

Below we print in its entirety a statement issued on August 10 by the Workers Party calling upon the workers of the United States to "Stand by the People of India!":

The All-India National Congress has, by resolution adopted at its Bombay meeting, decided to call upon the 400,000,000 people of that great country to launch civil disobedience in a great effort to win freedom for their country-freedom from a 200year-old foreign rule.

The British rulers, acting in a fascist-like manner, have given their answer to this demand of the Indian people in the traditional way of imperialists and dictators. They have launched a wave of violence and terror against the people. They are arresting the nationalist leaders; they are shooting down those who meet and demonstrate for their liberty; they are establishing military rule by decree; they are suppressing all news about India, with the exception of their propaganda lies.

British imperialism in India is now face to face with the greatest challenge ever to its slave rule. It wants to perpetuate this rule by establishing a most brutal military dictatorship over 400,-



longer live as slaves to a foreign power. For India's people there can be no such thing as a "deal" or a "compromise" when the issue of their independence is at stake! They want immediate, unconditional and full independence: the kind of independence supposedly guaranteed to them under the "Atlantic Charter." The British terrorists may reply to this demand with the criminal shooting of

hundreds of unarmed people, but this will avail them nothing. We do not know whether Gandhi, Nehru and Azad-the conservative leaders of the Congress Party who have been arrested by the British-intend to go through with their call to mass struggle and their promise to call upon the people to rise up. All too often in the past, above all in the case of Mahatma Gandhi, these men, fearing social revolution by the masses, have compromised and yielded to the threats of imperialism. We do not have confidence in their leadership of the people. Instead of 'appealing to the workers and peasants of India to prepare themselves for the inevitable struggle to throw off the yoke of British imperialism, a struggle that everyone knew was coming, they ran after the Viceroy, Roosevelt, Stalin, Chiang Kai-shek, etc., in a futile effort to make a deal with their enemies.

But we do have the utmost confidence in the long-suffering people of that country because the fire of freedom and liberty burns strongly within them. The Workers Party is unconditionally behind the Indian people in their struggle for the right of self-determination and national independence. The Workers Party condemns the terror of the British militarists and overlords who insolently deny the rights of these colonial peoples.

The press in America has already begun a vicious campaign of slander against Gandhi, Nehru and the nationalists of India. When General de Gaulle claims that he is fighting to free his country from Nazi rule, he is hailed as a great French democrat. When the nationalists of India fight to free their country from equally hated British rule, they are slandered as "appeasers" and "Japanese agents." The capitalist press of America, which tells us each day to sacrifice all in the "war for democracy," has taken upon itself to decide that the Indians are not worthy of freedom. England once decided, although she learned otherwise, that the thirteen American colonies were not worthy of freedom!



A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

# **Disobedience Campaign of 400 Million Indians Met by British Violence and Terror**

000,000 people who will no By HENRY JUDD

> The campaign of the Indian people for immediate independence from England, launched by the All-India National Congress, has been met by a wave of terror, shootings, arrests and beatings on the part of the British authorities.

> To date (August 11), eighteen people are reported to have been killed, with many hundreds wounded by British police and soldiers, who have fired point-blank into crowds of Indian workers merchants and students demonstrating for their freedom. In Bombay alone, the present center of the struggle, the police have fired ten times in the space of two days.

In every major city of India, stretching from Bombay to Calcutta, there has been at least one criminal assault by the

### Who Are the Democrats?



British upon unarmed and defenseless demonstrators.

The British-appointed Viceroy of India is ruling by decree and military authority. Martial law and curfew prevail from one end of the country to the other. British soldiers (supposedly sent to India to fight the Japanese!) are patrolling all the key centers with bayonets and machine guns.

Already hundreds of arrests and imprisonments have taken place. Beginning with Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru and Azad, the most prominent leaders of the Congress Party, and extending to innumerable local leaders and trade union officials, the British dictators are mercilessly hounding them into their concentration camps and jails.

## Labor Action Forum Topic Will Be India

Because of the great interest aroused among workers by the events in India, the Sunday, August 16, Labor Action Forum originally scheduled on the topic of "America Since Pearl Harbor" has now been changed to "India's Struggle for Freedom." Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, will be the principal speaker, as previously scheduled. He is speaking as a guest speaker, invited by LABOR AC-TION. In addition, Henry Judd, regular contributor to LABOR ACTION. will speak. Arrangements have been made for the large audience that is expected. The meeting will take place on Sunday, August 16, at 8:00 p.m. Location of the hall is Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, New York City.

Gandhi has threatened to embark upon an immediate hunger strike. According to the meager British - censored reports that are available, it is clear that the workers of India stand in the front of the movement for immediate independence.

ONE CENT

#### THE PEOPLE OF INDIA CAN DECIDE!

It is claimed that India is not ripe for freedom, that to grant her independence would result in "chaos" and "disorder." Perhaps the handful of British bankers and imperialists who have great financial and money interests at stake inside India would be upset about losing their plunder. But 400,000,000 people would be lifted to their feet and breathe the air of their country as free men. This is not "chaos," but true, democratic progress. The people of India can decide and settle their own internal problems (such as the Hindu-Moslem question) through their own democratic organizations. Hindu and Moslem disunity, deliberately encouraged by the British in order to divide the people, will be solved by the people in a common struggle for their freedom.

It is also claimed that independent India will open the door to Japan and fall under Axis rule. This is another vile imperialist slander. Who believes for one moment that 400,000,000 people will obtain their freedom (after 200 years of enslavement), only in order to give it away again to another foreign, equally reactionary imperialist power?

Today, under foreign rule, the people of India are indifferent to the Japanese threat. They feel that they have no country of their own, nothing worth fighting for. The wealth, the land, the industry of their country, is owned by the foreign bankers 10,000 (Continued on page 2)

They are shutting down factory after factory, including plants producing munitions. In Bombay alone - a great industrial center eighteen large textile mills are closed. The Bombay textile workers played the leading role in the struggles that raged in that city. They were the first victims of the British terror.

This strike action by the workers has extended to the industrial cities of Allahabad, Ahmedabad (textile centers); Lahore (student center); Nagpur and Poona (railroad and steel centers). Side by side, workers and students are participating in violent clashes with the police and soldier authorities.

#### USE FASCIST VIOLENCE

Recognizing this great challenge on the part of the people, the British imperialists who have dominated this great country for over 200 years are resorting to any and all methods to prevent its spread. They are taking every leaf out of the

Facts You Should Know on India:

(b) Six million people die each year from

(c) An average of four to six people live in

(a) British bankers collect interest amount-

(b) British bankers loaned eight billion dol-

they collect interest on this money.

ing to \$150,000,000 per year on Indian

lars to finance British wars in Asia and

Africa, British owned railroads, etc. Now

each tenement room in the cities.

There are approximately 400,000,000 people in India today.

- They have lived under British rule for over 200 years.
- Wages:
- (a) Skilled miners earn 20 cents a day. (b) Plantation workers earn 6 to 10 cents a
- day. (c) Textile workers earn \$12.00 a month.
- (d) Jute workers earn \$8.00 a month.

#### Education:

- (a) Ninety per cent of the people cannot read or write.
- (b) There is one high school for every 315
  - square miles.
- **Health Conditions:** world

malaria.

**British Profits:** 

debts.

- (c) British capitalists own mines, communications (railroads), plantations, factories, (a) India has the highest death rate in the etc. British imperialists control tariff. shipping, commerce, collect all taxes, etc.
  - (d) British capitalists have five billion dollars invested in India.
  - (e) British capitalists make an average of \$700,000,000 profit each year on their investments.

#### **Democracy** Denied:

- (a) People were not allowed to vote on the question of participating in the war.
- (b) Less than 10 per cent of the people can vote in any elections.

(Continued on page 2)





### LABOR ACTION

# Europe in Revolt News from the Socialist Camp

#### SENERAL DE GAULLE'S "SOCIALISTS"

age 2

A few weeks ago the de Gaullist press published a manifesto from a "Comnittee for Socialist Action" which claims to represent all elements of the ormer French Socialist Party. They claim to have been engaged for many nonths in underground work against the Germans and against Vichy.

This is probably the most shameful document ever written by a French socialist. Of course we did not expect anything revolutionary to come from the bureaucrats of Blum's party. We rather expected them to be all-out for the Allied war cause. But still, up to new, these people did at least cling to some socialist phraseology. But this is no longer so. A large part of the old social-democratic leadership went over to the camp of Nazism and Petainism. Now the other part, apparently more or less coordinated in the above mentioned committee, proclaims General de Gaulle as sole leader of French socialism....

