

Laval -- Sinister Agent of Hitler

An Editorial

The return to power of Pierre Laval, sinister French pro-fascist politician, means that the puppet government of Vichy, France has surrendered completely to Hitler.

Pierre Laval—the new “chief of government”—is one of the most reactionary anti-labor politicians ever produced by the French ruling class. Beyond a doubt, he is the most hated man in France today; the France directly occupied by the German troops; the France indirectly occupied by the puppets and stooge politicians of Hitler.

Henceforth it will be Laval who is the real spokesman for the Vichy-Berlin dominated government. The ancient, senile Marechal Petain—tottering along on his last legs—has become a shadow of power, rubber-stamping whatever his masters, Hitler and Laval, order him to do.

Laval's triumph—organized after many days of negotiations between himself and Vichy, with the German imperialist masters putting on the pressure behind the scenes—represents a heavy blow at the United Nations and their attempts to prevent Vichy from falling completely under Hitler's control.

It means (1) that the policy of collaboration between French politics, industry and agriculture and Germany will become closer than ever before. Hitler will seek to corner all the products of French factories and of the French farms. (2) That the danger of the French Navy now being turned over as a whole to the eager hands of the German Navy is very imminent. (3) That the possibility of Laval forcing an unwilling France to re-enter the war on the side of the Axis powers has grown tremendously.

But most important of all: the new Laval régime is a blow at the growing French working class movement of opposition to the Hitler occupation. The fascist Laval will stop at no means or methods—including the utmost of cooperation with the hated German Gestapo—to beat down all nationalist movements among the people, and every effort on the part of French labor to reorganize its unions and its political organizations.

But there is no doubt that hatred for this man and his sell-out to German rule will arouse the French masses as never before to the needs of the situation. In the struggle against Laval and his German bosses, the French working class will find its way back to its former strength and organization.

Would-Be Fuehrers on Display:

U.S. Fascists Aim Blows at Labor

By Susan Green

In the last issue of LABOR ACTION the reader saw how anti-Semitism is really a knife in labor's back and how the approach to the war of the American Nazi-fascists is outright pro-Hitler boosting.

In this, the third article of our series on fascism in America, two more “strong” points of the vicious propaganda of these Hitler worshippers will be subjected to the test of working class interests.

There is no doubt at all that the fascist leaders in this country are openly and secretly schooling their followers for the same outburst of violence as characterized Hitler's ascent to power. On a minor scale the destructive and murderous rampages of the Ku Klux Klan against innocent citizens is the model of the mob eruption the Nazi-fascists want.

In its milder forms, the appeal to violence can be found in such sentences as the following, profusely sprinkled throughout Nazi-fascist literature:

“The people of America will become Jew-conscious to a serious degree and much violence will result.”

This sounds like an “objective” statement. But coming from Kullgren, associate of Pelley and publisher of the fire-eating anti-Semitic Beacon Light, the meaning is very clear to his hysterical followers. To them it is a call for a pogrom against the Jews—which is what he intended it should be.

The supporters of America's would-be fuehrers also get the full implication of such suggestive tracts as the following:

“There is grave danger of assassination [of President Roosevelt]. If the people fail to act I am satisfied that divinity will act. . . I prefer to paint the picture to show you the forces in operation and to leave the responsibility with you. . . And you will reap as you have sown; and the sins of omission are as deadly as those of commission.”

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Negro Air Cadets Attacked At Tuskegee Training Camp

Suppressed news of another tremendous racial riot against Negro army troops at a flying field in Tuskegee, Ala., was disclosed last week in an exclusive story published in a Negro paper, the California Eagle.

This attack against Negro troops came swiftly on the heels of the

killing of two Negro soldiers at Fort Dix, N. J., and after Secretary of the Navy Knox's attempt to appease Negro anger against Jim Crowism by making some vague and watery concessions with regard to naval Jim Crow policy.

The Tuskegee riots began, according to a letter from a Negro air corps cadet which the California Eagle prints, when Negro troops were assaulted by a mob of whites in Tuskegee and one of the soldiers was severely beaten. After that the troops were confined to their training camp and the officer of the day sent into Tuskegee to investigate. But the officer of the day was disarmed by the mob and put into jail!

The two roads which lead to the town from the camp have been blocked by white mobs and the Negro MP's who usually guard this road have been fired at and chased away by the mob.

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Goodyear Workers In Sitdown Strike For 14 Hours

By MARY BELL

AKRON, April 10—The first sit-down strike since Pearl Harbor, like a flash of sudden lightning, exposed the cracks and chinks in the labor-management co-operation plan now being instituted throughout the country.

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LABOR ACTION

APRIL 19, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

INDEPENDENCE--NEXT STEP FOR THE INDIAN PEOPLE!

GOODBYE, MR. CRIPPS!



Shipyard Workers Meet

Top Leadership Jams Through Sacrifice on Double Time

By SUSAN GREEN

CAMDEN, N. J., April 10—John Green, president of the International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, got the convention, held here today, to give up overtime pay rates for Saturday and Sunday work. But he paid the price of sewing discontent in the rank and file delegates.

After the resolution was passed at the morning session, many delegates left the hall grumbling about dictatorship in their own union. For President Green rode the convention with a tight rein, using his gavel much too freely, cutting off discussion, refusing to entertain motions from the floor. He also took it upon himself to argue against each delegate who opposed the proposition, instead of acting as chairman in the accepted parliamentary manner. He

even tried to squelch opposition delegates by disapprovingly waving a copy of LABOR ACTION at them. For LABOR ACTION contained an appeal to the shipyard and auto workers not to give up their hard-won overtime standards.

Furthermore, many delegates felt more or less dazed. They didn't know just how far this retreat will set them back, how hard it is going to hit them, and their president didn't give them much enlightenment. The natural question looming in the minds of thinking delegates must have been just what their president was doing down in Washington if he didn't get the answers to the problems this sacrifice will entail for his union.

The tone of the afternoon session, however, was quite different. When the admirals and politicians from

Washington gave their usual pep talks about speeding up production, sacrificing and co-operating to break the shipping bottleneck, they let loose a tornado of angry speeches from the floor. One delegate after another accused the shipbuilding corporations of sabotaging production, of stepping up cost bills to the government, of making untold millions out of the war. One delegate demanded that the FBI investigate the shady practices of Bethlehem Steel.

The vote on the resolution surrendering overtime for Saturdays and Sundays and substituting overtime for the sixth and seventh consecutive workdays, did not reflect the true sentiments of the assembly. Many of the delegates who had expressed opposition and worry were

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Militant Ranks Oppose UAW Appeasement

Militant Flint Delegate Shouts: “Let's Adjourn While We Have Our Shirts Left!”

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Some of us who sat through the two days of demagoguery, hollow “patriotism,” distortions, cheap maneuverings, whining and capitulation of the leadership of the United Automobile Workers, at the “conference” in Detroit last week, came away with at least the satisfaction that the membership are not the full-fledged ninnyes the leaders evidently thought they were when they called this conference.

The International Board had taken great pains to have a select group of delegates at this “War Emergency Conference.” The call for the conference, on the recommendation of the board, said that delegates should be selected by executive boards and the bargaining committees of the locals and that in so far as possible the delegates should be chosen from these two groups. Thomas said in his opening address that there was not time for the election of the delegates by the locals. This explanation of course is plainly fraudulent. Every local could have held a special meeting if necessary to elect delegates to the conference. Furthermore, the issues before this conference were precisely the sort that should be decided only by delegates freely and democratically elected by the whole membership.

HOW CAN THOMAS JUSTIFY PROCEDURE?

How can Thomas and the international board of the UAW justify such a procedure? Why was it necessary to depart from the thoroughly democratic practice of the organization in this matter of selecting delegates to a “conference” or convention?

What difference does it make whether the board called the gathering a “conference” or a convention? It was a deliberative body, a decision-making body and, as I shall show later, it was the intention of the leadership to make these decisions final.

Thomas said that there wasn't time enough to have the delegates elected by the locals. But what was the rush in holding the “conference”? Why couldn't it have been postponed for a few weeks so that the locals could have had the “Victory Through Equality of Sacrifice Program for the Nation” to study and discuss in the locals before the election of delegates?

WHAT WAS THOMAS AFRAID OF?

Why was this program tucked away and not delivered to the delegates until the morning the conference opened? The people back home, in the shops and the locals had no idea what was in this “Program for the Nation.” One prominent delegate remarked on the floor that he tried to get hold of the program the night before the conference opened and finally succeeded in stealing one at about ten o'clock at night!

What were Thomas and the board afraid of? What were they running away from? They confessed again and again what it was they were afraid of. To be sure there was a great deal of dishonesty and hypocrisy mixed up with some real fears on the part of these leaders. They were fleeing from Smith of Virginia, Cox of Georgia, the capitalist press, the National Association of Manufacturers, something they called “public opinion” and that best of all fakes, the Gallup Poll.

