## **NEXT WEEK:** SPECIAL 8-PAGE **MAY DAY EDITION**

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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# BRITAIN REJECTS INDIAN PROPOSALS

# India Denied Right To Control Its Own Defense

# UAW Militants Oppose Yielding Labor's Rights

#### 150 Delegates Fight Surrender of Union Standards at Auto Workers Conference

By JOE ANDREWS

DETROIT - The first powerful opposition to surrender of labor's rights since Pearl Harbor was voiced at the War Emergency Conference of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, held here on April 7-8.

A group of 150 delegates, representing no less than 100,000

auto workers, voted against giving up the established week-end and holiday wage rates and denounced the WPB managementlabor committee scheme as a disguised speed-up plan.

This determined bloc of delegates refused to retreat another inch in the face of the employers' offensive and defied the appeals of the entire UAW international board and the personal plea of President Roosevelt.

The appearance of this militant group is the most signi-

#### Ship Workers Discuss Holiday Pay Rates Too

The position taken by the opposition at the Detroit conference of the United Auto? Workers last week expresses? tions of the union movement?

Union of Marine and Ship- post-war depression, etc. . . building Workers, CIO, in Gloucester, N. J., where a number of delegates spoke and ing for the surrender of the? established wage rate for the union leaders' retreat.

week-end and holiday work. Although the opponents of } the resolution formed only a small minority of 3 or 4 per cent of the delegates at the conference, they stood fast to their conviction that acceptance of wage cuts would serve neither the interests of the workers nor of production. They charged the leaders of the union with seeking to "appease" the employers, and declared that the bosses and the anti-labor Congressmen would only be encouraged by such a policy to make new demands on the workers and to aim new blows at the unions.

ficant and encouraging development in the American labor movement since December 7, 1941. It represents the growing resistance of the rank-andfile workers to the top union

leadership's policy of appeasing the open-shop employers and their government agents. The two-day stormy debate at the conference centered around t h e International Executive Board's demands that the auto workers "voluntarily" take "sub-

stantial wage cuts" and accept the speedup, by surrendering double-time pay for week-ends and holidays within the regular 40-hour work week and supporting establishment of management-labor committees to increase "individual" production.

"EQUAL SACRIFICE"

Tied together with the International Board's demands on the auto workers was a ten-point prothe sentiments of other sec- gram calling for a three percent limit on profits, prevention of war-time millionaires, adjustment This was shown at the April of wages to meet rising prices, a labor voice in p anning to avoid

program did not fool the opposition delegates. One after another voted against a resolution call- they took the floor and exposed these proposals as a cover-up for

As one delegate explained it: "We will vote here to give up overtime pay and for the speed-up. It will be an accomplished fact. But all the resolutions we may pass about limiting profits will be so much hot air. We are sacrificing our conditions, but the bosses won't give up a thing."

Unable to answer the opposition on the merits of the issue the executive officers were forced to argue that if these demands were not accepted "voluntarily" Congress would impose them on the workers by legislation.

THE CHIEF ARGUMENT Above all, the leaders hammered at the point that to opBuffalo Local Backs Stand of UAW Opposition

BUFFALO, April 15 — Bell Aircraft Local 501 of the UAW-CIO heard a report on the proceedings of the Detroi' conference last Sunday and voted two to one against the conference decision to give up the regular pay rates for week-end and holiday work.

This action was taken by the membership despite the pleas and speeches of Leo Lamotte a national official of the UAW. and Regional Director Kerri-

The protested against the flag sues at the conference by Richard T. Frankensteen, director of the union's Chrysler department.

pose this surrender was to oppose the government.

"Are you going to te'l the

of Roosevelt's personal appeal to the conference, 150 of the 1400 delegates courageously dared to stand on their feet and vote against the Executive Board's proposals.

of the membership.

OPPOSITION STRENGTH

of UAW members. Among the

union members also waving presentation of the is

Climaxing six hours of torrid debate on the over-time pay issue, Richard Frankensteen, a moment before the vote was taken,

President of the United States to

After this, and a re-reading

In taking this militant position, UAW President Thomas admitted when he spoke of the opposition ther and the other Board members were clear admissions that selves to the genuine sentiments

Although the militants numbered only 150 out of some 1400 delegates nevertheless they spoke delegation, representing 45,000 "None Of Your Counterfeit!"



# Nazi Tieup Holds the opposition reflected the sentiments of the union ranks, as even UAW President Thomas admitted Back Magnesium Output | have completely Congress and desinfluence it has. Although the O

#### as upholding the "popular" posi- Aluminum Trust, Getting New Plants from tion. In the statements of Reu-

The Aluminum Company of America, which is receiving the leaders were opposing them- the lion's share of nine new government-financed aluminum plants, is still "doing business with Hitler", like Standard Oil and the other American trusts. This is part of a conspiracy to restrict production and protect ALCOA's aluminum and magnesium monopoly.

This week the government is expected to settle the case by a expected to bring ALCOA before consent decree, similar to the officially for a large proportion a federal court in an anti-trust one granted in the Standard Oi, hearing to force release of the conspiracy case. ALCOA will opposition was the entire Flint company's magnesium alloy pat- plead "nolo contendere," no conents, which it shares exclusively test of the case, pay a few thouworkers; the delegation from the with the German I. G. Farbenin- sand dollars in fines, promise to Goldman and Carlson to Make Radio Talks dustrie. The government is also release its patents royalty free

any similar period of this cen-

firmness and exactness. . .

"This you must do:

ted States Army.

(Continued on page 3)

Giving Socialist Workers Party Platform

workers of St. Paul with its socialist program.

ST. PAUL, Minn. - With the St. Paul election campaign

drawing to its close on April 28, the Campaign Committee for

Grace Carlson for Mayor announced its plans to reach the

Congress Party Turns Down Plan Brought By Cripps

The British War Cabinet has turned down the proposal of the Indian Congress Party for Indian control of its own defense against invasion. The Congress has answered this rejection by turning down the War Cabinet's fraudulent promise of dominion status after the war with Britain to remain in full control of India between now and the next peace.

The events of the last week have made it clear — despite the attempts of the American press to confuse the issue — that Britain's primary interest in India is not to protect it from invasion, but to prevent the Indian people from taking their fate into their own hands.

on India, regardless of the ef-Dects on the war or the interests of the Indian people; it is afraid, even with a Japanese in- dia — that is who would control vasion looming, to permit the In- the armed forces and the govdian masses to assume control ernment - made this impossible.

of their own defense. No editorials in the American Indian masses are not aroused and armed for resistance — and ery sphere of life and administrathey will not be, as long as they feel that they would be fighting Japan only to insure British domination of their country - the responsibility will belong to | Churchill and the British ruling

#### THE CONGRESS LEADERS

Churchill's adamant take-it-orleave-it attitude left the leadership of the Congress Party no alternative but to reject the plan brought by Cripps. The Congress Party represents the interests of the native capitalist class, but it only a device for gilding the is important as a political force chains which keep the Indian only because it has the support masses in enslavement. of large masses of peasants and workers. The acceptance by the WHY COMPROMISE Congress of an openly fraudulent | FELL THROUGH promise such as was offered by the British War Cabinet, would have completely discredited the promise had practically been Congress and destroyed whatever

showed a willingness to prolong British viceroy would pick an exfor the duration of the war - the conferences with Cripps and and the government, will then try to work out some sort of comwithdraw its charges. ALCOA's promise which could be sold to the masses, the War Cabinet's

**SWP** Candidate Prepares

Final Campaign Plans

The British ruling class refuses to relax its stranglehold

"At any time defense is a vital press will change the facts: If India falls to Japan because the subject. During war-time it is all important and covers almost ev-

As the Congress statement put

"To take away defense from the sphere of responsibility (of an Indian government) at this stage is to reduce that responsibilty to a farce and nullity and make it perfectly clear that India is not going to be free in any

And that, apparently; was uppermost in the minds of the Congress leaders throughout all the conferences. They could not accept a proposal which made it perfectly clear to everyone in India that the Cripps' plan was

At one point newspaper dispatches announced that a comreached and that the Congress leaders were about to accept a Although the Congress leaders plan which provided that the ecutive council of 15, with an Indian member to handle all defense matters "except strategy

(Continued on page 2)

## Wave Of Violence Against Negro Soldiers Record Is Filed Claims Its Fifth Victim In Two Weeks

#### Soldier Shot Dead In Virginia; Others Injured by Police Assault In Tuskegee

APRIL 14 — The wave of violence against Negro soldiers claimed new victims this week, as the Army officials and boards of inquiry continued to remain silent about the many attacks against Negro troops reported in last week's MILITANT. At Camp Lee, Virginia, Private James W. Martin stepped

out on to the balcony on the 9second floor of the prison bar- lice arrested a Negro soldier. racks. The corporal of the guard The police have confirmed the below ordered him to step back clash, and say that the situation inside. When Martin did not is "well in hand." All Negro solmove, the corporal ordered a sen- diers have been confined to their try to shoot. Martin died from bullet wounds in his head.