Even the most timid liberal thinks it advisable now to use certain "left-t" phrases about freedom from want and insecurity. The official representatives of American imperialism speak about the pint of milk everybody is going to get after a successful outcome of the war. Not so with those "socialsts." Their program calls above all for three things: a government "formed or designated by General de Gaulle, renewing the national tradition"; "reewing of our alliances and traditional friendships," and "recognition of the republic.'

The Old World is going to pieces at an almost unbelievable pace. Empires crumble, continents are shaken, but "socialists" have no other program to put forward than to start again where everything went to pot some time ago. There is, indeed, a certain corrective. They think with regret back to the nice old days of the corrupt Third Republic where it was so easy for a "socialist" to make an easy living in some official position, and where playing the game of politics was such a nice thing. But they have a little innovation to propose: this republic is going to be brought about by a monarchist general in whom they have all possible confidence.

#### AN AMAZING AND SHAMEFUL SPECTACLE

This spectacle is really amazing: so-called "socialists" relying on General de Gaulle as their uncrowned king, asking him very humbly to designate a government. The French socialist Party was never a revolutionary party. But it was once the party of Jaures, relentlessly fighting against the influence of militarism in civil and political life. In no country more than in France was there a fundamental tradition, even among liberals, to resist army influence on political life.

Some of those who signed this manifesto may have played a role in the fight for Dreyfuss against nationalism and militarism.... All this is forgotten. These left-overs from by-gone days do not see any other salvation than to crawl into the lap of the general. They no longer speak for progressive measures of social security in the France of tomorrow; they do not even talk about some kind of European Federation. Oh no. All they have to propose is that French imperialism again be given its place in the world; all they have to propose is a renewal of "our traditional friendships," that is, military alliances.

In this whole document there is not once mentioned the French working class except in one passage where it claims to represent the great majority of those who were once affiliated to the Socialist Party. No further comment is necessary.

# Watch Congress on Taxes

Question Involved Is Whether Boss or Worker Will Carry Burden of War

By JOHN BERNE

Watch Congress on taxes! Congress is preparing a second front against the workers' standard of living. The first front is already under way. It is, of course, the Little Steel

wage formula of the WLB. But don't just watch and do nothing. For here is involved the guestion of who is to pay for this war for world domination-the rich or the poor. Congress is hell-bent to soak

the poor.

The tax bill recently passed by the House and now before the Senate for action made that all too clear. That bill increases the tax rate for all workers, in some cases doubling and trebling It also includes the lowest income brackets heretofore considered too flat to be squeezed.

According to Philip Murray: "On an income of \$1,500 a year, a married worker already pays \$250 in taxes, the equivalent of eight weeks' wages. Single workers pay more."

Mr. Murray includes in his reckoning all kinds of taxes which is, of course, the only honest way. But the abomination pictured by these figures did not deter the "representatives of the people" in the House from turning the screws still tighter. Labor to Be the Goat

As a matter of fact, it was a foregone conclusion that the workers were going to be the goats. What the "representatives of the people" were concerned with was how to lighten the tax "burden" on the RICH.

Thus, for example, it refused to tax the parasites on their income from state and municipal bonds.

The Senate is following in the footsteps of the House. There seems to be a tacit understanding among the members of the Senate Finance Committee that the tax load on the

determined to win their liberation

from any and all forms of foreign

They will come back, fighting

harder and more determined than

ever. The revolutionary socialists

of India-organized today into the

Bolshevik-Leninist, Party of India

-are participating actively in the

struggle, urging the people to fight

workers will be increased—ABOVE THE INCREASES ALREADY PRO-VIDED IN THE HOUSE BILL. The additional load on the workers will take the form of taxing increases in wages as "excess profits," of a sales tax and of compulsory bond purchases.

But the Senate is being very tricky about this additional tax squeeze on the workers. AN ELECTION IS IN THE OFFING. The "representatives of the people" want to come back to "represent them." Thomas J. Hamilton writes in the New York Times: "There is a growing sentiment in the committee against adding substantially to the tax burden imposed by the House bill UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTIONS."

Take note! The point is not whether or not to pass the increases already included in the House bill. That is taken for granted. After the elections, note well, CONGRESS WILL PROCEED TO ADD "SUB-STANTIALLY."

Again quoting from the New York Times: "Senator George indicated that there was some sentiment among committee members in favor of reporting the bill late in August or early in September without substantial changes from the House version and RESERV-ING FURTHER INCREASES FOR ANOTHER BILL."

Let the workers ponder this-and how foolish it is to vote for Republican and Democratic "friends of labor.'

#### **Relieving** the Rich

Proceeding on the basis that AF-TER ELECTIONS the working people will be compelled to cough up still more to pay for the war, the Senate committee is how concerning itself with further plans of RELIEF FOR THE RICH.

For instance, Senator George, chairman of the Finance Committee, is not a bit worried about how the worker will provide food, clothing and shelter for his family. However, he doesn't "see how many corporations are going to be able to pay their taxes, meet their debts and keep their working capital at an adequate level," unless some kind of exemption is provided for corporation debts and fixed obligations.

As an example of the "extreme poverty" the war has inflicted on these downtrodden corporations, here are some figures for the Stow Manufacturing Co. of Binghamton, N. Y., whose president appeared before the Senate committee. The war has increased the business of this smallish concern from \$144,-000 pre-war annual sales to \$2,000,-000 this year. It furthermore has a backlog of unfilled orders equivalent to ten or fifteen years of prewar business.

Needless to say, the profit on this war business, even for a small con-

profits this year as against \$10,000

last year-a 400 per cent increase.

We do not here speak of the enor-

The plans for mowing down the

meager incomes of the working

people - AFTER ELECTION - are

now well under way. The chair-

man of the Senate Finance Com-

mittee has no objection to an "in-

on the amount that a person's in-

gressmen are looking after.

come had increased over preceding years. This will mean that the wages of every worker unemployed before the war will be counted as "excess profits"-it will mean that the wages of every former WPA worker and relief client will be figured as "excess profits" above the stipend he then received-it will mean that every increase of wages won to meet the cost of living will be labelled "excess profits" -AND TAXED AS SUCH.

A sales tax of 5 per cent is also up the sleeves of Congress. "All economists agree on the deflationary aspects of such a tax," declared one spokesman before the Senate committee. Senator Vandenberg agreed. The idea behind the sales tax is to get at the "persons receiving incomes of less than \$2,000 a year"-AND CUT THEIR PURCHASING POWER.

Among the senators pressing for compulsory bond purchases up to a fixed percentage of income is Vandenberg. He has his covetous eye on workers' wages to meet the \$35,000,-000.000 deficit which will remain after the new tax bill collections and after the sale of war bonds on a voluntary basis. THERE ARE TOO MANY OTHERS LIKE VANDEN-BERG WHO ROB THE POOR OF THEIR PENNIES AND LEAVE THE FLESH POTS OF THE RICH PRAC-TICALLY UNTOUCHED.

What are the workers going to do about this policy of the "representatives of the people" to soak the poor!

LABOR ACTION offers a plan for soaking the rich instead. It involves a government levy on capital and the confiscation of ALL WAR PROFITS! From the worker's point of view, this alone is justice. LET THE THREE PER CENT OF THE PEOPLE WHO OWN 96 PER CENT OF THE NATIONAL WEALTH - AND ARE GETTING MORE BY THE MINUTE - PAY FOR THEIR IMPERIALIST WAR INVOLVEMENTS.

Watch Congress on taxes, workers! But don't sit back and do nothing. How about an Independent Labor Party to put across the workers' program! How about a workers' government to carry out a workers' program!

### In the Bronx **Buy Labor Action** And N.I. at--

Readers of LABOR ACTION may purchase this paper, as well as The New International, at the following Bronx newsstands:

vard (candy store). Freeman Street and Southern Bou-

Many Political and Military **Problems Are Involved** In Creation of Second Front

THE WORLD AT WAR\_

#### By WILLIAM BRAD

The controversy that is now raging over the second front is the key to Allied strategy. This strategy is based on the military reconquest of lost areas. The objective is the im-position of Allied rule over Europe in place of the Axis dictatorship. There is no question of freeing the peoples of Europe or of permitting

them to decide their own destinies. The object of the second front is an all-European military dictatorship of Allied arms.

Howerver, it is apparent that Britain and the United States are not prepared to launch an attack on Europe at this time, even though this remains the central point of their military policy.

#### **Allies Unprepared**

While Hitler used last winter to prepare his summer offensive, the Allies apparently made no preparation for any large-scale offensives anywhere. Allied planning apparently consisted of increased production and shipping of war materials. In any case, the lull in actual largescale European warfare was hardly a period of preparation for a second European front.

