

Labor Needs Its Own Party

An Editorial

If the American labor movement is to survive, there are a few things that every worker must learn. We must learn that if we put our trust, as a class, in the two old boss parties—the Democrats and Republicans—we can expect little better than the kind of treatment we are getting now in Congress.

Every one knows by now that Congress has proved itself in recent months to be a bitter enemy of the American workers.

Congress has been busy, fighting a war. It fights a war, not against what it pretends is its enemy, fascism, but rather against the American working class. Congress has recognized America's entry into the imperialist war as an occasion to begin a series of anti-labor lynch orgies. Attacks on the 40-hour week, attacks on double pay for Sunday, attacks on every right which the American working class has won for itself in years of struggle; rights for which so many labor martyrs have spilled their blood.

CONGRESS DECLARED WAR AGAINST GERMANY AND JAPAN BUT CONGRESS FIGHTS A WAR AGAINST THE AMERICAN WORKERS!

And it isn't only one party which is responsible. Both Democrats and Republicans participate in this anti-labor "crusade." Nor is it any section of the country that is responsible. Certain "liberal" papers have tried to make out that it is only the Southern Democrats who are anti-labor; they are, of course, among the worse offenders, but there are plenty of Northern Democrats and Republicans who are screeching their lungs out against the workers.

Both parties are parties working in the interest of the boss class. They are controlled by, financed by, and have the ideology of the capitalist class. They cannot be expected to be anything else. At one occasion, one of them may be more liberal or conservative, but basically they are both anti-labor.

Listen to the Republican Leland Ford of California, who expresses the desire "to see these strikers in hell with their backs broken..."

Or to the Democrat Sumners of Texas who declares that he "would not hesitate a minute to send them (striking workers) to the electric chair."

These men do not hesitate to engage in deliberate slanders against the labor movement. They spread the cock and bull story that present law prohibits work for more than 40 hours, whereas it merely requires time and a half pay for all work over 40 hours.

They say that labor wants to get special privileges (that is, a decent wage), while ignoring the tremendous profits of the bosses.

They are open and self-avowed agents of the capitalist class. They consider it their main job to knife labor.

These are the men elected by the votes of the working people. The workers can make them or break them.

Then why don't the workers, through their own organized labor movements, organize their own party and break these anti-labor blowhards? Hasn't the experience of the last decade shown us that labor has nothing to gain by pursuing a policy of choosing between a Tweedledee Republican and a Tweedledum Democrat?

Congress represents the boss class because it is elected by boss parties.

If labor wants to have itself really represented in Congress and elsewhere, it must elect its own representatives from its own party, an independent labor party.

Drive the capitalist boondogglers out of office! Labor needs its own men in Congress—not the self-styled "friends" who are friends only until the morning after election, but men from the shops and factories and farms who can speak for and fight for their own class!

Sunday Double Time Cut Means Pay Envelope Slash

One of the big fakes raised in Washington last week was with regard to double time for Sunday work. Congressmen were shouting against it because it "held up war production." Donald Nelson, undoubtedly speaking with the authorization and in the name of the President, attacked the proposal to abolish the 40-hour week since he realized that that would be too raw, but he too spoke up for cutting out double pay for Sunday work.

What is all this talk about double time for Sunday working holding up production? Production proceeds on the number of hours worked, and the efficiency of that work. The only way in which double pay for Sunday could possibly hold up production would be if the bosses really could not afford to pay double time. But that is obviously nonsense.

U. S. Steel Profits

U. S. Steel paid double time for Sunday work last year—and still made a cool \$116,000,000 after all tax deductions. General Motors paid double time for Sundays last year—and still made a mere \$200,000,000.

All that abolition of double time for Sunday work would do would be to increase the already bloated profits of the bosses. And that, of course, is the real purpose of the drive to abolish double time. It has nothing to do with increasing or slowing down war production; it has everything to do with wages and profits.

Donald Nelson, war production chief, told the House of Representatives last week that he would try to get labor to voluntarily cut out double time for Sunday work within 30 days; otherwise, he would ask for legislation to abolish it.

Latest press reports are that Philip Murray, CIO president, and William Green, AFL president, have agreed to drop double time for Sundays, though Murray is at least holding out for double time on a days' work

when it is the seventh day of a work week. According to this arrangement, hundreds of thousands of workers will now suffer wage cuts.

Wages at Stake

All this talk about production is baloney. What is at stake is wages—and if Murray and Green really surrender double pay for Sundays, then they will have allowed their members to suffer a wage cut.

Of course, they think that they're pulling a "clever" maneuver to head off anti-40-hour week legislation by surrendering double time for Sundays. But if that's the way they "fight," they'll lose both!