The corporal and the sentry NO REPORTS YET ON were held and a board of com- ARMY INVESTIGATIONS missioned officers was set up to investigate the case.

cording to a report received by diers and one white M. P., was soldier had ordered him to. the Pittsburgh Courier which was reported to have left Fort Dix. GROWING RESENTMENT not able to secure all the details But no official statement has yet | Meanwhile strong resentment because "all news of the occur- come from the army assigning over these attacks on Negro sol-

with the M. P.'s in the batt'e Adam Clayton Powell, editor of had felt it necessary to provide | The People's Voice, gave clear exthemselves with rifle ammunition pression to this resentment in an Nor have either of the military

boards set up in Arkansas issued | That We Are Fighting For?" any report on the case of Sergeant Thomas P. Foster, Negro soldier who was assaulted by white M. Ps. and then shot dead 'as he lay helpless on the ground' tury," and declared: by a white city cop because he clash, and say that the situation had asked the city cops beating blame squarely at your feet. . . they didn't turn him over to the

Nor has any report been published in the papers about the Meanwhile, Brigadier-General trial in San Antonio, Texas, be-B. O. Davis, Negro assistant to ing given a white soldier who In Tuskegee, Alabama, on the Army Inspector General sent had shot and killed a Negro mili-April 3, several Negro soldiers to Fort Dix, N. J., to sit in on tary prisoner in a fight because were injured as the result of an the boards of inquiry investigat- he had not stopped fighting with attack on them by city cops, ac- ing the killing of two Negro sol- another prisoner when the white

rence has been suppressed by Ar- responsibility for the April 2 gun diers was growing among the Nebattle or explaining why the Ne- | gro population.

The fight began when city po- gro soldiers who participated New York City Councilman-

# For Appeal In 'Sedition' Case

NEW YORK, April 15-The in advance of the fight and editorial printed in the April 11 Civil Rights Defense Commit-Workers Party and the CIO Powell pointed out that "more. beaten so far this year, than in polis last December on charges | the speakers. of violating the Smith "Gag Act", announced this week that "Mr. President, we lay the the record of the "sedition" case up a drunken Negro soldier why You alone have the power to deal has been filed with the clerk of with this correctly and you must the Circuit Court of Appeals in do it and do it promptly, with St. Louis, Mo.

By agreement with counsel for the government, the time for fil-"Immediately command the military police to protect by force ing of the briefs for the defendants has been extended to July. of arms all members of the Uni-The government will have until "Order the Department of Jus- briefs. September for filing its reply

tice to arrest immediately for The attorneys for the 18 de-"If not, then what are we fight- decision will be rendered soon mary election leaves St. Paul election. after the oral argument.

in working-class neighborhoods announcing the concluding campaign rally and radio speeches. At the campaign rally to be held their interests in the final elec-April 23 8 P.M., at the American tion on April 28. House, 444 Rice Street, Albert COMMITTEE STATEMENT issue of that paper. Entitled tee, official defense agency of Goldman, attorney for the Social-"Both of these candidates rep-"Mr. President, Just What Is It the 18 members of the Socialist ist Workers Party and one of the resent the old capitalist partiesdefendants in the recently condespite the fact that McDonough cluded "seditious conspiracy" Negro men have been killed and who were convicted in Minnea- case, and Grace Carlson will be Labor Progressive Association. In

> Albert Goldman will also make (the day before the primary elec-15 minute radio speech over tion) the reactionary St. Paul ntation WMIN on April 24 at 8:45 Pioneer Press also endorsed Mc-P. M. in behalf of the Socialist Denough and the three incum-Workers Party candidate. The bent Labor Progressive councilcandidate herself will speak over men. 'This paper believes that the same station April 27, the there is every reason to give a night before the election, at 8:45 vote of confidence to the present

rial St. Paul election edition of Press has supported Fallon a

THE MILITANT will be distri- gainst McDonough in the past two buted in St. Paul on April 25, 26 mayoralty campaigns. and 27 by Socialist Workers Party members and sympathizers. port the war and are thereby In a recent press release the rendered incapable of defending trial the civilian murderers of fendants estimate that the oral Carlson Campaign Committee the interests of St. Paul workers arguments on the appeal will stated: "The nomination of Wil- We have therefore decided to ru-

an editoriat in its March 9 issue

administration,' the editorial as Ten thousand copies of a spe- serted flatly, although the Pionee: "Both of these candidates sup

"Wipe out Jim Crow in all de- take place before the Circuit liam Fallon and John McDonough a write-in campaign for Gracpartments of our armed forces. | Court sometime in October. A for mayor of St. Paul in the pri- | Carlson for Mayor for the fine

tion literature and information about the campaign may be obtained there.'

#### McDONOUGH'S RECORD

That "Labor Progressive" candidate, John McDonough does not represent the interests of labor was clearly demonstrated by the Five thousand leaflets were distributed during the week events of the past week in the campaign. William Fallon, whom the Labor Progressive Association denounces as "the candidate of reaction" exposed McDonough as having made a deal with the local power trust, Northern States Power Company. "25 days after Mayor McDonough took office," said Fallon, "an ordinance was approved extending the franchises of the Northern States Power Company for five years without any vote of the people."

In the same radio speech Fallon recalled how another "Labor" mayor, William Mahoney, used to call the Northern States Power Company "the great octopus." Even the old time reactionary William Fallon is able to make political capital of the cynical betrayal by Labor Progressive office holders of the principles of the Labor Progressive Associa-

In spite of her clean-cut socialist program and the campaign against her because she had been convicted of violating the Smith 'Gag Act," Grace Carlson rereived the vote of one out of every thirty people who went to the polls in the March 10 primary

Plans to Use Sound Truck, Signs, Boxes, Monitors and Pressure On CIO Members As Well As Violence Against the Distributors

they would not be able to get

away so easily with hoodlum at-

tacks in the future. The Stalin-

ists - who are brave when they

have odds of five to one on their

side - decided to take another

step, which is reported in the

They charge that the distrib-

utors of the papers have been

into the hands of the CIO mem-

bers." This is their way of sta-

ting that none of their tricks

have yet succeeded in convinc-

ing the CIO workers that there

forcing the Quisling sheets

April 14 Daily Worker.

THE INSPIRING EXAMPLE

OF THOMAS J. WATSON

mid-west town have given up riding bicycles in order to save

rubber for the war; the members of the mothers' club in some

other place have promised to sacrifice their weekly card party

and save the paper on which the cards are printed; workers

are walking to their shops and saving the wear and tear on

auto tires; and many unions have even promised to sacrifice

word sacrifice these days. Today's papers tell how Thomas J.

Watson, president of the International Business Machine Cor-

poration, is making the real sacrifice that puts all the others

in the shade. He has authorized the board of directors of his

company to cut his salary from whatever it was, and it was

plenty, to a measly \$9,000 a week for the year 1941. Here is

a real man and a patriot. He refuses to do "business as usual"

during the war. With all the plans for lower wages, higher

taxes and longer hours, Watson steps forward to set an example

ask my union to pass a resolution and send it to the company

promising to do our best to become Watsons. I will write to all

can start a real movement to Watsonize America. In these ter-

rible days, when everyone is asked to give up this and told to

give up that, when little by little everything is being taken

away from us, we can turn with new hope to the example of

money, to do without necessities, to work harder, to eat less,

to sleep less, to walk more, to talk less, to cry less, to buy

less, to save more, to crave less, let us do so with the thought

that Watson too has sacrificed. Let's be a Watson and bear it.

If we must sacrifice to pay more taxes, to work for less

Yours sincerely.

I am inspired. Let every one of us become a Watson. I will

But all these people don't know the real meaning of the

established week-ends and holiday pay rates.

I've been reading about how some high-school girls in a

The attempts of the Stalinists in the Los Angeles Industrial 2-Union Council of the CIO to prevent the distribution of work- is anything wrong with their ing class newspapers that defend labor's rights and oppose the treacherous policies of the Communist Party, have thus farproved unsuccessful. But the Stalinists are still determined to prevent the workers from getting ?

a chance to read such newspa- away with them to remove all

Two weeks ago, late in a meeting of the Council after many of the delegates had already departed, the Stalinists introduced unionism as usual" and THE the Socia ist Party's Call. The Stalinists voted to "discourage' the distribution of these papers in front of the CIO hall.

The passage of this resolution did not discourage either the distributors of the papers from appearing on the street in front of the hall, nor did it discourage the rank and file and non-Stalinist CIO members from taking copies of the papers that were offered to

MEANING OF "DISCOURAGE"

Dear Editor.

Thomas J. Watson.

Last week the Stalinists show ed what they meant by the word "discourage." Organizing a band of twenty men, they attacked two gir's holding THE MILI-TANT and Labor Action, took their papers away from them, tore them up and took the pieces accepting and reading these

evidence of the attack and the resolution; this one states that reason for it. To show that they were in gans of the CIO"! Nobody has earnest, they also seized two men ever pretended that they werewith the girls, and severely beat but the Stalinists hope that the resolutions condemning "trade one of them up. Then these de- introduction of this issue by them fenders of democratic rights for will confuse the question in the MILITANT, Labor Action and Earl Browder went back into the minds of many of the non-Stalin-CIO building. But not even this brutal at-

over their dirty moves. tack secured the results that they It was then decided, once this wanted. The distributors of the issue had been raised, "that a papers came back again, and sign will be placed at the enwhile avoiding any provocative trance expressing the CIO's opmoves to create trouble, it was

"The CIO sound truck will also be used on meeting nights to inform those coming into the building that the Trotskyite papers are opposed by the council and a letter is being sent to all affiliated locals asking that they take similar ac-

But the Stalinists, are not go ing to take any chances, they are not going to depend even on this publicity campaign to achieve

BOXES AND MONITORS

Boxes will also be placed in the corridors of the buildings and monitors will stand by them urging that all delegates deposit the unwelcome material in them."

