneys peal of the convictions. All labor contend that the "clear and pres- organizations and individuals inent danger" doctrine applies to terested in this important case." The defense brief consists of 80 the Smith Law, while the govern- and in the defense of free speech pages of argument on the legal ment takes the contrary position. and civil liberties, are asked to The defense also makes the ar- write to the CRDC, 160 Fifth Ave-

now beginning to rise up in

demand of their independence, so

them to follow the Congress poli-

Spokesmen for A Wave Of Jim Crow Terror Bosses Urge 10° Sales Tax Has Begun In The South

AFL Representative Echoes Big Business

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

ulation. An AFL representative appeared before the Committee. His views, however, bore a remarkable similarity to those of the representatives of the bosses. A Chamber of Commerce spokesman, E. C. Alvord, demanded a 10% sales tax and a 5% withholding tax for all salaries. He made this proposal fully aware that it would mean a cut in the living standards of the

now."

rebates.

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

The Chamber of Commerce representative went on to oppose the limitation of \$25,000 on individual incomes and to advocate a lower excess profits tax. He turbance on the bus and that he agents who seem to be active had not resisted the police offi- throughout the state." proposed that 20% of all taxes

paid by individuals and corporastruck several times." tions should be refunded after Just as the Indian masses are the war in the form of tax

> In other words, the Chamber of Commerce wants the workers

His remarks before the Finance Committee so favored the capitalists class that much of the time it seemed as if the bosses had two spokesmen that day-one

Just as the representatives of

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

By PHILIP BLAKE

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

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

willing to back up their "white In Georgia, Colonel Lindley Camp, commander of the State day, they threatened to go out supremacy" words with action. Especially since the beginning | Guard, has issued an order inof July the tempo of attacks on structing his subordinates to be anti-labor officials were fired by Negro rights has been speeded on the "alert" against "racial disup. In the last week or so alone turbances." He declared that the following things happened: "suspected subversive influences" were attempting to cause race JIM CROW JUSTICE trouble in Georgia and that the

In Beaumont, Texas, a Negro "same condition exists in Alabasoldier, Private Charles J. Reco, ma, South Carolina and other was ordered off a bus because Southern states." he took a vacant seat in a section

"reserved for white passengers." | ON THE "ALERT" FOR Justice, these are the facts: and forced him into the back seat communities have reported efof a police car; that during the forts on the part of Negro.men

trip to police headquarters one and women to demand certain of the officers shot him once privileges which are not granted through the shoulder and once in Georgia and never will be. through the arm. . . Reports to These occurrences are believed to the Department of Justice indi- be the direct result of the work cate that Reco had caused no dis- of white agents and colored

The demand by Alabama's U. cers until after he had been He asserted that the Army, which supervises the State Guard,

line to say good-bye to her. In | ed "riots" and acts of violence addition to beating them, the against Negro troops.

A "new Scottsboro case" in cops arrested several other Negroes who protested against the Louisiana when three Negro soldiers were convicted on charges unprovoked brutality. of "rape" after being threatened In Birmingham, Alabama, a mine company guard assaulted by police that they would be

coroner.

the company.

events:

of one of them.

one else.

at the mine went out on strike

after the killing, and although

they returned to work the next

VIOLENCE, THREATS,

SLANDERS, FRAMEUPS

The arrest of six Negro sol-

litary police, civilian police, sher-

Threats and acts of violence

against CIO organizers and mem-

turned over to the Ku Klux Klan and then shot to death a Negro if they didn't admit guilt. miner, Jack Bloodworth, when he protested against an unauthoriz-JULY EVENTS

ed pay deduction by a company In the month of July, the fol-

clerk. The next day the killing lowing occurrences and statewas declared "justifiable" by the ments were recorded: The legal lynching of share-Both Negro and white workers

cropper Odell Waller in Virginia, with the "liberal" U. S. Supreme Court and the "humanitarian" President refusing to intervene. The brutal lynching of Willie again unless the killer and other Vinson in Texarkana, Texas.

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

press reported the following The beating and arrest of the noted singer, Roland Hayes, and diers in Jacksonville, Fla., by mihis wife in Georgia, and the approval of this action expressed iff's deputies and city police armby Governor Talmadge.

The flat refusal by Alabama's ed with sub-machine guns and service weapons. The soldiers Governor Dixon to accept a war were accused of "attempting to, contract because of his opposiincite a riot" because they had tion to Roosevelt's Executive Orobjected to an arbitrary arrest der 8802, which calls for no disrimination in hiring.

The inflammatory statements by elements such as Horace Wilkinson, Alabama attorney, threatbers in Birmingham, Alabama, because they had stated Negroes ening lynch action against Negroes who ask for their constihad the right to jobs like anytutional rights and advocating the formation of a League to

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

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

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

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

Who can doubt, after examining this incomplete record of six eks in the South, that the most

important place for the Negro

people to be fighting for democ-

racy is right here at home?