Only an Independent India Can Stop Japanese Invader

By HENRY JUDD

By their refusal to accept any compromise or false agreement, the people of India have forced their leaders to put an end to the useless and treacherous negotiations that had been proceeding for three weeks with Sir Stafford Cripps, Churchill's agent.

In the words of the Indian National Congress reply rejecting the British offer, the people of India have declared that, “The essential condition was freedom of India, for only the realization of present freedom could light the flame which would illuminate millions of hearts and move them to action.”

In a word, India demands its full right: complete and unconditional independence; the ousting of British rule in all forms; the creation of its own government. Nothing less than this will satisfy India's 400,000,000 workers and peasants!

Mr. Cripps' mission to India has failed! The people have spoken and have booted the unwelcome agent of Tory-imperialist Churchill out of their country. Their answer to the slimy scheme offered them with the aim of continuing the unwanted British rule was that

“The people of India have as a whole clearly demanded full independence and Congress has repeatedly declared that no other status except that of independence for the whole of India could be agreed to or could meet the essential requirements of the present situation. . . the accompanying provisions and restrictions (in the British proposal) are such that real freedom may well become an illusion.”

So now Sir Stafford Cripps—the vegetarian “Indian-giver”—has withdrawn (!) his proposal of “dominion status” for India after the war and is to return to London to report his dismal flop. His scheme for perpetuating India's slavery proved to be another of current British “successful” withdrawals and retreats.

THE HOUR OF GREAT CRISIS

But the failure of Cripps' mission by no means has solved the problem of India.

On the contrary, it must be understood that the greatest crisis and the most crucial hour in the history of that nation now approaches. For the military dictators and imperialists of Japan stand poised, with great naval, air and military forces, at the very door of India.

Heralding an all-out effort to conquer India and replace British mastery with that of its own, Japan is undoubtedly shifting the bulk of its forces for an invasion of Ceylon and India. The danger to India is not remote; it is hammering at the door.

The reply of the already reeling and badly battered British to this threat is to deny the people the only thing that would arouse them to a fighting pitch—namely, complete freedom, with the desire to defend their own country, a country that really belongs to them. What could be more helpful to the imperialist ambitions of Hirohito?

Besides, it is clear that the British are in no position to offer adequate military resistance. Their navy has already suffered disastrous blows with the sinking of two heavy cruisers and one aircraft carrier; their naval base at Trincomalee is badly damaged; their air strength is vastly inferior to that of the Japanese.

To depend upon Britain to defend India can only bring the same unfortunate results that occurred in Malaya, in Hong Kong, in Burma, in Java, etc.—that is, Japanese victory.

If India is to be successfully defended it can be done ONLY by the people of India, the 400,000,000 themselves. They must take the defense of their country into their own hands, they must remove the stranglehold of British imperialism, they must organ-

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Furthermore, as Thomas explained in his last tearful effort before the vote was taken, the Roosevelt-Murray-Green board of labor overseers was to meet a week hence. Thomas said that he wanted to go into this meeting and say to the President that the UAW had agreed to go along with his request to give up the Saturday and Sunday “premium pay.”

There is the story and the explanation. They are after us, said those who favored the “program.” We've just got to do this to get them off our backs.

THE SPEECHES OF THE RETREATERS

“Let's come out of this war with a union,” said Linwood Smith of the international board. “Congress is going to shove this thing down our throats.”

“Not one of you has said what to do in place of this program. Congress is already on the warpath,” said the “socialist” Victor Reuther. “You are not bargaining with the manufacturers, you are bargaining with Congress. I sat in meetings just like this in France. It did happen there.”

“If we don't give up present Saturday and Sunday pay, they'll take it away from us anyhow,” said DiLorenzo of the Brewster local.

“We don't choose at this time to take on more than one opponent,” said Leonard of the board.

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Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

VAST INCREASE OF SABOTAGE IN EUROPE

While, as recently pointed out, we do not think that sabotage as such can be considered a genuine "Third Camp" activity, since it is in most cases carried out merely as a military auxiliary of the Allied war machine against the Axis war machine and is thus not intended as a means of promoting the independent class action of the workers, the extent of this sabotage is a factor which requires some attention. There is no doubt that it has taken proportions in recent months which make it a definite threat to the Nazis. Here are some facts on this wave of sabotage, most of them culled from official German sources.

The Nazis have themselves been forced to admit the very wide extent of sabotage in Poland by printing a list of 20,000 Poles and Jews wanted as saboteurs. The list, containing many photographs of the wanted persons, was said to have been published for the benefit of the Gestapo, which searches for these saboteurs in all parts of Poland.

The number of 20,000 is all the more amazing when one considers that listed are only those saboteurs in some way known to the Gestapo. The real number of people actively engaged in sabotage must therefore be very much greater.

A GUARD FOR EVERY FIFTH MACHINE

The wave of sabotage of Czech workers is assuming such proportions that the Germans were forced to increase guards in all factories in Bohemia and Moravia. A guard has been placed at every fifth machine in the well known Skoda works and in other armament plants. Because of the ever-increasing sabotage, the German authorities have issued a series of posters depicting the reasons against and the result of sabotage. A typical poster portrays a woman and child weeping because of the "irresponsible act of sabotage." This Nazi campaign is considered by the Czech people as an admission of the fact that sabotage is really effective and hurts the Nazi cause immensely. Consequently the Nazi campaign serves only as a boomerang.

(Since March, 1939, more accidents have occurred on Czechoslovakian railroads than during the preceding 20 years.)

An official report issued by the German high command in France noted the following events during the last three months of 1941: There was sabotage in 74 steel foundries. Eighteen hundred trucks loaded with war material were destroyed. Thirty ammunition dumps were blown up. One hundred and eighty-four trains were derailed. Since these are German statistics, they are probably only a fraction of the actual sabotage committed.

THE WORLD AT WAR

Refusal of Indian People to Tolerate Rotten Compromise Caused Break in Negotiations

By SENTINEL

Although the press gave every indication that the negotiations between the Indian nationalist leaders and Sir Stafford Cripps would be completed, they finally collapsed last week. The Indian leaders had backedtracked so far as to shift the ground of discussion from the embarrassing one of immediate freedom for India to that of the defense set-up within the British war effort. Even so, the negotiations collapsed.

One the day of the collapse, a report to the New York Times from London revealed that the Indian Congress shifted its ground again at the very last minute. Says this report:

"It was regarded here tonight that Sir Stafford made a very able exposition of the British position in the radio speech delivered in India that was rebroadcast here and in the United States. In this, as well as in the exchange of correspondence, the Congress completely bogged down with its last-minute demands for a change in the Constitution as well as the establishment of a national government that, under the circumstances would have held large powers without responsibility either to the people of India or the British government."

Thus at the very last minute the Indian leaders drew back from a treacherous deal with the British. Nehru afterward admitted that he "went to the utmost limit to come to terms with the British government." In the Indian Congress, Nehru was not alone, yet it is significant to note that the Congress finally rejected the British proposals UNANIMOUSLY.

Masses Rejected Compromise

Only one conclusion can be drawn from this fact. The feelers for acceptance that were put to the Indian masses during the negotiations must have met with such disfavor and re-leadings had the courage to record sentiment that not one of the Indian himself for the sell-out which they were only too ready to consummate.

Especially, now, must this feeling be intense in the Indian masses. Nehru testifies to this attitude which apparently stopped the Indian nationalist leaders from making a dirty deal.

"The only thing that troubled us all the time," confesses Nehru, "was: Can we make India hum as an organized unit of resistance? Can we make the people feel that this is their war?"

As much as the Nehrus want to apply themselves to this difficult task they do not wish to lose their hold on the Indian masses. Without that they can play no role whatsoever. Whatever concessions they hope to extract from imperialism rest upon their ability to control the tremendous movement of the Indian masses for genuine liberation from all imperialist overlordship.

Last Minute Rejection

This provides us with the key to the vacillations of the Indian nationalist leaders and to their final rejection of the miserable proposals submitted to them by the imperialist agent, Cripps.

But if Nehru and the Congress leaders have found it impossible—whatever their desires—to accept the British proposals, they have certainly done nothing toward making Indian independence a reality. They have not lifted a finger to move the impatient Indian masses to action in self-defense against the British overlords and the Japanese menace. They have, on the contrary, once more played into the hands of the British by their vague speeches about "not embarrassing the British war effort" and their failure to propose the most elementary measures of the program of independence and self-defense which is the indispensable prerequisite for repelling the Japanese imperialists.

No wonder Churchill sees compensations in Cripps' "failure." Three things have been accomplished by it. (1) The Nehrus will support him anyway. (2) American public opinion has been pacified by Britain's fake gesture of post-war dominion status for India. (3) The Indian leaders have been saved for the time being from utter discredit with the Indian masses.

A Golden Opportunity

It is the tragedy of the situation that today in India there is a golden opportunity—provided it be seized before it is too late—for the declaration of national independence, for the formation of a national people's army which will defend India from all imperialist attack, British or Japanese.

And yet Nehru confines himself to platonic speeches, ambiguous pronouncements that only lawyers can understand. Gandhi continues to preach his "non-violence" driven at the very moment when the immediate need of the Indian people is to be armed in an army of their own under a government of their own.