In this way the Stalinists hope o exert greater pressure on the individual CIO members and to intimidate them - by threats to columnists" - into not accept-

Whether this Stalinist scheme to prevent workers from reading what they want, will work any

At any rate, it is already clear that the Stalinists are willing to spend as much time and energy attacking the right of free speech and free press as they are spending to prevent strikes and to speed up

Trotsky's Last Work

and the

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place

A STRAW MAN

The Stalinist-dominated executive board brought out a new "the papers are not official orist de egates and thus make it easier for the Stalinists to put

position to the newspapers. . . made clear to the Stalinists that

their purposes.

They know the non-Sta inist workers have not paid much attention to their slanders before. Consequently, as the Daily Work-

ing the paper.

better than those employed in the past, remains to be seen.

the workers.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

IMPERIALIST WAR

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION 5 cents per copy

# C.P. Tries New Scheme To UAW Militants Oppose Surrender Halt Sale Of 'Militant' Of Labor Rights And Standards

auto workers now out of work.

Reuther's claim that the Nel-

son plan was the same as the

Murray Council plan was ex-

posed by several delegates who

pointed out that the joint-com-

mittees under Nelson's plan

have no power to enforce pro-

duction decisions. It was re-

lated that in some companies

where the labor-management

committees are already set up,

the management "permits" the

(Continued from page 1) representing 15,000 auto workers; rights and gains.

and delegates speaking for thou-

locals. The delegates included 150 nes of Pontiac. paid organizers who were told by Thomas "either go along with

us or hand in your resignations." But the response to the speech of Louis Ciccone of Local 216, Los Angeles, who struck the of the national officers were perkey-note for the opposition, indicated that the leadership was fac-

ing a real fight. "We have a fight to win right here at home," Ciccone pointed out. "You ask us to sacrifice and promise in return to take the profiteering out of war. On the West Coast we have declared our willingness to work for just living expenses if the management gives up profits. But they won't give up any of their profits. Step by step you are sacrificing labor's basic rights. You have given up the right to strike. You're giving

up overtime pay. When will

the management start sacrific-

ing? Every time we make a

sacrifice, they ask for more." "STEP BY STEP"

John McGill, leader of the delegation from the powerful Flint Local 599, attacked the leaders for surrendering to government pressure. "Our organization is falling into the hands of someone who has no right to it, of somecall them sympathizers of "fifth one besides the rank and file who built it."

Exposing the hollowness of the leadership's promises to fight for "sacrifices" by the bosses McGill

"The slogan of Victory Through Equality of Sacrifice sounds fine. But it's nothing but a fraud. Step by step and inch by inch the employers and Congress are getting back everything we have won. Let the members of the International Board come out and tell this conference what any single manufacturer has sacrificed . . . give it to us in facts and fig-

ures. Where is the equality of sacrifices?"

greeted McGill's words: "It's the workers who fight and planning. die, not the employers. Isn't that posing a wage cut. Should we committees. The program states:

Cop Murders

**Alabama Negro** 

In Cold Blood

support for the war, but neverthe- individual effort." Such a speed- tors of inadequate organization, into conflict with the capitulatory Detroit Dodge local, numbering less denied that Hitlerism could up was opposed by the militants suggesting merely extension of policies of the union leaders. 20,000 members; Toledo delegates be defeated by wiping out labor's as a betrayal of the over 150,000 the board mechanism into region-

In addition to Ciccone and Mesands of members of Murray Bo- Gill, others who made militant dy, Bell Aircraft, the big West speeches were William Hill, pres-Side Detroit local, and many ident of Detroit Dedge local; Ar other important sections of the thur Shipley, of the same local; Lloyd Jones, president of Detroit The Executive Board members Murray Body local; Michael Manapparently expected to push ning, president, and Chester Multhrough their program without ins, of Detroit West Side local, serious opposition. They had de Walter Reuther's home local; Arliberately issued the call to the thur Case, Flint Buick Local; conference at the last minute so Ne lie Goff, FlintAC Spark Plug: that most of the delegates had J. P. Maturski, vice-president of to be appointed and not elected. Buffalo Belle Aircraft local; Paul One week's notice was given, Steffes, Milwaukee Local 75; Thowhich did not permit any proper mas Burke and Richard Gosser, discussion of the issues in the Toledo Local 12; and John Bar-

> TOP LEADERS ARGUMENTS

Contrasted to the fighting words of these delegates, the speeches meated with fear and defeatism. Secretary-Treasurer George Addes. who in the past has posed

pression of the leaders' attitude. "You will get limitations of down our Commander-in-Chief?" overtime pay whether you like it or not. Your friends in Washington have deserted you. You can't stop Congress now." He proposed nothing but to turn tail and

In attempting to answer the question why the workers must sacrifice now, while management will be asked to sacrifce later. Addes admitted the fraudulent motivation for the "Equality of Sacrifice" pro-

"Why do we have to make sacrifices in advance of management? Because employers generally do not believe in democracy. Most of them would be victorious if the Axis won the war because they can function just as well under a dictatorship . . . Some, like Standard Oil, have made deals with the Axis power . . . and yet some of you delegates are asking that we wait until these business men make sacrifices."

This, in effect, was an admission that the Executive Board's policy is an attempt to "appease" fascist-minded monopolists who will nevertheless continue their war against labor.

MANAGEMENT-LABOR COMMITTEE DEBATE

The second day of the conference was spent in debate over Nelson's proposed managementlabor committees.

Attempting to answer the argument that this was a disguised speedup plan, the UAW officers. led by Walter Reuther, asserted A great volley of applause that it was intended to give the

A delegate rose and read from sacrifice enough? Let's be clear the text of the union's program on what we're asked to give up. itself, which proved the speedur Our International Board is pro- purpose of the management-labor sacrifice wages while General Mo- "We commit ourselves to the intors piles up hundreds of millions | crease of production of all war in profits?" McGill declared his materials ... both by collective and

#### the ground and the cop, standing The Negro people in this coun ry are told that there is a "war

A Negro steel worker was shot to death in cold blood by a city cop in Birmingham, Ala., last

Henry Matthews, the victim, was crossing the street when a cop, C. W. Hopkins, asked him if people must continue the struged that he was not drunk, and the rights in war time as much as in cop began to strike him.

and the cop drew his gun and with less rights than they had fired. Matthews fell wounded to before the war.

DANCING:

workers songs.

over him, fired four more shots

or democracy" going on, and that as a result they must forget about their struggle against Jim Crowism and for equality. But the enemies of the Negro

people will not let them forget about it - they continue to insult, suppress, discriminate, segregate, murder. In fact, these attacks on the Negro people have increased since Pearl Harbor.

They are proof that the Negro he was drunk. Matthews answer, gle for equality and democratic peace. Otherwise, when the war Matthews tried to cover up, is over, they will find themselves

#### workers to put ideas into a "suggestion box." which the management alone assumes the right to accept or reject. The Murray plan proposes to give the joint management-laborgovernment councils actual power to regulate production. The majority of delegates finally were induced to vote for this ery issue is forced onto the polspeedup plan by the same argument used to put over the holi- day pay and speedup were posed day pay cut. R. J. Thomas stated

Thomas shouted. The same 150 militant delegates voted against the managementlabor committee speedup plan.

CONDEMN WLB's "SHORTCOMINGS"

conference was the unanimous of their followers. The newlyendorsement of a resolution conforming opposition is drawn from taining a sharp condemnation of both the Reuther and Addes cau-"serious shortcomings" of the cuses and includes unionists who War Labor Board. The resent- have long fought for an honest ment felt by all union members union program based entirely on at the run-around, they are get- the interests of the workers withting from the WLB compelled the out regard for personal ambition. union leaders themselves to introduce this resolution.

This resolution as worded by the leaders was a plea to the government and WLB to start taking some speedy action on the grievances and demands of the workers before "discontent and unrest" over-ride the leaders' nostrike pledges.

Because the WLB is delaying decisions, and is refusing to accept cases growing out of the firing of workers for union activities, the workers are "virtually being driven into strike action against their wishes," the resolution stated. It also charged that the corporations are taking advantage of the no-strike policy to undermine the unions and ignore their demands.

The specific proposals of the

Stalinist 'Reincarnated

ers and urge them to fight for better conditions.

Pat Sullivan was a militant Canadian union organizer. He

was president of the Canadian Seamen's Union. He was also

a devoted Stalinist. Thus, when the war broke out in September,

1939 and Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, Pat Sullivan op-

posed the imperialist war. He continued to organize the work-

For this, the Canadian government promptly clapped Sulli-

It is not known on what precise date Sullivan finally saw

From that moment, he was, as it were, transfixed and trans-

van into a concentration camp, where he remained for 21 months.

the light. It is be leved, however, that very shortly following

the date of June 22, 1941, the day Hitler began his invasion of

formed. Passing once more through the gates of the concentra-

tion camp, this time on his way out, Sullivan summed up the

spiritual transformation which 21 months in a concentration

camp and a change of party line can achieve: "Bygones are

bygones. We step out, reincarnated, to do all in our power to

the Soviet Union, a sudden vision arose before Sullivan.

al boards and other methods of expediting the handling of de- velop new leaders out of the mands and grievances. Such changes, however, would not alter the fundamentally pro-employer character of the WLB, which was purposely set up as a device to auto workers but large sections divert the workers' demands into of the American labor movement. a bottomless swamp of mediation

A POLITICAL ISSUE What was brought out most clearly by the debate and decisions at this conference is that the immediate problems of the auto workers can no longer be met merely on an ordinary trade union level. The auto workers face not only the individual employer or corporation, they are confronted by the opposition of the entire governmental apparatus. Eyitical arena. The questions of holiby the International Board not that it was the explicit request on their merits, but on the basis as a militant, gave a typical ex- of Roosevelt that the plan be of political support or opposition

C. P. DISCREDITED

jeered.