This problem had presented itself previously. Hitler's conquest of France immediately raised the problem of the reconquest of Europe. But it was the Russian retreat of last summer which raised it to an immediate problem. The Russians were not misled by their own propaganda on the winter "victories" and demanded a second front as early as last December.

#### **Clamor** Grows

Since then the clamor for the second front has fluctuated with the fortunes of the Russian war. When the German advance became a threatening menace to the heart of Russia's factories, oil fields and granaries, the Stalinists everywhere

grew hysterical in their cries. In Britain a bloc ranging from the far right of Beaverbrook through Shinwill and Bevin of the Labor Party to the Stalinists has conducted mass meetings and demonstrations. In the U.S. the liberals have joined the cry.

None of these groups actually represents great masses of the population. There is no evidence as yet that, for instance, the million soldiers in the various armies or that the tens of millions of workers in the factories are for the second front. The Stalinists with their liberal and reactionary cohorts, each for his own reasons and purposes, have exerted every pressure on the people of the U.S. and Britain without any apparent mass response.

The response of the British and American governments has been to promise a second front but they have never committed themselves to specific proposals. The Molotov visit last spring was a complete failure in this respect.

racial discrimination is to be restored with only minor modifications.

From this program there does not flow an aggressive strategy or one that gives the general staffs guidance as to the conduct of the war. And this program itself flows from the indecision of the British and American capitalists as to their aims and objectives.

In the United States complete unity has not yet been achieved within the capitalist class itself. There are still a large number of American capitalists whose interests demand that the main emphasis should be on the Pacific war against Japan. They are by no means satisfied with the direction of the war primarily against Hitler. From them come the remnants of isolationist sentiment in the press and in Congress.

In Britain, an important group of capitalists fears American penetration. They see the U.S. giant everywhere taking over the formerly substantial reins of their empire. Many sections of the British ruling class are opposed to Churchill because they consider that he is making too great concessions to the U.S. This division would be sharper if it had leadership. But one of the expressions of crisis in Britain is the great lack of leadership.

These political considerations are important in the reasons for the failure to launch the second front. With such divisions in the ranks of the rulers and with such emptiness of program, there are obvious obstacles to arriving at speedy and firm decisions.

#### **Conflict** of **Policy**

Between the U.S. and Britain there is a conflict of policy on the second front. Churchill and Roosevelt are both very fearful of another Dunkerque and both will wait until every possible precaution is taken. Roosevelt, in addition, has not yet decided to take full responsibility for the Allied conduct of the war although the U.S. is obviously the senior partner of the alliance with Britain. But neither does Churchill wish to accept full responsibility for a possible defeat in Europe, since that would end his regime.

Churchill also has an important objection to using the 3,000,000 trained men of the British army in the British Isles as the spearhead of an invasion. The spearhead of such an attack will undoubtedly be decimated and destroyed as a "necessary sacrifice" for gaining a toe-hold on Europe. But this army is the only real military strength of the British Empire. If this army is destroyed, so is the core of the empire's military might.

# Boston Road and Southern Boule-

levard (candy store). Simpson Street and

oles." Their effort to retain power over 400,000,000 people who don't want them can only be condemned as the method of fascist gangsters who seek to remain in power no matter how!

(Continued from page 1)

hated book of Hitler and his

Gestapo: murder, assassination,

jail and the concentration

camp. They have lost forever

the right to preach about their

"war for democracy" and for

"freedom of oppressed peo-

The present mass movement in India is a direct result of the failure of the Cripps mission a few months ago. Since that period the conservative nationalist leaders (headed by Gandhi) have sought continuously to arrive at an agreement with the British, in exchange for which they would support the War.

But the Indian people refused to permit any "deal" or sell-out of their interests. They want freedom and their own government-here and now. Even at the last moment Gandhi sought a compromise, writing letters to the Viceroy, pleading with President Roosevelt for intervention, etc. Even at this late stage it is by no means impossible that Gandhi will seek to check and halt the movement he has set into motion and "make a deal."

The fact that the Congress leadership spent its last hours in futile appeals to the imperialist authoritiesinstead of planning and preparing the masses for this great struggleis of great importance. As a result of this sabotage, the movement at present is without organized leadership and direction. The great peasant masses (70 per cent of the entire population) are yet to be called into action. The Congress leadership has virtually abdicated its leadership and has told everyone to do what he pleases. The workers are taking this seriously and are attempting to establish their leadership over the movement.

#### INDEPENDENT INDIA WILL FIGHT JAPAN

The press of America has launched a vicious campaign of slander against the people of India. In the name of "democracy," the boss press with its collection of "liberal" columnists has the gall to tell 400,000,000 people that they should not fight for democracy and liberty! "Now is not the time," they shriek.

Every American worker knows that the present, NOW, is the time to fight for freedom. If not NOW, then when? If England, hard

the second of the second second

its safety and future to these exploiters and bunglers? Or, as it is trying to do, should not India take its future in its own hands and establish its own government to defend itself from Japanese attack?

pressed as she is, will not grant

India her independence now, what

reason will there be to believe she

will grant independence later.

And even with respect to warding

off the Japanese imperialists, should

India - after seeing the miserable

British failure to defend Malaya,

Burma and the East Indies-intrust

Let Us Demand of Britain:

Hands off India's People!

None at all!

Under its own government, there will be 400,000,000 people ready to fight Japanese imperialism, and not a small handful of foreign or Indian mercenary troops. The peor ple of India, once having gained their freedom, will never surrender it to Japan or any other foreign power.

#### A Step Toward Freedom

The struggle now going on in India between the people and imperialism is the first major progressive struggle for democracy and liberty in this war. Instead of the mutual slaughter of one another by workers who have been bamboozled by their own capitalist ruling classes, we have in India the first step of a great people embarking on the long road that leads to their freedom.

It is too early to tell yet whether the British, by sheer brutality and force of arms, will be able to crush the movement before it can make major headway; or whether greater and greater masses of workers and peasants will be drawn into the struggle. If the latter should happen (as we hope), then the struggle in India will become a revolutionary struggle for independence and po-

tionary workers. But even if the movement should be halted by fascist violence, this can only be temporary and shortlived. For 400,000,000 people, once and liberty alive!

## Inquilab Zindabad!

Town Hall in Old Delhi vesterday and wherever I went they cursed me as an Englishman and clamored endlessly:

carrying red banners and demanding that Britain 'get out' of India....

of throats took it up. Finally the word ran back through the mob that I was an American correspondent. Then cheers drowned all other sounds. Men cried out in English:

"'Tell America the truth. We want the truth only.'

(Darrell Berrigan, UP correspondent, PM, August 11.)

through their mass organizations.

### Democracy-Duke Of Windsor Style

rule, cannot be halted!

Seventeen Negro strikers who participated in mass strikes at Nassau, Bahama Islands, on June 1 have been sentenced by the British criminal courts to sentences ranging from one and a half to eight years.

Here is another illustration of sinister British imperialist "justice" practiced against subject native peo-These Negro workers struck and

demonstrated because they were paid a mere 80 cents a DAY, in comparison to white workers from the United States who-while doing the same type of work on construction projects-received \$1.00 or more per HOUR.

The imperialist masters of the British Empire wonder why the people they rule over hate them, and refuse to lift a finger in their defense against Hitler and his friends. This is the reason why.

#### They stand with the people and we shall watch and support their activity in every possible way.

American workers, bred in the tradition of fighting for one's rights litical power, headed by the revolu--should recognize that the people of India are more than worthy of their support. Under hails of British bullets, they are dying to keep the name of people's independence

"I elbowed a littery way through thousands of demonstrators around the

"Inquilab Zindabad-'Victory to the Revolution.'

"Many students left their schools in the morning and joined processions

"One man in the crowd raised the cry 'Inquilab Zindabad' and thousands

"Congress and communist flags flew over the crowds."

cern, is no chicken feed. A two-by-Avenue (SW). four valve factory made \$50,000 in Prospect Avenue and 160th Street

(NW) 149th Street and Third Avenue (SE and SW)

mous war profits of the giant cor-161st Street and Jerome Avenue porations of this country - well (NE). known to every worker. These are

167th Street and Jerome Avenue "the people" whose interests the (SE). Democratic and Republican con-170th Street and Jerome Avenue

> (SE). Mount Eden and Jerome Avenues

(NE). Burnside and Jerome Avenues (SE

and SW). Fordham Road and Jerome Avenue (NE and NW). Moshulu Parkway and Jerome

dividual excess profits tax" based Avenue (NE and NW).

## Stand by Indian People -

#### (Continued from page 1)

miles across the seas in London. They are robbed and plundered of their produce without mercy.