It is in this that the treachery of the Indian leaders consists. They are wasting valuable time. Were they really mass leaders of the Indian workers and peasants—instead of representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie and tools of British imperialism—they would at this very moment be forming their own provisional government and arousing a mighty mass movement to repel the Japanese invaders.

USO Serves "Whites Only"

The USO branch at Fredericksburg, Va., follows in the best Jim Crow tradition.

Corporal R. E. Hevelow was refused service when he ordered a milkshake and when he complained to the head of the unit he was informed that the office served no Negroes.

Only white soldiers are permitted to have their "morale" bolstered by the USO which no doubt realizes that incidents such as Fort Bragg and Little Rock would make the task of bolstering morale among Negro troops too tough a one to tackle. In spite of this the USO does not discriminate against financial contributions to its work made by Negroes.

Large Group Opposes UAW Appeasement Policy

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John Anderson, of Local 155, Detroit, wanted to know: "Shall the selfishness of General Motors, Aluminum and Standard Oil have a counterpart in the selfishness of labor?" Anderson was worried that "a year from now we may be saluting some slant-eyed Jap."

Delegate Watt, of the Ford Local, said that "the paramount thing is not our union, but our country. We know that Roosevelt is pro-labor."

FRANKENSTEIN'S TEAR-JERKING SPEECH

Frankenstein, strike-breaker of the North American strike, delivered a real tear-jerker. This is also the same Frankenstein who was willing to make a deal at the convention last August to go easy on the Stalinists if they would support him for vice-president of the UAW. Frankenstein said that "the best way to lose the 40-hour week is to drive our friends together with our enemies. Are we going to tell the President to go to hell in the first request that he has made to us? Where would Russia be today if they sat back and said we'll do nothing until we get all that you promised us? Read about the men dying at Bataan. You are going to line up our friends against us."

This was only a small part of the rubbish dished out to the delegates by the members of the international board to the 1,400 delegates on the floor. They battered, begged and pleaded. It was clear that they were quite surprised at the opposition to their "program for the nation." The delegates were really against the program. They wanted a program for the union and for labor and they said so, many of them in such strong and direct language that even the slow-thinking Thomas could understand.

Shipley of the Dodge Local said that some of the speakers from the international board were "trying to mislead the conference. They're not country bumpkins." Then Shipley went on to ridicule and blast the speakers who had made statements to the effect that the opposition wanted to see the boys die on the battlefield without a gun in their hand. "We're not afraid of Congress," said Shipley. "They talk about defeating Hitler; I don't hear anybody talking about defeating Hitlerism."

Lloyd Jones, president of Murray Body Local, said that he was against the ten-point program. "It doesn't look like equal sacrifice," said Jones. He said that Point 5 calling for the adjustment of wages to meet increased living costs was not sincere. Jones asked how the board could talk about increasing the pay to meet the rising cost of living and at the same time write Point 10 of the program that upon the "adoption of the foregoing measures, we agree that all wages for time over 40 hours per week shall be paid in the form of non-negotiable SPECIAL DEFENSE BONDS." Jones said that the conference should vote against Point 10.

One delegate said that he was willing to sacrifice and he had. He was against this program. "Let those who have not sacrificed do it first."

Another delegate said that "Last August we elected our officers to negotiate for us. Now it seems like they are negotiating with our enemies against us."

One delegate said that he knew of no manufacturer that had sacrificed anything "and neither do you," speaking to the mem-

bers of the board. This same delegate added: "You'll have to hand us something more than a lot of flowery speeches."

LEADERSHIP ATTACKED BY BUICK DELEGATE

Case of Buick Local 599 said that he was not convinced that the international board had not been taken in. He said that not one thing had been offered by the leadership to tell "what we are going to do after we sacrifice."

Delegate Manning in a stinging reference to the Stalinists and former socialists said: "There are people here supporting this program who built a political reputation in 1917 cursing the AFL for doing just what we are doing here today. We would look stupid in six months if we give up overtime and the manufacturers give it back in six months because they can't get workers."

I said in the first paragraph that some of us came away from this conference still convinced that the UAW is a first-rate fighting labor organization. They proved it to their leaders last week at this "War Emergency Conference." The leadership was really surprised. Thomas was alternating the speakers; for and against, until he discovered that there was no end to the determination of the opposition. Every time Thomas called: "I want one who is against," two dozen hands went up. But after six hours of the struggle and under the final barrage from the international board with their tears and pleas, the opposition retreated and the vote was taken. The rising vote was about 1,200 to 200.

NOT REALLY A REPRESENTATIVE VOTE

I am convinced that nobody believes that this vote represented the real sentiment of the delegates. Surely Thomas, the "socialist" Reuthers, Frankenstein and Addes know better. They know how they got that vote. They thought that things were safe in the manner in which the delegates were picked, but that didn't prove true. It was clear in the first hours of the debate that the majority of the delegates were definitely against the "program" of the international board.

The board had the greatest difficulty in presenting its case convincingly. It had just two arguments; both weak, as I shall demonstrate in an article in LABOR ACTION next week. Their first argument was that the union must agree to this program in order to appease Congress. This second argument was that the program should be adopted as a tribute to President Roosevelt, who had promised in his letter to the conference that none of the wages that would be given up would go to increase the profits of the corporations.

When these very flimsy arguments and the program were attacked the leaders had no reply that made any sense at all. They could only resort to tear-jerking, cajoling, pleading and the most scoundrelly forms of fraudulent "patriotic" appeals and threats.

REUTHER'S DEMAGOGIC REPLY

For instance, when Mullens of Local 174 said that the leadership was "bargaining against us," Walter Reuther replied that when Mullins made such a statement he was making accusations against not only Thomas, but Murray and the President of the United States.

Report on Shipyard Workers Confab -- Anti-Negro Riots At Tuskegee--

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intimidated by President Green's tactics. Though they were far from satisfied with his repeated assurances that they were not giving up anything—even though in the same breath he called it a sacrifice—they did not vote against the resolution.

A delegate representing 600 pipe fitters with an agreement for double time for all overtime worked, wanted to know why they should sacrifice what the employers had been willing to pay for over thirty years, what they had paid during the last war and what they can pay now. To his demand to know what the capitalists are sacrificing, President Green replied that this imperialist struggle for world domination is not "a capitalist war" but "our war."

A Local on the Spot

The delegate from Local 53 declared that the resolution puts his local on the spot. He represents a new yard without a contract as yet. Wages and conditions are terrible. The men must have their Saturday and Sunday overtime to get "bread and butter." If the convention passes the resolution, he said, they would be letting his men down because he was promising them the very things the resolution is giving up.

The delegate from Local 4 wanted to know who would determine whether a man was sick or just "laying off" in figuring out the sixth and seventh consecutive days of work. He described the hardships of the workers in the shipbuilding industry. They travel as many as sixty-five miles to work, breath in the smoke and fumes from galvanizing and other processes which poison their bodies. After four days of

such toil, it gets them. Who will say whether they are sick and entitled to their overtime? President Green didn't help much by his admission that this question "is beyond me" and will have "to be worked out locally."

The opposition speech that got the biggest hand came from a young delegate who apparently made his maiden speech. He resented the charge that it is "unpatriotic" for workers to try to hold on to what they have. Workers are told that MacArthur's men are not getting overtime, but neither are they getting profits, he declared. He hailed into the Kaiterns who attack labor though labor's standards have been lowered by the cost of living, taxes and now wage cuts. The unions yield up their rights, but what does Standard Oil do?

The speaker declared that not only are the bosses making untold millions out of the war, but they think they have labor on the run because it has surrendered its right to strike. He asked the delegates whether they should appease or fight. He predicted that appealing the Smiths and Connallys will lead to more yielding on labor's part. Will the 40-hour week go next? He asked.

Warns Against Yielding

He forcefully warned the delegates against the "yielding" policy of the resolution and, though he was not permitted to finish his speech, got quite a bit said before President Green's gavel cut him off. Waving a copy of LABOR ACTION, President Green shouted that he recognized the "political philosophy" of the speaker. It so happens that

this delegate has not been a reader of LABOR ACTION. But it is quite true that the "political philosophy" of LABOR ACTION is labor militancy and President Green correctly implied that every militant worker is represented by LABOR ACTION.

As far as answering the speaker's points, President Green had to agree that "we don't know what will follow." He pledged himself to fight for the 40-hour week, but confirmed the speaker's contention that the bosses think that labor is on the run by adding it will be a "bigger job than you think."

To counteract the effects of this militant speech, President Green recognized a stream of pro-resolution delegates, deliberately hammering down those who were not known to be in line. When the vote was finally taken, only four delegates out of about 150 had the courage to openly express their opposition. After some wrangling about a roll-call vote, these four demanded that their votes be recorded, to which President Green consented—with the "democratic" comment that it will act as a "boomerang" against them.