BRITISH GOVERNMENT INVOKES FLOGGING IN WEST INDIES Hiding under the cloak of Indies islands) reported that | tion is brought to bear upon their

"The medical Officer stated war problems by the British and phrases about the "Four Freedoms" and the "Atlantic Char-(1935) that every adult above the American ruling class. The misery ter." British and American image of 20 years was affected (by and hunger of their colonial suba deficiency disease) and that jects affects the master class perialists continue their timeworn policy of denial of demothe working life of the population only insofar as it leads to their was reduced by at least 50 per power being threatened by rebelcratic rights and the suppression and exploitation of the colonial cent. lious slaves.

SLOW STARVATION

Slow starvation, however, is

to indicate the extent of the ar-

While the American press of-

their imperialist aims, all atten- | ple.

subjects in their West Indian islands.

Parading as a big-hearted now being replaced by rapid can we expect the West Indian liberal, John G. Winant, U. S. Ambassador to England sententistarvation. In furtherance of colonials to follow their examously proclaimed "There is a chance for a good life for those who live in the fertile (West Indies) islands whose shores are washed by the Caribbean. It is well for us to remember that dependent upon the policies of your government and mine.'

ENGLAND'S POLICY

And what is the policy of England? Only last week, Sir Arthur Richards, British colonial governor of Jamaica invoked the barbaric practise of flogging to curb "sporadic outbreaks of violence by roving bands of hungry, unemployed natives, and to check their panic.'

of Jim Crow.

Peasants Join The their welfare is in large measure **Indian Struggle**

> (Continued from page 1) of whatever complexion have tak-Nationalists" making trouble, but of a cautious attitude. Instead that "After the usual muddling of denouncing Gandhi, who is still the capable hands of the British | the most powerful Indian in Inseem to have grasped the situa- dia, many of them take a more tion and have it well in hand." discreet course, appealing to the Perhaps the only exception to government to release the Conthis false propaganda has been gress chiefs and resume nego-A. T. Steele's dispatches to the tiations."

Chicago Daily News. His August An important index to the growing strength of the Congress bosses. 17 cable was particularly inter-The American contribution to esting as revealing the broad campaign is the August 17 A. P. the equally barbaric institution ing the weekend this correspond- papers in Calcutta voted to susent," he reports, "talked with pend publication indefinitely "in did the AFL representative. Just Business for the purpose of com-



PAID BY WORKERS SPOKE FOR BOSSES

The so-called labor spokesman's Michigan Big Business, alarmed at the growing power of war. In his present job, Raab name was Raymond G. Cranch. the labor movement in this key state, is actively preparing a labor-hating activities behind a ong-range program to smash the trade unions, in cooperation from the Chamber of Commerce,

with so-called farm groups which are nothing more than big agricultural capitalists and their agents. and one paid by a labor organization but speaking for the

A sensational report in the August 7 Michigan CIO News reveals the formation of an "ac-Dtive and open alliance" between as president of a Coldwater bank,

The "meeting ground" of

Last week the CIO News expos-

ed the Michigan Labor Relations

poration executives, out to openly

wreck organized labor unions

the defeat of collective bargaining

through a united front of employ-

ers." Their general program, it

tical lobby of business men to tell

to pass." The money for these

union-wrecking activities will be

raised through assessments of

Michigan's "17,500 corporations

The Michigan State Farm Bu-

reau, far from representing the

organized for profit."

come to a financial agreement, for the Michigan State Farm Bureau, somewhat destroys the possible il- according to the Michigan Labor composed of wealthy farm-owners, Jusion that Coffman is a strug- Relations Service prospectus: the "good life" of the Indies, is character of the struggle. "Dur- report that 14 Nationalist news- the capitalists opposed the \$25,- and the Michigan Labor Relations gling farmer from whom organ-"The farm groups of Michigan 000 a year income limitation, so Service, anti-labor agency of Big ized labor is trying to snatch a will adequately finance their la-

mont chief of police says he is draftee, Herman Lee, and his statement was that Negro sol-

By LARISSA REED

S. Senator John D. Bankhead that Negro troops be taken out of the South or that Northern The Department has announced was "fully aware" of the order. its intention of taking legal ac- In a New Orleans draft office, Negroes not be trained in the tion against the cops. The Beau- police severely beat up a Negro South. The implication in his



According to the Department of LYNCH OPPORTUNITIES His order said: "There have That after he got out of the been reported an unusual num bus, a police officer "struck him ber of assault cases and attempts several times with a nightstick to assault white ladies. Other