But once having obtained their freedom, having won back their land, having gained control of their wealth and industry, the people would fight with an unconquerable fury to preserve, their precious gains. He to whom liberty has always been denied will fight a thousand times harder to keep it, once he has tasted it! An independent workers' and peasants' India would stand like a steel wall against Japan because it would be conducting a just war, a war in defense of a people's revolution!

#### END VIOLENCE AGAINST INDIAN PEOPLE!

Today's events may well represent the beginnings of a great movement of liberation by the colonial peoples. If the struggle grows in scope and extent, it will rapidly affect all the downtrodden and colonial sections of the world (Africa, South America, Korea, the East Indies, China, etc.). It will have deep repercussions among the workers of England, the Nazi-occupied territories of Europe, etc. America (which has thousands of its soldiers in India) cannot but be involved in this struggle. It is necessary for the workers of our country to make clear in every possible way on whose side they stand.

The Workers Party stands 100 per cent with the people of India.

We demand the immediate release of Gandhi, Nehru, Azad and all nationalists arrested by the British!

We demand the immediate ending of British violence and terror directed against an unarmed people!

We demand that the foreign imperialists take their hands off India and grant that nation its immediate, unconditional independence so that it may live and fight as a free nation. Long live the people of India, whose struggle against imperialism and oppression is lighting the way for all peoples!

#### **Difficulties** in Way

One of the chief reasons given for the failure of the Allies to open the second front is the lack of sufficient material preparation - not enough planes, not enough trained pilots and mechanized troops, insufficient cargo planes and transports. There can be no denying these facts.

Another reason given is the shipping problem. The excuse given is that it will take some 5,000,000 tons of shipping to transport troops to the continent. Sinkings have been cccurring at a more rapid rate than replacements. An enormous amount of shipping tonnage is needed to carry American troops to Britain and there is already a crisis and a shortage. Further projects involving wide dependence on ships must, therefore, wait. This too is true.

A third factor is the inefficiency of the Allied general staffs. There is no outstanding Allied general who has the confidence of his armies or who has the experience of organizing a victorious campaign.

It is also suggested that next year the Allies will be stronger and more powerful. But this is an obvious subterfuge since it does not answer the · immediate question. Also it assumes that Hitler will be sitting quietly and unprepared or that he will be weaker on the continent.

#### Allies Lack Program

Many of the factors cited as reasons for not opening the second front this summer are true, especially, the lack of long-range planning by the Allied staffs. But taken all together they represent only a half-truth. None of these reasons explains the lack of planning. Why wasn't the second front planned for and foreseen nine months, six months ago? Why is it that to this day the Allies claim that more planning is needed? Why is there no sharp and clear statement on the second front policy? Why the great confusion?

There has been no second front primarily because the Allies lack a political program for the war. The sole objective is still to defeat Hitler and then to restore the pre-war national boundaries, private property and capitalism, by and large. The system of imperialism, economic crises, class rule and

The dependence of Britain on the U.S. will be complete.

These political considerations are behind the difficulties involved in the creation of an Allied high command to unite the armed forces of Britain and the U.S. along one strategical path.

It is very unlikely, therefore, that a second front will be launched soon. But the enormous Nazi pressure on Russia and the Middle East and the possible Japanese attack on Siberia may force the subordination of these problems for the moment and create that imperialist unity necessary for the launching of a second front.



Auto Workers Convention Issue: The special LABOR ACTION issue covering the Auto Workers Convention in Chicago was a great success, judging by the enthusiastic letters received by us. Forty thousand copies of that issue were printed and distributed throughout the country to plants organized by the UAW.

Introductory Offer Cards: Special subscription cards describing LABOR ACTION's special 25-Cent Introductory Offer to all new readers are now being printed. They will be mailed to all literature agents just as soon as they come off the press. New Subscriptions: The following subs have been received at our office

within the past two weeks. Los Angeles, which purchased a large batch of rate-cards is doing a bang-up subscription job.

Los Angeles	
New York City	
Akron	·
New Hampshire	
Columbus	
Buffalo	
Chicago	
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Total	

Notice: LABOR ACTION's ratecard offer has expired. .We cannot accept any more orders for ratecards.

#### LABOR ACTION

# Rank and File Delegates Seek to Halt UAW Plunge into Retreat -But Union Officialdom Triumphs over Leaderless Opposition

The seventh annual convention of the United Automobile Workers of America closed last Sunday. On the whole the convention was a victory for the bosses, Roosevelt and the war-comes-first top bureaucrats of the international: Thomas, Addes, Frankensteen and Walter Reuther.

The chief role of this quartet was to attempt keeping the brakes on so itght that nothing could be done to halt the plunge of the **UAW** into complete capitulation to Roosevelt and the bosses. They were there, all four of them, sweating, cajoling, pleading and maneuvering against any action that might be taken to rescind their beloved "equality of sacrifice" slo-

This wasn't all that the Thomas-Addes-Reuther-Frankensteen quartet had in mind for the convention. There were such matters as creating two new posts in the international: two vice-presidencies to be filled by Walter Reuther and Frankensteen. Also the little matter of biennial conventions which they tried last year at Buffalo. Next these, bureaucrats were present to push up the dues in the international from \$1.00 a month to \$1.50. And lastly they

#### **Rival Duets form Harmony Quartet**

These leaders, some of whom were not friendly to each other at the Buffalo convention, a year ago, have now kissed and made up. At Buffalo. Reuther organized a bloc, comprising the most reactionary delegates, to support Leonard against Addes for secretary-treasurer. At this same convention Frankensteen, fresh from the North American sell-out, maneuvered between the Reuther and the Stalinist cliques to become vicepresident. Addes, very cautiously, blew hot and cold, pro-Stalinist or anti-Stalinist, depending on the needs of the moment, to assure his re-election. Thomas announced his support of the war but came out against an AEF and voted for Addes.

After the convention the maneuvering continued. President Thomas and Frankensteen nestled together and Addes and his erstwhile enemy Reuther cuddled over to each other.

By the time of the Chicago convention, however, all was sweetness and light and what might have become two discordant duets was turned into a quartet of harmony and cooperation. At Chicago, Walter Reuther seconded the nomination of Addes for secretary-treasurer and

#### **Officers Face a Hostile Convention**

These bureaucrats knew they would face a hostile convention that would be difficult to control and keen tied to Roosevelt and the automobile-aircraft bosses. They wanted to consolidate their domination sof the international. They wanted to be sure that they would be in position to deliver the international to Roosevelt and the bosses whenever Roosevelt called Thomas and Murray in for a conference.

Therefore it was necessary to do away with annual conventions. This faced with a minority report calling is an ancient trick of all bureaucrats for lower pay, the committee withwho want to hold on to their jobs,

Addes urged the delegates "assembled here to cast a unanimous ballot for the nominee, Brother Walter Reuther." Thomas, in a few well chosen words, urged the convention to "support my good friend, Dick Frankensteen." Previously Frankensteen had seconded the nomination of Thomas for president.

This accord, of course, was imperative if the leadership was to have any chance at all to control the convention and keep the UAW tied to Roosevelt, the bosses and the war. They knew that the membership was fighting mad. That grim joke about "equality of sacrifice" which the Thomas-Addes-Reuther-Frankensteen quartet had put over at the April conference had served only to throw the UAW for a loss. The "no-strike" capitulation of Murray-Thomas had made the UAW locals the prey of every plant manager and every little foreman. The double pay surrender of Murray-Thomas had not only resulted in the loss of income for UAW workers but also had worked to the advantage of the AFL, notably the IAM in the Curtiss-Wright elections in Buffalo.

Also it was necessary to have

unity in the leadership and the inter-

national board if new posts with fat

salaries, were to be created and if

the two leading officers were to get

their increase in pay. The scheme

was to increase Thomas from \$5,500

to \$10,000, Addes from \$5,000 to \$9,500,

IEB members from \$3,500 to \$6,000

and to create two new posts of vice-

president, for Frankensteen and Reu-

The opposition was so strong that,

ther, at \$8,000 per year each.

gan, their "no-strike" promises and stitutional changes the bureaucrats had in mind. That is, they let the their double-time pay surrender. Stalinists take the rap and make the

linist. came to Chicago with a well-oiled scheme to boost the pay of Thomas and Addes nearly 100 per cent.

proposals for all' changes that the membership was known to be violently opposed to. This would save the inner circle from embarrassment. and let the blow fall on the Stalinists. As we remember it, the chairman of the constitution committee last year was Victor Reuther, but this year it was Lindahl, the Sta-

While we are on the subject of the Stalinists we may as well complete the report. We said above that they were appeased, if this was necessary, when the second front resolution was passed. They came back once again, however, in the attempt to split Region 4 and establish a new region. Nordstrom is director of Region 4, which includes Wisconsin and Chicago. The biggest war industries are in the Chicago sub-region. The Stalinists planned to leave Nordstrom with Wisconsin and the agricultural areas westward and establish a new region with Chicago as the

#### What Was Mayor Kelly Doing There?

Edward Kelly, the same Kelly who was mayor of Chicago during the Little Steel massacre and whose cops formed the murder squads. In the course of his harangue, Kelly said: "As I sat here I wondered why we could not have more audiences such as this.... I only wish that every city in the country could have this same kind of convention." The obvious reply to Butcher Kelly, of course, is that if he had his way there would be no militant workers Kelly speaking.

