

No-Strike Repeal Fight Brings Rumor FDR to Hike Wages

A rumor is in the air. Roosevelt is reported to be thinking of giving a ten per cent raise to all labor. Philip Murray has stated before the UAW convention that he is confident "as sure as I'm living, that the Little Steel wage formula will be revised."

Why, all of a sudden, does it appear as though labor is being handed on a silver platter what it has been fighting for tooth and nail since the Little Steel formula was first hung around its neck? For two reasons:

1. There is a large and growing movement in the ranks of labor, as exemplified at the UAW convention, to break the no-strike pledge. This is the first and most important prod to Roosevelt. The mere talk of rescinding the pledge is getting some results.
2. Roosevelt, together with the big labor leaders, wants to stop the dissatisfaction in the ranks of labor and guarantee himself the labor vote in the November elections. Thus, it is also a rank political scheme.



But before we start getting jubilant about that promised thicker pay envelope, let's think a moment. Is this a real boon to labor? First off, Murray and FDR are trying to keep the workers from laying hold of their only forceful weapon, the right to strike, by sheer promise. They haven't so much as mentioned a time, place or date yet.

Suppose labor does get a ten per cent hike in wages? That is already swallowed up by the 45.3 per cent increase in the cost of living.

Let us look at the "equality of sacrifice" calendar and see what Roosevelt is really promising the workers of this country.

Big business, since the beginning of the war, has been piling up enormous war profits!

Big business took care of itself with big raises in salaries, with special bonuses and pensions—in other words, it took the lion's share out of the war economy.

Labor, on the other hand, got the wage freeze.
 Labor got the job freeze.
 Labor got the Little Steel formula.
 Labor got the War Labor Board, that graveyard for labor's demands.
 Labor got all of these from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.
 Labor also got the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill.
 Labor got long hours of work, bad working and living conditions, higher taxes and poor quality goods.

Now, after two years of opposition by the workers of this country to the wage freeze, the job freeze and the Little Steel formula, two years in which the capitalists of the country have enriched themselves, Roosevelt promises a revision of the infamous formula which has held back wage increases.

It comes at a time when cutbacks are beginning in war industries and unemployment begins to increase. Thus, it appears that

thousands of workers can contemplate on the breadline the meaning of the promised ten per cent raise.

Labor should not be taken in, either by the rumor or the promise of a ten per cent wage increase. It is a rank piece of political chicanery by a candidate for the presidency of the United States in the midst of an election campaign.

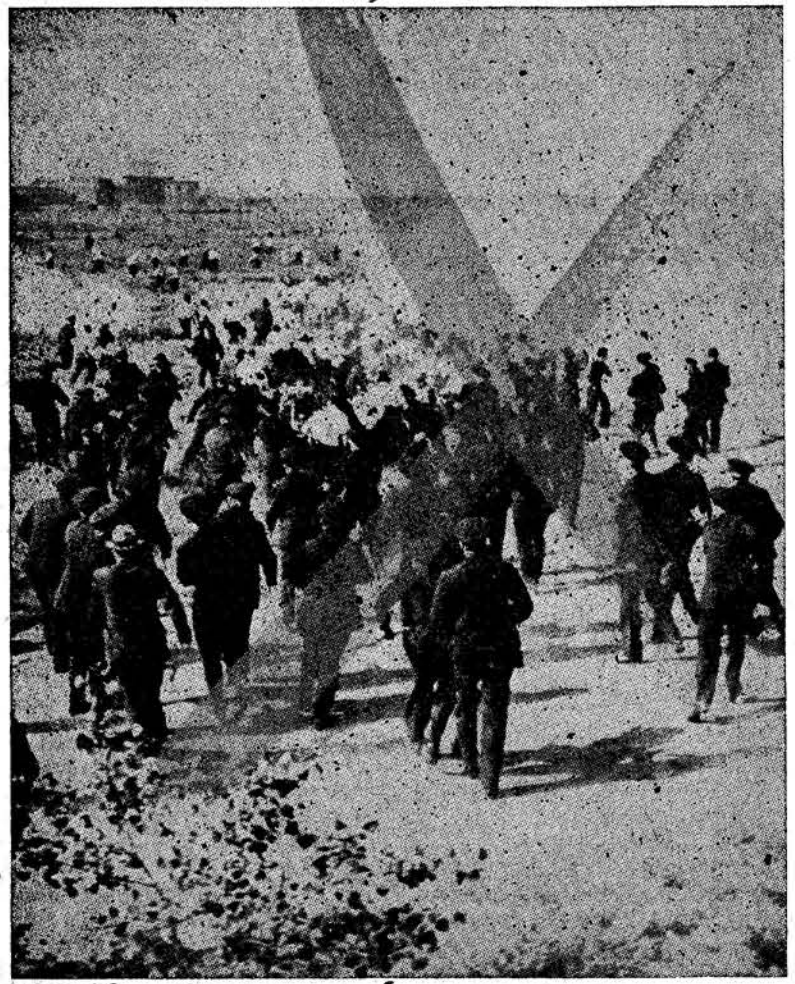
It is a desperate effort on the part of the head of the government to impede the growing revolt of the great rank and file of the American labor movement fighting for the whole future of labor in this country.

Labor must not permit these maneuvers to keep it from carrying on the great struggle for the future.

Labor must shout down all rumors and promises with the resounding roar: **RESCIND THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE!**

That is an indispensable step in the struggle for the security of the American working class.

PAC Fakes FDR's Labor Record



By T. R. COBB

In a slick pamphlet entitled "The Peoples Program for 1944," the Political Action Committee of the CIO prints the picture reproduced above. The caption beneath it in the PAC pamphlet reads as follows: "On the Labor Front: The guarantee of labor's right to organize and bargain collectively." The wide cross swabbed over it is the work of some zealous PAC publicist who has quicker fingers than wits and is supposed to indicate that such scenes as depicted above did not occur or were wiped out during the Roosevelt Administration's tenure of office.