And while the good ambassador more than half a dozen well-post- protest against the latest restricspoke so feelingly of his sense ed Hindus, three prominent Mo- tions on newspapers imposed by capitalists wanted a post-war ities. of responsibility to the natives hammedans, a Communist leader the government." Most of these rebate on their taxes, so did this unholy alliance is "the Mich-"Canadian and U. S. troops were and a Parsee mill owner. Except papers, although Congress adherordered out on parade one day for Jinnah, president of the Mosbefore the annual celebration of lem League. . . All these observ-Emancipation Day, commemorat- ers expect that disaffection will ing the freeing of Jamaican grow in scope and gravity unless slaves in 1838. The marching the government arrives at some troops were a tacit warning that | understanding with the Congress Jamaican police are backed by party." armed forces." (Time, Aug. 10.) The same dispatch is the first

NOT THE FIRST TIME

rests by the British. He esti-This is not the first time that mates 900 Congress leaders un- cy. the British have used violence to der detention, and arrests of suppress their colonial subjects. In 1938, the cruiser Ajax and troops from Bermuda were used arrested during the Bombay riotto crush the strikes in Kingston, ing alone." Jamaica.

To further make clear the fers astronomical figures indicathypocrisy of the imperialist slogans of "War to Save Democ-India condemn the Congress cam-"War for the Four Freeracy,' doms" etc., we are informed that paign, the actual fact is that even "1,300 white vigilants patrol the the most reactionary opponents of the Congress dare not approve streets with clubs and revolvers." the British actions, in the face (Time, Aug. 10.)

of the popularity of the Congress Hardly an effort is made to conceal the fact that death from struggle. As A. T. Steele restarvation threatens thousands ports:

"Congratulatory editorials apof the natives. Simple malnutripearing in some sections of the tion, resulting in every deficiency British and American press on disease known has plagued the West Indians from virtually the the arrest of Gandhi and other officials of the Congress have first days of their subjection to imperialist rule. As a matter of had few favorable echoes in this fact, the Governor of Trinidad country. Practically all the In-(probably the richest of the dian political parties and leaders



as the representatives of the bining their unionwrecking activ-Cranch. igan Labor Relations Service plan

ents, had opposed the civil dis-He was asked by Senator for American fascism." obedience campaign when the Vandenburg of Michigan if the Congress committee was voting AFL would favor a sales tax over on it. The papers supporting the payroll withholding levy if Service as "a group of ex-political campaign had suspended publicaforced to choose between the two. office holders, promoters and cortion or had been closed by the The "champion" of labor-in-British on Aug. 11. The latest sus stead of rejecting both, instead pensions therefore indicate overof demanding that the bosses be through restrictive legislation and whelming mass pressure upon forced to pay for the war-stated

> that the AFL would choose the sales tax in that case.

The absurdity of the Anglo-Cranch recommended that the declares, "is to amend the Wagner Congress sympathizers "run into American attempt to picture sales tax should not be applied Act; force government regulation the thousands. Nearly 1,500 were Gandhi and Nehru as firebrands to food and low cost clothing and of unions; abolish all picketing; that 'income tax exemptions settle all strikes by 'compulsion'; who are inciting unwilling or indifferent masses will be realized should begin at \$750 rather than | prohibit unions from engaging in if we recall Gandhi's stand at the \$600 for single persons and at political activity; and form a polibeginning of the war. He then \$1500 instead of \$1200 for ing that practically all groups in announced that to launch civil married persons. It was only in | Congress and the states what laws disobedience to secure independthese timid, inadequate proposals ence while Britain was in peril that he slightly differentiated would be "an act derogatory to himself from the Chamber of

India's honor." He insisted on Commerce spokesman. "symbolic" disobedience instead It seems unfair that the workof mass struggle. ers who belong to the AFL What has happened since then should have to pay the salary of to change Gandhi's mind? The Cranch. Justice demands that the real change has taken place in bill for Cranch's services be sent the minds and hearts of India's to the Chamber of Commerce. masses. They are determined not The Senate Committee gave the to repeat the fate of Malaya, CIO representative about two Singapore, Burma and the East minutes to present the opposition Indies, where the masses remainof his organization to the sales

ed passive while imperialist optax as well the endorsement by pressor and imperialist invader the CIO of the \$25,000 limitation fought it out. They are determon individual incomes. ined to save themselves from both the oppressor and the in-****** vader. British impotence in the Far East has spurred on the THE TRUTH ABOUT growing national self-confidence of India's masses. They are bent WAR-TIME WAGES on taking their fate into their

cided by either the foreign opconsumer units (families and ; individuals living alone) this **3** It is this growing determinayear will receive less than tion of the Indian masses which \$2500. And 43 percent of our has forced Gandhi and the Confactory workers are earning gress leadership to abandon their less than 70 cents an hour -September 1939 decision not to less than \$30 a week. "embarass" Britain during the "Yet the authoritative Hel-

war. Far from "inciting" the ler Committee declares that a minimum wartime budget necessary to maintain a family of four at a level of health and decency requires about \$50 a week.

