# Immediate Independence

There Is No Compromise LABOR ACTION On India's Demand for

AUGUST 24, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

By HENRY JUDD

Some Facts

On 'Enmity'

And Moslem

Editor's Note - Because of the

intense propaganda campaign now

being conducted by British and

American propagandists to the ef-

fect that India cannot be freed due

to Hindu-Moslem antagonisms and

because of the threats being made

by M. A. Jinnah, head of the Mos-

lem League, that he will "start a

civil war" if India gains indepen-

dence, we are reprinting an arti-

cle on the question of Hindu-Mos-

lem relations in India. This article

appeared originally in the March

Whenever the problem of India

and the incessant demand of its 385,-

000,000 people for freedom arises, the

Hindu - Moslem question is immedi-

The argument runs as follows: "We

(the English) have India's best in-

terests at heart. We would like to

see the country free, and standing on

its own feet. But we don't DARE to

free India because of the Hindu and

Therefore, we the English people,

must-in the name of common hu-

manity-remain to prevent the out-

break of a Hindu-Moslem struggle.

The fact that we continue to drain

the country of its wealth and exploit

its manpower (and, incidentally, now

ask the Indians to prepare to scorch

the earth of their country as the

Japanese advance) is simply a coin-

cidence. We are really remaining in

India to prevent civil war between

Thus speaks every spokesman and

every newspaper of the United Na-

A tissue of lies from start to fin-

ish! It is not true that the Hindu

people and the Moslem people hate

one another; that they are pre-

pared to slaughter one another;

that, therefore, the British must

remain to prevent such a catas-

What is the difference between a

Absolutely not! The difference be-

tween a Hindu and a Moslem is sim-

ply and solely a religious difference;

a difference in religious beliefs, cus-

toms and practices. It is the same

sort of difference as exists, let us

say, between Catholics and Protes-

tants, or Baptists and Lutherans in

the United States. The Moslems

(about one-third of the population)

are not a separate and distinct race

of people-as, for example, are the

Negro people in America—they are a

Hindus and Moslems live together,

side by side in communities; Hindu

different religious community!

Moslem and a Hindu? Is it a racial

difference, a color difference, a lan-

trophe. And we shall prove this.

30 issue of LABOR ACTION.

By HENRY JUDD

ately brought in.

Moslem antagonism.

Hindu and Moslem.'

guage difference?

Of Hindu

In the past two weeks, British terror in India, directed against an unarmed people, has been responsible for the death of hundreds, the wounding of thousands and the jailing of probably tens

For two weeks the country has been shaken by a series of endless clashes, street battles, demonstrations and shootings. British propaganda reports are attempting to give the impression that it is all over and that they have the situation in hand. THAT IS ABSOLUTELY FALSE! The struggle is shifting back and forth, from city to city, and first beginning to take hold in the great peasant areas that lie outside the main industrial centers.

In the city of Bombay alone, main scene of nationalist clashes to date, the British police and soldiers have killed 31 and wounded 250 since the day when the Indian National Congress adopted

a resolution calling for mass civil disobedience against foreign rule.

Virtually every city and large town in India has felt the blows of British clubs and has heard the noise of British machine guns and rifle fire. Every great Indian city (Calcutta, Delhi, Nagpur, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Poona, Madras, etc.) has counted its dead victims and martyrs of the nationalist cause.

It is the workers and poorer sections of the population who have borne and continue to bear the brunt of the struggle. The conservative Congress members (merchants, professionals and middle class people) have been conspicuous by their AB-SENCE from the demonstrations.

It is the working class, side by side with radical students, who are meet-Ing the fascist-like methods of the British rulers.

Rumors of a Deal

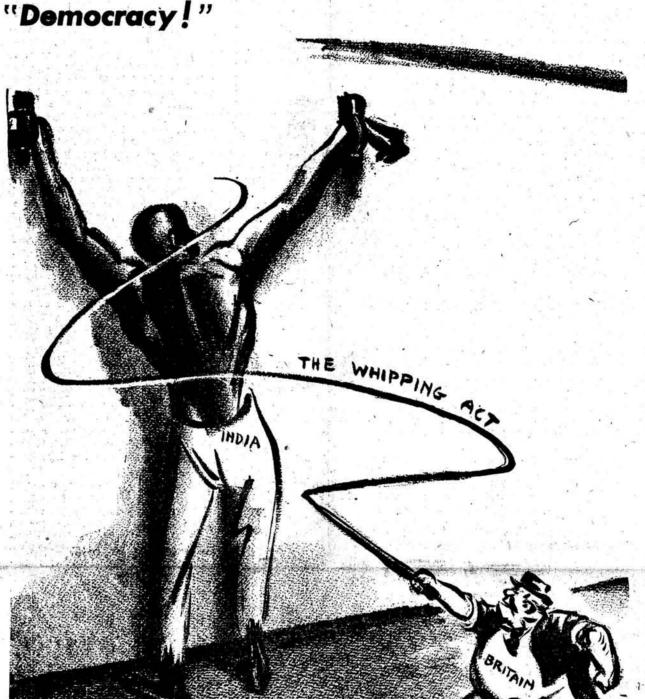
Already the air is full of rumors and reports about attempted compromises. The most reactionary and conservative sections of the Indian population (the landlords and native capitalists) have been terrified by the militancy and revolutionary spirit of the people. They dreadjust as much as do the British imperialists-a political and social revolution in India that will be conducted by the masses of people. They know that such a revolution would not stop at ousting the British rulers, but would also oust the native landlords and the native capitalist class. Therefore, they are making efforts to sound out the British and make a deal with them.

A dozen intermediaries and stooges of British rule have already come forward, each with his own particular scheme to settle the question. But each scheme will fail because all alike deny the people of India the only thing that will mean something to them: immediate and unconditional freedom from the 200year-old British rule.

Can't Be Compromised

In the United States, various liberals and groups of liberals (Dorothy Thompson, Norman Thomas, Pearl Buck, etc.) are urging the people of (Continued on page 4)

WAGE STABILIZATION MEANS LOWER WAGES



#### By JOHN BERNE

Every worker wants to know how the Little Steel formula for "stabilizing" wages is panning out . . . for the worker.

Well, here's how!

The case of the employees of the General Cable Co. in Bayonne is widely known. There the War Labor Board refused any wage increase at all. When the workers struck, the government marched in with its armed forces and made the workers eat humble pie. That's how the Little Steel formula "stabilized" their

By the same formula the 225,000 employees of the mammoth General Motors Corp. had their demand for a \$1.00-a-day increase "settled." Instead of \$1.00 a day, they were allowed the pittance of five cents an hour-which is even less than the fortyfour cents a day handed out to the Little Steel workers.

In making this niggardly adjustment, the WLB at the same time-ironically enough-cited increases of GM's operating profits from \$111,120,000 in 1938 to \$478,551,000 in 1941. This is pretty nearly a 350 per cent increase in profits.

The 100,000 Ford and 100,000 Chrysler workers-who also have pending a demand for a \$1.00-a-day raise—already see the handwriting on the wall. They get the general idea of how the wage "stabilization" formula operates. IT PROTECTS CORPO-RATION PROFITS.

The 32,000 workers in the ten plants of the Aluminum Company of America also asked for a \$1.00-a-day wage increase. THEY GOT EXACTLY NOTHING. The workers are hot under

#### **UE Convention** Quits Indianapolis

Jim Crow has forced the UERMW (United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America) to move its seventh national convention from

Indianapolis to another city. The UE convention was originally to have been held in the Claypool Hotel in Indianapolis. However, when the hotel management announced last week that it would not house, feed or otherwise serve Negro delegates, the UE convention committee served notice that either the Jim Crow order would be rescinded in three days or would move its convention out of

With the expiration of the deadline, the convention committee immediately took steps to locate the convention in another city.

the collar and ready to strike. They know a few things about the Mellon trust which even as far back as 1935 already had accumulated \$3,500,000,000 of wealth produced by labor.

There isn't an aluminum worker who doesn't know that ALCOA hoarded large stocks of aluminum for higher prices, and how the company has controlled the market for aluminum and allied products to milk it for all it was worth. And now the WLB has decreed that the enormous var profits of the ALCOA must not be disturbed by granting the aluminum workers a legitimate wage

The case of the Remington-Rand employees was dealt with at length in a prior issue of LABOR ACTION. There, in its first application of the "stabilization" formula outside of Little Steel, the WLB established the general trend. IT IS TO DENY WAGE INCREASES. It is to beat down the standard of living of the

As if to "equalize" this all-inclusive campaign against the workers, the WLB threatens to have the government "take over" a plant in Beston to "punish" the owner. This is the S. A. Woods Machine Co., which has refused to comply with the ruling of the WLB in connection with certain clauses to be included in its contract with the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of

Such action, if taken, is in no way comparable to the strike-breaking move of the government against the workers of the General Cable Co. For labor-hating, union-busting Mr. Dodge, the president of the Woods company, will suffer no loss of his fancy salary and his company will continue raking in war profits. Whereas the workers of General Cable were brow-beaten into returning to work without the raise to which conditions entitle them.

In fact, the iron policy of the WLB against increasing wages goes so far as to prevent the few employers who are willing to raise wages from doing so. In the rare cases where companies feel it is worth throwing their workers a bone as the price for "industrial peace" or to lure skilled workers-so that the boss may continue gathering in the war harvest without interruption-the WLB says:

This relentless attack on workers' wages must cease. Instead, the huge profits of the bosses should be "stabilized" DOWNWARD.