#### Central Debate on "Premium Pay"

Perhaps the most important items They whine and whimper as follows: to come before the convention were the resolutions on overtime pay and on the WLB, presented by the War Policy Committee. This resolution was presented to the convention on the second day but in the face of very strong opposition the resolution was withdrawn. On the third day the War Policy Committee came in with a revised resolution on overtime pay and a resolution dealing with the National War Labor Board.

The longest and most perimonious debate of the convention revolved around these two resolutions. There was such violent opposition to the original draft of the resolution on overtime pay that it was withdrawn in the face of defeat and presented the next day in revised form. The wording of these two resolutions made it clear that what motivated them was the ting and the rehuke that the

-By David Coolidge-

center. This would have given them control of an important region. The move was defeated and Region 4 remains intact.

The only other remarks necessary on the Stalinists is to say that they were the most blatant patriots in the convention. They have all reformed and corrected their past "errors:" There were Bridges, Michener and Board Member Montgomery. In a long speech Bridges told the convention how hard he is working to tie his, international to the bosses and their war, despite the fact that these same bosses have moved heaven and earth to frame him and railroad him out of the country. Montgomery, once a very militant West Coast aircraft worker, closed a short speech with the following: "We are coming again, not only with our tanks and our guns, but with our men, the sons of our men who fought at Chateau Thierry, Belleau Wood and won the last war. We are coming again, Don't make any mistake about that. That is our pledge and it is people like Brother Bridges who are going to make that possible."

The convention was greeted by anywhere to hold a convention. For the clear reason that Kelly and his cops would by this time have mur-. dered all the workers who dared fight for a decent standard of living. Of course the chairman, Nordstrom, IEB member, did not make this reply. Nordstrom told this man Kelly that "I think you can count on the UAW-CIO as being a friend of yours." Of course this is a lie, but Nordstrom said it. In fact there was some protest heard around against

"In the case of the Curtiss-Wright

plant at Buffalo, by reason of the

adherence by the UAW-CIO to its

determination to sacrifice and the

refusal by the IAM to make such

sacrifice and its repudiation of the

President of the United States and

"as their bargaining agent."

the premium pay.

from its commitment and shall demand and insist upon the abandonment of this policy and the reversion to the payment of premium pay as previously practiced." This was the first draft of this section. There was so much objection to

UAW-CIO shall deem itself released

the effect that the whole resolution was too weak that it was revised. It was changed to read that unless there is industry-wide application in thirty days, "local unions" will be "legally and morally justified in refusing to recognize as valid any contractual provisions by which such premium pay was relinquished in pursuance of the action of the War Emergency Conference.'

Addes is to notify all employers of this action by the convention. Murray is asked to call the CIO board consider the matter. Not only to this, but the international officers are to initiate a campaign for the putting over of Roosevelt's seven-point program.

This of course is all just so much twaddle and nonsense. It was presented to the delegates who were prepared to kick the whole thing in the teeth along with two-year conventions, increases in dues and vicepresidents and increases in salaries. The bureaucrats knew this, squirmed in their pants and threw in a few militant but harmless "resolves."

Not a single manufacturer will be scared by this kittenish 30-day threat of the UAW leaders. The WLB and Nelson will not move an inch. Roosevelt will flick the ashes from his cigarette and soothe the troubled spirits of Murray and poor Thomas. Rounds one, two and three were his and the future rounds will be his. That is-if the UAW rank and file leave the organizing of the fight to Murray and Thomas. The rank and file lost at the April conference and they lost at the Chicago convention.

#### **Pass Whimpering Resolution on WLB**

of the announced policy of the AFL, As a further sop to the clamor of the workers within the plant were the convention delegates, the buprevailed upon to select the Interreaucrats brought in a resolution national Association of Machinists condemning the War Labor Board for its continued failure and re-Also, the resolution says that there fusal to set up such regional boards are some independent unions and and such machinery as may be neccompany unions which have refused essary to effect the speedy adjustto follow the UAW and the Presiment of disputes without loss to the dent. These company unions, says workers involved." the resolution, are holding out for

This resolution whimpers around also, because after "the CIO and its affiliate organizations have voluntarily given up their right to strike for the duration of the war to insure speedy and complete defeat of the

#### **Opposition Delegates Leaderless**

The tragedy and the pity of the whole situation is not the stupidity, the whimpering of the UAW leadership or their rank betravals - but the leaderless strivings of the UAW membership. They were against everything that happened at this convention, just as they were in April. They really wanted to repudiate the whole line of capitulations of the leaders. They wanted to withdraw the no-strike agreement which was made for them behind their backs and without their consent by Murray and Thomas. They wanted to take back the premium pay they had been cajoled and tricked into giving up by the same bureaucrats who sneaked into the Chicago convention with a demand for "premium pay" for themselves.

But the mass opposition which really existed was leaderless. It was not organized and it had no program adequate to deal with the real situation.

The real situation was that the leadership very cunningly has been exploiting the anti-fascist patriotism of the UAW membership in order to chain them to the Roose-

#### (Another article on the UAW convention will appear in the next issue of LABOR ACTION .- Editor.)

their own misery at home.

velt government in its prosecution.

of the Second World Imperialist

This is the main job today of the

"socialist" Reuthers, the "commu-

nist" Addes, the shyster Franken-

steen, the "democrat" Thomas and

the pious but bureaucratic simpleton

This will go on until there is

such a wave of resentment, such

determination to go through with

a program for the protection of

the rights of labor that the bureau-

crats will fear to oppose it. The

membership of the UAW has not

done so well by itself this year.

Perhaps between now and the

next convention they will learn

what a boss is, the meaning of

capitalism and its imperialist wars

and how to devise a program for

labor that will not only defeat

Hitler fascism but also uproot

War.

Murray.

Page 3

### **Eight Months Since Pearl Harbor Prove Anarchy of Boss System**

#### By E. VAUGHAN

Eight months have elapsed since Pearl Harbor, during which the American ruling class has tried to organize its production for the war. These same eight months are proof of the fundamental greed and anarchy of the capitalist profit system. Individually and collectively-even where their own boss interests are at stake-the capitalists have been unable to plan effectively for the prosecution of their war.

Shipbuilding is one of the principal problems of production. The dearth of shipping capacity is well enough known. However, Philip Murray, president of the Steel Workers Union, reports that "much harm is being done the shipbuilding program by the failure of several giant orporations to go allout in conversion of strip mills to steel plate mills and to allow the full use of the existing facilities

of small steel firms." The Maritime Commission by a stroke of genius has ordered the cessation of all new shipbuilding because of a lack of steel. Yet Chrysler and Pontiac have had stocks of steel on hand and have, until recently, turned out trucks at a pretty profit. Force Shutdowns Already shortages of steel and other vital materials have forced plants to shut down. Nevertheless, in letting out contracts for 70,000,-000 pairs of pants, the Army brasshats allotted 10,000,000 to New York and the bulk down South. New York is the garment center of the nation. Its failure to receive the bulk of these contracts left thousands jobless. The South lacked both machinery and the skilled labor to produce as many pants as the Army Consequently the has ordered. Southern manufacturers were al-

pany's Ternstedt manufacturing division used 10,259 pounds of chrome. steel in the manufacture of decorative mouldings for automobiles. Detroit, the home of Ford Motors, still hasn't reached its 1937 level of production when the city was producing cars, not weapons of war. King Henry, with his eye toward

post-war production, refuses to con-

vert his industrial machinery com-

#### pletely. **Profits Come First**

Production of replacement machine parts continues to yield a substantial profit to the machine manufacturers. Gen. Brehon H. Somervell, Army chief of supply, was forced to admit that not one man, not one machine, not one factory in the state of Michigan, is producing at capacity.