"Seventy-five percent of

-From Bread & Butter, gan Labor Relations Service, "journeyed to Coldwater to have weekly bulletin of a talk with a Mr. Coffman. The Consumers Union, revelation that Coffman owns and

It develops that Coffman crust. is also president of the creamery knew how adequately, you'd be cooperative of the State Farm amazed." The prospectus further dec-Bureau.'

After this interview, according lares: "The farm group education-

two years.

to the Michigan Labor Relations al campaign is under the direction Service prospectus, C. J. Reed, of the State Farm Bureau Federpresident of the State Farm Bureau "appointed a committee to will be told and told in a winning way." According to the CIO knew him, you'd know the story make a study of and recommend program of labor relations" in way." According to the CIO lose collaboration with the Mich-News this so-called spokesman of igan Labor Relations Service. the farmers became prominent 'Mr. Andrew G. Loman, Manager last winter in a series of conof the Hamilton Farm Bureau and ferences between the State Farm Cooperative was made chairman... Bureau and State Grange on the he Hamilton Farm Bureau and one hand and representatives of Cooperative is big business. They organized labor on the other, do better than \$2,000,000 volume when he helped to smash every per year."

These gentlemen farmers, land and corporation owners have held many conferences since the anpointment of the Committee on March 16 with the Michigan Labor Relations Service. The chairman of the Michigan Labor Relafrom \$25 to \$2,500 "charged those tions Service is Arthur E. Raab who take the "service'" among who was, significantly, one-time chairman of the State Mediation Board. This Board is the state

body appointed by Governor Van Wagoner, which was endorsed by the CIO and has received the support and cooperation of the CIO for a two-year period prior to the

British and the 'Scorched' Earth Time of July 27 gives the following interesting information as a comment on the British attitude toward the "scorched earth policy:"

"London Asiatic Rubber & Produce Co. Ltd., with properties in Malava, issued a report to comfort its stockholders: "'But for the enemy occupalabor unions that they will be tion the financial results for forced to disband." The wealthy the year would have been very satisfactory... At the time of ing to aid in driving a wedge bethe enemy occupation the estates were in good condition and were among the cheapest producers...If the estates, etc., are recovered without having explains the authors of the sustained very serious damage, printed prospectus of the Michithe prospects of this company should again compare very fa-5

vorably with those of any other

producer in the East."

ation's gifted Organization Di-rector, Jack F. Yeager. If you Seattle GRDG

If you

pro-labor cloak, as he did in those

"ADEQUATELY" FINANCED

These farmer-labor-hating con-

spirators have also apparently

To Aid Postal SEATTLE, Aug. 11 - An old-

fashioned melodrama, "No Mother To Guide Her." will be presented here on August 28 by the local branch of the Civil Rights Deeffort made by CIO and AFI fense Committee, official defense spokesmen "to begin discussion on agency of the 18 Trotskvist and a constructive program on which real farmers and industrial work-CIO leaders convicted in Minneapolis last December.

ers could work together." The big corporations and big Proceeds from the affair will be used for the defense of Kelly Poscapitalist farmers will stop at nothing to crush the growing tental, Minneapolis CIO leader, who dency of the dirt farmers and has also been sentenced to jail as a result of the anti-labor drive dairy farmers to organize themselves independently and seek colconducted jointly by the governlaboration with the labor movement and Tobin of the AFL Teamment. Their aim is to divide the sters.

The play will be given in the working farmers from the workers in the factories and break up Reportory Playhouse, E. 41st and their common struggle against the University Way. Tickets, including tax sell for 87c and 58c, and big capitalist interests. This organization is similar to the nomay be purchased at Room, 201, torious Associated Farmers, Inc. 905 E. Pine, Seattle. The show of California. begins at 8 P. M.



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

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

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

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

interests of the working farmers, the CIO News, points out "repre sents interests of the large rich 'farmers' who lay claim to the title through renting farms to tenants, or who operate their

farms by remote control from seaside resorts."