The plan of LABOR ACTION on the "stabilization" downward of profits is to CONFISCATE ALL WAR PROFITS. Why are the bloated industrial barons permitted to fatten on the war, while the workers' standard of living is being "stabilized" on the downward escalator!

# Poll Tax Congressmen Block Soldiers Vote

South make of capitalist "democracy"—which is itself a mockery-is again being demonstrated in Congress. This time it is over the bill giving soldiers the right to vote. The necessity for a bill allowing "its defenders" this elementary right shows the low grade of the product that is called capitalist "democracy."

However, this by no means nonplusses the poll-tax congressmen. When the bill came up in the House, it was fought every inch of the way by these die-hard reactionaries. The fight was led by Representative John Rankin, Democrat (with a capital "D"), who "represents" the "people of Mississippi" by virtue of having received the votes of only seven per cent of the people of that state. The poll-tax puts the ninety-three per cent outside the pale of American "democracy."

So mighty is the influence of these little Hitlers in Congress that the bill providing balloting rights for soldiers could not

no way affect the status quo of the vicious poll tax-which excluded from elections 10,000,000 people in eight states.

AN EDITORIAL

This amendment continues the exclusion from the polls of soldiers fighting for "democracy"-unless they can cough up the poll-tax!

Even with this disgraceful amendment, however, the polltax senators went to town to defeat the bill. Senator George, Democrat, of Georgia thumped his chest and denounced the bill as opening "the way to dictatorship." The fact that the four states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, with a population of 9,300,000, cast only 264,419 votes for thirtytwo congressmen-of whom he is one-did not make Mr. George blush self-consciously at his use of the word "dictatorship."

These poll-tax politicians pulled every trick out of the bag to defeat the bill giving soldiers the ballot. They ranted about

The double mockery that the bourbon politicians of the pass the House until it was amended to provide that it will in states' rights, about unconstitutionality, about unwarranted federal interference. But behind it all is their filthy fear that it may loosen their stranglehold on Southern "democracy"which enables them to rule for the wealthy without interference from the poor.

These modern slavocrats succeeded in putting the bill off in the Senate on a technicality. And Representative Rankin has become vociferous again. He shakes his fist and threatens that if the Senate passes the bill, he has planned a final parliamentary maneuver to use when the bill gets back to the House for voting on Senate amendments. This, he promises, will delay the bill until it will be too late to do the soldiers any good.

Every worker and soldier should bear in mind that these ultra-reactionary poll-tax politicians are all Democrats, members of the same party that harbors Roosevelt and the New Deal -the most "progressive" boss-politician outfit yet produced by American capitalism. SOME PROGRESS!

(Continued on page 2)

# WASHINGTON LETTER - - A LABOR ACTION EXCLUSIVE

# Has Standard Oil Key Men on Government Boards?

By DANIEL SACHS

WASHINGTON-The recent revelations on Standard Oil are not altogether unconnected with the course of U.S. foreign policy.

It is an open secret that Patterson, Secretary of War, is collaborating closely with Standard Oil, which until recently was allied with the I. G. Farbenindustrie and the Nazi government and is backing this powerful corporation against the attacks of competitors and opposition groups which oppose Standard Oil's monopolies.

The fact is that Standard Oil has succeeded in placing its representatives in key positions on those economic boards which are decisive in capacity of the oil and rubber in-

It is also known that Patterson has exerted the strongest pressure on Thurman Arnold and the Patent Committee to put a halt to the latter's activities in so far as they exposed Standard Oil's attempts to monopolize key branches of American economy. Thurman Arnold is no longer allowed to make open attacks on Standard Oil and other big corporations, even though such attacks do not seriously threaten the position of these corporations.

It is more difficult, however, for Patterson and the friends of Standard Oil to stop or curtail the activi-

distributing investment credit for ties of the Patent Committee, which ernment by Standard Oil. The low the purpose of effecting extension of seems willing to listen to rival and competitive groups of Standard Oil and other big corporations, monopolizing the oil, rubber, iron, steel and other vitally needed war materials.

> Independents Testify Recently a group of small independent oil manufacturers from Texas appeared before the committee with evidence that men in the Administration, closely related to Standard Oil, had hamstrung their efforts to participate in synthetic production of gasoline and rubber.

> They proved that they were able and willing to start mass production of synthetic rubber within six months at a price which was much cheaper than that charged the gov-

price, it seems, was one of the reasons for the rejection of their pro-

The Patent Committee was willing to let them testify and publish their revelations. Thereupon, Patterson, together with Senator Pepper, who is also a member of the Patent Committee, made strenuous efforts to suppress the testimony and to prevent publication of evidence harmful to Standard Oil. At first, it seemed as if they were going to succeed. Finally the main witness was allowed to appear before the committee and his testimony was put on public record. Of course, the press reported only little about these conflicts, which reveal the nature of the

forces working behind the scene. Fear Dynamite

In this connection it might be interesting to pay some attention to the relations between Senator Pepper and the super-lobbyist, Corcoran, and the latter's relations with Sterling Products Corp. This powerful chemical company, which, until recently, was in close relations with I. G. Farbenindustrie and Nazi interests, has been effectively protected by very powerful forces. Efforts to expose some of the "business" deals of the corporation, partly in connection with Nazi interests, have been hamstrung. There is too much dynamite hidden in the activities of this firm and the firm of Standard

Oil to risk full publicity.

The big corporations see their monopolies endangered if small and medium sized manufacturers are allowed to participate freely in the program of all-out production by not only utilizing the patents of the big corporations but also receiving government credit. Thus, the big corporations find themselves in direct conflict with the attempts made to use the full capacity for production and in going forward with new technological developments in American economy.

It becomes obvious how closely connected are the internal economic policies with the foreign political course. Former appeasers and pro-

Munich men of Standard Oil as well (Continued on page 4)

# Some Further Observations On The UAW Convention

-By David Coolidge-

The leadership of the CIO and the UAW are slipping farther and farther into the ways of thinking of Roosevelt and the bosses. Thomas had the brass to say in this UAW convention that "the people of the country are going to look toward you and wonder what sacrifice we are willing to make for the war ef-

This to delegates representing workers who have consented while their leaders gave up the right to strike for the period of the war, who have given up their double pay for Sundays and holidays, who have been given the run-around by Roosevelt and the various government boards, who have just seen the WLB render a decision in the Little Steel case welding the standard of living to January, 1941, while corporations profits go higher and higher and who are members of a union that has just lost an important election to the

#### Murray Takes the Floor

Murray announced again that "this is labor's war" in the same speech that he informed the delegates that "we find the almost terrifying debacle in the standard of living conditions in the United States during the past fifteen months.... I have consistently contended that the only kind of rationing which we now have in the United States is the rationing which enables the fellow with the most money to buy the most goods." Murray then went on to talk at length about a "derelict Congress," the "swollen war profits" and the big increases in salaries that have been voted corporation execu-

get the wrong impression, Murray explained that "we may have our misunderstandings, we direct our shafts of criticism at certain of the leaders in the Administration, but want the nation to distinctly understand that no matter what shafts of criticism may be directed against certain individuals in government or in industry, that American labor stands shoulder to shoulder behind the President of the United States of America.

Thus Murray is completely satisfied with Roosevelt. Roosevelt was opposed to the steel workers having the \$1.00-a-day increase, Roosevelt sent the Army to break the North American strike, it was Roosevelt who demanded the no-strike agreement and it was Roosevelt who insisted on the workers giving up the 'premium pay." But Murray is satisfied. It is not Roosevelt who must be opposed-but Henderson, and a few members of Congress.

The CIO workers accept this twaddle from Murray and Thomas and fail completely to understand that this is the source of much of the difficulty they face. It is Roosevelt who is the head of the government, not the underlings, Henderson, Nelson, Davis, McNutt, Knox and Stimson.

What do Murray and Thomas mean when they whine that the WLB is not carrying out Roosevelt's seven-point program? The WLB says that it is and that the Little Steel and the subsequent wage decisions have been based on this program. The latest CIO News proudly to open the western front will be announces that the national head- decided by the political leaders,

now it is "ONE BLOCK FROM THE. WHITE HOUSE." Why doesn't Murray go over and ask Roosevelt for clarification on this point? Why did he not do this before he came to the UAW convention? Was he afraid that Roosevelt would win this round also?

#### On the Second Front

An interesting point in connection with the "second front" resolution were the speeches of Walter Reuther and Frankensteen in support of the resolution. The resolution itself was very cautiously and innocuously worded. The resolution said that the timing must be determined by the military and government leaders but that preparations must begin at once for launching such a front. \*

The resolution was a little too tame for "Socialist" Walter Reuther. He wants a second front right now. That is, he wants the boys who feel that they already have too many fronts to be ordered to begin dying on another front. And not only this, Reuther is ready for the speed-up in the plants. He says: "We must go back into our shops and there we can do more than pass resolutions: we can help build those guns, ships, planes and tanks that will do the job; and the sooner we build them the sooner that second front will be opened."