As the war progresses, the emresolution served, however, to dis- ployers and government will de- contributions to aid in the appeal guise rather than reveal the true mand more and more concessions against the conviction of the 18; character of the WLB. These from labor. The needs of the Socialist Workers Party and CIO proposals dealt entirely with fac- workers will come more and more members in the Minneapolis

For militant leadership, the workers are now compelled to deranks. The first sign of this new leadership was evidenced by the opposition at the auto conference,

DEMOCRATIC TRADITION

The fact that this conference

was called at all is proof that the

auto union leadership is compel-

led to respect the will of the rank-

and-file, if only in a formal fash-

ion. The traditional UAW de-

mocracy prevailed at this confer-

ence, showing that the union

ranks still retain the decisive

voice. That means that the union

members will fight to prevent the

international Board from buro-

Although the majority of del-

egates submitted to the de-

mands of Roosevelt at this con-

ference, they still demonstrated

that they are not mere hand-

raisers for the union leaders.

For instance, when the Execu-

tive Board appealed for a spe-

cial \$50,000 fund to campaign

for their "equality of sacrifice"

program, the delegates flatly

The manner in which the UAW

members jealously guard their de-

mocratic union rights reveals the

innate vitality and militancy

among the auto workers. Such a

spirit must inevitably respond to

The coming UAW convention in

Chicago next August will witness

a heightening of the conflict that

made its first appearance last

The outbreak of the war last

Dec. resulted in a temporary par-

alysis of the union movement un-

der the guidance of the present

leadership. The events at the

UAW conference presage the re-

birth of a militancy which will

rally the American workers to

battle in their own interests and

**More Unions Give** 

call a halt to retreats.

the appeal of the opposition.

week in Detroit.

turned the request down.

cratically stifling the opposition.

whose stand inspired not only the

and arbitration.

adopted. "Are you going to let to Roosevelt.

The emergence of the opposition at this conference was the herald of a new force arising from the union ranks. The international Board, despite its long record of clique fights, lined up solidly against the militant rankand-file. As a result, the old A most significant action of the Board factions are losing many

The Communist Party, which formerly attracted many militants in search of leadership, is now thoroughly discredited in the auto union as a result of its unprincipled clique tactics and sharp shifts in policy. The few Stalinists left in any position in the UAW cling to the shirt-tails of the Executive Board. When John Anderson of Local 155, Detroit, urged the delegates not to consider their own conditions but to concentrate on "fighting the slantyeyed Japs," the delegates, who remembered a previous convention speech of his against British imperialism, hooted and

## **Funds to Support** Defense of 18

The Civil Rights Defense Committee this week announced the receipt of further union financial Smith "Gag" Act trial.

The contributing unions and the amounts of their donations are as follows:

Gas, By-Products and Coke Workers Local 12065, United Mino Workers, CIO, District 50 Edge water, N. J.; \$50. Bell Aircraft Local 501, United

Automobile Workers, CIO, Buffalo, N. Y.; \$25. United Rubber Workers, CIO,

Local 69, Trenton, N. J.; \$10. Amalgamated Lithographers Union, AFL, Local 1, New York Ci-

The CRDC, which is the organization authorized by the Minneapolis defendants to organize public support on their behalf, has national headquarters at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The CRDC urges all unions and progressive groups to give the fullest financial and moral aid in

Rising Prices

win the war against Hitler."

verby all a file of the plant o CHICAGO MASS MEETING

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Workers Party

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For a Rising Scale of KNOX ATTACKS UNION Wages to Meet OF RADIO SHIP MEN

Over 100 members and officers of the American Communications Association, a CIO union of ship radio operators and technicians, have been ousted from their jobs on United States vessels by order of Secretary of the Navy Knox, in a move to smash the union. A blanket charge of "un-American activities" was placed against the fired un- the U.S. in this war? What is

Outstanding victim of the purge of the union, who was a radio

The action against the ACA has been taken under a federal statute giving the Navy Secretary authority "to provide additional safeguard to the radio communications service of ships of the United States in the interest of national defense and for other purposes.'

Navy Department with "anti-un- into effect by the government." lon, anti-democratic bias" and reported, that before, they were

examined as follows: you think should be allied with a recent issue of the CIO News.

the connection between the ACA is Murray Winocur, vice-president and the National Maritime Unions? If ordered by the union to commit an act against the safety of the ship, would you obey the order? What did you think of the war in Spain - did you take sides?"

The ACA leaders are under Stalinist influence and are vociferous supporters of the war. The Daily Worker, April 4, complained editorially that "Winocur's dismissal is particularly ironic since he is the author of the ACA 'Anti-Union officials charged the Espionage Plan' . . . partially put

The government attack on the ACA is part of a general anti-unfired the union men were cross- ion policy. The CIO United Federal Workers has been protest-"Are you active in the union? ing for months against the firing Do you belong to any communist of its members employed in govorganization? Are you aware that ernment jobs and is demanding the ACA is a communist organ- that "the FBI stop harassing unization? What is your political ionists and progressives in the philosophy? What countries do Government service," according to

Hitlerism, trade union democracy, etc., in a language so simple and clear every worker will immediately grasp and understand the fundamental Marxist JUST OUT

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# Negro Struggle

#### New Jim Crow Plans for the Navy

After Pearl Harbor, the demand for the abolition of Jim Crow bars against Negroes in the Navy and Marines, became louder and more insistent than ever. Last week Secretary of the Navy Knox announced a new plan affecting Negroes in these branches of the armed forces. An examination of this plan shows that it is not intended to do away with the much-denounced racial discrimination and segregation; ail that it is intended to accomplish is to weaken and eliminate some of the criticism that has been aroused: Negroes will still be treated as "inferiors" and the "war for democracy" will still be fought by a Jim Crow armed force.

Up until now, Negroes were permitted to serve only as mess stewards and cooks in the Navy, and not at all in the Marines. After this new plan goes into effect - and it will take some time - the following changes will be made:

Negroes will be accepted as volunteers for general service in the "reserve components" of the Navy, the Marine Corps and the Coast Guard.

Negro and white sailors and Marines will not be mixed. A separate Negro outfit will be set up in the Marines, under white officers. Ail-Negro crews, under white officers, will be placed on small boats and assigned to "maritime activities around shore establishments" and "in navy yards"; those who are skilled workers will be employed in "construction crews and companies" (fancy names for labor battalions) and they may be employed in developing bases outside of the U. S. continental limits.

Negroes will be eligible for promotion as petty officers (non-commissioned), but not as commissioned officers, because, according to Knox, it takes many years to train men as commissioned officers.

If enough Negroes rush in to volunteer for this Jim Crow set-up, the Secretary of the Navy may assign some of them to serve on a destroyer

The whole plan will begin as soon as the Navy can establish "a suitable training station," that is, a Jim Crow training station. Meanwhile, recruiting for service as messmen will continue without change.

#### Lip Service by Knox

Add this all up, and what does it equal? Knox and the administration have paid some formal recognition to the idea that Negroes should have the right to serve in all branches of the armed services. But putting some Negroes on small boats around the shores and in the navy yards or sending them as labor battalions to other countries does not at all change the fact that Negroes will still be segregated and discriminated against only because of their color!

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was quick to call Knox to order on his alibi for barring Negroes from serving as commissioned officers even in the segregated setup because it takes "years to train officers." It pointed out that "at present the Navy is taking men off college campuses and out of civilian life daily and is giving them intensive training so that they can become commissioned officers. One such class was graduated recently from a training ship in the Hudson River."

If this can be done with whites, obviously it can be done with Negroes too. The fact that Knox does not intend to do this is proof that he doesn't want to. Knox said of his whole plan: "We are going into this in a cordial spirit of experimentation that will produce the least possible difficulties." What he meant was that he was going to pay a little lip-service to all the anti-Jim Crow agitation while at the same time making the least possible concessions to the idea of Negro and white equality.

#### "Progress" -- and Some History

The New York Herald-Tribune called this step an innovation and other papers hailed it as. unprecedented, etc. Some groups have admitted its limitations, but say, "Well, it is not perfect, but anyhow it's a step forward." This is a completely false way of looking at the matter.

For it overlooks the fact that only 25 years ago, during the first world war, Negroes were accepted into the Navy on exactly the same basis as whites, and were not segregated. Of course, they did not have full equality even then, but at least they were allowed in the same crews as white sailors, and had the same formal right to become officers, etc. Then, 20 years ago, in 1922, after the war had been won, an order was issued barring Negroes from any service except in the messman branch.

In other words, Negroes in the middle of the second "war to save democracy" are worse off so far as discrimination in the Navy goes than their fathers were at the beginning of the first "war to save democracy."

Anybody who calls this a step forward is in the same position as the man who was earning \$30 a week, and then got cut to \$20 for doing the same work, and now is happy because he is "raised" to \$22 a week.

The only reason Knox offered this new plan was to "satisfy" the Negro people that they have something to fight for, that after the war they will secure greater rights. But it will not achieve that effect; advanced Negroes will recognize it only as an attempt to avoid giving. them genuine equality in the armed forces; they will never believe that democracy can be preserved or extended by a Jim Crow armed force. They together with all class-conscious workers must continue the struggle for democratic, rights in the armed forces and the abolition of all forms of military Jim Crowism.