Now look closely at the picture. It is definitely NOT a fake. It is a REAL picture of an event that ACTUALLY took place. It is a scene of the Memorial Day massacre of 1937 in which ten workers were killed and many wounded by Chicago police acting on orders from Mayor Kelly, FDR's political henchman in Illinois. The brutal massacre was carried out at the behest of Tom Girdler, then president of the Republic Steel Corporation, which was waging an armed rebellion against the Wagner Act.

WHAT LaFOLLETTE DISCLOSED

The verdict of the LaFollette Senate Civil Liberties Committee, which investigated the Chicago massacre, proved that:

1. The attack by the Chicago police was unprovoked.
2. The striking workers were entirely within their legal rights in attempting to throw a mass picket

line around the Republic Steel plant and that the police had no authority to limit the number of pickets.

3. Many workers were shot in the back—after they had begun to disperse under police attack.
4. The workers used no guns or physical violence and threw stones only AFTER the police opened up their tear gas attack and that there was not cause for the use of either gas or guns by the police.
5. The brutality of the Chicago police was worse than that charged to the "Huns" in the First World War, especially in the treatment of the wounded.
6. Police officials lied at hearings in Chicago and Washington and that blame for the massacre lay with the police and that its consequences were clearly avoidable by them.

John L. Lewis, at that time president of the Committee for Industrial Organization, stated that the ten victims of the Memorial Day Massacre "were deliberately murdered in cold blood by the Chicago Police Department as a friendly favor to the Republic Steel Corporation."

The President of the United States refused to enforce the Wagner Act in the strike against Little Steel ("Men Who Lead Labor," by Bruce Minton and John Stuart) and brashly told Tom Girdler AND the victims of the Memorial Day massacre: "A plague on both your houses."

The President of the United States who made that statement in 1937 is the same Franklin D. Roosevelt who

(Continued on page 3)

LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 18, 1944 A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR ONE CENT

Rubber Workers For Fighting Union Policy

Navy Attacks Labor Standards

The all-out offensive against labor has reached such tremendous proportions that A. L. Wegener, assistant to President E. J. Brown of the AFL Electrical Workers Union, has faintly threatened to break the no-strike pledge.

One of the most vigorous drives is against the mechanics in marine machine shops. Here the unions have established wage agreements for skilled workers which are above the \$1.20 an hour rate set for new ship construction.

The leaders in this drive to smash hard-won union contracts are the Navy "brass hats." They are taking advantage of the fact that shipbuilding contracts are about up, the workers have delivered the goods, and now is the time to get away with attempts at wage cuts.

In New Orleans, scene of current strikes, these Navy representatives have gone so far as to move ships to other ports for repair of electrical wiring in an effort to force the sub-contractors to impose the wage cuts. Wegener stated:

"Such an attitude also disregards the wage stabilization policy of the government and ignores the promises and assurances which the President of the United States has repeatedly made to American workers."

"It all sums up to a double-cross of loyal workers who have patriotically remained in the shipbuilding industry when other war work has offered a greater opportunity. If a reduction of wages is to be their reward, what incentive does further service offer?"

Military agencies are attacking the efforts of good unionists to maintain their standards on the West Coast. LABOR ACTION pointed out recently the action taken there against men who tried to retain their eight-hour day, action which went to the point of robbing men of their gas rations, referral cards and blacklisting. The same drive extends to the New York marine mechanics.

The success of the war against labor is in direct proportion to the strength with which it fights back. Its only real effective weapon is the strike. Separated from that weapon, labor can only expect the offensive against it to continue and grow.

By BILL FORD

AKRON—Facing the most important problems in their nine-year history, delegates of the United Rubber Workers of America, CIO, meet in annual convention in New York City on September 18. Scores of thousands of rubber workers look forward to this occasion, for to them it means that their elected delegates now have the floor to express the opinions of the ranks on how to PRESERVE and BUILD the union.

This convention takes place at a time when the rubber barons are fatter than ever before from the blood profits of war. Since Pearl Harbor they have seen the URWA, under the Dalrymple administration, knuckle under to all kinds of anti-labor pressure.

But, not satisfied with the miserable policy of cringing appeasement that Dalrymple and his General Executive Board term "labor statesmanship," the rubber companies now brazenly proclaim their intention to make further moves against the URWA. The companies call upon, and expect to receive, willing assistance from governmental agencies to these ends.

In a series of articles in the Akron Beacon Journal in the past week the future plans of the rubber barons are made evident. All of these plans will ultimately affect every rubber worker in the URWA—whether he works in Akron or anywhere else. True, the plans appear to affect only the Akron workers, who comprise, roughly, one-third of the URWA membership.

But everyone knows that the URWA grew up, in and out from the Akron area, and that any blows delivered against the workers here are not calculated to HELP workers in other plants. Just the opposite. The companies obviously desire to break the URWA wage standards and organization in Akron as a prelude to doing the same thing everywhere else.

THREAT FROM BOSSES

This threat is seen in what these articles describe as the manufacturers' desire to find a labor supply "without union connections" in the South and West. They would be aided by the government offering them federally-owned war plants for a song after the war is over.

(Continued on page 2)

Phillips Report, Wavell-Gandhi Exchanges, Reveal --

Great Britain Will Not Free India!

By R. CRAINE

One of the points up for discussion at the Quebec meeting between Roosevelt and Churchill, it is understood, will be the Indian question.

The dispute between these two allies over India was brought into the open by the report of U. S. Ambassador Phillips, based on his special mission to India in the spring of 1943. In it he told the President of the United States that the British policy toward India is threatening military operations in the Far East and he suggested that this country press Britain to declare a specific post-war date for Indian independence.

Upon disclosure of this report, the British declared Phillips "persona non grata" and forced his recall to this country. Later the British Information Service denied the points contained in the Phillips report and stated that "Britain has gone a good deal further than offering India self-government on a specific date. The Cripps proposal left the date to the decision of the Indian leaders themselves. In the meantime they were asked to join the government of India under the existing constitution."