AIM TO SMASH UNIONS "Revelation of the tie-up be-

tions Service and the State Farm

Bureau comes directly from print-

ed literature that has been cir-

culated privately among corpora-

tion heads," declares the CIO pa-

per. A complete section is devoted

to explaining just how the cor-

porations will form a united front

with the 'farmers' to so restrict

farm owners are more than will-

tween the real working farmers

and their brother workers in in-

Last February, the CIO News,

operates three farms and serves

dustry.

tween the Michigan Labor Rela-

AUGUST 22, 1942 -

The "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" - KARL Negro Struggle



_____ By Albert Parker _____

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

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

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

Similarity Between Arguments

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

1. We cannot give you independence now, the British rulers say to the Indians, because it would lead to "internal strife." And the American Negroes are told they cannot have equal-

ity now because it would disrupt "national unity." 2. The struggle for Indian independence at this time leaves

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

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

"After the War" Promises

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

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

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

"Get Off Our Backs" Say Negroes and Indians

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

"You lie when you say that the struggle for our rights aids the Axis. The world has seen what happened to the people of Malaya and Burma as a result of your policies and your rule, and we do not intend to have the same fate befall us. Your

War In Egypt Provides

Some Important Lessons

THE MICITANT

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

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

The amazing advances which •

the German armies are making They regard their own soldiers with more hostility, as being in Libya and Egypt have from a class fundamentally opposed to their own, than they stupefied the workers and solregard the officers of the enemy. diers of Britain and the whole

world. A SPECIAL ORDER This situation could not better At a time when the Russians be illustrated than in the words are performing almost unbelievable deeds of valor in the defense of an N. C. O. correspondent to

of the workers' state against the Hannen Swaffer: "About two days before Tobruk Nazis, the defeats stand out in a fell," he writes, "our commanding particularly glaring light. When officer issued a special order-on nine-tenths and more of the German army is being used in Russaluting."

It appears that the men had sia and to hold down Europe, the fact that the British cannot not been saluting officers riding put up an adequate resistance in cars flying a small flag and in the Middle East, indicates that that this omission of military there is something rotten in the duty was the cause of great British army-and it is not the dismay among the higher com-British soldiers who comprise mand.

"Failure to salute" ran this some of the best fighting material long screed, "shows a lack of in the world. efficiency, a lack of spirit and a The entire blame for the lack of discipline. A soldier who refrigerator tank in 1939! He defeats must be laid at the door of the ruling class and their fails to salute an officer is either Colonel Blimp officer caste which ill-trained, insolent or idle." is responsible for the blood and The document then argued that "all this lack of discipline leads sacrifices which the soldiers are making. The people in controlto wars being lost." Obviously the loss of Tobruk the whole of the officer caste in is due to bad saluting! Libya and Egypt—come from the

The old 'squire' mentality is boneheads of the old school-tie. Not concerned with the welfare still predominant among the officers, who think that a servant of the soldiers, these people are more pre-occupied with "keeping who doesn't tip his hat is a the soldier in his place." Spit discontented fellow-probably a and polish, saluting and "yes trade unionist. "Why should we peer into sirring" are the narrow horizon

beyond which they cannot see. every passing car travelling at



It's a Different

Story Now Editor: Buried in small type on the financial pages of the daily press is the following AP report:

461,767.88."

PM, and the Daily News every "The position of the (U.S.) Treasury July 30: Receipts \$16,- in the subject. I have also read 901,392.93; expenditures \$174,- the Daily Worker. 349 699.42. Net balance \$3.294.

day because I am so interested

425,614.49; total deficit \$81, 583,- they practically all say the same mentally and in their knowledge thing. They are all in favor of of mechanical warfare, are far

I read your paper for the first

time and was very much inter-

I have been reading the Times,

ested by your articles on India.

A DISCUSSION ON MILITARY AND ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM

A Letter To

In his column of June 27, M

Morrison debunks Vice-President

economic imperialism. He, Mor-

rison, seems to believe it quite

possible for the U.S. to create a

colonial empire without the need

for territorial seizure and the ex-

tries. These of course are the

time-dishonored methods of the

ists that in an economic free-for-

It seems to me that the

necessary condition for the

growth and expansion of the na-

tive bourgeoisie. No imperialism

will allow this. These and other

questions call for a clarification

Comradely yours,

the mercy of this squire men-

tality-a mentality which is

closer to the fascists than to the

A. S.

New York

f Morrison's article.

about from 40 to 50 miles per THE MILITANT hour and salute a uniform, which in five cases out of ten, contains Editor: only an A. T. S. driver or an of-

ficer's batman?"

ONE OF THE REASONS

Wallace's recent "people's revolu-The latest defeats have been tion" speech. Wallace's claim that contributed in large part by the the U.S. will do away with blunders and stupidities of the officer caste, by their stifling of economic imperialism is adequately refuted. But at the same the initiative and resourcefulness time Morrison draws a nice of the rank and file soldier. distinction between mflitary and,

One of the reasons for Rommel's victories was the fact that in the terrible heat of the African desert at the hottest period of the year, the British generals concluded that an ofercise of direct political and milifensive was impossible . . . and tary control in the colonial counjust at this period Rommel launched his attack. The reason for his success was French and English empire buildthat, although under normal ers. They were military as wel circumstances tanks cannot oper-

as economic imperialists, says ate in such weather due to the Morrison. unbearable heat-the Germans As evidence to support his bemade use of air conditioned lief that the U.S. imperialists will tanks.