Too Much "Delicacy"

In the afternoon session the most important resolution was dispensed with in purely routine manner. This was resolution No. 6 calling for the "security of our union." It was presumably aimed at legislation "freezing the open and closed shop," but it didn't come out and say so. This "delicacy" in handling a vital problem before labor could be easily interpreted as another illustration of labor being on the run—or rather labor's officialdom.

With from ten to twelve million additional workers expected to stampede the war production industries before the year is up, the delegates should have been impressed with the paramount need for an intensive organization drive and for a grim, relentless fight against "freezing" legislation. This was not done. Two delegates took the floor for short speeches. The delegate from Local 37 in Massachusetts—President Green didn't let him speak in the morning session—tried to ring the alarm by pointing out the situation in a closed shop covering 2,000 workers where only 1,100 are union members.

The resolutions calling forth the most fire from the delegates were Nos. 7 and 8. The former instructed officers, committeemen and shop stewards of all the locals of the union "to impress upon every individual worker in every shipyard coming under the jurisdiction of this Union the absolute necessity of making his full contribution to the winning of the war by building and repairing ships in record time."

Local 43 Delegate Tells 'Em

The delegate from Local 25 wanted to know how it is possible to produce and repair ships when there are no ships to produce and none to re-

pair. He blamed the companies for this condition. The delegate from Local 43 told about continued layoffs in Baltimore shipyards "for no reason." The truth of what these delegates were saying was loudly attested by the volume of applause.

Resolution 3 called for the establishment of the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee to consist of government, management and labor and "to administer and regulate the shipbuilding stabilization program." The discussion from the floor added up to a barrage of accusations against the corporations, repeatedly referred to as the Quislings of production.

The delegate from Local 13 in Brooklyn accused corporations of violating the hiring halls agreement and insisting on the old-time "shape-up" which caused the loss of hundreds of thousands of labor-hours for skilled labor. He charged corporations with holding up work to "get theirs" in profits, and volunteered to give proof to the government representatives on the platform.

The Chester delegate from Local 2 drew a laugh when he described managerial bungling, as for instance when fittings belonging in the engine room are "by mistake" installed in the steering room. Every blast at the companies was loudly applauded by the delegates. In contrast, President Green's repeated protestations that he understood exactly how the delegates feel, sounded rather weak.

Cost of Living Problem

The convention pinned too much hope in this Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee. It is not being born under good auspices. Questions from the floor brought out that the committee should have been convened many weeks ago, but was not because the leaders feared the Smiths and Connallys in Congress might not like it. They deferred the undeniably matter of adjusting shipyard wages to the increased cost of living, as called for in the regional agreements of the Union, which the committee was scheduled to take up, politics. The delegate from Mobile the adjournment of this committee is another instance of labor officialdom being on the run before the reactionary bourgeois in industry and in the early part of the convention Philip van Gelder, secretary-treasurer of the Union, rightly said that the future of the Union will not be determined by a piece of paper but "by the strength of the Union!" However, the policies which he, President Green and the other officers of the Union steam-rolled through the convention—namely, relying on committees which meet in Washington and wind up by demanding another sacrifice from labor—has not resulted in strengthening the Union. Should the rank and file patiently wait for the next sacrifice? Or should it express its organized determination and defend its rights to the end?

This was the sort of thing that subdued the militants in the conference. They were not organized and they did not have a program. It was perhaps too much to expect that they would reply to Reuther, asking what was wrong with criticizing the President of the United States? Far more, none of the delegates in the opposition seemed competent to untangle the net that the leaders had fastened the conference in.

What was this continual linking of Murray and Roosevelt together and making them both representatives of labor? Some of the delegates seemed vaguely aware that something was wrong in this picture, but they couldn't formulate it and bring it out in an organized manner.

"WHILE WE'VE GOT A SHIRT LEFT"

McGill of Flint really expressed the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of the delegates when he said that the situation was that of the spider and the fly and when he said on the second day that he was inclined to move for adjournment "while we've got a shirt left."

The fact is that the leadership was ready to give away the shirt and anything else. The delegates to this conference knew that the manufacturers have sacrificed nothing and that they don't intend to. They saw the Rockefeller Standard Oil Co. accused of treason and yet nothing has been done. One of the Rockefellers, Nelson, holds a big job in the Roosevelt war government. But the leadership of the CIO and the UAW walks boldly into a conference of 1,400 delegates and insists that they give and give and give until nothing is left, not even a shirt.

The leadership had many tricks up its sleeves. At the opening of the conference Thomas announced that the conference had no legislative authority and that its decisions must be submitted to the locals and the international board. After the vote was taken, however, and the program had been approved by the conference a resolution was quickly introduced and read by Addes, instructing the locals to revise their contracts in line with the vote just taken by the conference.

If the conference had no legislative authority, then how could it instruct locals to revise their contracts before a majority of the locals had voted to accept the action of the conference? The vote of the conference could only be a recommendation to the locals.

But immediately after the vote is taken and there is a majority for the "program" the international officers twist the conference from a body with power to make recommendations only to one with binding legislative functions!

To add insult to injury, organizers went back to their posts and informed locals that they may as well vote to support the conference vote because "it's going through, anyway." This can only mean that the international board will carry the program through itself, should it be faced with such an alternative.

Next week I will take up a discussion of the "program" and the following week an analysis of the "Labor-Management Production Committees."

Anti-Negro Riots At Tuskegee--

(Continued from page 1)

The soldier whose letter is printed in the Eagle comments: "There's no telling how long the situation will last and I see no means of peacefully settling it. We are in the Army training pilots to fight the enemy of our country—and here we are fighting those in our country."

This last in another of the now regular series of brutal attacks against Negro soldiers comes as a bitter answer to the attempt of Secretary of the Navy Knox to appease Negroes by a series of new regulations regarding Negroes in the Navy. Even the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whose national office usually hails any so-called concession, has attacked Knox's new regulations as "disappointing." It declared that the new Navy plan "intends still to restrict Negroes to certain services and not to use them on ships as sailors, gunners and technicians except in a few instances where they will be completely segregated under the command of white officers."

The NAACP pointed out that Secretary Knox's announcement shows that the Navy is following the Army plan of segregating Negroes, but it called the Navy plan worse than that in the Army because it restricts Negroes to "duty in district craft of various kinds, in maritime activities around shore establishments, in navy yards and in the Navy's new construction crews and companies."

The only Negro newspaper which hailed the Navy's new policy was the Pittsburgh Courier, which got itself far out on a limb. But most of them realized the fact that Jim Crowism and segregation still exist in both the Navy and the Army and that Knox's gesture will do practically nothing to end them.

Cornelius O'Kennard

Word has just been received from Chicago of the death of Comrade Cornelius O'Kennard, former member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party. He had been ill for years and finally succumbed to the ravages of disease brought on by a difficult and active life.

Oke, as he was called in the movement, was an active member of the American Trotskyist movement following his break from the Communist Party. From the day of his joining he took an active part in the labor movement on Chicago's South Side, where he became known to hundreds of Negro workers because of the socialist struggle he waged in behalf of his race.

He never quite recovered from the shocks of the First World War, having served in France for 18 months with the American Expeditionary Forces. In recent years his illness became more acute and he was under constant treatment, spending considerable time in Hines Memorial Hospital for Veterans.

U.S. Fascists Aim Their Main Blows at Labor

(Continued from page 1)

Thus does the same Kullgren, in a very "religious" mood, suggest to his followers that it is up to them to assassinate President Roosevelt—or else God will strike him down, and maybe them too, for not saving the Almighty this nasty job.

OPEN APPEAL TO VIOLENCE

Every normal person knows that only those whose minds and souls are hopelessly twisted and warped would honor such vile stuff with anything but contempt and loathing. But this is just the point. The leaders of American fascism gather around themselves the lowest elements, infuse them with unreasoning fanaticism and train them to carry out the bloody work of the fascist movement.

The private instructions issued to the chosen fanatics is much more rabid than the open propaganda. Below is a sample from a confidential memorandum addressed only to entrusted Crusader White Shirts by their leader, George W. Christians, dated January 1, 1942. This and similar secret instructions were made public by an undercover man working in the Nazi-fascist movement of this country.

"When the MAD MOB gets in MOTION make sure that they dig all of the blood-sucking bankers out from under their piles of rock and steel. Line them up against a wall and SHOOT them. See that they run down all the Political Parasites. Don't miss a single Politician, big or little. Just HANG them to the nearest tree or lamp-post." (The emphasis is in the original.)

This is a sample of the more dangerous Nazi-fascist propaganda. An effort is here made to appeal to workers. The pretense is made that the "mad mob" will be directed to shoot or hang the "blood-sucking bankers" and the "political parasites"—both most definitely enemies of the working class. But right here is the catch. LABOR CANNOT WIN ITS EMANCIPATION FROM ITS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL OVERLORDS BY "MAD MOB" TACTICS. The would-be founders of fascism in this country are well aware of this fact.