Brother Frankensteen was even more positive than Brother Reuther. He doesn't believe that the question of the second front is one to be determined by the military experts. That is true; the question of when

wasn't what Frankensteen meant the German workers: "You have two when he said: "First of all, we did not ask for military experts or production experts when we came out in favor of conversion of our industry. The industrialists and leaders of this nation were way behind labor, way behind labor's thinking when labor said it was necessary to convert our industry."

What does this mean? Only that Frankensteen's opinion is that it is the business of labor to decide the political questions in connection with the prosecution of the war. The leaders were behind on conversion and labor had to take the lead. The political leaders are behind on the question of the second front and labor must show the way.

But Frankensteen and Reuther, are not so hot for labor making political decisions on the questions that are really the concern of labor. On the matter of the strike, double time pay, arbitration, wage stabilization, on breaking the workers away from the Republican and Democratic Parties and leading them on the road to independent working class political action, Reuther and Frankensteen are totally silent.

Reuther closed his second front oration with these stirring words: "And a lot of us here are going to have to do some hard working and dying before that second front and that victory can be won." But not Reuther and Frankensteen. These two \$7,000-a-year UAW vice-presidents are going to do their hard work trying to keep the UAW work-

ers chained to the boss war machine. The convention addressed an "Open Letter" to the German workers. In

clear alternatives. The one is to continue what you are doing now, sacrificing yourselves and your children, dragging Germany and the whole of Europe with you into an ever-deepening brutality, until Germany and all of German hopes will lie buried upon the battlefields of the world."

This is what the German workers are doing, say these self-righteous and stupid bureaucrats. The German capitalists, the German political shysters of the Stalinist and the Social-Democratic Parties evidently had no part in bringing about the present plight of the German masses.

But the German workers have another alternative: "A worker's alternative-to make your inevitable suffering and sacrifices meaningful to the ultimate realization of a free and decent world for yourselves, for your children and for the workers of the world...for the workers anywhere there is but one side in this war... we are sending you this message to ask you to rejoin the ranks of the workers of the free nations of the world...even when workers have been stripped of their political power and deprived of their organizations, they still have their overwhelming and crucial power at the point of production...in this fateful hour we call upon you workers of Germany to join us-the workers of the world - in our struggle for a workers' victory and a workers'

Yes, properly meant and understood this appeal for a workers' victory would be fine. But, in the intentions of the UAW bureaucrats, this so-called message to the German workers reaches the height of stu-

tem shall be set aside for severance

seven-year period; and that a gov-

ernment subsidy be provided, if nec-

essary, to guarantee the labor-pro-

Yes, such demands are in the right

On the labor front directly, union-

direction—the protection of workers.

ists must increase their cry for no

government contracts without a un-

ion contract, as an aid against scab

industries and lower living stand-

Employed or unemployed workers

today feel more sharply the effects

of capitalist conditions of life: on the

job, in the home, at the front. They

carry the load, as they always have.

The bosses are the disorganizers of

production as they are the disorgan-

izers of the lives of the masses. The

only real organizers of production

can be the workers-but in their

OWN, not the bosses', interests.

That means, finally, that the real

rights and living standards of the

workers can be achieved only when

the workers, to the exclusion of the

exploiters, have control of produc-

tecting provisions.

Fearing that some delegates might quarters has been moved and that Roosevelt and Churchill. But this letter the UAW officers said to pidity, brazenness and insult. When they speak of "one side in the war" they do not mean the side of independent working class action.

> Has it occurred to these people that one of the reasons that Hitler holds the German masses in line is that they fear another Versailles peace? Do the writers of this disgraceful "open letter" expect the German workers to rush out jeyfully with song and roses to welcome the victorious imperialists of the First Imperialist World War?

What are the German workers doing different from what Murray. Thomas, Frankensteen, Addes and the Reuthers are doing? The German workers did not submit willingly to Hitler. They were willing to fight against Hitler and destroy him and all his black shirts. They were sold down the river by the Murrays, the Thomases, Reuthers, and Browders of Germany. That's why today they are under the yoke of Hitler. The UAW bureaucrats would do well to keep quiet altogether, rather than talk the way they do.

The German workers will rise and they will fight for democracy and for workers' freedom. And so will the American workers and all other workers. No worker, German, American, English or French, can fight to victory under a trade union or political leadership that in every crisis capitulates to the bosses. This is a lesson for us, the

#### Labor Needs Leadership

We have gone through the proposals of the leadership at this convention to demonstrate and emphasize the complete incompetence of this leadership in the present situation. They were fairly good men for a certain period in the development of the CIO. That period has passed.

Labor today needs a leadership at least as advanced as the rank and file: politically and from the standpoint of trade union militancy. Labor needs a leadership that will reflect the correct desires of American as well as world labor for power, freedom and security. The workers know instinctively and in a primitive way that freedom and security can be secured only in determined and persistent struggle against the boss and the boss class. The workers know that they cannot gain their freedom and security by one capitulation after the other. They have learned this in the factory, the mine and the mill. They have learned it on the picket line. Every shop steward knows this and every man and woman in the ranks above the intelligence of a

beetle knows it. The delegates to the UAW convention demonstrated every single day that what was going on was not to their liking. They did not know what to do. They spoke and spoke and spoke. They protested and protested. But when the smoke had cleared away they could show few

will have to learn to organize against the bureaucrats and to oppose them with a program, not merely with speechs. They will have to learn to come to conventions with a working class program, organize around that program just as the leaders organize around their program. They must put up candidates who accept their program and support those candidates right through to the end, even though they are defeated. They might be surprised some day at what they can do if they adopt

point to a single example yet! This

doesn't mean that they are not busy

at work trying to stir up and create

such incidents, but it proves the dif-

ficulty that even these criminal im-

perialists have in turning against one

#### American workers, to learn.

victories against the bureaucrats. They will have to learn. They

this procedure.

### Randolph **Promises** March on Washington

By ROY GOULD

ST. LOUIS-Ten thousand St. Louis Negroes packed the Municipal Auditorium August 14 in a great demonstration to fight for their democratic rights-here and now, not after the war. Tremendous and wild enthusiasm made this meeting a landmark in the history of the St. Louis Negro movement.

The most important new development came when A. Phillip Randolph committed the national March on Washington movement to a real March on Washington. "The march was not called off," he said, "it was only postponed." He pointed out that the need is greater now than ever and that this march will be a great blow for Negro freedom.

With fine realism, Randolph gave a detailed picture of President and how he had given the Negroes the run-around., The government in Washington is dominated by Southern fascists, he said, who would rather lose the war than give the Negroes democracy. To meet this challenge, Randolph all but set the date of his call for a new march.

It appeared to this writer that he meant to go a lot further than he did in his recent New York and Chicago appearances. Yet he left his program too much up in the air. Do you really intend to draw the conclusions of your position, Mr. Randolph? Do you really intend to lead a march? Grant Lists Grievances

Randolph's speech was excellent and he held the interest of the crowd way past midnight, but the best as well as the most militant of the speakers was the St. Louis Negro lawyer, David Grant, who recently sacrificed a good government position on account of his activities for his race. Grant listed the immediate grievances of the St. Louis Negroes. He called for an overturn of the present economic system as a step toward Negro emancipation, and he got down to business by asking the crowd whether they were ready to march again on a local defense plant. This brought an enormous response.

The first job of the St. Louis March on Washington Committee now is to see that these 10,000 Negroes actually get a chance to march. The new march must be carried through. Without a doubt the masses of the Negroes are ready to follow a steadfast lead.

For sheer emotional response, the high point of the evening was the skit which put the white exploiters in their place. One after another, the white personnel manager, the smug union official, the DAR and especially the Navy recruiting officer and the draft board were pillo-Militant black citizens stood up and told them off, to the enormous glee of the crowd. As the Negro actors spoke up for their rights the audience went into frenzied and passionate enthusiasm. Cries of "tell the truth, brother," were heard and the play was, interrupted dozens of times by the interventions of the audience, which insisted on telling the actors what to say.

#### White Is Uninspiring

Interspersed between the militant speakers were others who only spoiled the program and dragged it out interminably. Walter White made an uninspiring talk and a man from the Fair Employment Practices Committee gave a long and boastful account of the supposed accomplishments of his committee. No one listened much to such blow-bags.

The meeting was closed by adopting a resolution in support of the Indian people in their struggle for democracy and freedom. It was decided to send a cablegram of encouragement and solidarity to Mahatma Gandhi-to his prison in British India.

On the whole, the meeting was confined largely to agitation; no definite plans of action were put forward. In spite of the many faults of the meeting, it was a magnificent, indication of the awakening of the American Negro; and it points to greater struggles soon to come.

### Scab Contracts and Priorities Swell Jobless Unionists Must Take Up Cry of No Government Contract Without a Union Contract in Fight Against Scab Industries

By H. ALLEN

contracts to non-union (scab) industries has swelled the New York City unemployed to 400,000.

Priorities and lack of raw materials have thrown many hundreds of thousands out of jobs as war plants are closed or production curtailed for various periods of time.

The swift growth of unemployment does not however, mean that total employment is not rising, and rising rapidly. Nevertheless, it is significant that despite that rise, unemployment is also going up. With priorities and scab contracts accounting for the greatest part of that unemployment, it is nevertheless worth noting that even the old time scourges, speed-up and rationalization, are adding to the unemployment lists-though, of course, not on the same scale as in the past.