dispense with military imperial-In the Daily Herald of June ism, Morrison cites the following 30, Hannen Swaffer points out: factors: the past history of U.S. "It may, or may not, surprise imperialism, which in the main the War Office to know that a did not include direct political private serving in a tank batand military control; the adtalion conceived the idea of a vantage of a promise to the

colonial peoples which seemingly met only with ridicule. costs U.S. imperialism nothing-"And the desert was our, not freedom from British rule; and German, terrain." finally, confidence of U.S. capital-

EXPERT INSULTED all they can beat any competi-Then, while serving in India, a lance-corporal hit upon a plan tion.

to remove rapidly from heavy evidence is not very weighty. vehicles tires very stubborn to The past tradition of U.S. immove. His commanding officer, much perialism means nothing in view of the tremendous changes takimpressed, had the drawing caring place in the world role of the ried out, and then, when its suc-U.S. The surplus wealth which cess was proved, sent to

permitted the U.S. to play the Ordnance. rich uncle is being devoured by There some Colonel Blimp orthe militarization of the economy. dered him "not to tinker around, Finally, can any imperialist nabut to carry out maintenance operations for wheeled vehicles tion permit autonomy, military as orders lay down." and political, to a native capitalist class? Such autonomy is the

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

Alas, it never reached himbut the wicked inventor was hauled before a junior officer and ordered not to write to the War Office about the invention. . . He had thought of something-

and so he was a naughty boy! These reports give an annihilating indictment of the whole rotten incompetent officer caste of the ruling class. The inventiveness and initiative of the rank and file soldiers is stifled. Soldiers of inventive genius like What I can't understand is how the one described above,

trade unionist. Above all the training of workers to become officers would be a guarantee against any attempt of a sell-out to Hitler or of using the army

against the working class.

That this could take place is shown by the uses to which the

army has already been put to

break strikes of dockers in Liver-

pool and Newcastle and of bus-

men in Glasgow. Tomorrow when

the struggle of the British work-

An Answer By M. Morrison There is of course only one type of imperialism, by which term is meant, roughly speaking, the present stage in the development of capitalism when monopoly has displaced competition, when finance capital has obtained control of the economic life of all advanced countries and when capital is exported, in ad-

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

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

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

Advantages And Disadvantages

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

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

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

American capitalism became the champion of the "open-door" policy, claiming equal rights for imperialists in the exploitation of backward countries. Not because it had anything in principle against political control of backward nations but because it came too late upon the scene and its dominant economic strength made

rule and your policies aid the Axis, and we are fighting to get rid of them so that we will really have the opportunity to defeat the fascists. Victory for our fight will inspire the peoples of Asia. Africa and the whole world to renewed struggles against their oppressors.

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

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

When the New Deal was dish-India having independence, but in advance of their so-called ing out a few lousy shekels for not now. They want the Indians "superiors." In addition to that, relief, the boss press smeared the to wait until the war is over. they are the ones who are connational debt all over the editorial Then if the British win, their cerned with a genuine war page with caustic "we view with army will be stronger than ever against fascism. alarm" comment almost every and they won't have to give Inday. dia freedom. But now that it's Merchants of Didn't that happen during Death who are getting the ben-World War I? I am sure it did. efit in millions of war profits. instead of WPA workers with their bread and soup "wages," the the Daily Worker doesn't want terests of democracy-then let ers. merchants of hokum reserve their the Indians to fight for their them set up schools under the editorial pages for smearing the freedom; consequently since the control of the trade unions to workers and bury the national British won't give them freedom, debt figures where they hope no they will have to do without it.



FOR UNION CONTROL

ers with the ruling class becomes OF MILITARY TRAINING more intense-as it must-Chur-The Labor Party and Trade chill and his class will not Union leaders claim that this war hesitate to use this reactionary From what I can understand, is against fascism in the in- officer caste against the work-

Today the urgent problem for both soldiers and workers is the train the most intelligent and need to set up special schools able of the workers to become under the control of the unions for the training of worker of-

officers. This would mean that the ficers at the expense of the gov-New York City. worker soldiers would not be at ernment.

certain that the open-door policy would assure it a favorable position. It made a virtue of historic necessity. Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines prove that whenever American imperialism can get political control it does not hesitate to do so.