The fate of the German workers must be a profound lesson to the workers here. Hitler directed his "mad mob" violence against the workers and against their organizations. This must never be forgotten. The big industrialists and bankers retired to the Riviera for the duration of the "disturbance," confident that the Nazis were looking after their interests. Many of the political parasites got on the Nazi bandwagon. But the workers woke up to find that while the innocent Jews had been ruined, the exploiters were stronger than before. They beheld themselves without their unions, without their political parties, without their militant leadership—a new slavery.

No worker should for a moment allow himself to be confused by Nazi-fascist ruses. There is only one way in which the working class can free itself from their politicians—AND PREVENT THE RISE OF THE NAZIS TO POWER. Labor must strengthen its own economic and political organizations and inspire these organizations with the socialist purpose of ending capitalism and establishing a better social order.

This is what the Nazi-fascists fear. This is what they are hell-bent to prevent. That is why they spread their vicious appeals for assassination and violence, that is why they aim to create a revengeful but unorganized and unthinking rabble, that is why they are preparing a blood bath against advanced labor.

THE TOTALITARIAN BLACK-JACK IN THE KID GLOVE

Every worker must ponder the fact that Hitler's movement—perhaps the most brutal and retrogressive in all history—has nevertheless been graced by its founder with the name NATIONAL SOCIALISM. Socialism, as every worker should know, is the next step in human progress. Why, then, of all the titles he could have chosen, did Hitler tack the "Socialist" label to his anti-socialist movement?

The answer is, of course, that he was trying to fool the working people. The ideal of socialism was deeply embedded in the minds and hearts of German workers. Not only in their politics, but in their unions as well, they connected their every-day problems with the goal of the working class to establish socialism. Unfortunately, the German workers—as were workers everywhere else—had been misled by the social democratic politicians and betrayed by the Stalinists.

Along came Hitler with his false use of the word "Socialist," with his make-believe diatribes against the bankers, with his cynical promise of a "new order." With these lures he fooled a small section of the youngest and least experienced of the German workers into support of a movement which brought them abject slavery and more misery.

This is exactly the trick used by the American brethren of Hitler. They know that the American worker has no use for the profit-grubbing capitalist who has not hesitated to have workers shot down on a picket line. These Nazi-fascists understand the natural loathing of the American worker for the octopus bankers whose international investments require armies, navies and wars.

A TRAP FOR THE UNWARE

So Hitler's apostles here hand out a line designed to trap the unwary worker. Their publications overflow with such phrases as "this monstrous civilization based on gold and greed"—this by the above-mentioned George W. Christians. Coughlin's disreputable Social Justice shadow boxes with "the princes of privilege" and "the money changers in the temples." These fascist fakery also pretend to champion "individual liberties." They even have the nerve to make fake protests against "regimentation."

But does any intelligent worker believe, for one moment, that Hitlerism can champion the workers cause against exploitation?

For instance, could Thomas J. Goodwin, Christian Front choice for Mayor in the last New York City election, have represented the workers? That Nazi-fascist, in the midst of the campaign, shamelessly declared: "There's nothing wrong with fascism. Hitler has done a good job in Europe." That is the very job the American fascists want repeated here.

Or could Coughlin do anything but harm the workers? This sleek rattle-brainer has only praise for Hitler's "new order." This "new order" that Coughlin is so crazy about has spread the domain of the German "princes of privilege" over continental Europe and under this "new order" the "money changers in the temples" have acquired more peoples to exploit for profit.

COUGHLIN WANTS TO CUT WORKERS' WAGES

But Coughlin and Company reveal their dishonesty in still other ways. The workers today are struggling to maintain their wage scales at a level to meet the towering cost of living. Ah, but Social Justice has quite different plans for the workers. It believes that the completely inadequate pittance of \$21 a month paid to the draftee, should be the national wage norm for all workers. It sets up as a brilliant guiding star the German, Japanese and Russian method of dealing with the wage question. Here are its very words:

"...factory workers, office workers, field workers and political workers [must] knuckle down to the same comparative salary received by the Army and Navy workers. Japan learned that lesson. So did Germany. So did all the Axis powers. And so did Russia."

Every worker will agree that reducing his wages to a 'coolie level of existence is a very queer way of fighting the "money changers in the temples" and the "princes of privilege!"

The totalitarian black-jack sticks out of the smooth kid glove of Nazi-fascist propaganda. Hitler's American disciples, like their master, stand for everything and promise anything that may get them support. But a worker must never forget what they want support for. THEY WANT SUPPORT FOR A NAZI-FASCIST TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM IN THIS COUNTRY!

All of the fascists—the Coughlins, Pelleys, etc.—have one thing in common with all fascist movements in every country. They hate and would destroy the workers' greatest bulwark: the organized labor movement. They may talk big, but when it comes to a showdown they always side with the money-changers, profiteers and industrialists against the working people.

In the last article of this series, two points will be covered. First, how the Nazi-fascist fuhrers are organizing for action. Second, a program of action for the working class and the just-getting-along people—Jews and Gentiles, black and white. Hitler's cohorts in America can be stopped. They must be stopped.

Stalinists Debase Los Angeles CIO Council to Level of Book Burners

Special to LABOR ACTION

LOS ANGELES, April 11—Stalinist elements in the Los Angeles CIO reduced that body to the disgraceful level of book-burners. Acting on the recommendations of the executive board as to the means of "discouraging" the distribution of LABOR ACTION, The Militant, and the Socialist Call, the council last night voted:

- 1) to install a loudspeaker in front of the hall to warn workers against accepting the papers;
- 2) to post a sign at the entrance giving similar warning;
- 3) to station "monitors" at the entrance with the same purpose;
- 4) to place a trash basket at the entrance into which the papers can be thrown before entering the building;
- 5) to notify local unions of the council decision.

Last night, and before the motions had been voted on, they had already been put into effect to the extent of a waste basket and two "monitors" who beligerently requested workers entering the building, in terms that virtually constituted a command, to tear up and deposit the papers in the box.

At that, the issue is not likely to rest there. Several delegates speaking for the motion, and in such a way as to make their Stalinist imprint clear, called for "STERNER MEASURES." Two of these, representing the die casters and electrical workers, are believed to have participated in the "sterner measures" of the week before, during which a vigilante squad tore papers out of the hands of the distributors and severely beat two workers who were watching.

Leo Turner, delegate from the UE, who asked for "sterner measures," treated the council to a foul-mouthed recitation of Stalinist slanders, culled verbatim from the files of the People's World; identified the papers with the Nazi Bund (but didn't say a word about how these papers had fought the Nazi Bund, nor of course a word about the time when he, repeating the People's World, had supported a pact with Hitler); dug deep into the slime of Stalinist duplicity to accuse the papers of fifth columnism in Spain. Only a Stalinist would still dare to repeat these charges, when all the world knows that the REAL traitors and betrayers in Spain were the STALINISTS!

Marociti of the Die Casters had difficulty in remembering the names of the papers he was attacking, but was sufficiently familiar with the People's World to refer to it as the "PW."

Some More Slanders

A delegate from the furniture workers, with a typical disregard for the recorded facts and with an obvious ignorance of the papers in question, had little difficulty in denouncing their attacks on labor. Like Marociti, he deplored the confusion which might afflict the minds of the workers who read these papers and received from them ideas not consonant with his views. Unaware of the significance of his remarks, he said more than a mouthful: ideas are dangerous things, and TO THE STALINISTS, who act solely by Kremlin fiat, they most certainly are!

Implicit in his remarks, as in the remarks of most of those who spoke

for the motion, was a contemptuous appraisal of the workers, characteristic of Stalinists, reactionaries, spokesmen for the National Association of Manufacturers and—yes—of fascists: workers are stupid beings, they are incompetent to judge for themselves, they will be "confused" by ideas, they haven't the intelligence to understand what they read—they are, in fact, so stupid that when handed three papers at a CIO meeting they will automatically assume that each of these papers is an official CIO paper! Has anyone ever heard greater nonsense!

Yet it is on this argument that certain of the non-Stalinist elements were lined up behind the motion. They evidently didn't go for the "fascist" and "seditious" canard. The executive board, realizing this, omitted these slanderous designations in its motion. But on the flimsy pretext of protecting the workers against their "lack of power," they were sucked into the Stalinist scheme.

Though the motion carried, the Stalinists didn't have it all their own way. Delegates from the tailors, shipyard workers and auto workers tore into the motion.

The auto worker explained that in was under attack for, at that time in the Hitler-Stalin pact days, opposing the war, and that he considered

it a disgrace for the labor movement to resort to dictatorial measures against labor papers. (Two weeks earlier, when the motion first came up, the president of the auto council spoke against it. He was there his union a year ago he had defended a Communist Party member who fore viciously attacked in the council and in the People's World.)

Like the auto worker, the shipyard delegate defended the right (and intelligence) of any worker to read what he pleases, when he pleases. He charged that restrictive motions such as were under consideration by the council could only defeat the labor movement in the end, that it was the OBLIGATION of the labor movement to DEFEND the democratic rights of labor organizations and periodicals.

He was seconded by a delegate from the tailors who warned that measures such as these were the opportunities which the fascists would use in suppressing labor organizations entirely. Citing the Minneapolis trial, he reminded the delegates that many CIO unions and councils had voted their support of the Minneapolis defendants, some of whom held views such as expressed in the papers under attack!