So, for example, the New York World-Telegram reported that "production men have devised so many short cuts" that fifteen plants are now doing the jobs planned for twenty-five. What happens to the workers in the extra plants? They get it in the neck while they look for new jobs. The bosses, of course, reap the benefits of improved pro-

What About Jobs?

Again-despite the peak employment of today, the question remains what about regular jobs at decent wages and standards for those whom the war machine alternately sucks in for long and wearing work and then rejects?

The answer lies in the basic inefficiency of the boss system. Employers are ruthless in their quest for profit. They have no regard at all

for the lives of the workers. Despite Government policy in awarding the requirements of their own war production they are still unable to organize so as to provide constant production and employment. They still "organize" and "rationalize" workers out of jobs.

Efficiency and inefficiency, priorities due to scarcity and lack of planning-all are rooted in capitalist methods of production. But, above all, it needs to be emphasized and re-emphasized that a prime cause of unemployment in certain cities today is the deliberate policy of government and management to place work where labor is cheapest; that is, where labor is not unionized!

The attitude of numerous trade union officials and the lamentation (in New York) of the American Labor Party are no solution. They have wailed and begged for a few crumbs of employment here and

ALP officials, expressing the prevailing opinion of union officialdom, say in effect: "We should not be penalized by the government's efforts to find cheap labor...or forced to worry about scab industries." But what do they propose? Nothing that will do the jobless workers any real good. They collaborate with the Roosevelt Administration and its plans. And as in the case of some union leaders in the needle trades industries-offer wage cuts as a reward for work.

Do these officials consider a campaign to demand: NO GOVERN-MENT CONTRACT WITHOUT A UNION CONTRACT? Do they undertake a campaign to organize the South and unorganized industries everywhere? Do they consider mass

mand adequate maintenance for as a result of improvement in techversion or speed-up? No! They rely instead upon a favor granted here and there by the government.

But the attitude of a group of 1,000 North Tarrytown, N. Y., auto workers points a way. "Members of the Local Chevrolet, General Motors, UAW-CIO staged a onehour protest when a ten-day shutdown was announced July 10." (New York Times, July 25.)

Today more than ever, workers can demand and make every effort to achieve a number of improvements in their standards. They must first demand \$1.00 an hour minimum with maintenance of union standards on hours, overtime, etc. Adequate lunch periods, paid vacations-these are in order for all workers. ....

These are needs of workers today, in the interest of their health, safety, living standards and absorption of the unemployed. These demands, made in the interests of the workers themselves, are quite different from the recent recommendation of eight government agencies that the maximum work week should be fortyeight hours, with one day a week rest; that there be a thirty-minute meal period and vacations. The government makes these recommendations in the interests only of efficient war production and not out of regard for the nerves, health, wear and tear on the workers. Other Demands

A second vital and reasonable demand is: the increase of unemployment insurance rates, at the expense of the bosses and government, to maintain living standards. And

workers displaced by priorities, con- nique of rationalization, the employ- pay for employees dropped after the ers and the government shall guarantee work to the dispossessed workers at other jobs in the industry or in other industries (if the workers want them), for a period of years, at no. less than the previous wage scale.

Today this is a legitimate and mandatory need, as is recognized in part in the pending merger between the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies, which will throw out of work 5,000 of the 9,900 Postal Telegraph employees. The company maintains that a clause calling for employment for five years of workers employed before March, 1941, "is too severe." But the Union of Commercial Telegraphers AFL, correctly advocates that the companies and the government (in a bill to be enacted into law by Congress) shall "provide for the continued employment of all workers for seven years after any consolidation." It is efforts and demands along this direction which will awaken workers (and the employers) to the fact that the needs of the workers stand before any speed-up developments, mergers, rationalization, etc.

Pass on Benefits

Fourth, the benefits (not lay-offs or unemployment) of improved production, rationalization, ingenuity, etc., shall be passed on to the workers in some direct form or manner. The proposal of the president of the Commercial Telegraphers Union is in the right direction. In the specific instance, he proposes that a five-day, forty-hour week be guaranteed all employees in any merger; 50 per cent of the money saved through demonstrations and protests to de- third, where unemployment occurs mechanization of any telegraph sys-

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# Hindu-Moslem Enmity and India's Struggle for Freedom --

(Continued from page 1)

peasants and Moslem peasants work side by side; Hindu workers and Moslem workers are in the same factories. If anyone were to suggest that America should be divided between Catholics and Protestants and that these religious communities hate one another, we would say either that the man is crazy or a Ku Klux Klanner. This holds even more true for India. Hindus and Moslems speak the same language, depending on their geographic territory (it is more British propaganda to say that 200 or 300 languages are spoken in India there are six basic languages used in the country); they face exactly the same political and economic problems (namely, to improve their conditions and to obtain the land stolen from them by their English rulers); they ALL live under the same primitive and poverty-stricken conditions.

Furthermore, there has been such an enormous racial intermixing during India's thousands of years of history that there is no such thing as a racial group in India. Hindus and Moslems look alike, act alike and follow the same general traditions and customs; theydiffer only on religious questions. But what about the Indian Nationalist Congress? Isn't that a Hindu organization? And doesn't the Moslem League represent the Moslem

people? The answer to these questions is NO.

The Congress is not a Hindu nor a religious organization of any kind. It is a POLITICAL organization standing on a POLITICAL program. It participates in political actions and elections. It has no religious program or customs and includes in its ranks members of every religious commounity in India (Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees, etc.) So do the Democratic Party and the Republican Party in the United States, but that doesn't make them religious groups.

What is wrong with the India National Congress is its limited political program. The Congress Party is dominated by the Indian capitalist class which fears to precipitate a social revolution and therefore does everything in its power to prevent the workers and peasants from going too far.

#### Why More Hindus

Naturally there are more Hindus than any other group in the Congress-because Hindus are two-thirds of the population. But they are there because they are NATIONALISTS and fight for their country's freedom. not because they are Hindus. There are also many Moslems in the organization. The president of the Congress (Azad) is a Moslem; the leader of the Congress Socialist Party (Meherally) is a Moslem. In the Northwest Frontier Province, which is 90 per cent Moslem, the Congress got 90 per cent of the votes at the last election!

But what about the Moslem League and its spokesman, Jinnah, the wealthy Bombay lawyer, who claims to speak in the name of the entire Moslem community and who threatens to precipitate civil war if the British withdraw from India?

(1) The Moslem League is an organization of religious fanatics, English-bribed landlords and middle-class lawyers and intellectuals. Its prime function is precisely what it is doing now-creating confusion and providing an excellent "excuse" for the British to continue their unwanted and toolong occupation of India. The Moslem League has no mass support among the Moslem poor peasants and workers, whom it deliberately tries to stir up against their Hindu brothers in exactly the same manner as American bosses try to create antagonism between white and

(2) The Moslem League has never dared participate in political action or elections because that would reveal instantly its lack of support. And, most significant of all, the Moslem League does not stand for a free and independent India. (How convenient for the British!)

black workers in America.

Some Additional Facts

(not British propaganda) on the Hin- perialist rule. du-Moslem question:

(1) Hindus and Moslems live scattered all over the country, from North to South. To divide them geographically and territorially would be as impossible as to divide America territorially between Catholics and Protestants. (2) The first Moslem state in India

was established in 1206. That is, the Moslems came to India over 700 years ago! Their racial and cultural mixing with the original inhabitants has been soing on now for more than seven centuries.

(3) Ninety per cent of all communal conflicts (Hindu-Moslem riots) take the form of an economic clash between peasants, money - lenders and landlords of different faiths. Thus, what is at bottom an economic and class struggle is described as a "religious" or Hindu - Moslem riot. The other 10 per cent are deliberately provoked by the English dictators in their traditional divide-andrule policy (similar to Arabs versus Jews in Palestine).

(5) The Moslem aristocracy of the Moslem League spends 75 per cent of its propaganda in attacking the nationalist objectives and the agrarian radicalism of the Congress Party. Hindu and Moslem workers and peasants have shown over and over

again, in practice, that they recog-Here are some additional FACTS nize their REAL enemy-foreign im-

In Cawnpore, for example, it is reported, "the Moslem workers have joined the union and have defied all efforts to separate them from their Hindu comrades. Some time ago the communalists of the Moslem League tried to make a split in the union by bringing out a Moslem League green flag, but the workers pointed to their red flag and said that the blood which had dyed it red was not communal or religious." (Schiff, "The Present Conditions of India," page 174.)

du-Moslem question.

(4) The cause of antagonism between middle-class Moslem intellectuals and Hindus is the limited number of jobs (civil service and government posts) available to educated Indians. The British seek to foster and deepen every petty quarrel between a Moslem and Hindu in exactly the same manner as a boss-seeks to set workers of different faiths against one another

gle, although the British authorities have hinted over and over again that "communal riots" - that is, Hindu-Moslem strife-could be expected at any moment, they are unable to

another people who have, in reality, a common enemy and a common ob-

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in the shop.

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# Trotsky Taught Independent Class Action

Two years ago an assassin in the employ of the Stalinist camarilla that rules Russia drove a pickaxe into the head of Leon Trotsky and killed him.