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

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

Kournakoff Book Rehashes Stalinist Slanders About Red Army A Weapon Against Britain

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

Since the Nazi invasion of the USSR the Stalinist factory of falsifications has been working overtime. First of all, it was necessary to whitewash the past crimes of the Kremlin, especially the monstrous purges which weakened the defensive strength of the country and which, in addition, beheaded the Red Army on the very eve of its life and death struggle. Moreover, it was necessary to cover up and minimize the terrible defeats suffered on the military arena under Stalin's leadership. Last but not least, Stalin's tarnished prestige had to be refurbished. "Russia's Fighting Forces" is one of the books designed to fulfill these tasks. The author is typical of a large section of the latter-day Stalinist hirelings and apologists. He is a former Czarist officer who fought throughout the Civil War of 1918-1920 in the armies of the counterrevolution. After emigrating to America he finally found his way into Stalinist employ, writing for Soviet Russia Today and other Stalinist publications in the guise of a military expert writing for the layman.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lies About The Red Army Generals

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

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

A. R.

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

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

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

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

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

The Stalinist liar also hopes that people have forgotten that it was not only a handful of generals that was purged, but along with them the great bulk of the Red officer corps who had emerged from the Civil War and organized the Red Army under these men. The Soviet Union has paid and continues to pay in terrible defeats because of the lack of adequate and reliable leadership.

Following The Kremlin Line

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

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

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

Reviewed by JOHN G. WRIGHT

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

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

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



FOUR-

- AUGUST 22, 1942



Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place. New York, N. Y. ne: Algonquin 4-8547

> Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILI-TANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.60 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle arders: I cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies : 5 cents.

"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.

India And The **Atlantic Charter**

On August 14, 1941, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, met on a warship in mid-ocean and solemnly signed a paper which they asserted embodied the war aims of their respective governments. To the peoples of the world it was proclaimed as a rope (not to speak of British and American masses) that they have the best intentions towards India; the people are urged not to become cynical towards the Atlantic Charter even if the fighters for Indian freedom are handled in much the same way as the fighters for Polish, Czech, French or Dutch freedom. The war, they say, requires us to be very circumspect in our policy towards India. Should we grant India her independence, they continue, Japan waiting at the border will pounce upon India and make it very difficult to apply

the Charter not only in India but in the rest of

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

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

A Free India Can **Defeat Japan**

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

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

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

Army Paper Discusses Use Of Germs In War

Only Problem of Effectiveness As War Weapon Interests Military Journal

By GRACE CARLSON

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

At the insistence of the pacifiists, the Limitations of Armanents Conference in 1922 and the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations in 1932 de-D

voted considerable time and progress in connection with implethought to the question of bacterial warfare. While the controversy over this question was raging, Colonel Leon Fox of the U.S. Army Medical Corps made a study of the use of bacteria in warfare | ful shepherd, content to watch his for the U.S. military authorities, the results of which were published in 1933 in the Army Medical Corps journal, The Military Surgeon. Because of the interest of of weapons has always been for the large, new contingent of Army the purpose of using intelligence medical men in the question, his article has been reprinted in the May, 1942 issue of the same journal.

A FRANK APPROACH Expressing contempt for the infect enemy armies with deadly futile efforts of the League of bacteria without running great risk of having one's own troops Nations pacifists of the Thirties, infected by the epidemic diseases Colonel Fox wrote in this article, "We know how little treaties prothus started in enemy camps. For disease-producing bacteria tect, so we should study the quesshow a complete disregard for tion to see if the use of biologic nationalistic boundaries. History weapons is a real problem for the has produced hundreds of instmilitary minds of the future." ances where epidemic diseases Weapons, whether biologic, chemical or mechanical, should not be originating in one army - cholabandoned by the military forces | era, typhus fever, plague, smallon the ground that they inflict pox, influenza, etc. - have jumpcruel punishment, he argues, but ed the battlefield and attacked only if they are ineffective or if the forces of the opposing army.

ings of the minds of yesterday to scotch the wheels of progress. It may startle many to talk of world age, protection of the water sup-

Negro Leaders Hit FDR's Transfer of FEPC to McNutt

terly protested last week against Roosevelt's recent action in tions of modern warfare. transferring the Fair Employment Practices Committee to the jurisdiction of Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt. The

in employment in war industries

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

world. GERM WARFARE

IN CHINA The Chinese Embassy in Washington has charged the Japanese with using disease germs as weapons against Chinese civilians on four different occasions during 1940 and 1941. An editorial in ments of warfare. However, it is the August issue of The Military not believed that any fair-minded Surgeon reports these charges individual can deny the place in that Japanese planes scattered world advancement that is due to grain impregnated with bubonic the spirit of conquest. The peaceplague-producing germs over Chinese cities, as a result of which flocks, has added little to the three small epidemic of plague world's knowledge. The trader appeared in cities, from which it and warrior have discovered and had been absent for many years. spread knowledge...Development The chief comment of the editor of this official army journal was that the Japanese had to overcome mere physical force." achieved only a very "limited Disease germs are not satisfacsuccess" by these operations, and tory weapons of warfare, however that they would probably have according to the remarkably frank done more damage to the Chinese Colonel Fox, because one cannot if their planes had been loaded with explosives, rather than bacteria-laden grain.