# The LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIP DOING BUSINESS With Hitler BRING BRANCED - BARE DOING BUSINESS With Hitler

# Jones Says Standard Oil Blocked Rubber Industry

#### Exposes Lies of Company Heads But Admits field, including synthetic rubber Own Agency Is Aiding Standard Monopoly

Further evidence relating to the Standard Oil-Nazi I. G. Farbenindustrie conspiracy which helped to block America's synthetic rubber industry, was given to the Truman Senate Investigating Committee last week by Jesse Jones, Secretary of the war "whether or not the Commerce and head of the gov-9-

Jones substantiated previous government evidence when he admitted Standard Oil sought to prevent development of an American synthetic rubber industry in conformity with its patent-pooling think a synthetic rubber monodeal with I. G. This was part of an agreement to divide between them world control of the chemical and petroleum industries and

The testimony of Jones gave the lie to the statements of W. S. Farish and Frank Howard, president and vice-president respectively of the 2 billion dollar Standard Oil of N. J. who, a week before had claimed to the Truman Committee that Standard had given the government "full information" about its vital butyl rubber process and that its conspiracy with the German chemical trust was in the "interests of the United States."

Jones admitted that Standard BRITISH-DUTCH INTERESTS had, "not encouraged any of us in the belief that butyl rubber was a success. "Standard had re- ped to Japan rubber they denied fused to release its patents even after Pearl Harbor, although it Japan was a member of the Axis gave them to the Nazis in 1918.

While blaming Standard for the rubber shortage which is crippl- they (British and Dutch) weren't ing American war production, mad enough to stop it." Jones was forced in effect to admit his own complicity. His own agency is continuing to aid Stand- spite efforts of government offiard in retaining its monopoly on cials, corporation interests and butyl rubber, acknowledged to be the capitalists press to play it the "cheapest and best" form of synthetic rubber.

#### GOVERNMENT AIDS STANDARD'S MONOPOLY

Jones revealed that under the government's new program for expansion of the synthetic rubber industry Standard Oil is the only company which will produce butyl

Only 60,000 tons of butyl will be produced. The rest of the 700,000 tons of synthetic rubber planned for the government's program will be of the so-called buna type. inferior to butyl and costing over twice as much to produce.

Under the pressure of the rubitself is restricting the production butyl rubber. The rubber corporations don't want to engage in butyl rubber production because, terests. despite the recent government decree against Standard, after the STANDARD'S CONSPIRACY war the rubber companies would have to pay a stiff royalty to of Standard's conspiracy was in Standard, which would put them the files of the Department of at a competitive disadvantage. In Justice for at least a year before addition, they would have to go it was brought to light on March to Standard for the petroleum derivative which is the base of defeats, when the sources of nabutyl rubber.

of buna rubber. This is costlier ber patents. This action was and inferior to butyl. But the taken at the behest of the rubber government is giving the rubber corporations, which were compel-

Standard in an effort to cover best processes. up his own share of responsibility for the present rubber famine.

#### WHAT JONES COULD NOT EXPLAIN

But facts which Jones could not explain away before the Truman Committee were: 1. Why he opposed expansion of the synthetic rubber industry until after the fall of Singapore. 2. Why Standard Oil was the only company given government contracts for synthetic rubber plants prior to the present disclosures. 3. Why the Defense Plant Corporation officials had originally agreed that Standard should receive large royalties on all synthetic rubber produced by other companies under the government program. 4. Why Standard is still the only company which will produce butyl rubber in government-financed

Jones admitted that he had 'every imaginable difficulty" over Standard's patents. But he still insisted that he thought it was "all right" for Standard to get exclusive control of the government's butylrubber plants because Standard had the "know-how" on the process - the "know-how" presumably released to all companies by the government's anti-

trust suit. During Jones' testimony it was brought out that the nature of the contracts given Standard, as well as the other companies, would permit them to buy up the government-financed plants for a song after the war. Jones denied that this would lead to the large

ernment's Defense Plants Corpor- monopolies being strengthened a the end of the war. He argued that "I don't think a man would want a monopoly, because he knows you can't have one now. They're out of fashion." But Standard Oil, for one doesn't poly, "out of fashion," as Jones'

own testimony showed. One of the most sensational as pects of Jones' testimony was his confirmation that the British and Dutch rubber interests also used their influence to get the Amerisynthetic rubber production. He testified that the British-Dutch international rubber committee, acting with the approval of their governments, held up delivery of natural rubber to the United a stockpile" which would destroy their high monopoly price on natural rubber

He admitted that the British and Dutch in 1939 and 1940 shipthe United States. "So even while she was getting rubber?" Jones was asked. He replied, "I guess

As the scandal about the rubber shortage continues to unfold dedown, it has become apparent that Standard Oil was not alone in blocking synthetic rubber produc-

Corporations like General Electric and E, I. duPont, which were seeking to get an inside track on synthetic rubber production, put pressure on Standard not to release its patents to other compawere making fantastic profits through their monopoly of the fabrication of natural rubber and

velopment of synthetic rubber. Every group, for its own pur-Dutch governments were manipulated by the conflicting in-

Complete documentary evidence tural rubber were cut off, did the corporations new plants and a led by events to move into the guaranteed market for buna rub- synthetic rubber field and had to Jones spilled the beans about of Standard, which controls the

> The special weapon which the rubber corporations were able to problem suggests itself: draw aircraft workers are now women. wield was Standard's link with the Nazi interests. As the documentary evidence has proved, Standard made an agreement with I. G. Farben in order "to the other and also from indepento have a world monopoly on pe-

How the "democracies". paved the way for Hitler's coming to power.

### The German Revolution

ITS RISE AND FALL 1918-1923

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They agreed to share their patents exclusively with one another. In October 1939, Standard and I. G. made a further arrangement providing that their cartel agreement was to continue throughout United States came in." When American entry into the war appeared imminent, Standard took over I. G. Farben's portion of their joint interests in this country, including the patents shared between them. This was done to prevent the government from taking over I. G.'s holdings and pro-

#### BASIC CONTRADICTION

Standard is still maintaining its arrangement with I. G. And there are over 100 other such arrangements known to exist between American monopolies and virtually the whole of American of the world. monopoly capitalism.

In this is revealed a basic con-States "because they didn't want tradiction of the capitalistic sys- magnesium in America under an to order additional plants. Last whole is in mortal conflict with to sell only to companies desig- COA's facilities were able to prodividual American monopoly in tion of production has held up needs - if all consumer producterests seek to do business with the manufacture of thousands of enemy interests when this aids them in securing monopoly con- uted to the metals shortage June 26, 1941 report, was forced trol on a world scale and against their own domestic rivals.

> It is this contradiction that is reflected in the New York Times. April 2, which seeks to whitewash Standard Oil throughout a lengthy editorial, and then ends up noting that there is "however, one deeply disturbing aspect" of Standard's dealings with the Nazis. It chides the Standard officials "with their worldwide sources of information and their experience in international affairs" who have continued their collaboration .with I. G. when they "were peculiarly well placed to understand the implications for the world of the Nazi program."

The Times does not dare to develop to the end the implications of this fact. For it would lay nies. The big rubber corporations | bare a fundamental contradiction of the very capitalist system which the Times upholds.

The very monopoly corporations feared the competition from de- which are running the war program and making colossal profits out of war production, when it poses, sought to impede the de- is to their interests continue to velopment of synthetic rubber traffic with the enemies of their ber corporations, the government production in this country. The own government. In war as in markets and disturb the monopoly agencies of the American, British peace, they defend their profits control and the price structure brought against it . . . the gov-

# Alcoa-Nazi Tie **Behind Lag In**

(Continued from page 1)

cartel agreement with I. G. will

ALCOA's monopoly control of

continue, as well as its aluminum and magnesium monopoly.

#### WHY ALCOA RESTRICTS MAGNESIUM PRODUCTION

the magnesium patents has enabled it to limit production of this vital war metal to 4,000 tons a year, five percent of the war needs. Magnesium is a lighter, stronger and less expensive substitute for aluminum. Production of magnesium on any extensive scale might have forced down the monopoly price of aluminum. ALCOA didn't want that. So it OF ALUMINUM TOO conspired with I. G. Farben to aiuminum and magnesium it decan government not to expand German capitalist interests. If the sired for Germany, if I. G. would government were to procede a- permit ALCOA to control the gainst Standard on this score, it aluminum and magnesium field in would also have to act against America and throughout the rest

ical, was allowed to produce German capitalism. Yet the in- nated by ALCOA. This restricmilitary aircraft and has contribwhich is crippling American to conclude "that ALCOA had production.

As in the Standard Oil case, the government has known about order to avoid the possibility that ALCOA's conspiracy for a long anyone else would go into a field time. Over a year ago, ALCOA was indicted by a federal grand years successfully monopolized." jury for its conspiracy with I. G. But not until this week over four months after Pearl Harbor - did the government dare to finally challenge the mighty ALCOA, and then only in a weak, small voice. War or no war, ALCOA refused to yield up its patents, and not until the government was faced with a crisis of war production did it reluctantly take action.

ALCOA's patent-pool with I. G. was only part of a general agreement covering the aluminum field. Assistant Attorney-General Arnold has described the manner in which this agreement came about:

#### HOW CONSPIRACY WORKED

"In 1931 there was a growing world surplus of aluminum which threatened to invade American and monopoly advantages above of the Aluminum Co, of Amer- ernment will continue, as in the all else. In the name of "patriot- ica. So that company formed a past, to lay cash on the line for ism," they try to squeeze the Canadian affiliate, called Alum- ALCOA for every ounce of aluworkers dry to pay for the war. inum Ltd., thinking that in this minum it uses in its war prepara-But their own "patriotism" is way it could escape the anti- tions, from field kitchen equiponly a hypocritical cover for self- trust laws and could join with ment to flying fortresses.' the aluminum monopolies of That statement still goes!

other countries to prevent threatened world competition by liminating this surplus."