One delegate, disgusted with the whole business, remarked that it looked to him like the Stalinists

were feuding with the Trotskyists and the "one that's in power" (Stalinists) tolerates no democracy." With which he washed his hands of the whole business. Perhaps without realizing it, he came near the truth—except that the Stalinists were not merely feuding with the Trotskyists, but with any and every individual and organization that refuses to toss every victory and fight won by labor in hard years of struggle into the war bin.

So, too, another delegate, speaking for the motion, and possibly a Stalinist, came nearer to the truth than he realized when he remarked that many crimes "had been committed in the name of democracy, liberty and freedom." He was presumably attacking LABOR ACTION, The Militant and the Socialist Call, but, in actuality, he exposed the essence of the attack—a crime committed by the adherents of Kremlin politics, and more generally by the advocates of imperialist rapacity, in the name, but not in the spirit, of these virtues.

While the CIO council inaugurates the shameful spectacle of loudspeakers, monitors and trash baskets, the issue is far from being settled. The American Civil Liberties Union has addressed a letter to the CIO. Though almost two weeks have elapsed since it was sent, it has not yet been read to the council. However, delegates have asked about the letter and the secretary has admitted receipt of it with the comment that (unlike most communications read at the council) this must first go to the executive board. As stated in last week's LABOR ACTION, various union militants have become aroused and it may arise in many local unions before which the papers were distributed without any effort to "discourage" that distribution.

Motions Are Dangerous

Were it not so significant of the dangers which beset the local CIO movement at the hands of unscrupulous Stalinist elements, the motions could be dismissed as ridiculously unworthy of the CIO (not to mention the preposterous expense all this might entail). A labor body, and one representing the militant CIO movement at that, taking ridiculous measures at the instigation of the Stalinists, who can abide no genuine expression of working class opinion, to "discourage" the distribution of three labor papers! To the extent that Stalinists and simple reactionaries can exercise a control over the functioning of the local CIO, and to the extent that they can suck misguided militants into their disgraceful schemes, will the CIO be deflected from its real obligations as a labor organization.

Were it simply a question of a distribution or two in front of the CIO hall, the representatives of all three papers are agreed that they would yield rather than have the CIO, which they support more loyally than the Stalinists, disgrace itself in preposterous schemes. The issue, however, is a great one: Can any section of the labor movement allow itself to be hounded and terrorized by the Stalinists, whose sole occupation these days is devising ways and means of increasing speed-up and sacrificing wages and hourly standards. BEFORE THEM, WE CANNOT GIVE AN INCH!

A Soldier Boy Writes:

'Sun Warm, Sky Blue; Guns Seem Incongruous'

LABOR ACTION reprints the following item from The Ivy Leaf, the newspaper of the Fourth Motorized Division of the U.S. Army, for the interest it may have for our readers:

Dear Mom:

At this point we are beginning to feel like a bunch of chameleons. We have just completed the Second Corps problem as "blues," and by the time you receive this epistle we will be active in the free maneuvers as the "reds." Working up an allegiance to a color is difficult in itself, but when you change every week it is hopeless. After a morning chase we managed to catch our company mascot, "Bivouac" (Wack for short), and change the ribbon around his neck. He seems perfectly complacent whether wearing red or blue.

Blackouts are all the rage these days. Every night we go without fires or lights of any kind save a blue blackout light which, other than being an attractive color, is a small value. If you don't have a blackout in your area you just don't know the right people.

When chow is delayed until after nightfall this lack of illumination becomes a distinct handicap. Obviously we can't very well distinguish what we are eating (not always a handicap), and, of course, one can't always be certain from whose mess kit one is eating. A most disturbing element is to have a fellow soldier step in your mess kit as he searches for a place to sit; realize his mistake; return to apologize and step in it again. At this point you become complete buddies, and he shares his chow with you.

Speaking of food, Mom, I always thought you were one of the best cooks going, but you have missed the boat on some delightful combinations. You must try hamburgers, potatoes, lettuce and peaches smothered in a thick gravy. I know you will find it a distinct "taste sensation."

I find sleeping in this new area leaves me quite as tired in the morning as when I go to bed at night. I believe the answer lies in the fact that our pup tent is on a definite down-hill slant. Being prone to sleep on my right side, I spend half the night rolling up hill and the other half rolling down. At the close of this letter I believe I will go in for some extensive excavation under the lee side of my blankets.

I'll close now as it is getting rather dark and as you can tell from this letter when it gets dark these days it stays dark until nature takes a hand in the morning. Best to all.

Hiram.

P.S.—It is really beautiful here in this new bivouac area north of Chester, S.C. The sun is gently warming, the sky clear blue, the trees in full fall fashion—tanks and guns seem slightly incongruous.

200 at Meeting On India Question

NEW YORK—Nearly 200 people listened with rapt attention to a presentation of LABOR ACTION's point of view on the struggle for the independence of India at a LABOR ACTION forum held here on Sunday evening, April 12, in Irving Plaza Hall.

The speakers, Henty Judd, a LABOR ACTION writer, and Paul Temple, Philadelphia organizer of the Workers Party, lashed into the excuses which the apologists for British imperialism have given for not granting India its immediate and unconditional independence.

Judd, the first speaker, gave a detailed factual presentation of the miserable living conditions which the Indian people suffer as a result of British exploitation. He warned that the British imperialist policy of not allowing India to gain its independence would result in a situation where the road to Japanese invasion would be cleared. He pointed out that the gaining of Indian independence was an indispensable prerequisite for organizing a mass movement of people's defense against Japanese imperialism.

Temple spent most of his time on a discussion of the Workers Party's attitude toward the need for Indian freedom. He spoke of the necessity for an Indian Declaration of Independence similar to that of the American people in 1776.

The audience displayed great interest in the topic under discussion and numerous questions were answered at the end of the meeting.

Goodyear Workers In Sitdown Strike For 14 Hours

(Continued from page 1)

The strike, provoked by a speed-up and wage cut, occurred at the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., one of the cradles of pre-war sit-down strikes and CIO organization. Goodyear, a "cooperation-loving" corporation, recently speeded up work on the neoprene fabric 40 per cent and rubber fabric 50 per cent in its spreader room. Its profits rose accordingly, while the men lost at least \$1.50 per day. Two complete shifts and part of a third, consisting of 330 workers, stopped work in protest of the cut in pay for 14 hours on April 7 and 8.

Thus the labor-management scheme as practiced by Goodyear Corp. is revealed as a profiteering device. The speed-up, the company claimed, was in the interest of efficiency for all-out war production. "Efficiency," to the company, means: speed up the machines, speed up the men, speed up the profits—and cut wages.

The myth of "efficiency" is further exposed by the fact that it is common knowledge that the waste in the spreader room is tremendous. Great quantities of defective material have been turned down by the Army and Navy. Increasing the speed of the machines, and consequently of the operations of the workers, could only result in increased wastage and inefficiency.

The primary lesson for union men and women to draw from this strike is, as LABOR ACTION has pointed out, that labor-management plans are primarily a company move toward speed-up. The big shots continue to manage and maintain full control of their plant and production planning. Labor is supposed only to co-operate.

Union for More Efficiency

Union members are FOR increased efficiency, planning of production and maintenance of work—but not in the guise of speed-ups and wage cuts. The only genuine planning for use—as opposed to the stupid, bungling and wasteful planning for profit that now goes on—will begin under workers' control of production.

The Goodyear strike only emphasizes the obvious fact that the big shot industrialists are making a mess of things today with their labor-management scheme. The misdirected support which labor leaders everywhere are giving to this plan shows that they recognize in their way the inability of the capitalists to plan, and realize that labor must take a hand. But the only real answer—WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION!

The Goodyear strike shows that labor militancy is far from dead, in spite of the war, the no-strike agreement, the official disapproval of the URWA leadership and social opprobrium directed against striking workers at this time. The first striking shift turned down a plea to resume production by a U.S. Air Corps representative. Only when Sherman Dalrymple, president of the URWA, ordered the men back to work, did they go.

They and their sweated brothers all over the country perform all the operations of production except management. The labor-management plan is only holding them off until the day when the workers will manage production themselves for the benefit of society as a whole!

India's Crisis - -

(Continued from page 1)

ize their own organizations of people's defense.

The time for such action grows very short, indeed. Once the invasion has begun on a large scale it will be more difficult, if not impossible, for the workers and peasants to take the proper steps.

Yet it is here that we can see most fully the bankruptcy and treachery of their own leaders.

Gandhi, the conservative leader, has nothing to say to the people except to "offer non-violent resistance." But such religious and moral "advice" will avail nothing. It can only facilitate the military task of the Japanese. It is a confession of impotence, a surrender in advance to the enemy.

Nehru, the friend of Cripps and the leader who undoubtedly came closest to signing a sell-out agreement with the British, announces that he "will not hinder the British military effort." Instead of calling upon the people to act in their own behalf, to rise up in their own defense, every word and gesture of Nehru implies that India's defense should be left to the British. This, in spite of all that has happened! It is no wonder that the American war press speaks with such favor about Nehru, who, unlike the other nationalists, is not really against the British.