There is also a lack of inter-factory planning. Each factory, out to make all the profit it can and may. the devil take the hindmost, produces with as little consideration as possible for the needs of imperialist war production in general. Thus some plants keep getting ahead of the others in the production of their particular cog in the war machine and consequently must shut down while the others are in a process of catching up. The workers who have lost their jobs must then waste work hours looking for another job (not to speak of their going without pay while they're looking). There's a flagrant overlapping of authority which muddles up the whole production system. Donald Nelson, chairman of the WPB, talks voluminously and with overt sincerity about the use of small plants. in the war effort. However, the Army and Navy brass-hats persist in preferring large industrial plants when letting contracts. Meanwhile machinery remains idle. Men who could be at work on them remain unemployed. In Detroit alone idle machine shops add up to hundreds, System Indicted Such instances of industrial inefficiency and bull-headedness can be multiplied endlessly. They all go to prove the inability of the American ruling class to organize production, to plan, to develop an efficient blueprint and to carry it through even in its OWN general interest, the winning of an imperialist war for the American capitalist class. Before Bethlehem Steel and its similars will think about American capitalism in general or even its own long term welfare, it must immediately make its profit. All that it can offer the American worker is the destruction of his standard of living, longer hours at less real pay and the benefits of the battlefield. The industrial machine today can be run efficiently only by those who have no ulterior motive, whose efforts are not bounded by lust for profit. Only American labor is now capable of organizing the industrial machine as it can and should be organized. But when it does so, when it controls industry, it will not be for the purpose of imperialist war. It will be for the purpose of planning plenty for all under a socialist, a workers' government.

salaries and to continue to wield influence and exercise power. Annual conventions give the rank and file the opportunity each year to review the stewardship of the leaders and to question them as to their delinquencies and failures. If you can postpone this for two years it may be possible later to postpone it for thirty years, as in the case of the common laborers' union.

What the Stalinists Did at Chicago

not done deliberately. And it wasn't this. done to neutralize the Stalinists. If this were necessary, which it wasn't, in line on all the serious pro-war there were other ways of doing this. (In fact, the introduction and passage of the second front resolution the first day of the convention took care of the Stalinists for the rest of through the organizational and con-

drew and clipped \$1,000 from each amount. This was approved by the delegates.

All of what we have been discussing could only be effected by constitutional amendment: raising the salaries, creating the two vice-presidents, biennial conventions and raising the dues from \$1.00 to \$1.50 a month. These matters, therefore, would be handled by the constitution committee.

It is interesting that Lindahl, a the week. They only made one fee-Stalinist, was chairman of this im- ble effort after that, which we will portant and powerful committee. It mention later.) The fine hand of is difficult to believe that this was Brother Walter Reuther sticks out in

> Since the Stalinists were already politial resolutions that were to come before the convention-in what better way could they be used than in the necessary maneuvers to push

UAW leadership felt at the loss of various elections to the AFL. This was especially true in the case of the election at the Buffalo-Curtiss-Wright plant.

The resolution on premium pay was centered on the fact that while both the AFL and the CIO had concurred in the giving up of premium pay, only the CIO had attempted to carry out this promise made to Roosevelt. Not only were the UAW bureaucrats sore at the AFL, particularly the International Association Machinists, but they were also of fighting mad at the employers who persisted in the practice of giving the workers double time for Sundays and time and a half for Saturdays.

#### Kittenish Resolve Won't Scare Bosses

Then the resolution resolves that relinquishing premium pay for Satthe "no premium pay" policy should be of 'universal application" and furthermore, "unless the policy of

form to the policy enunciated by the President of the United States have flatly refused to do so and have insisted upon payment of premium time." These practices, says the resolu-

But worst of all: "Many em-

ployers approached by the UAW-

CIO local unions for the purpose

of revising their contracts to con-

tion, have resulted in "dangerous demoralization" in the local unions of the UAW. They have "virtually paralyzed the UAW-CIO in its effort to bring organization to the unorganized workers of the industry." The resolution complains that the UAW "penalized" for its compliance is with the President's request. Not only this, but those who have repudiated the policy and defied the President are "being rewarded for their repudiation and defiance."

urdays, Sundays and holidays is universally applied throughout industry within the next thirty days, the premium pay by a labor shortage.

Axis aggressors ... in an ever-increasing number of cases there exists a refusal on the part of employers to treat in good faith with the workers...and it is being made very clear that this attitude on the employers' part is prompted by their knowledge that labor has committed itself to refrain from resorting to strikes."

All of the positive representations made by these bureaucrats of course are all too true. The employers and the WLB are doing just as they say. But didn't these flunkies of Roosevelt, Nelson and the bosses know this when they "patriotically" sold labor down the river in giving up the strike and the premium pay for the duration of the war? At the April conference Manning made the remark that the UAW would be in a queer position if six months later the bosses were forced back to the

lowed to purchase new machinery while New York machinery lay idle. The explanation here is simple. New York is organized, the South is not. The Army sent its contract where labor was cheapest.

According to the War Production Board, in a suspension order prohibiting General Motors Corp. from producing any but functional replacement parts for automobiles for a period of three months, the com-

ought to be out at the factory gates

with leaflets criticizing the AFL on

The AFL has given the UAW a

golden opportunity. One week af-

ter the election, in spite of its

These Newsstands **Carry the NI** In Los Angeles

101% West Fifth Street. 316 West Fifth Street. 613% South Hill Street. 1606 Sunset Boulevard. Las Palmas & Hollywood Blvd. Whitley & Hollywood Blvd.

Jhe Readers of Labor Action Jake the Floor

### **Union Asks You** Not to Buy Borden **Ice Cream Products**

We have received a news release from the Ice Cream Drivers and Employees Union, Local No. 757 (AFL), asking us to publicize the fact that the Borden Co., which manufactures ice cream products under the names of Horton, Reid, Borden, Ricciardi, Fussel and Polar, is a nonunion company producing its products under non-union conditions.

Local 757 calls upon all workers not to purchase the ice cream products of this company. This will help Local 757 in its efforts to improve working conditions and wages for ice cream workers in the New York City area.

## Liked the UAW Issue

#### Dear Editor;

Congratulations all over town on your UAW-CIO issue. If you could only see the effect in our plant alone, you would really be proud.

The stewards and chief stewards who - cured out of the necessary 218 on the R.; Frank Crowther, R.; Francis Cul- CIO leaders asked the membership read LABOR ACTION are ready to go right out to the stockholders' mansions after raises and grievances. Again, sincere and enthusiastic congratulations and please let's have more like this issue.

H. P.S.-The editorial, "A Case in Point," was a little difficult and involved. Gertrude Shaw was about a hundred per cent better this time than last. She should stick to specific issues, as she did this week.

### **Commends Editorial On Poll Tax Bill**

Dear Editor:

We have read with hearty approval the editorial in the July 27 LABOR ACTION entitled "An End to Poll-Tax."

You will be glad to know that the vigorous and general campaign backed by the unions to abolish the poll-tax for which you call has been under way for some time. More than 200 signatures have been se- Harold Cluett, R.; W. Sterling Cole,

discharge petition to bring the Geyer Anti-Poll-Tax Bill to the floor of the House for a vote. Organized labor is playing a magnificient part in this fight which has been captained by the National Committee to Abolish the Poll-Tax.

Enclosed is a list of the congressmen from New York who have not signed the petition. We hope you will urge your readers to write to these congressmen requesting that they sign the discharge petition. We also issue the Poll Tax Re-

pealer once a month and will be happy to send you a copy, if you wish. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sylvia Beitscher, Executive Secretary.

LABOR ACTION urges its readers to follow the committee's request. The congressmen listed are: Walter Andrews, R.; Wm. B. Barry, D.; Charles A. Buckley, D.; E.

kin, R.; Thomas H. Cullen, D.; John J. Delaney, D.; Fred J. Douglas, R.; Ralph A. Gamble, R.; Joseph A. Gavagan, D.; Leonard W. Hall, R.; Clarence E. Hancock, R.; Martin J. Kennedy, D.; Eugene J. Krogh, D.; Clarence E. Kilburn, R.; Joseph J. O'Brien, R.; Daniel Reed, R.; Lewis Rockefeller, R.; John Taber, R.; J. W. Wadsworth, R.

### **AFL Curtiss Plans** Are CIO Opportunity

Immediately after losing the NLRB election in Buffalo's Curtiss plants, the UAW-CIO protested the certification of the IAM-AFL as bargaining agent. Sent to the NLRB and President Roosevelt, the protest accused the AFL of "deliberately spreading confusion and disruption with subversive propaganda against the Administration's war policy on overtime pay for Saturday, Sunday and holiday work." In addition, the

described above. All this is hurting the UAW drive and is damaging to send letters of similar content to President Roosevelt. unionism in general. The UAW

What an appeal to make to workers! No wonder the UAW lost the election! That kind of policy hinders organization. The AFL, seeing its opportunity, emphasized this in its propaganda. Many workers, not wanting to make this sacrifice, voted AFL.

ganizing aircraft by waging a genuine organization campaign based on the needs of the workers, not on sacrificing those needs. The workers want and need overtime pay. They can't be organized by pledging to sacrifice that. Workers join a union to better their conditions, not to sacrifice them.