CIO and AFL members must pass resolutions demanding that Philip Murray and Bill Green tell Nelson and anyone who suggests a "voluntary" suspension of double time for Sunday work to go fly a kite. Murray and Green should tell them:

"Why don't you go after the fabulous profits of General Motors, of U. S. Steel, of all the other war profiteers? Keep your hands off labor, don't try to get across a wage cut by cutting out double time for Sundays. Wages are low enough, the cost of living is high enough, without our having to suffer another wage cut!"

Ain't It a Bloomin' Shame?

The New York Times reports that the loss of Malaya means that 250,000 "investors" (coupon clippers) in England will be deprived of \$75,000,000 a year they had been drawing in dividends from the rubber estates.

An official of the Planters' Society told a London newspaper: "Many cases of hardship are likely to arise. Men who never expected to work again will have to look around for a job."

LABOR ACTION

MARCH 30, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

CONGRESS ATTACKS LABOR, IGNORES WAR PROFIT GRAB

AT LAST—THE BIG OFFENSIVE!



Boss Outfits, Kept Press Lead Anti-Labor Smear

The anti-labor drive which has filled the halls of Congress is not an accident. It is part of a carefully worked out campaign in which every move has been carefully planned.

The two major factors in this nationwide anti-labor campaign were the boss associations and the kept press.

It began when a few congressmen from Oklahoma got green around the gills because they were getting thousands of letters "from the public" demanding the abolition of the 40-hour week in order to increase war production.

The New York Times, as well as every other capitalist paper, played this story up big and the show was

on. Bills were introduced in Congress abolishing the 40-hour week, abolishing the closed shop. It was an anti-labor rampage of the first order.

But who was the "public" in Oklahoma demanding the abolition of the 40-hour week? It turned out that the "public" was none other than the Southern States Industrial Council, a boss association headed by Thomas J. Wallner of Nashville, which had begun an organized whispering campaign by circulating letters to Southern newspapers, urging mass meetings and a telegraphic bombardment of Congress against the 40-hour week.

Proof of the fact that most of

these 40,000 letters were faked was seen in that they were all printed form letters and many didn't even have signatures attached.

The Southern press took up the hue and cry. It printed blanks to be clipped which urged congressmen to abolish the 40-hour week. One editor, Orville Priestley of the Crowley (La.) Signal, went so far as to write:

"I think Congress should suspend the 40-hour week, suspend labor unions and labor organization for the duration of the war."

Here was a fellow giving the show away! He wanted to suspend labor unions altogether!

Not to be outdone, the Northern press joined in. The Scripps-Howard newspaper chain printed a front page editorial denouncing labor.

So pleased were the bosses with this editorial that they bought extra copies of the World-Telegram, the New York Scripps-Howard paper. Among the companies which bought this anti-labor trash to feed to their workers were the Fifth Avenue Coach Co., Gimbel's and Bloomingdale's department stores and an undisclosed war production plant in Bridgeport, Conn.

False Statements

But what all these papers—Southern and Northern—were doing was to imply that the present law prohibited more than 40 hours of work per week, while in reality all it did was to require time and a half pay for more than 40 hours per week. What the prostitute press had in mind was not production, but wage cuts for workers and more profits for bosses.

Afterward when Roosevelt and Nelson tried to stem the more reactionary variety of anti-labor baiting, because they feared a violent crack-up among the workers who would stand for just so much and no more, the press buried their testimony. The New York Herald Tribune ran its story on page 30; the Philadelphia Inquirer on page 6; the Baltimore Sun on page 10; the Washington Post on page 6. These were the same papers that had been giving front-page space to every anti-labor blow-off of Howard Smith and his cronies.

(Continued on page 2)

Labor Must Launch Attack Against Big War Profiteers!

The pack of congressional bloodhounds howled louder than ever this week for labor's blood, after whetting its appetite by gobbling up labor's long-standing right to obtain double time for Sunday work.

But none of the poll-tax politicians, nor the editorial writers of the capitalist press, had a word to say about the \$200,000,000 pure gravy made by General Motors during the past year.

The report of the amazing profits of General Motors, figured out after all the taxes, expenses and everything else were taken out, was buried on the back pages of all newspapers.

Doctor Warns Congress Not to Overwork (Fat Chance!)

Congress found out last week that its collective health was "fairly good" in spite of four years of steady "work," says an AP dispatch, but Dr. George Calver, physician to the nation's law makers, reminded them that "too long hours and too continuous application to work reduces efficiency." He told the Appropriations Committee in testimony made public last week that working week-ends and lack of holidays was affecting "the entire personnel of the legislative group."

Now, isn't that the kind of thing that just makes you break out in a rash of tears? Especially if you've been working your 55 or 60 hours a week in a factory!

But that's how it is under this cockeyed economic system. Nobody gives a hoot about the health of mere workers, nobody suggests that they need a rest, too—but a congressman, that's different. It sure is!

Looks a Lot Like Camouflage to Us!