Yet it is not too late for India to both free itself from British rule and prepare its independent defenses against the Japanese. The working class revolutionists of that country are hard at work among the people, urging them to act immediately and to take the only possible steps that can lead toward success.

The slogan of the hour is: An Armed Militia of the People, made up of millions of workers and peasants fighting for freedom against Britain and Japan. No dependence upon British "defense"; no confidence in the conservative leaders; but independent revolutionary action on the part of the great masses. The fate of India within the next few weeks depends entirely upon what the people do.

MAY DAY BANQUET

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Editorials

LABOR ACTION'S PLATFORM

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

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

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

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

- A government levy on capital to cover the costs of the imperialist war! Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

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

SMASH JIM CROW!

- Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy, or by employers in industry, must be made a criminal offense!

BE PREPARED!

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

Milk Monopolists Fear UMW's Dairy Union Drive

By JACK WILSON

NEW YORK CITY—Fearing the beneficial effects of a nation-wide farmers organization tied up directly with and working as part of the labor movement, the big monopolists through their newspapers and stooge organizations have begun a vicious attack on the organization efforts of the Dairy Farmers Union, an affiliate of the United Mine Workers of America.

The New York Times indicated with virtual horror that when the union organized and put a label on milk being delivered, "the label would signify that the milk had been produced by a union farmer, handed exclusively by union labor at the receiving and pasteurizing plants, and delivered by a union driver."

And, to add to this terrible—for the bosses—picture, the Dairy Farmers Union would seek a closed shop! In fact, in Flint, Mich., it is doing so!

Is it any wonder that the old-line, deceitful farmers' associations, got together and formed, with the blessings of the big milk companies, like Borden's, a "Free Farmers" group to combat the CIO union in this field.

"This country cannot exist as a democracy under a universal closed shop," declared James A. McConnell, general manager of the Grange League Federation, and a director of Free Farmers, in a blast against the Dairy Farmers Union.

To which Holland R. Foster, director of the Dairy Farmers Union, properly pointed out that the closed shop principle had been brought into the milkshed many years ago by organizations like the Dairymen's League Association, one of the groups affiliated with the Free Farmers!

Foster added: "If you don't sign their contract you don't belong. If you don't belong you can't sell them your milk. These people, who have had a closed shop for years, are crying to high heaven tonight against a possible closed union shop. That's hypocrisy."

For years the powerful milk companies like Sheffield's and Borden's have played off the farmers' associations against the union movement over the question of prices, seeking always to keep the workers and the farmers divided—and fighting each other.

Labor-Farmer Unity

In a few notable exceptions like in Minnesota and Ohio during recent years, either AFL or CIO unions have been able to make a united front with farmers' organizations to fight against their common enemy, the milk trust, which is almost as large and powerful as the major industrial combines.

The skepticism that greeted the announcement by John L. Lewis that the United Mine Workers of America was going to undertake to help the farmers form a genuine organization affiliated directly to the labor movement has changed to alarm on the part of the old line association leaders and the milk companies since over 30,000 farmers already have joined the CIO union!

The fact that a section of the farmers have learned by their own experiences the need for rallying together under the leadership of the labor movement is of tremendous historical significance, because it

shows what the future can hold and it tears away the myth that the farmers are "anti-labor and always will be."

In outlining the aims of the Dairy Farmers Union, which received its charter from District 50 of the UMW, Foster pointed out: "The United Dairy Farmers organization is to be operated by farmers; its policies mapped by farmers; its organizers will be farmers for the most part and its members will not be of the terrorist variety. It's ridiculous of the Free Farmers to bring up the question of riots and so-called malicious damage. Such attacks only show the weakness of the opposition and certainly point to the desperate measures which the Free Farmers and other kindred groups are taking."

Fair Price for Milk

"John L. Lewis is helping the farmer to form a new national organization that will have as its main purpose obtaining a fair price for milk for the farmer, which means cost of production plus a fair return on his labor."

The concern within CIO unions over this move of John L. Lewis arises not from a basic consideration of what is good for organized labor—and having the farmers rallied behind labor is good for both—but ra-

ther fear that Lewis will become a great power again.

The CIO leaders could easily, if they desired, carry out some organizing campaigns which would eliminate or diminish this concern over Lewis. The Agricultural Workers Union of the CIO, for example, could do something for a change among the sharecroppers and day laborers. The CIO executive board could begin to take seriously the last convention slogan: "Organize and organize." Instead, the CIO leaders, bent solely on selling the war to the workers, view the Lewis drive among the farmers only from a narrow factional viewpoint. Instead of halting the tendency toward some unity between the worker and the farmer, they are spending their time cursing Lewis' drive.

It is obvious why Lewis began this campaign. If his efforts to organize 3,000,000 dairy farmers meet with considerable success, he is in a position to be a powerful influence in the 1944 presidential elections, and also to regain his role in the labor movement. No doubt the same considerations caused him originally to become leader of the CIO movement. In each case, the basic advantages of the gains to the labor movement far outweighed the bureaucratic manipulations and purposes of Lewis.

NEGROES

Your Place Is with Labor, Not Japan

By Paul Harris

Now a Negro may be fooled by Japanese propaganda or a Negro may not even listen to such propaganda but may still feel certain sympathies for the Japanese victories over Europeans on the Asiatic battlefields as in some way being beneficial to him. By virtue of that very feeling he acknowledges that his problem is an international one, and that it must be judged on a world scale. What he proposes appears to be roughly something as follows:

"The Japanese will drive the white man out of Asia. The people of China, the people of the Malay states, of Burma and of India will then be free."

And then what? And then our pro-Japanese Negro begins to stammer and fumble. He has nothing to say. For the only thing he can say next is that the Japanese imperialists "will then fight to conquer Africa and establish the Africans as free men in their own country." But, if you please, France is holding tight to her African colonies while Hitler and Britain are fighting a war for the control of the rest of Africa. Does anyone in his senses believe that Hitler—the partner of Hirohito, the ally of Japan—is fighting for the freedom of the Negro people?

Hitler says Negroes are apes, beings not fit for civilization. He says that the Civil War in America was a great mistake, that Negroes should have remained slaves.

Hitler is quite prepared to be Japan's ally. For each fights to dominate a different section of the world: Hitler, Europe and Africa; Japan, the Far East. But if Hitler, for instance, began to talk about freeing Korea or Malaya or China—then Japan would break from Hitler soon enough. And Hitler, in turn, would break quickly enough from Japan if the latter talked about freeing Czechoslovaks or Frenchmen or the Africans (the same Africans that Hitler wants to take away from Britain and France so that he himself can enslave them).

JAPAN NOT A FRIEND OF THE NEGROES

The very best proof that Japan does not fight in the interests of the Negro peoples is the fact that she is the partner of Hitler.

The pro-Japanese policy is a race policy gone mad. Just pin any pro-Japanese Negro down and ask him exactly what he expects the Negroes to get by the victory of Japan, how he expects Africans or American Negroes to benefit by it. He has no answer. Then compare it with the ideas we have been putting forward for the last several weeks, which explain the plight of the world in terms of the growth of capitalist monopoly, the resultant crises and imperialist wars, the need to destroy the imperialist system from which spring the troubles of all, black and white.

The problem then becomes: How is this world-wide economic system to be removed and what is the place of the Negroes in doing that?

Upon whom does imperialism press hardest? Who are the millions of people whom it throws upon the dung-heap in war crises? Who are the people who fight its wars and die by the millions every few years? The masses of workers in every country—black, white or yellow.

Each ruling class tries to make the workers at home work as long as possible, at the greatest speed and at the lowest wages, so as to make the most profits. This is true of every ruling class, regardless of whether it is white or black, Aryan or non-Aryan, Nordic or Oriental, blond or kinky-haired.

THIS IS THE NEGRO'S CHOICE

Now the Negro worker has a choice. He could say: "I can pray for the victory of Mitsui and Mitsubishi over Morgan and Rockefeller and hope that somehow I shall get something out of it" or he can work out something like this:

"The world system under which I live is in desperate crisis. There are people in every country being driven to death. I, as a Negro, am a member of the poorest, most oppressed, most humiliated group. I am one on whom the evils of imperialism press most heavily. I shall take my side with those who are like me, the poor and oppressed in every country.

"Indian peasants and Indian masses fighting for a new life against British imperialists, against Indian landlords, against Japanese would-be rulers? I, as an oppressed Negro, stand with them. Chinese workers in Hong Kong and Japanese laborers, Malay workers on the rubber plantations fighting to get rid of British and Japanese imperialism. I as a Negro worker am with them.

"For to be with the Japanese is to be against the working people in the conquered territories. Wherever a worker fights for the rights of labor, for a workers' society, there I must be, for there is my sole salvation.

"Being in America, it is necessary for me to stand here as a member of the working class, fighting for the rights, for the strengthening and eventually the emancipation of American labor."