The UAW leaders say: "If in thirty days all unions don't give up overtime pay, we'll stop doing it." What they should be saying is: "We revoke our pledge and we will defend any union that fights to maintain campaign has been led entirely as overtime and holiday pay."

Since the Curtiss election, the UAW

promise to the workers for an industrial union, the AFL announced a plan to create sixteen to twenty The UAW can still succeed in orlocals, each with its own treasury and set of seven officers. For

three weeks after the election, not one membership meeting has been called. Finally, in the fourth week, six meetings were announced for six separate locals at which officers are to be elected.

union grounds.

At the same time, the AFL shop leaders have learned how the AFL bureaucrats operate, and how little the rank and file would be allowed to do in the union.

If the UAW hits away at this in a constructive, true-union manner, it can make up for its defeat. J. C.

Buffalo, August 10.

Dear Editor: Abolish Poll-Tax.

National Committee to

EDITORIAL PAGE

# Editorials

## When Crime Pays

There is a law on the statute books to the effect that workers have the right to organize and bargain collectively. A violator of this law should be punished. But when he is the president of a big corporation, he may be rewarded instead.

This is the case with James S. Knowlson and the Stewart Warner Corp., of which he is president.

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, CIO, is engaged in a campaign to organize the 10,000 workers of this corporation. The union reports that the company engages in various kinds of union-fighting practices. It discharges employees for union acitivities or at least discriminates against them. It threatens to get workers drafted if they make demands for wage increases. It even refuses to form a labormanagement speed-up committee. That is how the anti-union Mr. Knowlson and his company are—and all this is in violation of the federal statute.

But neither Mr. Knowlson nor any officer. director or stockholder of the Stewart Warner Corp. is in jail. Quite the con- dies. trary. By way of "punishment" to fit its crime, this labor-hating concern gets war contracts adding up to \$75,000,000 worth.

And Mr. Knowlson retains his place as vice-chairman of the WPB. This further demonstrates how "justice" operates in favor of the business mogul. For Mr. Knowlson is one of the dollar-a-year boys cited by the Truman committee for misbehavior. But instead of being demoted on his ear, Donald M. Nelson has appointed him as director of program planning — whatever that is — and has also put him on the Anglo-American Production and Resources Board. No wonder Mr. Knowlson is so arrogant and refuses to do anything about the antiunion activities of his company.

The UERMW has filed charges with the NLRB. But is that enough?

This case proves that union - busting must be handled from the other end. Also-LABOR MUST DEMAND THAT THERE BE NO GOVERNMENT CON-TRACT WITHOUT A UNION CON-TRACT.

## 'No Surrender!'

Last week Queen Wilhelmina was the iest of the White House and, being royalty, she was treated royally. She was paraded around Washington, gave press conferences on her own, and one with the President. She was even presented with a submarine. And this ruler by divine right made a speech before the Congress elected by the American people-who are supposed to have disposed of the principle of divine right more than 150 years ago.

Of the Dutch people, she can speak only for the ruling class. Of the 75,000,000 Indonesians, she can speak for none. For a slave-owner cannot speak for her slaves -she can only speak for her right to exploit her'slaves.

It is this "right" that she enunciated in the phrase "No Surrender!"-so widely publicized. She could have meant nothing else than that the Dutch ruling class has no intention of surrendering for good its hold on the 75,000,000 Indonesians, whose toil, whose soil, whose tin and rubber, it had been exploiting for years before the Japanese took over for the same purpose.

The Dutch civil officers in the East Indies are reputed to have been the best colonial administrators in the world. Of this there is plenty of evidence. The average income in Java was \$15 a year. With a little arithmetic this sum reduces itself to four cents a day. Ninety per cent of the Indonesians are illiterate - because the Queen's able administrators followed the deliberate policy of restraining education. Educated slaves are not so exploitable. These are only the most salient points of the efficiency of the queen's administrators' control over her slaves in the East In-

No, the Queen has no desire to surrender to anyone-and least of all to the napeople-the wealth of their islands and the product of their labor.

"NO SURRENDER!"

## **Answer, Please!**

We see in the papers where Senator Taft of Ohio is of the opinion that the lower income brackets aren't being taxed to capacity.

Well, maybe he's got a point. There is a little left over for food!

And we also see where Senator Taft is of the opinion that large incomes have been taxed to the point where additional levies will net virtually nothing.

Oh, yeah! It all depends on how you tax them!

Slap a good, hard, 100 per cent war profits tax on business and individuals and you'll see all the money it nets. Assuming of course that business produces for the war when there are no profits to be made.

And if that doesn't bring in the cash, how about A CAPITAL LEVY ON ACCUMULATED WEALTH!

Got an answer to that, Senator Taft?

# Next Issue Will Feature Article on Leon Trotsky

LABOR ACTION

In commemoration of the second anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky at the hand of a Stalinist assassin, LABOR ACTION next week will feature an article by Max Shachtman on the murdered revolutionist. The article will analyze the work and role of the great revolutionary teacher and leader in the light of today's problems.

# Halt Retreat in Local 9

SAN PEDRO - At the membership meeting of Local 9 this week the rank and file suddenly took things in hand and called an abrupt and unmistakable halt to the policy of retreat and sacrifice. In contrast to all recent meetings when speaking has been largely confined to longwinded officials, super-patriotic Stalinist oratory and one or two progressive speakers, this time the rank and file took charge of the mike from the beginning. And what a belting they gave the Navy-company proposal for a staggered work week!

One after another speakers seldom if ever heard from the mike before got up to tell in no uncertain terms just what they thought of the proposal to make them work Sundays without extra pay. "If the company wants us to work on Sunday let them pay double time for it and let only those work who want to."

One speaker most eloquently referred to the miserable conditions of the depression, pointing out that then the government and the Navy took no interest in the conditions of the workers, and asking why they should take such an interest in the conditions now-and why we should now listen to their requests that we make sacrifices.

As in the case of all previous re-

week took a clear step forward treat proposals, the Stalinists and the with the passage of a motion deunion officials, of course, were in favor of giving in. But in the face manding full equality for Negro of the militancy of the membership, and Mexican brothers to secure this time they acted very differently. skilled jobs in any department for which they are qualified. It is In previous meetings these two well known that discrimination is groups of shirt-sacrificers competed with one another for the dubious. widespread throughout the yards, honor of being most in favor of givand a committee was selected to ing up hard-won union conditions. fight to stamp it out. This time both groups showed a prusteps like these to make effective the dent reluctance to come out with an honest statement of their wish that strong stand against discrimination provided for in the constitution of the union agree to the company prothe national union. None of the posal.

As one speaker pointed out, all these gentlemen dared to do, in the face of the fighting spirit of the membership, was to try to postpone the issue, hoping for a less militant meeting in the future. Possibly in a future meeting they will be able to slip over this rotten retreat, as they have in the past. But they have only begun to taste the membership militancy that they will have to face in the future. However, the shipyard workers will fight against these surrender policies and against the people who put them over, more and more as they come to understand really and concretely just how the burdens of the war are being put on the backs of workers, while the bosses reap the harvest.

On another point Local 9 this

officials spoke against this strong stand of the membership, and probably few members know the fact that the officers of Local 9 for a long time carried out a back door understanding with the yards which prevented the employment of Negroes

until just the last few months. In the field of repair work the surrender policies are also meeting with stiff opposition. At a stormy meeting last week the repair workers strengthened their demand for securing conditions from the repair stabilization that will fully maintain their present standards, or even better them. To win these demands repair workers must remain sharply on their toes to see to it that their repair committee carries out the instructions of the meeting.

It is high time that Local 9 took

# Joins the Workers Party

AKRON-Max Caster, young socialist of this city and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, has just announced his resignation from that party and his adherence to the Workers Party. He is the second individual to do this within the past month, further evidence of unrest and political disagreement within the ranks of the Cannon organization. In a letter addressed to the mem-

bers of the SWP, Comrade Caster writes: "In the one and a half years that

I've been with the SWP no attempt has ever been made on the part of the Cannon leadership for a genuine educational program, for closer colmembers and the leadership. There has never been so much as a single discussion article in the monthly theoretical (?) magazine. All attemps at discussion-even individual discussion-are frowned upon.