The way of the assassin, Jackson-Morand, was typical of the way of his masters. Even before the fight between them and Trotsky broke out in the Communist Party of Russia, they never faced him in fair and square debate or struggle. They always operated best from behind the scenes, skulking in the corridors and the dark corners, for the weapons they employed to crush the revolutionary ideas and socialist ideals represented by Trotsky were not of a kind that anybody displays or boasts about openly. They were the weapons of the lie, of deception, of forgery and misrepresentation, of hypocrisy, of frame-up, of ambush, of the stab in the back.

What other weapons can reaction bring to bear against the ideas of revolutionary socialism, the ideas of working class freedom, which nobody represented more brilliantly, more single-mindedly, more honorably in his time than Leon Trotsky? How else can the banner-bearers of truth be stopped or delayed in their advance than by disloyal trickery, skullduggery and the foul stab in the

#### CANNOT DESTROY HIS IDEAS

That is how Trotsky was disposed of by the gang of cutthroats who saw in him the living combination of conscience and brain of the great Russian Revolution which they had destroyed in order to establish their own reactionary sway. But hard as it was to dispose of Trotsky, it is a hundred thousand times harder to dispose of the ideas he represented and the truths he taught because they rest upon the irrepressible needs of the working class

and all the oppressed. For that reason, Trotsky's ideas will never be forgotten so long as there are exploited and oppressed people fighting for victory. For the same reason, Trotsky will be forever enshrined in history after that victory has been won.

What were his ideas? What do they mean for the American working class today?

Over and over again Trotsky showed by logical arguments derived from the rich experience of social struggles throughout the world, that there is only one class left in modern society capable of leading the world out of the multitude of contradictions and conflicts that continue to tear it to pieces at the expense of the toiling masses. That class is the working class. Be it in a backward country like Russia or an advanced one like England; a fascist country like Germany, a semi-feudalmilitarist dictatorship like Japan or a democratic country like the United States; a colony like Ceylon, a half-colony like China, a modern imperialist metropolis like England - the working class alone is the consistently progressive class. Any social task that it does not solve by its own independent action will either not be solved at all, or else will be solved in a most reactionary and harmful way.

#### WHAT 'PRACTICAL' LEADERS DID

You can spot a scoundrel and a fraud a hundred miles off by the sure, scientific test provided for us by Trotsky (and by his own great teachers before him, Lenin and Marx and Engels). 'You can detect the agent or apologist of any type or variety of exploiter on the big scale of a monopoly capitalist or the small scale of a trade union bureaucrat-by what he says about the role of the working class in society. He will always say, in one set of words or another, that the working class must follow the leadership of somebody else; that the working class is composed of a fine bunch of fellows, especially fine for working hard, but that it really is not suited for leadership of society; that the working class is com-

It is two years since an assassin acting on Stalin's dictate murdered the great genius of the revolutionary movement, Leon Trotsky. The murderer is still alive, in a Mexican jail, dragging the case out with the aid of the legal and practical skullduggery of Stalinist lawyers. He has even changed his original confession, though his guilt cannot be hidden. Throughout, the Stalinists have worked at plans to free the murderer, as they managed to free Siqueiros, who led a machine gun attack on Trotsky's house several months before Jacson was successful in the murder. Once freed, and thereby removed from where he may yet speak, it is likely that the Stalinists will dispose of him to forever silence the killer. But the facts themselves cannot be silenced. Stalin murdered Trotsky! He must be brought to account! And he will be brought to account...by the ideas of Leon Trotsky, which will live forever to point the finger of accusation at Stalin.

#### By Max Shachtman-

posed of splendid fighters, but they need a clever boss over themselves, preferably one working for the capitalists and their social

Watch them like hawks, warned Trotsky. Watch them, be their name Stalin or Hitler, Churchill or Roosevelt, Chiang Kai-shek or Gandhi, Ley or Bevin, or Lozovsky or Green. For all the great differences among them, they have at least this in common: they teach the workers NOT to rely on their own class strength, NOT to rely on their own class organization, NOT to rely on their own class program, NOT to rely on their own class leadership.

"The emancipation of the working class is the work of the working class itself," said Karl Marx. Trotsky showed how true this was in a hundred different cases. But not merely by professorial argument. He showed it right in the heat of the struggle in every part of the globe, in a dozen different varieties of situations.

#### They Taught Independent Action



LENIN AND TROTSKY

No social or political movement can advance progressively, can bring the people to an improved position in any respect, and do it in a durable and consistent way, unless it is led by the working class and spear-headed by the revolutionary working class party.

HOW END FASCISM AND WAR? The Russian Revolution cannot be kept alive and consolidated unless the working class is at the helm, taught Trotsky. Oh, no,

said the mob of upstart bureaucrats, that's not at all necessary.

We're not theoreticians like Trotsky, we're not utopians like Trot-

sky, we're clever and practical people. We'll take care of everything by kicking the workers out of power and taking control ourselves. We'll take care of the rest of the world by making the international labor movement a tool in our hands for maneuvering cunningly among the imperialists abroad. The result of the work of the "practical" bureaucrats was the assassination of the Russian Revolution and its great achievements.

The Chinese people can gain their national freedom and emancipate themselves from the yoke of foreign imperialism only if the Chinese workers establish their own power with the aid of the working peasants, taught Trotsky. Oh, no, replied all the smart, ever-so-practical politicians. You can't do that in such a backward country as China. In the first place, the imperialists will be very angry with you. In the second place, the Chinese capitalists will run right over to the imperialists. We must prevent that at all costs, even if it means that we ourselves keep the workers and peasants under heel. They are excellent for fighting purposes, but they're either too stupid or too dangerous to take over power.

The result of the policy of the "practical" people is visible the world over today. China is further from national freedom than she was fifteen years ago. The workers are suffering the most intense misery and oppression under Japanese imperial rule on the one side, and are being used as cannon fodder for the plans of opposing imperialism on the other side.

You can't fight the plague of fascism unless the workers unite and take the leadership, unless they are organized and trained for FIGHTING instead of whining, unless they take the road to independent class power, taught Trotsky. He's a fascist hireling, cried the Stalinists, who laid down and let Hitler march right over them. He's a utopian dreamer, cried the social-democratic and trade union skates, who formed the second rail for Hitler's juggernaut

You can't fight the imminent threat of a Second Imperialist World War without the united, independently organized resistance of the working class on an international scale, taught Trotsky. You cannot defeat fascism and reaction and all other products of capitalist decay unless the working class leads the fight against them, taught Trotsky. You can't bring all humanity out of the abyss of barbarism into which it is being pushed down, you can't take the high road to a society of free and equal human beings, you can't replace the putrefying, stinking older order with the new order of socialism unless the proletariat is freed, first, from its dependence on other classes and other leadership, unless the proletariat is first organized as an independent class, with its own program, army and lead-

#### THIS IS THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEA

The failure of the working class everywhere to follow the teachings of Leon Trotsky has produced the heavy defeats it has suffered. Its most recent product is the slaughter of the peoples in the war, and the pounding blows being delivered labor in one country after another, the United States included.

Of all that Trotsky taught, this fundamental idea of the com-

#### With Comrade Nathalia Trotsky



plete independence and need of self-reliance of the working class is the one upon which all the others rest. Of all that Trotsky taught, including those ideas and tactics which in our judgment were erroneous and with which we found it our duty to disagree, nothing could possibly weaken the unshakable power of this fundamental idea.

In this sign we shall conquer, says the old motto. If the working class is to emerge from the dreadful crisis in which it finds itself today, especially in this country where it is so vastly powerful and uses this power so poorly; if the working class is to conquer in spite of all-and conquer it must and it will-it will do so in the sign of Trotsky's wise and tested

It will conquer as the sworn foe of the capitalist class everywhere; as the foe of all its attorneys and pillars, be they socialdemocratic, trade union bureaucrats or Stalinist exploiters; as the foe of imperialist war; as the foe of colonial oppression; as the foe of fascist barbarism. It will conquer as the champion of internationalism, of world-wide brotherhood of the peoples, as the trailblazer of proletarian revolution and socialist freedom.

# The Way of Trotsky or the Way of the Atlantic Charter?

sary of the death of Leon Trotsky and the first anniversary of the signing of the Atlantic Charter. Beyond this accident of time, these two events have but this in common: that Trotsky's whole life was devoted to exposing the demagogy represented

by the Atlantic Charter. In India, as in Burma, Malaya and Java, the British ruling imperialists continued to rule on the day after, as on the day before they signed the charter. Oppression, hunger, suppression of freedom are the characteristics of colonial rule. In Puerto Rico, American rule continues to oppress the natives.

Not only in the colonies but in the home countries-in Britain and in the U.S.—there is a drive toward greater militarization, a drive toward weakening the trade unions, a drive against living standards.

Analyzed War's Cause The Atlantic Charter, despite its flamboyant verbiage, is an outline of the world as it existed before the war, the same old system of private property. That is the United Nations

program. By striking contrast with the false demagogy of the spokesmen for either the Allied or the Axis camp, Trotsky analyzed the causes of modern war as arising basically from the

from any conflict in ideologies. In 1934, Trotsky wrote in "War and the Fourth International":

"A modern war between the great powers does not signify a conflict between democracy and fascism, but a struggle of two imperialisms for the re-division of the world. Moreover, the war must inevitably assume an international character and in both camps will be found fascist (semifascist, Bonapartist, etc.) as well as "democratic" states. [The semifascist and totalitarian states of Greece, Brazil, Cuba and Poland in the Allied camp; the "democratic" Finnish government and the large section of the "democratic" French ruling class in the camp of the Axis.-W.B.]