THE CRIPPS MISSION HOAX

Actually, all the facts concerning British policy toward India, and especially the Cripps proposals and subsequent events, reveal that the British imperial government had and has no intention of granting even the most elementary rights to the nearly 400,000,000 people of India, and that this policy is motivated by the oft-made declaration of its chief spokesman, Churchill, who has stated: "The loss of India would mark and consummate the downfall of the British Empire." By this, of course, is meant that without the exploitation and outright robbery of the Indian masses, the proftreeing of the British capitalists would be seriously, if not fatally, impaired.

The Cripps mission to India was an attempt on the part of the British government to trick the Indian people into the support of a war in which they felt they had no interest. In response to the announcement of England that India was at war with the Axis—an announcement in which the Indian masses were never consulted and certainly never consented—the Congress Party, under the pressure of the restive Indian population, declared early in 1940 that nothing short of complete independence would satisfy the desires of the people of India. The Cripps proposal was then an attempt to palm off a "post-dated check" on independence for the genuine and complete independence which the Indian people so rightly demanded.

The people of India, however, saw through the Cripps hoax, which proposed first that independence be postponed until after the war, something with which India had already had a negative experience during and after the First World War. Secondly, Mr. Cripps proposed that in the new Indian government (for the setting up of which he offered no date), any of the Moslem-majority provinces could secede. However, this right of secession was not based on democratic consultation of the people in.

(Continued on page 3)

Drive for 4000 Subs Opens with a Bang; Two Cities Jump Gun

BANG! That shot you heard was the starting signal for the 4,000 subscription campaign for LABOR ACTION, starting September 15. The deadline is December 15.

We must report, however, that Chicago beat the gun by two weeks and Seattle by one week. Chicago piled up forty-seven subs at one jump—all obtained by one person in his shop—and Seattle sent in nineteen. The finish lines of these two cities will be adjusted accordingly.

Chicago radiates enthusiasm. The campaign managers got a whale of an enthusiastic letter from Mimi, Chicago literature director. She writes: "We decided to take full advantage of the advance notification of the sub drive. As a result we've elected a committee to push full steam ahead. The committee consists of myself; P., contact director, and Gerry, one of our new people."

The plans proposed are: (1) Use of prepaid sub cards, (2) individual quotas for each of our groups, (3) a letter to our present subscribers asking for renewals and subs from their friends, (4) visits to expired subs for renewals, (5) house-to-house canvassing in work-

ing class neighborhoods (6) 'sample copy' distributions at factory gates which are not now regularly covered, (7) coverage of Negro and general labor meetings and conventions as they arise."

Seattle is angry at us. Donaldson writes from there: "Your LABOR ACTION quota for Seattle is woefully low. We don't care for the insult. We think that 150 would be little enough." This would appear to be the case, since the subs keep rolling in from there. He adds:

"One new comrade who has previously been distributing The Militant is now going to town on LABOR ACTION. The report of what some of the fellows say is good. They greet him with such as this: 'Why in hell didn't you give us this paper in the first place? This we can read and understand. This speaks our language. Some of these articles should go in our union paper.'" Nuf said!

Our Reading, Pa., agent increased the bundle of LABOR ACTIONS by three hundred copies for the duration of the drive.

Lou Campbell of Cleveland, one of our most

conscientious and successful literature agents, sent us a long prospectus of their plans for the drive. Aside from the standard methods, they are planning neighborhood parties of LABOR ACTION readers to gain new subscribers and



sympathizers who will aid in building up the circulation of LABOR ACTION through their friends. She will send in reports as to the success of this method.

For the benefit of the local branches of the Workers Party, we repeat their quotas and state the average weekly number of subs necessary to be turned in to meet their quotas by the end of the thirteen-week period of the drive:

We'll hang up the scoreboard next week. So, come on, gang, let's sprint!

Seattle has been raised and Philadelphia reduced in response to requests by the branches.

LABOR ACTION
 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

YES, I want LABOR ACTION. Please send it to me regularly. Enclosed find twenty-five cents in stamps or coin for a six-month subscription fifty cents for a year's subscription (Check which.)

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ Zone _____ State _____

City	Total Quota	Weekly Average
New York	1,000	80
Detroit	600	47
Philadelphia	225	10
Chicago	300	24
Los Angeles	400	30
Akron	150	12
Cleveland	209	16
Reading	50	4
San Francisco	200	16
St. Louis	50	4
Seattle	150	12
Buffalo	150	12
Louisville	25	2
Streator	50	4
Youngstown	50	4
National Office	400	30

PAC Fakes FDR's Labor Record --

(Continued from page 1)
today receives support from "labor leaders" who possess neither conscience nor memory.

WHO IS KELLY?

The Mayor of Chicago who stood behind the police murderers of the steel strikers in 1937 is the same Mayor Ed Kelly, a key figure in the high councils of the Roosevelt machine, who today receives support from the Communist Party and the CIO-PAC.

No, the picture of the Memorial Day massacre that the PAC prints in its pamphlet is no fake. But its account of Roosevelt's record in connection with it IS a fake.

No mere swab of a paint-brush can cross out the bitter and bloody memory of open-shop violence against American working men under Roosevelt. No amount of dishonest propaganda can open the graves and bring back to life the hundreds of union men and women who fell before the fire of state militias, armed thugs, and vigilantes — during the Roosevelt reign.

No collection of publicity wizards can pour out sufficient words to alter the living TRUTH of labor's struggles for organization and recognition.

That TRUTH states that labor FOUGHT, BLED AND DIED for its organizations and rights. It did so not only against the opposition of the industrial overlords, who battled it tooth and nail, but against the opposition of local, city, state and national representatives of these industrial overlords IN THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF!

MISLEADING LABOR

No labor leader is worthy of the title who spreads the myth that Roosevelt GAVE labor anything. Pressure, parades, demonstrations, strikes — and fear of a collapse of a rotten social system — these got results. Roosevelt was shrewd enough to take advantage of the situation and takes credit for every victory that the workers obtained THROUGH THEIR OWN EFFORTS.

And no labor leader is worthy of his trust who does not NOW tell the American working class that it is the Roosevelt wartime administration that hacks away with might and main against the gains which the workers won for themselves in the past ten years.

These are the FACTS that the labor politicians cannot face in an upright manner.