ALCOA and its Canadian affiliate parceled off the world market with the French, British, German and Swiss interests. They formed a cartel, pooled their re-Metals Output formed a cartel, pooled their resources, bought up all surpluses and withheld them from the and withheld them from the market. Then they drastically limited all world production and fixed minimum world prices.

> "The plan to keep up prices by restricting world production roil ed merrily along," says Arnold, "until Hitler came to power. He had no patience with any limitations on German production but he was delighted with the idea of limiting production abroad.

"And so Hitler, in return for permission to produce unlimited quantities at home, promised that ne would not increase his exports and thus disturb the world prices which the cartels were trying to maintain."

#### BLOCKED EXPANSION

For almost a year and a half permit I. G. to produce all the during 1940 and 1941, ALCOA sought to protect its aluminum monopoly by blocking any government plans for expansion of the aluminum industry. The OPM officials cited ALCOA's optimistic — that is, lying — figures One company only, Dow Chem- about the adequacy of existing aluminum facilities and refused American capitalism as a agreement which compelled Dow fall, it was "discovered" that ALvide only 25 per cent of the war tion were cut out.

The Truman committee, in its convinced OPM of the adequacy of the supply (of aluminum) in which they had for so many

Also, the Truman committee stated that ALCOA had reasoned "that it would be favorably treated by the government in order to insure an adequate supply for defense purposes." And it has been treated favorably!

Government anti-trust suits were instituted against ALCOA in 1912, 1924, 1928 and 1930. It beat them all. In 1937, another suit was filed by Roosevelt's "New Deal" administration. Over four years later, in October 1941 the case ended when Federal Judge F. G. Caffey gave ALCOA one of the slickest judicial whitewashings on record.

THE MILITANT of Feb. 15, 1941, describing in detail the AL-COA-I. G. Farben conspiracy, wrote that "one thing we can be certain of, ALCOA is not too worried by the present indictment

#### Class Of India By A. ROLAND = A Blow to British Cabinet The British have suffered a heavy blow in the

refusal of the Indian Congress Party to accept the British War Cabinet plan. The extent of the blow may be judged by the fact that not even the "left socialist" lawyer Cripps, that professional "friend of India," could sell the Churchil gold brick. Even the Hindu bourgeoisie was compelled to reject an obvious fraud.

The Dilemma Of

The Capitalist

The Indian Congress Party is careful not to burn all its bridges, however. That party represents the capitalist class of India, who know very well that they dare not set the Hindu masses in motion against British imperialism. The oppressed masses would act in their own interests and would attempt to throw off their backs not only the foreign but the native exploiters as well. The Nehrus and Azads would like to see the end of the rule of the totalitarian Indian princes who are kept in the saddle in their many small states by the British Raj. But the Indian Congress leaders depend on the English rulers only to a lesser degree than the princes. For these leaders are the direct spokesmen for the native factory owners and the native shareholders of British finance.

#### The Fear of Being Discredited

The British miscalculated the requirements of so critical a moment as the present one. They offered the Indian bourgeoisie entirely too little for so much. They were asking the Hindu leaders to sell the war to the Indian masses. That is no mean task, as anyone knows who has the faintest idea of the conditions imposed on those many-millioned lowly sons and daughters of India. Actually what the English desired was some gesture on the part of the Hindu and Moslem upper class that would tend to render the masses at least passive for the duration, and not actively hostile. Certainly the Nehrus, who have themselves seen the inside of the English jails, do have some idea of Indian conditions and of the smoldering hatred of the English deeply embedded in the hearts of their downtrodden country-

That is why the Congress Party rejected the proposals. It was not that they looked the gift horse in the mouth and saw its ugly teeth. It was due rather to the knowledge that acceptance would have discredited them completely among the masses. The fraud was so palpable and obvious that the masses might well have constituted a new and independent movement directed against both the English and their native allies. The risk they might thus take, and the imminent danger to the English rule over India, warranted a much higher price. The English, of course, fear the higher price - native rule - as much as they fear the Japanese invasion.

We mentioned that the Indian Congress did not burn all its bridges. It was most friendly and polite to the English overlord. It tried to be as helpful as possible, short of giving in completely. It offered to cooperate with the English in the defense of India. Its resolution speaks of its desire to line up with the progressive forces of the world, but as a free India. By a free India the Congress meant a capitalist India. The stress of further events may yet force the Engiish to make a much better offer.

Jinnah, leader of the Moslem party, got pretty much what he wanted in the Churchill plan. He was to be allowed to constitute a separate state. if the Moslems so desired. But this open tool of British imperialism was forced to wait for his cue from the Congress Party. How could he accept a plan, in reality his own plan, which was yet rejected by the others? That would have labelied him too obviously as the tool that he is. Had Congress accepted the plan, Jinnah would also have accepted, particularly since his master would have demanded it in that case.

#### Protection of Minorities

The English brazenly make the claim that they, the masters, are anxious to preserve the rights of the Moslem minority, to protect this minority from oppression by the majority. The Indian Congress properly rejects this claim as an attempt to create disunity and to set up Irish Ulsters in India, But why couldn't Congress make these guarantees directly in its own name to the Moslems in such a way that its sincerity would be unquestioned? Lenin always stood for the self-determination of national minorities even to the point of complete secession. He was thus able to build the powerful Federation of Soviet

But that would mean the activizing of the masses themselves. It would mean the widest. extension of democracy and universal suffrage. The Indian Congress feels rightly that it would tread here on ground much too dangerous for its own safety. Class rule can never tolerate complete democracy, particularly not in this epoch.

Meantime the problem of the war remains. The Japanese must also take into account the political situation in India. The Mikado would undoubtedly like to march into India. But what will that invasion bring? If it brings the Hindu masses to their feet and tends to set the teeming millions in motion, the Japanese armies may again experience the same thing they did in China, The Japanese navy might seize some part of the coast, but what about the interior? The Hindus would hardly welcome them as liberators. The Japanese would face the danger of being swallowed up by the outbursts of an agrarian revolution. The war is approaching a stage where the colonial peoples may have something to say for themselves against both imperialist camps.

# it was brought to light on March 26. But only after the Far East defeats, when the sources of na Instead, the rubber corporations have compelled the government initiate its anti-trust suit against Standard and force the formal release of its butyl rub-

The war into which the United States has entered is already | proletariat—unskilled, poorly displaying its "total" character with respect to women. The paid, insecure. block the competitive advantages rapid induction of men into the armed forces has created a momentous problem for the ruling class — that of achieving a balance between the military and industrial personnel of the country. The solution of that D-

The full implication of this new and conscious involvement of great numbers of women in the vital branches of capitalist manube free from the competition of facture is not as yet clear either to the working class or to the dent competition." Standard was capitalists. The latter, however, display a well-founded uneasiness at the prospect of having to cope troleum products and synthetic with a vast new mass of "undisgasoline, outside of Germany. I. ciplined" workers who are being G. was to control the chemical taken into vital sections of American economy only to be shoved out and replaced if and when

women into basic industry.

to its usual industrial life. The problems of war production have called forth all sorts of institutions for hastening and organizing the induction of womtions on the speed with which to emphasize the hiring of women. finger dexterity.

the male population is returned

A survey of the aircraft indused by women, and every large air- ences have been held between ready hired at least 15,000 women and reports an ultimate 100,- eration are those types of employ- be an instrument for breaking the 000 jobs for female labor in this ment which can use unskilled plant alone. The government workers in great numbers and

In another of the vital war industries, small arms manufacture, American industry looks to Wales as a model; there, 80% of the working force is female. Diligent researchers have dis-

field of industry into which women cannot be drawn, while maintaining the regular rate and quality of production, and that the replacement of men can extend from the least skilled operations of the mass production in- en, according to this line of flatdustries to the most highly skilled tery, have moved "from the secneeds of cutting tools, use of scale are being admonished to rememand micrometers, radio physics, ber that their first duty is to industrial chemistry, etc.

Indeed, it has been discovered en into industry. The United that for some types of work, States Department of Labor has women are far better than men: conducted extensive investiga- such, for example, as drill press women can be trained to replace matures, taping, painting, etc. men and those firms receiving war where the painstaking, tedious

Training schools have been optry indicates that 75% of the op- ened for women to hasten their erations involved can be perform- entry into industry and confercraft plant is moving toward the government representatives and replacement of male by female la- the plants receiving war appro- racy than the development of a bor. The Ford Willow Run bom- priations to insure an increased ber plant, for instance, has al- proportion of women employees. Most important for our consid-

The change in the composition of the working class of the United

States as a result of this process holds plenty of headaches for those sections of the capitalist class endowed with the power to see one step ahead of today's profits. The fear that the drawing of women into vital industry - in other words, the proletarianization of women-is a move which covered that there is almost no cannot be unmade, and which will create a new kind of female, gnaws at the subconscious mind of those up above.

Great slabs of propaganda are being handed out to put women in the right frame of mind. Womtechniques - blue-print reading ond line of defense workers shop mathematics, speeds and to the front line." Women "cease reacting emotionally" (read, "cease making demands for a better living") and to assume seriously the task of "guarding, the advantages of our democratic operation, winding coils and ar system of society." In this connection it is interesting to note that the women of England who orders have been prevailed upon work requires great patience and make demands for improved conditions are soundly abused for 'not taking seriously the responsibilities as well as the advantages of democracy."