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

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

However, if a virulent epidemic **Pioneer Issues** of even one of these diseases be gan, or was started behind the enemy lines, no medical corps of **New Pamphlet** ficer of the opposing army could feel confident that his troop By Leon Trotsky would be spared, says Colonel Fox, because no one will guaran tee that sanitary procedures can THEIR MORALS AND OURS. be maintained under the condiby Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Pub-

lishers, New York. 48 pages 20 cents.

Pioneer Publishers have done gitis, malaria or dysentery would be still more dangerous weapons another service to the revolutionfor an army to loose upon its ary movement by the publication Committee, set up over a year | enemy, because these diseases in pamphlet form of Leon Trotago to investigate discrimination have been found even more diffisky's two articles aimed against hose philistines who



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

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

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

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

No "Gentlemen" Wanted

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

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

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

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

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

Their collections of revenue however, "fell less short than they supposed they would." About 10,000.000 people died, according to the official estimate.

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

24 of the mutineers were selected. They were tied to the front of can

better weapons are devised. SANITARY PRECAUTIONS Then this professional officer in ARE INEFFECTIVE Roosevelt's army, which is alleged Some of the diseases, which dec to be "fighting aggression" in imated the armies in past wars every corner of the globe, pays notably cholera, plague, smallpox this glowing tribute to war and and typhus fever, can now be held conquest: in check by the use of vaccines "It takes more than the harpand serums along with the application of scientific sanitary precautions - proper disposal of sew-

ply, inspection of food, etc.

Prominent Negro leaders bitinfluenza, cerebrospinal menin

pledge of freedom, the Atlantic Charter.

Point three of the Atlantic Charter declares: "They (Roosevelt and Churchill) respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live: and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

One year later men, women and children were being shot to death on the streets of Bombay, New Delhi and other Indian cities for demanding their independence, that is, their right to "choose the form of government under which they will live." They wish to rid their country of British imperialism which has "forcibly deprived" them of their "sovereign rights and self-government."

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

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

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

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

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

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

1776 Showed The Way For India

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

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

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

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

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

cult to control, he maintains. Statwas formerly responsible only to istics from public health sources Roosevelt.

The use of the germs producing

Negroes, including A. Philip | ready on the increase in the war-Randolph and NAACP Secretary torn countries of Europe, Asia Walter White, complained that and Africa. the change would place the Com-As to the question of dropping

mittee at the mercy of an official billions of destructive bacteria in whose federal departments dis- from airplanes over the livestock crimination is already rampant and fields of enemy countries, Coland would make it easy for poll- onel Fox has this hard-headed, the problems of morality as one tax congressmen, who control the matter-of-fact reply: purse strings of McNutt's depart-

ments, to hamstring or starve the Committee into complete ineffect- large area and might prove an ism of those "moralists" who used iveness or out of existence.

transfer of the Committee was a fore, they violate one of the fun- Stalinism, and to condemn revoreactionary step, the NAACP re- damental ideas in warfare, since lutionary Marxism on the vealed this week that Bulletin they would interfere with the grounds of "amoralism." C-45 of the United States Employ- ability of the conquered nation ment Service, which is also under to pay for the beating they had for the education of revolution-McNutt's jurisdiction, allows emreceived."

ployers to ask for "white Christians only" on job orders and to U. S. E. S.



sought t indict Bolshevism on the grounds show that these diseases are al. of morality on the eve of the sec ond imperialist world war.

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

Against Marxism" in 1939. These two articles present a revolutionary Marxist analysis of of the ideological functions of "These destructive agents take the class struggle. They show several years to advance over a what really underlies the criticeconomic problem years after the the Moscow frameups as a pre-As proof of its contention that war has been completed; there- text to identify Leninism with

> This pamphlet is indispensable ists, above all, the younger gen-

Apparently Colonel Fox - who eration who will bear the brunt states in a foreword to the May. of the impending struggles. It have their requests granted by the 1942 reprint of his article that is well printed and very reasonhe did not feel the need to change ably priced.

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

plain the pitiless slaughter at Cawnpore."

"Enjoyed Amazingly"

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

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

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

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

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

"A Greater In Their Stead"

The poet Cowper, appalled by the horrors perpetrated on the Indians, asked: "Hast thou, though suckled at fair freedom's breast, Exported slavery to the conquered East? Pulled down the tyrants India served with dread, And raised thyself, a greater in their stead? Gone thither, armed and hungry, returned full, Fed from the richest veins of the Mogul, A despot big with power obtained by wealth, And that obtained by rapine and by stealth? With Asiatic vices stored thy mind,

But left their virtues and thine own behind? And having trucked thy soul, brought home the fee To tempt the poor to sell himself to thee."

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