If the Roosevelt Administration has been all that the PAC says it

has been, then why does it require the expenditure of huge sums of money in this political campaign in order to sell the American workers a bill of goods on Roosevelt?

If Roosevelt was truly "labor's President," then it would not be necessary for the PAC to spend a penny for his re-election, the propaganda of big business lobbies and the capitalist press notwithstanding.

ROOSEVELT NO DEMI-GOD

But the workers have to be incessantly reminded, urged and cajoled into accepting the Roosevelt myth. Large sections of them are NOT as convinced as the PAC that Roosevelt's policies wiped out economic insecurity, the tyranny of big business or the threat of native fascism. Some of them in their disillusionment are turning to the thumbnail version of Herbert Hoover — Tom Dewey — for political salvation. This is the same trap as the other — with a different label.

The point is that for labor to get anywhere, to gain any demands, means that it must fight against the organized bosses and their agents in government. It does not make any difference whether that government is Democratic or Republican. Faced with a sharp crisis in the country and a growing rebelliousness of the working class and the poor farmers, Roosevelt granted many and important concessions. But if the American workers had been quiet and taken the crisis lying down, they would have received nothing.

On the other side of the ledger, no worker should forget the San Francisco waterfront strikes, the Auto-Lite strikes in Toledo, where the National Guard was sent in to break it, the Little Steel strike and, last but not least, the massacre in Chicago.

They all occurred under Roosevelt. To accept the PAC propaganda means to create the illusion that attacks on labor occur only under Republican Administrations. All one has to do to refute this lie is to read the CIO literature during the years 1934 to 1940. The attacks on labor since the war broke out, the offensive of the bosses to destroy unionism under the guise of patriotism, are too close to us to need any reminders.

GET INTO THE NEW SUB DRIVE NOW! — TODAY! See Page 1

Look Who's Complaining About High Taxes Now!

"The Glen L. Martin Company paid \$60.56 in taxes for every share of outstanding stock in 1943."

When the above little statement appeared in the press a few weeks ago, the financial writers on the magazines and newspapers dashed to their typewriters — and have been writing on it ever since.

Big business has been carrying on a campaign to "educate" the public that the taxes being paid by the corporations should be cut to the bone. They considered the Glen Martin item a perfect example to prove their point. High taxes, they argued, leave the corporations very little for post-war "incentive" to continue

Let us pause for a moment at that 1942 gross sales figure. How can a company only seven years after it has been capitalized for only \$1,500,000, be able to do a business of \$337,556,000? Very simple. The GOVERNMENT advanced millions of dollars to the Glen Martin Company for planes not yet produced. In preparing for the coming banner year, the government on December 31, 1942, advanced \$159,177,421 for planes to be built in the future by the company.

In addition, through an arrangement by the Reconstruction Finance Corp. in 1942 the Federal Reserve Board transferred \$26,000,000 of its credit to the Guaranty Trust Co., which



in business, reconvert, expand and take care of their beloved workers; and, in addition, high taxes frighten capital from investing its money.

In 1928 Glen Martin formed his company, and through his incentive and free enterprise zeal the company went into bankruptcy by 1934 and he was broke. The GOVERNMENT, through its Reconstruction Finance Corporation, lent him \$1,500,000 to capitalize a new venture. This time he was a bit luckier, the world was beginning to arm for war, and gross sales for Glen Martin in 1936 were \$6,219,092.

In 1941 the United States began its war program in earnest and gross sales jumped up to \$67,237,689; and with the actual entry of this country into the war gross sales leaped up to the astronomical sum of \$337,556,000 in 1942.

in turn credited Glen Martin with that amount so that he could build and equip a plant. At the same time, the Emergency Plant Facilities Corp., another government agency, guaranteed Glen Martin \$430,000 for sixty months to pay off the loan from the Guaranty Trust Co.

Wall Street and its scribblers are bemoaning the fact that the Glen Martin Company paid \$67,539,570 in excess profit taxes for 1943. But they hesitate to mention that after all the book-keeping jugglery and paying of all taxes, the company showed for 1943 a NET PROFIT of \$19,437,570!

LABOR ACTION wants big business to pay the costs of this war with the billions it has made out of it.

Which side of the fence are you on?

Chiang Kai-Shek Rule Challenged

By L. K. LOW

Some weeks ago it was pointed out in LABOR ACTION why Chiang Kai-shek's political stock is so low in China today. The series of military reverses, the widespread profiteering and speculation accompanied by starvation and misery among the masses of the people, and the complete lack of internal democracy have combined to discredit the Chungking regime.

In the past period the newspapers have not been able to report one single thing to the credit of Chiang Kai-shek. According to the foreign correspondents, wherever the Generalissimo is not in control, things are picking up. Wherever he rules, there is dissension and dissatisfaction. It is openly stated in the press that the Chiang Kai-shek government is desperately trying to hang on until the Allies win in Europe and can bring their full military forces to bear in the Pacific.

It is only natural that this bankruptcy on the part of the government should cause many who had previously thrown in their lot with Chiang Kai-shek to jump off his bandwagon. Particularly outspoken in the recent period has been Sun Fo, president of the Legislative Yuan and son of Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic.

The Legislative Yuan is the highest legislative organ of the National Government and has authority over all legislation, budgets, amnesties, declaration of war, negotiation for peace and other important international affairs. In view of the Generalissimo's dictatorship, this authority, of course, is only nominal. Nevertheless, because of Sun Fo's name and office, his recent remarks take on special significance.

According to Sun Fo (New York Times, August 27), the trend of the Kuomintang until the death of his father was revolutionary.

"After the Northern Expedition of 1926 there was internal dissension in the party, culminating in the movement to expel the Communists from the Kuomintang. To oppose the Communists, we opposed the Left and identified ourselves with the Right. This has been the great error committed by our party. From our initial mistake we have developed reactionary tendencies for the last decade."

To those who know the history of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, these remarks are clearly an effort to woo the Chinese Stalinists. In the spring of 1927, Sun Fo, Wang Ching-wei, T. V. Soong, Eugene Chen and others joined together with the Chinese Communists at Wuhan against the Chiang Kai-shek government at Nanking.