This, then, is the position we believe every American Negro worker should take. But at this point we see the Japanese propagandist—or those fooled by him—piping up with: "Ah, but don't you know that some of the worst Negro haters are in the labor movement?"

To this dangerous and essentially false argument we shall return next week.

In Memoriam: Sir Stafford Cripps

On Sunday, April 12, 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps—the pettifogging lawyer, spokesman for the dying British Empire—passed away from this world's political life. His body is reported returning by airplane for a well-deserved rest and final interment in Britain's graveyard of political has-beens.

As for his soul, LABOR ACTION is not quite sure what special place exists for the souls of ex-radicals and ex-socialists turned traitor, but wherever that place is we are sure the Cripps soul will find a right honorable place. For, among traitors to the working class and oppressed peoples, we can hardly find one to match Sir Stafford in cynicism and treachery.

After trying vainly for three weeks to shove down the throats of the 400 million oppressed people of India a scheme for the perpetuation of their slavery, this so-called labor man and "friend of the Indian people" (so he says, anyway!) now has the colossal gall to whitewash the brutal tyrannies of British imperialist rule in India and blame the failure of the negotiations on the "stubbornness" of the Indians!

Imagine! The workers and peasants of India don't want to die for the benefit of the British Empire, Sir Stafford, Winston Churchill and the rest of the crew of British Tories, bankers and imperialists. So, the hell with you, says Cripps in his "farewell" speech, and he departs in an indignant huff, leaving the people to face Japan.

If Cripps were one ounce the "socialist" and labor man he pretends to be he would never for a moment have undertaken Churchill's dirty mission to deny the people of India the right that belongs to them: unconditional independence and self-government. But Cripps is an apologist and a tool for the worst aspects of British imperialism.

The reply of the Indian people—giving Cripps the boot to political oblivion—is the right answer. Now the people of India must go further and proclaim their full Declaration of Independence.

How Long Will The War Last?

If anyone ever gave out an annual prize for publicly-expressed cynicism, we think that the editor of the New York Daily News, the greatly circulated tabloid, would easily walk off with the prize for the editorial he wrote in his April 9th issue.

The News is concerned with the problem of what this world will look like after the war is over. It entitles this editorial "Will the Status Quo Ante Return?" and concerns itself with speculations about the looks of the map after the world slaughter is over.

Those speculations are not of very much importance other than the gentle hints they contain that the British Empire is about licked and that the United States should

take it over and thus become No. 1 imperialist of the world. But what is very interesting is the way the News begins its editorial:

"On the precedent of history, we assume that this war will end some day—perhaps even in our lifetime, who knows! Calvin Coolidge, asked once whether he thought it would stop raining, replied: 'Well, it always has.' All wars in the past have ended eventually. So we think it likely that this war will not last forever."

When the News writes in this cynical vein, it merely expresses the confoundment which the American capitalist class feels about the present war. It feels itself—as it really is—in a terrible situation which it has no way of solving except through ceaseless warfare.

It is incapable of destroying its imperialist opposition—the Axis—by political means: that is, by stimulating and provoking revolution in Germany and thus cutting the base from under the Hitler regime. It faces the perspective of fighting an endless war, in which it is far from having reached even military equality, against its imperialist rivals—and sees no horizon of success.

But those workers who want the war to end during the immediate future must rally to the socialist camp which alone can win the masses of the world to a genuine anti-Hitler struggle. Socialist victories in the Allied countries would produce an unquenchable spark of anti-fascism in all the world. It would hasten and lead to the revolt of the German workers against Hitler. It would set the stage for removing all the war-makers and imperialists from their seats of power. It would end the war and destroy fascism simultaneously.

Memo to the New Jersey CIO

The New Jersey CIO Council called a special convention last week which resulted in the adoption of a resolution calling for the conscription of labor.

Very strange—having this resolution come from a CIO meeting. But it becomes a bit clearer when we discover that the resolution was passed by a combination of Stalinists and Hillmanite bureaucrats.

Conscription of labor! Familiar words in Germany.

But in the American labor movement? Why not pay a little attention to the war industries? Why not propose that instead of conscripting labor (which has little enough to give and, if the labor leaders have their way, will soon give it up, anyway) the labor movement call for the conscription of the war industries under workers' control!

Don't you think that labor would do better to center its attention on having Standard Oil conscripted—and leaving the proposal for conscripting the American workers to some meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers, where it rightfully belongs?

State Department Shielded Standard Oil's Nazi Deal

By T. R. COBB

In the three weeks since the lid was lifted off Standard Oil's secret dealings with Hitler's chemical trust, I. G. Farben, the nation's press, at President Roosevelt's request, has given one of the most sensational stories of the war an intensive mummification. But the awful stench lingers on.

Latest testimony by W. S. Farish, Standard Oil president, before the Truman Committee, reveals that a good part of the company's "treasonable" dealings with the Axis were made with the approval of the State Department, haven of fascist-minded parlor diplomats.

Replying to the charge that Standard Oil sent shipments of high grade aviation gasoline to German and Italian airlines in South America against the wishes of the State Department, Farish rebuked the committee's counsel with "This is absolutely unfounded."

He was then asked "Does that mean that the State Department knew that your Brazilian subsidiary was furnishing aviation gasoline to the Italians?" Farish promptly answered: "Yes, sir, and the State Department approved of every delivery that was made!"

Like the bootlegger who tried to make an "honest" living and the "honest" cop who looked the other

way, the Nazis shuttled planes loaded with Gestapo agents, propaganda films and vital materials from Berlin to Brazil and back, while the State Department gazed with well-concealed dismay upon the whole business.

State Department Involved

If Standard's conduct was an excellent example of "international business" as practiced by petroleum's profit pigs, the State Department's indecent efforts to play front man for the company suggests that its wealthy, well-connected members are implicated up to their ears in the filthy mess.

This is revealed in a release which the State Department spread widely to the newspapers, showing that it later persuaded Standard to control its shipments to such an extent that the Axis companies would be forced out of business. The truth of the matter is, however, that Standard waved some non-existent contracts in the face of the Department officials, pleading that it could be sued for failure to deliver, agreeing to cut out their trade with the Axis only if it were indemnified by the government. Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Berle replied that the government had no power to do this.

What did Standard do? Then, says Berle, "the position they took was that they were going to keep any

contracts they had made, irrespective of the interests of the United States."

Now it becomes very clear why Standard sneaked out of a public trial, why it offered "no defense" to charges so hot that they exploded from sheer combustibility. Now it becomes very clear why President Roosevelt, Thurman Arnold and the hypocrites on Capitol Hill have attempted to file and forget the matter.

Under the klieg lights of public inquiry and discussion, the heavy make-up on the war for "freedom and democracy" might melt away, leaving an ugly face peck-marked with dollar signs.

Why Britain Fears A United India

Lord Josiah Wedgwood, Laborite Peer, addressing the British House of Lords, February 14, 1942:

"I beg your lordships to consider the manifold advantages of granting constitutions (to India), province by province, and not to a United India. What I fear is the establishment of a government of India which in due course will repudiate debts, as the Irish government did, which in due course will put an embargo on money sent from companies to shareholders in this country." (Great Britain and the East, February, 1942.)



To All of Our Readers

Never before in its history has LABOR ACTION elicited the response which it has met with in recent weeks.

Never before have the workers taken LABOR ACTION with so much enthusiasm, friendliness and agreement. All of our distributors attest to this fact.

In one city, workers have formed a line and waited for our distributor to give them the paper. In another city, workers in front of a factory have made financial contributions and suggestions about the paper.

The number of subscriptions that have come in during past weeks has exceeded that of any previous period. We have received several dozen subs from former American Guardian readers. We have received subs from new states and cities.

The other day, for instance, we got a sub from a man who walked into our office, said that he had picked up a discarded copy of LA near the 42nd Street Library in New York City, and liked it so much that he wanted a sub.

Many of our new subs have had attached to them enthusiastic letters of commendation. You have read some of these in LA itself.

All these things add up to the fact that LABOR ACTION has today the largest circulation in its history.

LABOR ACTION is carving out a reputation among its worker readers as a fearless organ of truth and champion of labor. (This can be seen not only in the friendly response of the workers, but in the increasing number of attacks against us in both the boss and the Stalinist press.)

This is your paper. There is every reason for you to feel proud about its progress.

But there is also something for you to do. May Day will be the second anniversary of LABOR ACTION, as well as of the Workers Party. We plan to celebrate this occasion with a special, gala six-page which is already being prepared.

But we want you to give LABOR ACTION a birthday gift. Nothing elaborate or expensive.

We want you, subscriber or friend of LABOR ACTION, to help put over the special \$1.00 six-month combination subscription offer for LABOR ACTION and The New International (\$1.25 in New York City) with a bang. It ends in three weeks.

Imagine what a success this would be if we could announce that within the next three weeks every subscriber has thought enough of LABOR ACTION to get one additional subscriber. That would put us a long way ahead.

Yes sir, that would be a real birthday present.

What do you say? Are you with us? Let's GO!

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