"The bourgeoisle of a number of civilized countries has already shown and is continuing to show how in case of internal danger, it changes without much ado the parliamentary form of its rule for an authoritarian, dictatorial Bonapartist or a fascist form. It will make the change much faster and more decisively in time of war."

The workers and the revolutionary socialist organizations do not renounce democracy. Trotsky accuses the capitalist class of destroying the

elementary rights of the people in all countries, under the pressure of the war. The beginning of the defense of democracy is, therefore, "ABOVE ALL, THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE WORKERS'- PRESS AND OF WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS AGAINST UNBRIDLED MILITARY CENSORSHIP AND MILITARY AUTHORITY - WE DEFEND DE-MOCRACY AGAINST FASCISM BY MEANS OF THE ORGANIZA-TIONS AND METHODS OF THE PROLETARIAT - WE DO NOT TRUST THIS DEFENSE TO THE BOURGEOIS STATE."

The defense of workers' rights, an end to the war, can only be guaranteed by the relentless fight against the ruling class in all countries. The workers must not choose between masters but must seek their freedom through independent ac-

"In those cases where it is a question of conflict between capitalist countries, the proletariat of any one of them refuses categorically to sacrifice its historic interests, which in the final analysis coincides with the interests of the nation and human-

In 1939, Trotsky, in discussing a

all social gains of the German and Austrian working class, is leading the struggle in the name of capitalism against the interests of the people of Europe. In the midst of war main enemy is in one's own country." (Theses of the Fourth Interna-

"Hitler's victory would in reality not mean peace but the beginning of a new series of bloody clashes on a world scale. By overthrowing the British Empire, reducing France to the status of Bohemia and Moravia, basing itself on the European continent and its colonies, Germany undoubtedly would become the first power in the world.... But being the first power does not mean being the only power. The struggle for 'living room' would only enter a new stage.... Hitler's victory in the present war would thus signify not a thousand years of 'German peace' but bloody chaos for many decades if not centuries.

"But neither would an Allied triumph result in any more radiant consequences."

An Allied victory would mean a dismembering of Germany, restoring the Hapsburgs, Balkanizing Europe. Great Britain could again play playing on the contradictions between Germany and France on the one side, Europe and America on the other. This would signify a new and ten times worse edition of the peace of Versailles with infinitely more malignant effects on the weakened organism of Europe.

"The promise of the Allies to create a democratic European federation this time is the crudest of all pacifist lies. The state is not an abstraction but the instrument of monopoly capitalism. So long as the trusts and banks are not expropriated for the benefit of the people the struggle between states is just as inevitable as the struggle between the trusts themselves. Voluntary renunciation by the most powerful state of the advantage given by its strength is as ridiculous a Utopia as voluntary division of capital funds among the trusts. So long as capitalist property is preserved, a democratic 'federation' would be nothing but worse repetition of the League of Nations..." (Imperialist War and Proletarian Revolution, 1940.) At the same time Trotsky wrote constantly on the liberation of the colonies and particularly of India.

"The entire present war is a war

This week is the second anniver- imperialist system itself and not threats we emphasize again that the socialist program for the defeat of a leading role in European affairs over colonies. They are hunted by "Hitler, who destroyed only by refurbishing the game of some; held by others who refuse to give them up." Freedom of the colonies "will tear the backward people out of the Asiatic system, particularism and foreign bondage."

In answer to the Hitler lie of the "New Order" or the Allied propaganda of a post-war federation, Trotsky proposed the Socialist United States of Europe based on freedom of the colonies, workers governments in all the states of Europe and self-determination of nations. "The preletariat . . . must set up its own program of state and national relations, harmonizing with the fundamental tendency of economic development." Such a federation would be based on socialized, not private, property, on the "complete annihilation of tariff barriers, the unification of all legislation, above all of labor laws.

Such a federation would expand production to raise the living standards of the people and seek to extend socialism to the whole world.

This is not a utopian scheme. It is based on the inevitable failure of both war camps to solve the contradictions which brought on the war. The example of India proves that the people are breaking through the imperialist cordon.

### As the Leader Of the Red Army



# The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

#### **Would Like Some** Extras with Sub

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California.

Enclosed is 25 cents in currency (silver) for six month subscruption to LABOR ACTION, as you advertise in August 3, 1942.

Rose Pastor Stokes said in a public address 30 years ago that no government can be for the capitalist and labor at the same time. She was arrested, fined and jailed. She appealed and the high court threw the case out, after two years.

If you should include any extras with mine at any time I will see they go to prospects.

#### Disputes Allen On Needle Trades Dear Comrade Editor:

In his excellent article on the crisis in the needle trades (LABOR ACTION, July 20), H. Allen makes a statement which completely misses the basic issue in question. Speaking of the need to organize the Southern garment workers, he says: "There is no 'law' that says that garments are to be made only in the East. The industrialization of the South, in the last analysis, is to be welcomed by unionists, militants, class-conscious workers."

While, abstractly speaking, this is correct, it does not cover the concrete circumstances in this case. The point here is that this industrialization is not a result of a natural, spontaneous or needed expansion of the productive capacity of the garment

attempt by army officials to break and ruin the Eastern industry and its unions.

The crux of the situation is that the Army is the biggest procurement agent in the USA today. It is utilizing its power to crack down on union labor and by a flank attack tries to lower the standards of living of the large masses to those of the Southern sweat shop, exploited, Jim Crow masses.

It starts with the garment industry. It is easier to build new factories in the light consumer goods than in basic industry. But if successful in New York it will extend this maneuver perhaps in a different form to other sections of the country and to other industries.

While the unions should try imme-

industry, but a consciously fostered workers, their equal attention should be centered against using the contracts as a union-breaking device. It is here that the leadership of the unions has failed. Dubinsky and Hillman, following their policy of appeasing the bosses, has failed to mobilize the masses to a struggle for the maintenance of union standards. Instead, they held conference after conference, first with this, then with another of the big shots, ignoring completely the union membership. There is no reason why we should not demand the mobilization of the union membership in mass meetings and other demonstrations. Only mass pressure can stop and nip this practice in the bud.

Our task is to tell the truth. And here it is: To the garment workers let us say: (1) The present policy of the Army procurement services is diately to organize the Southern not accidental. It is part of a basic

plan to cut the standard of living of permitting profit - hungry monopothe masses to unprecedented depths. (2) No agreement to cut wages (like the reported agreement of the ILG-WU in the raincoat contract deal) will solve the problem because the Army will always find cheaper labor and cheaper bidding. (3) This is not a matter for hush-hush conferences between union leaders and New Deal big shots; only political mass pressure of organized labor can hope to stop this Army drive. (4) This is not only a sectional problem. It is a matter of life or death to labor as a whole. (5) The garment unions must intensify their organizational drives in the South. (6) Labor must demand: NO ARMY CONTRACT TO A NON-UNION SHOP!

Before closing, permit me to mention that while in other big monopoly industries the Army and Navy gave up their bidding policies, thus

lists to jack up profits, they somehow cling to a very scrupulous bidding policy in the contract for garment products. Knowing that New York is a city with trade union traditions as well as a center where massed minorities live (Jews, Italians, etc.) we must assume that both the anti-Semitism as well as the desire to break this citadel of unionism are involved.

It seems to me that the New York Post has hit the nail on the head when it says editorially that it is not the task of the Army to fight a war against trade unions. With the coming militarization of our whole economy, it is this angle that should become one of our main concerns in the coming struggle against shifting the war burden on the masses.

#### \$42.79 an Hour Raise

The industrialists who claim that even the 44 cents a day raise for labor will ruin America by bringing on inflation and impoverishing th steel trust, voted themselves a \$42.79 AN HOUR increase in 1941:

Tom Girdler of Republic, the company responsible for the Chicago massacre, reported an increase of \$99,000 to the SEC. Computed on a 40-hour week basis, Girdler raised himself \$42.79. Total salary now: \$275,000. Eugene Grace of Bethlehem received \$537,724 in 1941; a raise of \$59,580, or \$28.64 an hour increase. -From In Fact.

#### Wanted! Wanted!

Copies of the July, August and September, 1941, New International for purposes of binding. We will appreciate your sending these copies to: The New International, 114 West 14th Street, New York City.

**Dispatch Reveals** 

"LONDON, July 22 (UP)-Germany and Japan

have established economic contact, the Eco-

nomic Warfare Ministry disclosed today and a

'trickle' of raw materials-chiefly rubber from

the Far East-has reached the Reich through

"A Ministry spokesman said the goods ex-

changed apparently were being sent around

Cape Horn, off the southern tip of South

America, and that the Germans were believed

to be supplying Japan with ball bearings, ma-

chine tools and similar manufactured articles."