Despite Trotsky's warnings, Stalin insisted that these Left Kuomintang elements were revolutionary and that the Wuhan government was a revolutionary center. Wang Ching-wei and others were even invited to the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of China and were greeted as fellow revolutionaries.

A few months later the left Kuomintang leaders of the Wuhan government united with Chiang Kai-shek and smashed the mass organizations of the workers, peasants and students. In the Chiang Kai-shek government, Sun Fo himself became successively Minister of Finance, Minister of Railways, president of the Executive Yuan and president of the Legislative Yuan.

Sun Fo now confesses his mistakes. It seems that in going with Chiang Kai-shek rather than with the Chinese Stalinists, he had bet on the wrong horse. Today he has decided "the democratic world is veering to the left, and we shall have to keep in step with the world."

It is difficult to conceive of a more flagrant opportunism than this. Now that things seem to be going their way, Sun Fo is openly bidding to the Chinese Stalinists to forgive him his earlier transgressions and to take him back into the "leftward" fold.

In line with the present international policy of the Stalinists to form a popular front with such "progressives" as Roosevelt, Badoglio and de Gaulle, it is not unlikely that Sun Fo is being groomed as the leader of a "progressive" government of China.

The Communists have said that they would be satisfied to participate as a legal party in a democratic government in China if certain groups in the Kuomintang are eliminated. Whether or not Sun Fo is the man they would accept as leader of such a government, it is clear that Sun Fo himself has tossed his hat into the ring.

C. P. Strong-Arms Union Militants

CHICAGO—The Communists of the Communist - controlled Local 101, United Farm Equipment & Metal Workers of America at the International Harvester Co. made use of an organized Gestapo system to prevent the opposition from expressing its point of view at the last general membership meeting of the local. At this meeting there were more than forty sergeants-at-arms (goons)—with armbands. Any members of the opposition who acted as if he were going to speak was immediately intimidated into silence by a group of these gangsters.

One of the members of the opposition, Harry Deveraux, left the hall to get a drink of water. Before he could return he was seized by a group of these Stalinist henchmen and locked in a room on the second floor. He managed to escape by climbing from a window two stories to the ground.

At the meeting a motion was proposed to forbid union funds being expended by any group for factional fights within the local. (The Commu-

nists used local union funds in a publicity campaign against six members of an anti-Communist group who were expelled by the Communist-controlled International Executive Board on trumped-up charges.) This, of course, was defeated, as the tellers who "counted" the votes were "reliable" people appointed by the chair.

This episode should prove conclusively to the Local 101 membership that the Communists will stop at nothing to strangle the American labor movement.

At the coming convention, to be held in October, the issues at stake will be whether the UFE & MWA shall become a well organized, democratic union capable of fighting the bosses or whether it shall become the instrument of the Stalinist policy of tying up the American labor movement and destroying its militancy.

The workers of Local 101 must see to it that the delegates sent to the convention are those pledged to defeat the Communists and to restore democracy in the union.

The Indian People Will Have to Fight For Their Independence --

(Continued from page 1)

involved, but rather on the constitution proposed by the British in 1935. According to this document, the "independent" India would be headed by a British-appointed Governor General who could veto or approve any bill, suspend the constitution, appoint or dismiss any minister, make police rules, issue decrees, etc.

BRITISH REVEAL THEMSELVES

The spontaneous outburst of strikes, especially among the industrial workers, who fought side by side with the radical students and went over the heads of the conservative leaders of the Congress Party, was India's answer to Mr. Cripps and the imperialists he represented. Only the most brutal suppression, murder and arrests were able temporarily to still the revolt.

In recent months the British have revealed with what little sincerity they had proffered even the miserable Cripps proposals. Since his release from prison, Gandhi has been trying to start negotiations with the British for the settlement of the "Indian problem." As a starting point, he made a series of proposals, many of which are closely akin to the Cripps proposals. He set forth a tran-

sition government, in which civilian affairs will rest with the Indian representatives, and military affairs will be in the hands of the British, with a cabinet responsible to the Legislature and not to the Viceroy. Gandhi has expressed himself as prepared to support the war against Japan and



has issued a sharp injunction to the Indian nationalists to cease underground political activity against British rule. He proposed to the Moslem League that it enter the transition government.

What was Britain's answer? A frigid rebuff! If you keep in mind

that Gandhi's mild demands upon the British have never fully reflected the aspirations of the Indian masses, that they were usually made under the pressure of these masses, who threaten to get out of control, and that Gandhi, representing the Indian capitalist class, has been ever ready to compromise with the British, the reply of Lord Wavell to Gandhi's invitation is all the more significant.

Now that the danger of Japanese conquest of India has passed, the British feel that they do not even have to negotiate with the Indian nationalists. In an arrogant and insulting reply, Wavell expressed the attitude of the British rulers:

"I believe that the greatest contribution that the Congress Party can make toward India's welfare is to abandon the policy of non-cooperation and join wholeheartedly with the other Indian parties and with the British in helping India forward in economic and political progress—not by any dramatic or spectacular stroke but by hard and steady work toward the end ahead."

Put into un diplomatic language, this means: You, the Indian people, must not fight for your independence, even by such mild measures as non-cooperation, to say nothing of revolution. Instead, you must cooperate

with us, your enslavers, and work hard, while we — will just continue to live off your hard work.

THE GANDHI PROPOSALS

What Gandhi was proposing, and what the British rejected, was not independence for India. He was merely proposing that the Indian national leaders be permitted to share the government with the British, in a set-up which would leave the most decisive factor of government, namely, control of military affairs, in the hands of the British.

The proposal that, at the end of the war, a plebiscite should be held in the Moslem areas to determine whether they shall constitute independent states or be part of an all-India federation was likewise turned down by the British, who have no wish to see the "Moslem problem" settled. Jinnah, head of the Moslem League, with the help of the Viceroy, has raised numerous technical obstacles in the way of considering the proposition, even though he has resumed discussions with Gandhi.

The proposal for the plebiscite can have meaning only if it is made in conjunction with the establishment of democracy in India. Without at least freedom of speech, press and organization guaranteed to all sec-

tions of the population, a democratic vote in the Moslem areas cannot even be taken and the will of the people involved cannot be expressed.