There is no better guarantee for the maintenance of real democclass-conscious female section of the proletariat. This war, itself a symptom of the dying past, will bonds of social oppression which have kept the masses of women looks to England as a standard which therefore will result in the prisoners in the narrow limits of in this industry, where 40-50% of crystallization of a large female the kitchen.

## THE MILITANT

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#### JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

#### How To Get Friends In Washington

No one at the United Automobile Workers conference last week dared to defend on its merits the demand that the workers surrender the established wage scale for week-end and holiday work. No one upheld Roosevelt's statement that such a surrender is needed in order to facilitate production.

Instead, the union leaders argued only that if the workers did not surrender this right, Congress would take it away by anti-labor legislation. According to the union officialdom, the only choice for the workers lay between the devil and the deep blue sea.

"You will get limitation of overtime pay whether you like it or not," said one UAW executive. "Your friends in Washington have deserted you. You can't stop Congress now." And another leading officer pleaded for the acceptance of Roosevelt's demands on the grounds that the workers should not antagonize the "only friend" they possess in the Capitol.

These words from the mouths of the union leaders are a confession of their own bankruptcy. It is a confession that the politicians, for whose election the union leaders went around campaigning, have turned out to be not friends, but enemies of labor.

But the union leaders do not admit that their political policies have been wrong. They still cling to the same concepts. Their complaint is only that those who were always the agents of the employing class have "deserted" labor.

The workers find themselves undefended and friendless in Congress today because the union leaders, by opposing independent labor political action, have barred the way to election of genuine spokesmen for the workers.

.The result is that the union movement, the most powerful organized force in America, confronts a vicious Congressional anti-labor drive and has not a single voice — not one — to defend its interests in Congress.

Surely this is conclusive proof of the complete falsity of the political policies of the union leaders. And surely it is proof as well that the workers will have a voice in Congress only after they establish their own political party and elect to office representatives directly from the ranks of organized labor.

More than ever, the workers need their own independent labor party, based on the trade unions, which will carry their struggles into the political arena. The policy of dependence upon employing-class politicians must be repudiated. The workers must send to Washington tried and true union fighters responsible to the union ranks. That means that the labor movement must begin at once to forge the weapon of an independent labor party.

#### The Fall Of Bataan

In the final analysis, Bataan fell for the same reason that Malaya and the Dutch East Indies fell: The failure to mobilize and arm the millions of native people to fight against the Japanese invaders.

The Philippine Islands have 16,356,000 native inhabitants. They have been under American rule for over 40 years. During these years, the United States government had been planning for just such an attack as has been made by Japan. The defense of Bataan was conducted, in fact, along lines planned 40 years ago.

From the more than 16,000,000 people in the Philippines, a force of at least one million could have been mobilized, trained and armed to fight an invasion.

Why was this not done? Why was there only a relative handful of specially-picked native troops available for the defense of Bataan? For the same reason that the imperialist rulers of the Dutch East Indies, of Malaya and Burma, would not train and arm the native peoples. They feared the subject peoples as much, if not more, than they feared the rival imperialists.

For no subject colonial people loves and supports its foreign rulers; no foreign rulers ever trust their subject people.

That, and that alone, is the reason why the Filipinos were not armed.

The Filipinos, like all other subject peoples, do not want to be the servants of any foreign masters. They have always fought to rule their own destinies. The American capitalist press may boast that the Filipinos have been better treated than the Malayans, Burmese and Koreans. But the Filipinos themselves by and large have shown no eagerness to fight and die for the difference between the old and new masters.

The Philippine people stand fundamentally in the same relationship with their new rulers as with

Up to now, the Japanese imperialists have had a temporary advantage over the ruling imperialists in Malaya, Burma, the East Indies and Philippines. That is because all subject peoples tend to hate their immediate oppressors more than they fear the threat of new masters. But now Japanese imperialism is becoming the immediate oppressor in the conquered colonies. It will receive the hatred and resistance which up to now have been directed primarily at the old rulers.

In order to win real freedom, the Philippine people face the following basic tasks: 1. They must conduct an uncompromising struggle for national independence against the Japanese and all other foreign oppressors; 2. In this struggle, they must unite with all other subject colonial peoples; 3. They must form an alliance with the working people of the advanced countries in a joint struggle for international socialism; for without the aid of the workers in the developed countries, the Philippine people cannot be assured of permanent

When these tasks have been accomplished, Bataan will fall again - to the Filipinos, to the people to whom Bataan belongs. And no foreign ruling class - not Japanese, nor American, nor any other - will be able to take it away from

#### Money For Union Wages For Soldiers

The Senate bill to raise the soldiers' base pay from \$30 a month to \$42 does not settle the soldiers pay issue by a long shot.

Certainly no one can rightly claim that \$42 a month, or double that amount, is adequate pay for men who are going out to face misery and death, particularly since many of these soldiers are forced to send money home to help their dependents.

The pay increases advocated in Congress will total an estimated \$255,000,000 a year. The war profits of any one of several big monopoly corporations last year would meet this bill.

General Motors alone raked in enough profits - after all taxes - to foot the entire cost of these pay increases.

The profits of Standard Oil, which has been conspiring with the Nazis while American boys are dying, made enough profits last year to cover the whole amount of the proposed pay increases.

Yet there are corporation and fascist-minded elements, in and outside of Congress, who are trying to stir up the soldiers against the workers by the lie that the workers are living off the fat of the land. Their reactionary agitation seeks to turn the soldiers' justified resentment against the low level of their pay into hostility toward the labor movement, and thus to enforce low wage standards for both the workers and soldiers.

The one answer which the unions can give to such vicious propaganda is to demand that the soldiers receive pay equivalent to that obtained by union workers — trade union wages.

Let no one argue that the money is not available to provide decent wages for the soldiers. The hundreds of millions of dollars a year in war profits being carried by the big corporations show that the money is there. Let those who are really concerned about the interests of the soldiers demand the abolition of war profiteering and the use of the money that would be saved by such a step to pay trade union wages to the soldiers!

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# A Stalinist Discusses Situation In Germany

will all be hanged from one rope

in case of defeat'. . . they are

trying to intimidate the workers

with a bogey of a new Versailles."

Pretending surprise, he declares:

The majority believed that the

sole path to peace was through

Germany's victory. I particularly

stress this point for it formed

one of the greatest difficulties ir

our work of carrying out the

slogan issued by the Central

Committee of our party, namely,

"Strike at Hitler from the Rear."

Unable to openly drag the Ger-

man masses after him into the

embrace of the "United Nations,"

Erwin tries to achieve the same

QUESTION OF SABOTAGE

the means by which to overthrow

to pieces, as well as their soldier

brothers at the front by depend-

ing on acts of sabotage and ter-

ror aione. Sabotage is only a

Sabotage at the rear must have

inist trap.

#### Denounces German Workers; Sees Hope In Generals, Priests, Foreign Imperialists

By LARISSA REED

The contempt, hatred and fear of the Stalinist bureaucracy for the masses is sharply reflected in an article in the March, 1942 World Survey, written by K. Erwin, "a functionary of the Communist Party of Germany.' Entitled "From the Intoxica- rialist contenders for the ention of Victory to Bitter Sobering," Erwin boasts that "by attacking the Soviet Union, Hitler has signed his own death war-

rant," while in the next breath he 3 viciously attacks the German the Anglo- American imperialist workers and soldiers for being bandits had hung the rope of the chief obstacle in the path of realizing Hitler's defeat.

Erwin pretends concern for the German people and sheds a few crocodile tears at their misery produced by the war. He deplores the "terrific losses... of wounded and crippled... Never have I seen my people so poorly clad . there is no soap either for

washing or laundry use. . . no vegetables. . . the Berlin markets present a sad picture of long queues of women waiting for food. . ." Everyone knows that war is hell. The German masses, like the masses all over the world, are crying out for a program by which they can end the whole insane slaughter - including the war on the German-Soviet front.

But Erwin, the German lackey of the Kremlin, has no program for the masses; he is concerned only with saving the reputation of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Lashing out against the German workers and soldiers whom he both needs and fears, he condemns their apathy and submission to the Nazi war against the Soviet Union. "Attempts by our comrades to hold mass (protest) meetings near factories met with no success," he complains, and adds venomously: "We trusted the wisdom and class consciousness of the Berlin worker. But subsequent events show that we miscalculated; the. . . cowardly . . . Berlin worker would not budge."

STALINIST

#### RESPONSIBILITY

Why did the Berlin workers refuse to budge? Erwin, himself, ing the struggle of the Red Aradmits that they accepted the my against the fascist war mawar "reluctantly, like an ox being led to slaughter." He cannot for a revolutionary socialist proexplain why, because his party is gram which will arouse the Gerin large part responsible for their man people to throw off the Hitpresent submission and apathy. ler yoke. The succession of Stalinist betrayals, climaxed by the Stalin- as its essential political program ple by the Bolsheviks in 1917. Hitler Pact, helped harness the at the front - fraternization be- The German workers and soldiers German people to Hitler's war tween the Russian and German can overthrow Hitlerism and end

widening the breach between the workers and soldiers of both

The reason is that the Stalinists fear, above everything else, an independent and coordinated struggle of the European working masses against all the impeslavement of the masses. For they know that this would be the doom of the Stalinist bureaucracy as well as of the fascists.