The above-quoted dispatch was printed ob-

scurely in many American papers several weeks

ago. Since that time its significance has been neg-

lected and ignored by the war leaders of the

Now, the importance of the economic contact

that has taken place and which is admitted by the

British Ministry is primarily a symbolic one. The

actual amount of material that has been ex-

changed between the two Axis partners (Ger-

many and Japan) was probably very small and

even insignificant. U-boats and submarines are

not effective as cargo vessels. Yet, from a politi-

cal and economic standpoint, the event was of

great significance, particularly if we measure it up against the Axis objectives in the Second

The war up till now has, in simplest terms,

been a struggle by the Axis imperialist powers

for (1) the conquest and organization of Europe;

and (2) the overthrow and seizure of the British

Empire. Both of these jobs have been partially

accomplished and now the two partners in plun-

der seek to merge them; to harmonize the fruits

of the Axis, producing the manufactured goods,

machinery, machine tools, etc. Germany, a great

industrial country in its own right, has succeeded

in establishing its control over the balance of Eu-

rope's industrial centers (Belgium, France) and

the rulers of that country are already thinking of

post-war economic problems. For German impe-

rialism to benefit from the victory it thinks it will

win, it must be prepared to trade on favorable

Asia-particularly the sections conquered by

the Japanese warlords-is rich in raw materials

(rice, jute, rubber, tin, iron ores, tea, etc.). The

Japanese Empire now controls over 90 per cent

of the world's rubber supplies as a result of its

conquest of Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, etc. It

has a superabundance of these materials. It must

trade, it much exchange, it must have contact

with other nations in order to keep its economic

This symbolic contact described in the UP dis-

patch illustrates the strategic aims of the two

great Axis powers—to effect a juncture so that the

imperialist and economic gains of each can mu-

tually benefit one another. The whole war strat-

egy of the Axis is directed, in the ultimate sense,

toward the effecting of this juncture, this eco-

nomic contact, on a broad and substantial front,

rather than furtively and secretly from hidden

The establishment of a common frontier be-

tween Germany and Japan (stretching from Rus-

sia down through India and the Middle East as

far South as the East Coast of Africa) would mean,

from the viewpoint of Axis imperialism, its vic-

tory in the war. It would symbolize the unifica-

tion under militarist authority of industrial, capi-

talist Europe with colonial, raw material produc-

ing Asia. Europe under Hitler; Asia under Hiro-

hito! Such is the long-range strategic aim of Hit-

ler's military adventures in the Caucasus and

North Africa and the Mikado's wars in Burma and

the South Pacific. If the Axis were ever to achieve

this objective it could confront the world with

enormous strength and resources; a world which

would oppose it-so to speak-from the outside

looking in, since the Europe-Asia Axis Empire

would have inner supply lines and communica-

rendezvous in the oceans of the world.

terms with the balance of the world.

Europe is basically the great industrial heart

ILLUSTRATES STRATEGIC AIMS

**World Strategy** 

By Henry Judd-

the British blockade.

United Nations.

World War.

# Editorials

# By Their Deeds...

The current (August 15) issue of the New Leader—published by the American social democrats—could easily be called "A Special Issue Against the People of India"! From front page headline to last page editorial it is a vicious collection of abuse, lies and slanders against 400,000,-000 people struggling for their freedom against imperialist terror.

"Gandhi move opens way for Nazi second front against Russia"; "American social democrats deplore and condemn the action of Gandhi-Nehru and their associates in plunging India into turmoil at a moment when such a course plays directly into the hands of the Japanese and German enemies of world peace and freedom"; "India's misleaders"; "dema- in a tin can. gogues"; "mentally incompetent," etc., etc. These are some of the choice remarks scattered throughout the issue.

And to top it all there is an article by a creature bearing the name of Harry Paxton Howard whose insolence against the Indian nationalists is equalled only by his ignorance of India and its cause. This person—who claims to have spent many years in Asia-performs a miracle! He "proves" that the Nationalists are the people who exploit the Indian masses, while it is the British who are defending these "victims" of the Congress from the former! What even Baron Munchausen would never dare conjure up, Mister Harry Paxton Howard knocks off with the ease of the man on the flying trapeze! (We note in passing that this gentleman, who writes that "Democracy is a new thing to India, but it has made great advances during the present century," is a regular contributor to the Norman Thomas paper, The Call.)

In England, the sister organization of the above people (The British Labor Party) has given its blessing to the campaign of murder, violence and terror directed by Churchill against the unarmed people of India. The American Social Democracy follows suit and doubles in spades!

### No Hot Water

Mayor La Guardia and a committee of thirty landlords have concocted a scheme for cutting down the hot water supply in apartment houses in the City of New York. Ostensibly the reason for this is to save fuel. But-

The landlords—one and all—are going to save money. A thunderous "hurrah!" has risen from the throats of all of them. It is now their pay-triotic duty to provide for the 7,000,000 tenants involved NOT HOT water but warm water, and only between the hours of 6:30 to 9:00 a.m. and 5:00 to 8:00 p.m. And if tenants must have HOT water, let them use their own gas and pay for it. This is manifestly the 'self-sacrificing" duty of all landlords.

However, the fact remains that rentals are fixed on the basis of the kind of housing and service received, and if the hot

water supply is cut off, the rooms are worth less. But will the tenants get a refund from the money saved by the landlords? And will the tenants be reimbursed for the gas they use in heating water when they need

Not a word has been breathed about this "unpleasant" aspect of the matter by the Mayor. How can anybody be so "unpatriotic" as not to allow the landlords their "crumb" of war profiteering?

This conduct of New York's landlordsbacked by the Mayor-is right in line with the "war effort" of the whole boss class.

Thus the food canning corporations "cooperate" in saving tin by using glass jars. But they take this as a pretext for charging more for the same quantity and quality of merchandise—in one case honey in a glass jar costs 16-2/3 per cent more than it did

Manufacturers of clothing "cooperate" by not using wool in civilian clothes. But for the cheap shoddy which they pass on to the consumer they charge as much and more than the better garments used to cost.

Yes, bosses and landlords "cooperate" -and COLLECT. They are all for "sacrifice" — by the masses of the people, as tenants, consumers and workers.

### Which Way Prices?

With the WLB working overtime denyina wage increases (the latest case being that of Western Electric workers in Kearney, N. J.), it's worth our time to take a look at how another government board is keeping the "inflationary trend" down. Here are a few instances of how the OPA has punctured price ceilings:

July 24—Increased prices of canned fruits and berries 25 per cent.

July 25-Raised ceilings on canned

July 31—Increased retail price of gin 14 cents a quart. Also lifted ceiling on whiskey, liquor and cordials.

August 9—Increased coffee prices. August 9-Promised, through Henderson, increased prices on frozen fruits and

August 11-Forecast, through Henderson, special price increases on 400 to 500 items for mid-September.

P.S.—The OPA wants to freeze wages!

#### LABOR ACTION

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Act of March 3, 1879.

### WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

Against Both Imperialist War Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory of the Third Camp of Socialism!

#### LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- 1. Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- 2. Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!
- 3. Wage increases which meet rising costs! No sales tax on consumer goods; no taxes on wages! Freeze rents and food and clothing prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living!
- 4. No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries! 5. Maintain and increase all government so-
- cial services!

#### SOAK THE RICH-LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

- 6. A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all
- 7. Conscript all war industries under work-
- 8. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

#### DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- 9. The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the
- 10. Sixty dollars a month minimum for draftees!

#### SMASH JIM CROW!

- 11. Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!
- 12. For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes!

#### BE PREPARED!

- 13. For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!
- 14. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
- 15. For Peace Through Socialism! For immediate independence of all colonies! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism. For a League of Socialist Nations!

# Meeting Backs India Struggle

#### Denounces British Violence, Asks Unconditional Independence for India

Two hundred and fifty people heard Henry Judd and Emanuel Garrett speak on "India's Struggle for Freedom," Sunday, August 16, in New York. Called by LABOR

#### Meeting Protests India Violence In Telegram to **British Embassy**

BRITISH EMBASSY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

WE 250 NEW YORK WORKERS ASSEMBLED IN PROTEST MEET-ING IN IRVING PLAZA HALL ON AUGUST 16 PROTEST BRITISH VIOLENCE AGAINST INDIA'S PEOPLE, DEMAND THE IMMEDI-ATE RELEASE OF THE NATION-ALIST LEADERS AND ABOVE ALL DEMAND UNCONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA.

ACTION to protest British violence in India, the meeting ended with a ringing denunciation of British rule, and in a unanimous demand for Indian independence as the audience

themselves with India's masses.

Henry Judd, speaking first, presented the case for the Indian independence movement, described its nature and its leaders, and brought the weight of incontrovertible evidence to bear in behalf of the Indian people. In his hour of speaking he flaved British rule, traced its history over the past 250 years and presented the Indian "ledger": on the one side, hundreds of millions of dollars a year "earned" by the capitalists of the empire; on the other side, the poverty and exploitation of 400,000,000 people. Democracy-less than 10 per cent of the people vote in any election; Education-90 per cent of the people can neither read nor write; Health-India has the highest death rate in the world; Wages-skilled miners earn twenty cents a day, textile workers earn six to ten cents a day, jute workers \$8.00 a month, etc. That was the balance sheet of British rule presented by Comrade Judd.

Presents WP Program

Speaking for the Workers Party, Emanuel Garrett called for the immediate granting of unconditional independence to the people of India. Garrett related India's struggle to the theories of the revolutionary movement, specifically Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution, cited the program of the Bolshevik-

joined the speakers in solidarizing Leninist Party of India and scored those renegades and backsliders who saw only futility and hopelessness in the struggle for emancipation. Against those who see their choice as only between one of the two camps of rival imperialists, India stands as proof, said Garrett, that the Third Camp of independent action is alive, exists as a glowing ember that is inextinguishable no matter how severe the repression, how fearful the terror. The action of the Indian masses, unrolling from one struggle to the next, will, said the speaker, ultimately triumph and give courage and inspiration to the oppressed peoples of the world, those living under the heel of fascism. those suffering from the pillage of

> At the end of his speech, Garrett proposed a telegram of protest to the British Embassy, which we publish in an adjoining column, and this was unanimously and vigorously carried by the audience.

imperialist war.