"When the Akron branch attempted to receive some clarification in reference to educational and discussion activity, it was informed by Cannon that 'discussion is not for a party of action, it's for a Bohemian sewing circle.' This insulting answer vas not worthy of a revolutionary leader.

"The Akron comrades have evinced great discontent with the party leadership as a whole. There have been differences of opinion on the queson of China and trade u

icy. A majority of the Akron branch opposes the present SWP policy in defense of China on the grounds that it represents a social-patriotic tendency; as well as condemning the Cannonite trade union policy as cowardly and opportunist.

"I have tried and will continue to try to convince my comrades in Akron that only in the Workers' Party can they find a democratic, rank and file socialist organization which carries on a healthy socialist activity and encourages education and discussion. To all members of the SWP may I say that I am joining the Workers Party for these reasons and because I believe it is based upon the principles of Marxism and revo-

## **ARGENTINA:** Why Does It Refuse To Break with Axis? By Henry Judd-

Last week in this column we described how,

by means of a temporary business boom, the United States is advancing its policy of economic penetration into South America and assuming greater and greater imperialist domination over that continent.

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The beating given to Waldo Frank, prominent American writer and former Communist Party supporter, by a gang of fascist hoodlums in Buenos Aires caused a sensation both in Argentina and in the United States. It forcibly brought to everyone's attention a fact that American papers had been pointing out for some time-namely, that one South American country, at least, was openly resisting American "good neighbor" policy and refusing to line up with the cause of America and the United Nations.

#### WHAT IS ARGENTINA'S POSITION?

As we pointed out last week, nineteen of the twenty-one Latin American nations have broken off all diplomatic relations with the Axis, and many of these nineteen have followed up that action with a war declaration that brought them into the World War on America's side. Only Chile and Argentina have failed to take the initial step in breaking off relations and Argentina has vigorously indicated that it has no intention of doing so. The fact that Argentina is the richest, most powerful and industrially advanced of ALL the South American nations make this refusal, this insistence upon retaining its neutrality, of great interest. Why does Argentina act in this manner?

The answer to this question will throw further light on the imperialist character of the war and prove-once more-the underlying economic motives that drive each power into acting the way it does; economic motives. rather than "moral" or "spiritual" reasons, as the propagandists would have us believe!

We have already mentioned that Argentina-is the most advanced and industrialized country of Latin America. Yet, despite its high degree of development compared to the other backward South American nations, it is not a completely independent nation! Because of the fact that a large portion of Argentine industry and capital is in the hands of England and America (with England leading), Argentina is more of a semi-independent or semi-colonial country, somewhat like China or Mexico.

But there is a well established and important class of native Argentine capitalists (landowners, cattlemen, exporters, bankers, etc.). This native capitalist class finds itself greatly handicapped by the rival foreign capitalists (or, more accurately, imperialists) who have great influence over the banking, financing, exporting of their country and own great sections of the transportation, land and public utilities. In a word, there is an economic conflict between the native capitalists of Argentina and the foreign (British and American) imperialists. It is this conflict that lies behind the struggle now going on between the government of Argentina and the United States.

Argentina-by virtue of its whole economic life -is far closer to the European economic sphere than to that of the United States. Before the war Argentina had more trade with Europe (shipping its wheat, meat, hides, corn, etc.) than with North America. Furthermore, the materials and commodities of Argentina competed with similar materials and commodities grown by Yankee farmers! Under our competitive-capitalist economic system, this meant trade rivalry, one of the basic causes of modern war.



She declared in her speech that she represents not only the people of Holland, but the 75,000,000 Indonesians of the former Dutch East Indies. She was misrepresenting on both points.

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# Trackmen Strike Pa. R. R.

By RIA STONE

Fifteen hundred trackmen on the Pennsylvania Railroad struck last week in the New York and New Jersey area.

The trackmen, 99 per cent of them Negroes, struck because they were sick of being freighted to work in cattle cars, 100 of them herded together in a space made to accommodate only forty; transported fifteen to twenty miles in a car with no toilet facilities and with only a small window and door for ventilation.

The trackmen struck because of the system whereby their working hours are computed and paid for . only from the time they disembark from the box cars, so that each man is forced to donate about two hours daily to the railroad. They struck for a wage increase from fifty-five to seventy-five cents an hour; and finally they struck because two of their number, Rufus V. Gardner and Alexander Robinson, had been fired for leading a protest.

Shortly after the spontaneous action of the trackmen, the Utility Workers Organization Committee of the CIO stepped in to organize them and to request immediate mediation by the National Mediation Board. The latest report of the time of this writing is that the mediation has been granted and the men have returned to work.

The militancy of the Negro workers, the solidarity of those white workers who walked out with them, and the entrance of union organiza-

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tion into the picture make this case one of the more important recent events in the labor movement.

As J. Robert Smith, labor reporter of the Amsterdam Star-News said: "If the Negro's economic problem in regard to labor is to be solved, it will be done and done only by the rank and file worker. The \$3.00 and \$4.00a-day man whose brow is begrimed by sweat from his toil has the key to our economic rehabilitation and, more than that, is in a position to dictate the degree of progress the entire race will show .... These are the men the race has to depend upon. Though small in number, these workers with their united effort and purpose will make the great and mighty Pennsylvania Railroad either take cognizance of their demands or suffer the consequence."

The Negro trackmen are not the only Negro workers in New York who have shown that they recognize the need for militant action and organization to defend their rights. Recently the Defense Workers Protective League was formed in Harlem to insist on improved transportation conditions for 1,000 workers, traveling daily on dilapidated buses to the



Picatinny Arsenal in New Jersey. These buses often break down en route, costing the workers time and money while they wait long hours on the highway.

The workers pay the enormous sum of \$5.00 for six round trips a week. Moreover, proportionate refunds are not made if all trips are not made; no refund at all is given if three trips are used up. Out of his weekly pay, a worker who works only three days pays \$5.00 for the transportation alone.

Negro workers, confronted with the harshest and most inhuman working conditions, are finding union organization as the best instrument to better their conditions. The organizational strength and initiative of the labor unions, particularly, must be enlisted to organize these men into bona fide unions on an equal basis with other workers.

The CIO's organization of the Pennsylvania's trackmen stands as a symbol of what must be achieved on a far wider scale. For if the improvement of the lot of all the working class, Negro and white, is to be accomplished, there must be no division within the working class.

As a result of all this, Argentine native capitalism is now resisting American penetration because it dreads a victory of United States imperialism (its rival 'in many fields) more than it does a victory of German-Axis imperialism (its best pre-war customer).

#### ARGENTINE RULERS DIVIDED

Naturally, the Argentine capitalist class is divided within itself. The dominant section of it (now in control of the government) is pro-Hitler and pro-Axis. The non-competitive section is pro-Roosevelt and wishes to support the United Nations in the war. This section is organized into the so-called Radical Democratic Party. To further complicate the situation, there are the pro-British (as against American imperialism) elements, who while on the surface of things must naturally support the United Nations cause, nevertheless have many a doubt, particularly as they see American imperialism steadily oust its British "ally" from one position after the other. This group more or less maintains silence, while the pro-German and pro-American capitalists fight it out among themselves.

On July 21, in a secret session of the Argentine Parliament reported in the New York Times, Foreign Minister Guinazu, spokesman for the "neutral" or pro-Axis capitalists, once more refused to break off relations with the Axis, despite sinkings of Argentine ships by German U-boats.

Guinazu cited the failure of his recent military mission to America-a failure, since it failed to get any arms or munitions. He claimed that Roosevelt refused to give any arms unless Argentina agreed to convoy shipping to the United States-a demand that Guinazu could obviously cite as further proof that Roosevelt wanted Argentina dragged into the war, via the route of U-boat sinkings. He was upheld in his program, further proof of which group controls the government.

This is the situation in Argentina at the moment: a vicious struggle between two wings of the native capitalist class-one of them pro-German (with tremendous German pressure exerted upon it); another pro-Roosevelt and pro-America. At any moment (especially with more great Nazi victories in the war) a bloody civil war could break out between these factions of the capitalist class.

We must note, of course, that in this violent struggle neither group consults the wishes of the Argentine people (the millions of workers and poor farmers) in the matter. Their native rulers want to tie them to one or another of the two great imperialist blocs, but their desires are more accurately expressed in the program of the revolutionary socialists of Argentina, who call for independent class action against both imperialists and for the freeing of Argentina from the rule of any and all foreign capital. They warn the people against submission to Axis domination, and at the same time oppose a military-naval occupation by forces of the United Nations.

### LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

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!

- 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!
- Maintain and increase all government social 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 war profits!
- 7. Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- 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 armed forces!
- 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!