#### STALINISTS LOOK FOR ALLIES

Versailles around the necks of In line with this policy, Erwin the German workers, and warned reaches out toward possible Stathat in case of another German linist allies against both the defeat they would suffer a new Nazis and the equally dreaded and worse Versailles. This was revolutionary masses. He dethe same threat that Hitler used. clares hopefully, that "a substan-Today Erwin declares: "The tial section of the General and Nazis want to keep the German officer corps regard Hitler's war people and the German army in submission through fear of defeat. . . Goebbels tells them 'We

against Russia as a mistake. . These sharpening contradictions . . are but a reflection of the maturing conflict between Hitler and certain sections of the bourgeoisie. . . Hitler's relations with the Catholics, too, are becoming more strained. . ." But his ace in the hole is Anglo-American imperialism. "By making war on America, he (Hitler) is only accelerating the collapse of the Nazi regime," he boasts. What will replace the Nazi regime? Not a German workers' state, but - with Erwin's aid - a new gang of native generals, capitalists and religios, in alliance with the Anglo-American capitalists!

ends by means of revolutionary Erwin brazenly proposes this sounding phrases, which are betrayal of the masses in the nothing more than another Sta- name of the Russian revolution. He declares: "These people forgot that had the Russian workers taken this line (of submis-He exposes this trap, however, sion) they would never have when he calls for sabotage as overthrown Czarism and abolished the rule of the landlords and Hitler. Denouncing "the pettycapitalists." But the Russian bourgeois prejudice among our workers and peasants, under the own working class on the question of sabotage," Erwin urges the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky abolished the rule of the land-German people to cut themselves lords and capitalists by following a course exactly opposite to the one Erwin here proposes. They won their victory through their own independent struggle; thru supplementary weapon for aidthe power of their own Soviets and under the banner of international socialism. They did not chine; it cannot be a substitute rely upon foreign imperialists or the native capitalists.

The German people will rise against Hitler only when that same road is opened to them as was opened to the Russian peosoldiers. The Stalinists, however, the war by joining with the only During the brief period of the aid Hitler by opposing fraterniz- allies they have - the masses of Stalin-Hitier Pact, when the Sta- ation and conducting the war Europe - and together creating linists basked in the sun of Hit- along nationalist lines, thereby a Socialist United States of

# British Cabinet Rejects India Congress Proposals

(Continued from page 1) and tactics" which would be controlled by the British General Wavell. The New York Times' story, April 10, declared:

"It was reported that the Congress preoccupation with the new formula was due to the concern of members of its working committee for a close examination of its details in view of the eventual necessity of informing the large membership of the party."

The compromise formula was rejected in the end because the Congress leaders could not work out any satisfactory way of informing their followers why they should accept it. As Nehru remarked after Cripps had left for England, "The fundamental factor (in India) today is dislike of the British Government. It is not pro-Japanese, it is anti-British sentiment." Nehru knows very well that the Indian people are not going to fight to protect Britain's interests, and he knows too that any group in India today which is compromised on this question is done for.

#### ANOTHER REASON

Another reason which undoubtedly motivated the Congress lead- Burma. But this policy is comers in their decision was the complete lack of faith among the masses of Britain's ability to conduct a successful defense of India. The course of the war thus far has shown that where Britain is in control of colonies, it is not only unable to inspire the masses but it fears to arm them. The results of British control speak for themselves in the Far East, where the native peoples did not fift a finger to help their British oppressors. On this point the Congress statement said:

"What is most wanted is an enthusiastic response of the people which cannot be evoked without the fullest trust in them and the devotion of responsibility on them in the matter of defense. It is only thus that even in this

grave eleventh hour it may be ment, and it can be successfully possible to galvanize the people carried out only by a struggle aof India to rise to the height of gainst the British ruling class

"It is manifest that the present gress' counter-proposals is proof (British) government of India, as of that. well as its provincial agencies, are lacking in competence and are incapable of shouldering the burden of India's defense . . .

That the Indian people do not intend to stand by and meekly await the fate which Britain's how "to organize our war effort on our own basis of a free and independent India."

Discussing the question further, Nehru said: "I wanted 100,000,000 Indians in the army. It was not a conception of just an army functioning, but of every man and woman doing something, making to hamstring India's struggle it a popular war, of our carrying on defense even if the trained armies in the field failed."

ARM THE MASSES! If this policy were carried out, then India could escape the fate of Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong,

The British rejection of the Con-

The Indian people, however, must be guided in their struggle not by what Churchill desires, but by what the present situation and the protection of their own interests demand.

The Indian people must take policy will bring upon them, was their fate into their own hands. reflected in the significant state- They must organize military ment made by Nehru on April training of the whole population, 12, recognizing that the problem in preparation for a struggle a before the Indian people now is gainst all oppressors. And they must sweep aside all those who prevent them from following our the only policy that can save

them from imperialist bondage. Let them do this, and the work ers in Britain and the United States - who have no interest whatsoever in helping Churchill will gladly send them arms, military services of technicians and military specialists, and every other assistance possible. In this way alone - by arming themselves and preparing for a determined struggle - will the Indian masses achieve and secure their pletely contrary to the strategy independence from all who would and aims of the Churchill govern- oppress them

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### The Homeward Journey

Sir Stafford's Mission to India And the 'New Masses'

By M. STEIN

#### The Cruel Treatment of Sir Stafford

Even though a certain individual may not count for very much on the historical scale, he is nevertheless made of fiesh and blood, he's got feelings and one shouldn't be deliberately abusive towards him. We refer here to Sir Stafford Cripps.

If someone with a diabolical twist of mind had sat up nights trying to figure out methods of abuse of an individual who is being groomed for the office of Prime Minister of His Majesty's Government, he could not have devised anything more cruel than Sir Stafford's mission to India.

The crueity does not lie so much in the mission itself, which was doomed to failure from the start. After all, what is one failure more or less in the life of a British politician? We have seen Mr. Churchill even thriving on failures and making a career of defeats. The cruelty lies in the manner in which the Right Honorable Sir Stafford was raised up high and then higher and then still higher, until he reached the very pinnacle, and there on the very top, observed by the entire world, he was told to perform the sleight-of-hand trick of giving and not giving - of giving India its independence and at the same time making it even more dependent on the British empire - of arousing India's enthusiasm in a holy war for democracy, at a time when none of this democracy is offered to the masses of India

The performance was scheduled to last for a week. It was extended for another week, and then another. But this only extended the agony. It only postponed the inevitable - the inevitable need of facing the cheering squad with a confession of failure. The sweet memories of the glorious send-off at the time he left his native land, when life was so full of promise and hope - those memories only emphasize the failure of the mission, make the return home more bitter and cruel. This poor groom courting the post of Prime Minister is now homeward bound empty-handed, coming from the land where many of his predecessors as well as contemporaries have accumulated fortune and fame.

#### Stalinist Concern About the Mission

But it would be wrong to dwell entirely on the personal tragedy of Sir Stafford Cripps. Cruel as his fate is, one must nevertheless remember that there are others besides him to whom the mission to India meant, a lot. Take the Stalinists, for example.

The New Masses features on the cover page of the March 24 issue a banner headline announcing an article entitled "Behind Cripps' India Mission." The article was written by Claude Cockburn and sent from London by cable. All of the circumstances therefore suggest that this is an important article and that it represents the "line." It was obviously written prior to the announcement of the plan which Cripps carried with him in such strict secrecy across

Mr. Claude Cockburn shows very great concern for the political future of Mr. Cripps. He enlightens us as follows: "There are those who imagine that, first, Cripps will have a crashing failure in India, and that, secondly, this failure will have a serious effect upon his position here."

Without keeping you in suspense on this score, we will proceed to quote further from the mouth of the oracle:

"The first premise, of course, depends on just what is in the secret government plan - assuming that there really is a plan and that its whole development is not still dependent on what Cripps turns up." But this is not exactly what interests us. We know now that "those who imagine that. . . Cripps will have a crashing failure in India. . ." that those people were correct. The only point that matters now, is the answer to the second question, which is our concern for the moment. We remind you again that our concern is based on purely humanitarian grounds. The Stalinist Cockburn is fortunately very reassuring even while weighing the possibility of a failure.

"But one must not assume that Cripps' political position here would necessarily collapse as a result of such a failure. On the morning of Cripps' decision to leave for India, a close friend of his pointed out to me with a certain acumen that, 'Whether he fails in India or not, it is likely that in the meantime a situation can arise here in which people may once again feel that the best thing to do would be to recail Cripps. It may be felt that if only Cripps had not been absent in India at the moment, he would have prevented the rest of the War Cabinet doing what it has done.""

#### Sir Stafford Was Not Recalled

After we get over the shock of learning that Cripps and the Stalinist Cockburn have mutual friends, we are faced with the greater shock that people who presumably are all very patriotic, speculate "with a certain acumen" on the development of a political crisis within the country so that they may advance their own political fortunes.

Well, the political crisis in the country did not mature and Sir Stafford Cripps was not exactly recalled to come and lead the country out of the

But the Stalinist Cockburn has still another word of reassurance. He seems determined to give Cripps the Prime Minister's post despite all odds. Says he: "And there are plenty of important and realistic people in the Conservative Party who conceive that since, without question, Cripps is today a greater figure than Churchill in the eyes of the mass of the people of the country, it might after all be possible for the moderate conservatives to come to some sort of 'arrangement' with Cripps."

But we are very much afraid that even though Cripps proved on his mission to India that he can be trusted to safeguard the interests of the Empire, Churchill as yet has the greater hold on the Conservative Party. And while Cripps wasted his time in India, Churchill utilized his mending his fences in the Conservative Party. .