To attain these rights it is necessary that the Indian people break completely with the British, take matters into their own hands and establish a democratic government with a National Assembly elected by free and universal suffrage. But it is just such a break that Gandhi is NOT advocating. Instead, he proposes a "share-the-government" plan, which would only strengthen Britain's position in India during the war and make independence more difficult to obtain later on.

It is at this point that the Gandhi proposals show their inherent weakness. On the one hand, they are unacceptable to the British, who do not wish to see the Moslem problem settled and who are sticking to the Cripps proposals as the only basis for discussion. On the other hand, they offer no solution to the Moslem question because they do not go far enough. It is impossible to obtain democracy in one sphere—that of national self-determination—without fighting for it in all spheres, especially in a country like India, where none of the democratic rights, commonly known in the United States,

Big Boys Had a "Good Year"

From the senographic report of the annual meeting of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) held on June 6 at Flemington, N. J.:

The Chairman: "Before opening this meeting, I should like to ask the people here to stand for a minute in prayer for the boys who are taking the brunt of the battle on that beachhead in Europe, that they will be successful in their mission and will all be home soon."

(The assembly arose and observed a moment of prayer.)
The Chairman: "It is a real pleasure to welcome so many of you at the 1944 annual meeting of the Standard Oil Company. Our annual report was issued earlier this year and since you have so recently received your copy, I think it is not necessary to review results of the company's operations for 1943 in any detail."

"We had a good year. We were able to maintain satisfactory earnings because of the great volume of business done. Before proceeding with the more formal business of the meeting, I should like to discuss in advance a question which is always asked, and very properly asked, at these meetings. The question is: How are we doing this year?"
"... We have this year pushed our world-wide crude oil production to the highest level in our history."

"Naturally, these large volumes are reflected in increased earnings. We receive more gross income because of the added volume of products handled. Our net income before taxes improves even more proportionately. Because of these peak levels it is possible to achieve low unit handling and operating costs."
"For these reasons, our financial results so far this year indicate a definite improvement over the corresponding period of 1943."

"Our tax situation is difficult to anticipate. We do not know how the net will be affected by the operations of excess profits provisions and by the renegotiation requirement of our government contracts."
"With these important reservations, I think it is reasonable to estimate that our consolidated NET INCOME for the first HALF of 1944 may be in the order of SEVENTY million dollars."

(Editor's Note: Needless to say, the above emphasis is not the chairman's!)

are in existence. But these rights are not obtainable by any "share-the-government" plans with the British, but only by an all-out fight against British rule.



The Gandhi method of proceeding against the British rulers can only end in a blind alley. The British refusal even to consider the Gandhi plan is only additional proof of the

fact that negotiations and bargaining will get the Indian people nowhere. Their freedom will be won only through clear-sighted and direct struggle.

At the Quebec conference between Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt it is most likely that the United States will not press for the immediate liberation of India, although Roosevelt may seek certain concessions for American big business. The imperialist interests of the two great democracies represented at Quebec will overshadow the issue of democratic rights of the millions in India.

It is quite possible that in the days to come the United States may, for the purpose of strengthening its own imperialist interests, demand that England "liberate" India by declaring an "open door" policy. A demand for such "liberation" will have nothing in common with the demand made by the Indian people, who want freedom from British rule, not in order to come under the domination of another imperialist power, but in order that they may govern themselves as they see fit. The Indian people will inevitably resume active struggle for freedom, and in this fight we place ourselves unmistakably and unconditionally on their side.

Editorials

For Immediate and Unconditional Independence of India!

The issue of Indian independence is not new. The Indian people have been fighting for independence from the day the British seized their country and began to exploit it in the interest of their own ruling class.

The movement of the Indian people for independence is strong. It embraces almost every inhabitant of the country who does not have some special interest linked with the British rulers.

The war has only emphasized the crucial situation in India. The Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms have become what we always said they would—mere slogans, never meant to be applied either in Europe or Asia.

The article on India which appears in this issue of LABOR ACTION records the latest conflict of interests between the United States and Great Britain and the development of a determined American policy which seeks the independence of the country.

dividuals and sections of the American capitalist class

It should be clear to all intelligent workers that our demands for Indian independence and those of the American business interests are not one and the same thing.

American capitalists demand Indian independence so that they can compete with England in India on the basis of equality, certain that in this way the superiority of American industry would undermine British interests in that part of the world.

As can be easily seen, then, these demands for independence are conditional and not based on Indian interests but solely on the war and profit interests of this country.

As revolutionary socialists, we demand the immediate independence of India, with no strings attached, no matter whose profit interests are hurt. We are not for independence merely to serve the desires of big business in America.

Dumbarton Oaks ACT 1 OF THE THIRD WORLD WAR

For several weeks now the delegates from the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China have sat, with solemn faces, around a long table in a big, close-guarded mansion near Washington, D. C.

Tons of paper were covered with printer's ink by thousands of self-styled "international experts" telling why the first League of Nations failed and how this one would be fool-proof.

"There is general agreement among the delegates on the general formula to be followed in dealing with aggression by any other nation except the United States, Soviet Russia, Britain and China, permanent members of the proposed League Council, which would have primary responsibility for preventing and repelling aggression."

You see, this new, stream-lined League of Nations isn't going to go in for any foolishness about equal rights for small nations. It will be run by the "big four."

they will each have veto power over what the organization does. In this way they will be able to veto any action directed against themselves.

IT ALL DEPENDS

What good is the League, then, some will ask. Why, don't you know? For instance, if Switzerland should suddenly attack Russia. The League Council would meet and have the legal right to protect Russia against such unwarranted aggression.

But some foolish person may still ask "But what if the United States attacked Guatemala, or Great Britain attacked Denmark, or Russia attacked Switzerland?"

"They make clear that the whole success of the League will depend on the trust and confidence and sincerity of purpose of the four great powers and they seem to indicate that in dealing with the problem of aggression by one of the permanent members, there is a limit beyond which the machinery of the proposed League cannot go."