Max Shachtman, who was scheduled to speak at the meeting, was unable to appear because of illness. Our readers are herewith informed that another meeting with Shachtmen as the speaker will be held in

# Akron Labor on the Alert

### CIO, AFL and Independent Unions Act Militantly to Defend Gains

By GERALD McDERMOTT

AKRON, Aug. 16-Organized labor in the Akron area has presented a solid front against the boss offensive during the past several weeks as CIO, AFL and independent unions spoke in defense of their gains in the language of militant action. .

In nearby Barberton and Wadsworth 1,700 match workers of the Match Workers Federal Union, AFL, are on strike for 15 cents an hour raise and a closed shop. The companies, quick to learn the lesson of the Little Steel workers' rooking at the hands of the War Labor Board, offered the match workers the Little Steel formula. This would have meant four cents an hour raise and a maintenance of membership agreement with a fifteen-day escape clause, during which the union could not sign up new members but the company would be free to pressure workers to drop out.

The union, too, has learned the lesson of Little Steel. The union leadership declared: "What is the use of further negotiations when the management insists that a four-cent ncrease is its rock-bottom offer?" The spokesman declared that no one would return "until the company makes us a better offer."

Earlier the Ohio Federation of Telephone Employees, an independ-

### Washington--

(Continued from page 1)

as politicians are now working behind the scenes. They occupy key positions on decisive economic boards. Their foreign political program is one of preparing the U.S. to assume the role of policeman of those foreign countries which are either unwilling or incapable of keeping "order" - so necessary for the preservation of the old capitalist

The internal clashes and rifts in Washington, that is in economic boards and in various congressional committees, should not be overestimated. They are, in part, due to the extension of administrative functions and powers and to an internal struggle for control of these administrative positions among competitive and rival groups. They also derive from the expansion of war production which results in greater deficiencies and more centralized power for the Administra-

The President, who has selected the pro-Vichy Admiral Leahy as his special advisor on war strategy, and for whom Hull is the foreign political spokesman, at the same time allows other wings to oppose Standard Oil and other private monopolies. He still maintains his control of rival forces and competitive groups which need a central superior figure as arbiter and political chieftain.

The trends and incidents in Washington reveal the weaknes of the American labor movement as well as the fear of the executives of big corporations and their political associates in the Administration that the present war may end with a collapse of the existing regimes in other countries and continents and with the rise of social-revolutionary mass movements which cannot be "controlled" by any foreign power. It is symptomatic that this fear has become an important political factor at a moment when the military situation does not look especially rosy for America and Britain.

ent union, enforced its demands for a 15 per cent pay raise with a threeday walkout. Maintenance and repair employees initiated the strike action but the switchboard and office workers understand labor solidarity and know that a white collar is a poor trade for fair wages, so they not only refused to cross the picket line but joined in the successful picketing.

At Goodyear Tire, Local 2 of the United Rubber Workers, CIO, rallied to protect one of its most hard-won and precious gains, the six-hour day. When the companies pleaded an emergency and asked the rubber workers to work eight hours several weeks ago, the rubber workers consented. However, when the company continued to schedule the eight-hour day for week after week, the workers saw through the trick and walked out after six hours of the scheduled eight-hour shift were over. The boss press shricked and slandered, the company spokesman bellowed profit-inspired patriotism, but Local 2 stuck to its guns and retained the six-hour day.

The chief plea of the company was that a labor shortage existed in Akron. However, the union leaders showed that by relaxing hiring requirements and opening the plant to Negroes whom the Jim Crow companies have always excluded from all but janitorial jobs, a genuine shortage could be forestalled for a long time.

Meanwhile, the Young Negro Women's Civic Assn. of Akron, in answer to the bosses' hypocritical talk of a labor shortage, is planning a mass meeting to ask for jobs for Negroes. Organized labor in Akron will support the meeting whole-heartedly.

#### Aircraft Workers on Alert

At Goodyear Aircraft, Local 856, UAW-CIO, where company stooges Neal, Fowler and Wages have captured the leadership of the young and inexperienced union, the swiftly-awakening members uproariously and unanmiously voted down a pro-

Cont. III. Nat. Bk ..... 1,864,564,000

N. Y. Cent. R. R. 1,881,883,298

General Motors ..... 1,747,250,191

E. I. du Pont

accept a company formulated "merit" system of wage determination.

posal made by the stooge leaders to

News that the UAW convention had demanded back time and a half for Saturday and Sunday work spread like wildfire through the aircraft plant and injected new life, into the union. The company bootlickers in the union will find it hard to forestall an attempt by the workers to regain their extra pay.

### India--

(Continued from page 1)

India to compromise their cause and call off their struggle for independence. Instead of directing their main criticism against the British these liberals place British terror and Indian resistance against this terror on the same level and then criticize both sides! As if the issue in India were a matter of "reason" and "temperance"!

However, the people of India know ocratic right to national independence. This issue cannot be compro-

fight is over. The period of unorganized demonstrations, leaderless ter led than in the first battles.

For the people of India-the

terrorists and destroyers of liberty,

otherwise. For them the issue is a matter of 400,000,000 people who are being denied their elementary dem-The first wave of India's renewed

and sporadic strikes, has definitely passed. But the British, who are deploying their armed forces all over the country (those same forces who were supposedly sent to India to fight the Japanese), are not fooled by this. They know better. They are preparing to meet the second wave of nationalist struggle, a wave which they know in advance will be more powerful, better organized and bet-

workers and peasants - are creating their own new revolutionary leadership to meet the tests in the long, upward struggle that lies ahead of them.

Travelers Ins. Co.\_\_ 1,156,436,403

M'facturers Trust .... 1,136,819,000

Cities Service

\$1,069,399,343

#### tions, with a great industrial core at the center. WHY THE UNITED NATIONS WEAKNESS?

The leaders of the United Nations, at any rate some of the more far-sighted leaders, recognize this strategic aim of the Axis. Naturally, they understand that its accomplishment would not end once and for all the difficulties and internal conflicts of the Axis powers, but they understand at the same time that it would be a deadly blow at the United Nations. Yet, the democracies have proved to be virtually helpless at stopping the drive toward this goal! They have failed in North Africa; they are failing in the Caucasus and (by their policy) they are facilitating an Axis victory in India. In this sense, the United Nations are steadily digging their own grave in their battle with their imperialist rivals. This is the essential point in analyzing the "strategy" of the United Na-

LABOR ACTION and The New International have described in detail and at length the various reasons behind the total failure of the United Nations to wage an effective war, even from the imperialist point of view of these nations. It is not necessary to repeat these points here.

But it is necessary to point out, as we have over and over again, that the disaster that such an Axis victory as we have described above would represent to the workers of the entire world cannot be prevented by pinning one's hopes and faith upon the "democracies." They have failed, and failed miserably. Revolutionary class action by the workers (for example, full support to the struggle of the Indian people against both "democratic" British imperialism and fascist Japanese imperialism) is what we have in mind as the only sure means of preventing an Axis victory.

A socialist India and a socialist Germany would knock the props out from under the sinister designs of the Axis powers.

# A Lesson in Incentives

"Nearly everybody who knows anything about the problem of war contracts wants to see a formula adopted that will prevent any contractor from making huge profits but, strange as it may seem, the formula that will accomplish such an objective and still will not destroy all incentive is not yet forthcoming."-David Lawrence, New York Sun, August 15.

Just how much "incentive" do our economic lords and masters re-

During the last war this land could boast of a mere half dozen corporations worth a billion dollars or more. But today there are thirtyone such corporations-MORE THAN FIVE TIMES AS MANY. This may not be considered sufficient "incentive" by these thirty-one

economic octopi, but nonetheless they have appropriated unto themselves \$66,516,476,898 of wealth produced by the American working Following is the list of the billion-dollar concerns, with monopoly

control of production, which still hanker after more "incentive":

Bell Telephone\$5,893,765,919	So. Pacific Co. \$1,586,742,527
Metropolitan Life 5,647,047,196	Mutual Life Ins 1,541,952,000
Prudential Ins 4,550,085,000	1st Nat. Bk. (Chi.) 1,476,687,000
Chase Nat. Bank 3,869,464,000	N.W. Mutual Life 1,489,890,000
Nat. City Bank 3,128,264,000	Consolidated Edison 1,408,618,197
N. Y. Life Ins 2,987,269,000	Atchison Ry 1,344,861,460
Equitable Life 2,740,635,508	Cent. Hanover Bk 1,337,117,000
Guaranty Trust Co. 2,587,712,000	Bankers Trust Co 1,336,855,000
Pennsylvania R. R. 2,452,661,536	Balt. & Ohio Ry 1,265,906,720
Std. Oil (N. J.) 2,202,351,739	Union Pacific Ry 1,250,666,269
Bank of America 2,143,202,000	Com'wlth & S'thrn. 1,168,019,473
U, S. Steel 2,045,021,088	J. Hancock Life Ins. 1,166,498,365