A TRAGIC COMEDY

So the mothers who have wondered whether the children of today may not grow up to be the cannon fodder of World War III can now rest assured. If we only depend on the "trust and confidence and sincerity of purpose" of Russia, Great Britain, China and the United States, all will be peaceful.

If the comedy at Dumbarton Oaks did not concern the lives of millions of the next generation it would be cause for unrestrained laughter. Having had a look-in at the padded cell, let us turn back to our serious and sane task of building a socialist world, the only guarantee that war will not again devastate our civilization.

Socialism would rid the world of the economic cause of war—the profit system of capitalism. The present war did not originate in the diseased mind of Hitler. It originated in the restless search of German and Japanese capital for raw materials and markets and in the restless efforts of British and American capital to keep these raw materials and markets for themselves.

DOLLAR PAYTRITISM

How U. S. Industry Armed Tojo's Empire

It is common knowledge that big business in this country aided in arming and equipping Japan for this war. But the full extent of this aid and the schemes used to hide the transactions from the eyes of the trade unions and the public in general were revealed only last week.

Big business used many methods to conceal the identity of its customer in order to avoid "unfavorable publicity" and "fearful of labor difficulties in the event that workmen learn that the materials on which they are working are destined for Japan."

Thompson Products, Inc., of Cleveland supplied materials to Japan. All orders had part numbers only, and no reference was made on any vouchers or billing as to the destination or what the parts were to be used for.

The president of Thompson Products is F. C. Crawford, the well known labor-bater and former president of the National Association of Manufacturers. While this company was firing workers in this country for being "un-American" for joining unions, it was supplying Japan with war materials!

The National Labor Relations Board found this company guilty of "discriminatory firing" and "engendering fear" among the workers.

The LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee exposed Crawford's company as hiring labor spies, and only a year ago the workers went on strike because the company was still firing union militants.

Bethlehem Steel Export Corporation made parts for aircraft use and the Canton Drop Forgings & Mfg. Co. also supplied Japan. Both these companies covered up the facts in the same way as Thompson Products.

The U. S. War and Navy Departments approved agreements made by big business with Japan whereby, for a large sum of money, Japanese experts were to be taught in this country how to make high octane aviation gasoline.

Long after the embargo and the proclamation prohibiting the sending of information on high-octane gasoline, many "confidential" reports were sent by petroleum company agents to Japan, giving "technical" advice.

Robert Webb, an agent for one of the petroleum companies, attached a note to one of the confidential reports he sent to Japan saying, "The attached report is sent to you in complete confidence and is very careful to whom you disclose it, as it would get me in a terrific jam if it ever leaked out that I sent you this data."

This is capitalism! And its agents? Right now they are draped in the flag, singing patriotic songs, piling up war profits, and fighting the militant workers by calling them—of all things—Japanese agents!

"No Human Rights for Defeated"—Allied Plans

Remember how "public opinion" was horrified some years ago when the Nazis announced their first mass expulsion of people from Poland and Czechoslovakia? Remember how the liberals thundered against this barbarian disregard for elementary human rights?

On August 10 the New York Times published an article in which it was stated that, "According to a statement by Wenzel Jaksch, chairman of the Sudeten German Social Democratic Party in London, it is intended to carry out deportations of 10,000,000 Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia within five years."

What is "enlightened public opinion" to say this time? What are the liberals to say? We may safely predict that they will say nothing, nothing at all. After all, what are 10,000,000 German peasants and workers?

Where these new millions live in a Germany reduced in size by partitioning and with a sharply impaired productive machinery? These planners of a rosy post-war future hardly care. They work on greater designs. After all, these are only 10,000,000 people—slightly more than Hitler forced into slave labor in Germany.

(Continued from second column)

came to Detroit fresh from a ceremony at which he was notified officially of his vice-presidential candidacy, and the chief notifier was Senator Connally. Altogether undisturbed by his association with this open reactionary, he had the shamelessness to denounce Republican reactionaries to his labor audiences and to commend to them the record of the Democratic Party, Connally's party.

As you say, Senator, everybody calls himself a friend of labor. We can only add: save us from our "friends," especially our greatest friends, among the Republican and Democratic capitalist politicians alike.

Only labor can represent the interests of labor. To that end a party is most certainly needed—but it must be an independent Labor Party.

LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interests of Labor

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France in Ferment as People Demand Sweeping Changes

By SAM ADAMS

The news from France is still too sparse and inconclusive to offer any definite picture of what is actually happening in the country. But several important facts are clear and well known. France is sharply divided between the de Gaullist forces organized outside of the country, the French underground and its armed detachments in the French Forces of the Interior, and the former collaborationist elements. These divisions, however, are not merely national divisions over matters of policy pursued prior to the Allied invasion of France and the subsequent expulsion of the Germans.

Behind the fact that the masses never ceased to fight against German occupation and French collaborationism is the additional fact that they were fighting against the "old order of things." With good instincts, the French people, especially the French working class, recognized that the defeat of France was to be placed where the real blame lay: on the French ruling class, the financiers and industrialists who preferred Hitler to the rule of the French working class and peasantry.

The French people knew that their capitalist class played ball with Hitler before the defeat, as well as after, rejoicing in the fact that the defeat and occupation of the country by the fascist scum temporarily destroyed the French labor movement, the trade unions and the political organizations of the working class.

Not only that, the French workers today do not want a return to the conditions that existed before the war. They may not know exactly what they want in the same sense as class-conscious socialists who seek the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a system of production for use. But they do know that they will not accept a return to the long working day, the miserable working conditions that prevailed in the country, the years of unemployment, poverty and war.

What is at the bottom of the differences and disagreements between Moslems and Hindus in India? What political parties exist in India today? What is a fighting program for Indian independence? Why should American workers support this struggle?

would leave the economy in the hands of labor. They want to insure ownership and control of the economy to the French capitalist class.

The French working class, however, is demanding guarantees of work, decent conditions, advanced social legislation, placing economic burdens on the backs of the French ruling class and the right to determine the economic life of the country.

Where will this conflict end? It is difficult to say now. We are only at the beginning of a great new struggle for freedom. The French workers are still in a state of disorganization. Those parties which do exist, like the French Socialist Party and the Communist Party, offer no hope to the French masses. On the contrary, they are preparing now to hand the workers over to the mercy of the old system and the old rulers.

But they will not be able to halt the struggle of the masses for a fundamental change in the social order so as to guarantee them security, peace and freedom. Up to now there is no evidence whatever that these three desires and necessities of the French people can or will be realized under Allied rule, a de Gaullist government or from the existing reformist Socialist Party, or the Russian-controlled Communist Party. They all stand for capitalism and the old system.

What is needed in France is a new organization, a revolutionary socialist party which will carry forward the struggle for real freedom, real security, real peace through workers' rule and the construction of a socialist economy of equality. This struggle will go on as surely as the world turns. The real hope of France, as of all of Europe, lies only in this direction.

But already the struggle inside the country is beginning. The press reports that the workers have seized plants when owners and directors fled as the Allied armies and the FFI made their appearance. In some instances there is no ruling force except the workers, and they have taken charge of the factories. This is exactly what the Workers Party predicted would happen. Allied policy is to prevent any social change which

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Sen. Truman Miscast in "Friend of Labor" Role

By WALTER WEISS

In recent years Vice-President Henry A. Wallace has served as the labor and liberal face of the Roosevelt Administration and of the Democratic Party. His job was to make noble speeches before large labor rallies and speak comforting words, in his homely way, at intimate confabs with important labor leaders.

As the New Deal faded away, so that even Roosevelt pronounced it dead, Wallace would grant that there were many things to puzzle and even to trouble "us liberals," but he remained firm in his faith that "the boss" would make everything all right in the long run because his (Roosevelt's) soul was pure. For the present the poor boss was beset on every side by reactionary pressures and was at the same time preoccupied with the heavy cares of winning the war.

Senator Harry S. Truman has now fallen heir to Wallace's little vice-presidential throne and has inherited along with it the task of serving as the labor face of the Democratic Party. Doing his duty, he went to the nation's labor capital, Detroit, and addressed large gatherings of CIO and AFL unionists on Labor Day.

His task was anything but easy. He was faced with the necessity of explaining why the Democratic platform had nothing definite to say about labor's future and why the Democrats in Congress had joined with the Republicans in killing the Kilgore bill for liberalized unemployment benefits, while Roosevelt the whole time played dumb.

DOUBLE-TALK BY TRUMAN

On the matter of the platform, he repeated the argument which Roosevelt himself served up for the Democratic convention. Platforms, you see, are just promises. Labor has had much bitter experience with talk and campaign speeches, and has "learned to judge a candidate or party by accomplished fact." Before elections, every politician, said Truman, calls himself a friend of labor, but deeds show that FDR is the greatest friend labor has ever had, etc., etc.

Now, it is all too true that capitalist politicians, angling for workers' votes, have not hesitated to peddle outrageous lies about their future intentions. But if a candidate (Roosevelt) and a party (the Democratic) have really proved their good faith by deeds over a period of three terms, twelve years, what is to prevent them from making promises which can be trusted?

Truman, in fact, immediately after his attack on platforms and other promises, proceeded to

acknowledge the stupidity of his own words by saying: "It is fair for you to ask . . . what the expectations of the Democratic Party are, and what we intend to do about post-war employment."

Make sense of it if you can: We don't have a labor platform, because platforms are so much hot air, but naturally you want to know what our platform is.

The Democratic Party, he went on to say, was not defeatist about the nation's future. If such vast production is possible in wartime, it is also possible in time of peace. But then, approaching a specific question—unemployment insurance and the Kilgore bill—Brother Truman resorted to a little trick. He stopped talking about the Democratic Party—necessarily, of course, because the record on the Kilgore bill is so recent and so clear—and proceeded to speak for himself alone. I shall continue to work for real unemployment insurance, he said. I have fought for labor's rights and will continue to do so, he proclaimed.

LOOK AT THE RECORD

Vary fine. Very commendable. But let's follow his advice and look at the record. For his own part, Truman voted in favor of the Connally-Smith anti-strike law and also in favor of the notorious income tax law of 1943. On some other matters, to be sure, his record is considered "good" by the liberals and labor leaders, but on these really important bills he stood squarely with the reactionaries.

Apart from his personal record, there is the record of the Democratic Party machine to which he is so loyal. Truman may, probably will, be more careful in the future to make a pro-labor record, but he alone isn't the Democratic Party, although in his speech he tried hard to confuse his listeners on this point.

No, the Democratic Party as a party, as is shown by the record on the anti-strike law, the Kilgore bill and countless other measures, is represented more typically by such figures as Senator Tom Connally of Texas, author of the anti-strike law. The Connallys dictate the party's policy on taxation, labor, the Negro question and all other important matters. Reports from the convention as the platform was being drawn up should have made this clear to anybody who did not already understand it. The Roosevelts and Trumans string along, usually willingly enough.

Now, Senator Truman, interestingly enough, (Continued in last column)

What is at the bottom of the differences and disagreements between Moslems and Hindus in India? What political parties exist in India today? What is a fighting program for Indian independence? Why should American workers support this struggle? READ "India in Revolt" BY HENRY JUDD NINETY-FIVE PAGES 25 CENTS PER COPY ORDER FROM LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 114 West 14th Street New York 11, N. Y. Send for Free Copy of Complete List of Books and Pamphlets

Company Fink In Union Ranks

Further evidence of the role of the PTC in the anti-Negro trolley strike was indicated by the charge of Michael Quill, president of the TWU-CIO, that Aggie Campbell, notorious company fink and strike-breaker from the ship industry, was seen in the PTC offices in the Mitten Building on August 2, during the strike.

Campbell broke the strike of the CIO at the Sun shipyards in 1936 by leading a back-to-work movement and founding the Sun Shipbuilding Employees Association, the company union that so long succeeded in keeping the CIO out of the yards. Campbell was exposed as a collaborator with the Nazi Bund and the distributor of anti-Semitic literature. He was also alleged to have been a henchman of Pearl Bergoff, leading professional strike-breaker, exposed during the LaFollette Committee investigations.