The press is full of big stories about a certain Mr. Jack of Cleveland who made \$148,854 on a \$100,000 investment in war contracts. Congressmen are working up oratorical lathers about how Jack is profiteering on the taxpayers' money and on government contract. But a few questions should be asked in this connection:

Why make such a big fuss about a profiteer who is comparatively small fry? Sure, the little bosses have been lapping it up. But the real profiteers are the big industrialists and monopolists, like General Motors and U.S. Steel.

Could it be that this attack on this little business man is really intended as camouflage to hide the fact that Congress is doing nothing about the profiteering of big business?

But suppose labor had asked that amount in wage increases, needed to pay for the increased cost of living? Congress and the Roosevelt Administration would have talked themselves blue in the face about labor refusing to sacrifice.

The CIO top leadership disgraced itself in Washington this week at its meeting when it didn't demand that General Motors give up its fabulous war profits, and instead meekly, or rather enthusiastically voted to allow labor to get a wage cut!

The idea of the CIO and the AFL leaders that if labor gives up more concessions it can stop the labor-baiters in Congress, is all wet, and will cost the ranks of labor tremendously.

For the labor-baiters see each retreat of the union movement not as a sacrifice to be commended, but rather as a sign of weakness. Already the congressional hatchmen are hacking away at the 40-hour week as a basic standard. And despite Roosevelt's verbal assurances that he is against a change now, the fact is that his chief men in Congress openly say they favor revising present standards.

Appease Big Business

The appeasement policy of the CIO and the AFL leaders toward big business and its spokesmen in Congress will exact a terrible toll from the rights and just demands of the labor movement.

The CIO and the AFL leaders got tricked into a defensive fight. It was made to appear as if the major problem in America was cutting down the double time pay for Sunday work.

The sooner the labor movement shouts angrily against the war profiteers (who are behind the smoke-screen of the labor attacks) and raises hell about the cost of living the sooner will it be able to take the offensive against the industrialists and save itself from doom during the war.

This is the policy that every good union man must immediately advocate. There is no time to be lost. The future of the labor movement is at stake.

How Mr. Smith Chiseled His Way Into Washington

Sensational revelations about how Howard Smith, leading congressional labor-hater, and his two reactionary cronies, Virginia's Senators Glass and Byrd, have gotten themselves elected year after year were made before a congressional committee hearing on the poll tax.

Moses Plunkett, a Roanoke (Va.) lawyer, testified that the Glass-Byrd machine had a "backlog" of 85,000 voters for whom it paid poll taxes. Any candidate opposing that machine would need at least \$100,000 to beat it.

Poll tax receipts are bought up in blocks by the Democratic Party machine, said Plunkett, and distributed to "loyal" voters. Attempts to prosecute the machine in court would be doomed to failure because the Glass-Byrd machine controls all branches of the Virginia government, including the courts.

To illustrate the extent to which the anti-labor Glass-Byrd machine uses the poll tax to control elections, another witness, David George, asserted that within the last few years a majority of the county treasurers in Virginia have been removed from office because they were short in

their accounts. "In every instance," he said, "the treasurer's plea was that he hadn't stolen any of the county's money, but that he had issued hundreds and thousands of poll tax receipts to members of the 'machine' and that the 'machine' politicians had failed to reimburse him."

George exposed the trick of the Glass-Byrd machine in using absentee ballots for their voters, thus allowing them to make sure that they weren't "crossed" for the votes they were paying.

This is only part of the story of how the anti-labor maniacs have gotten themselves elected to Congress. These whiskey swilling planters are leading the anti-labor parade. Does anyone wonder why?

Article Postponed

The first of Susan Green's series of articles exposing the American fascists, announced for this issue, has had to be postponed. It will appear in next week's issue.

The topic is of great importance and you should make sure that your friends and fellow workers get this issue.

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

THE NAZI SLAVERY IN OCCUPIED EUROPE

The Nazi newspaper, Muencher Neuesten Nachrichten, carries the following item from Poland: "Twenty-nine special camps have been established for the training of laborers as builders and carpenters. This retraining work is being carried on according to entirely new principles. Of special interest is the element of drill in the training. The labor process is divided into individual operations, each of which is thoroughly practiced, just as soldiers engage in rifle and marching practice. At the word of command the men must, for example, swing trowels, toss bricks, etc. The employers cannot get enough labor from these camps."

The Czechoslovak Press Bureau from London reports that in February a straight 12-hour day was introduced in Bohemia and Moravia by the Nazi authorities. Payment for overtime is allowed for the last two hours at the rate of only one fourth of 1 per cent.

"Reich Protector" Heydrich, the butcher of Prague, issued an order in December compelling children leaving school—14 years of age—to register with the Labor Exchange immediately. They are not allowed to choose future professions, but must await the decision of the German authorities, who use them to fill the gap in the labor market caused by the withdrawal of German workers for service in the army.

The above are only a few instances which show to what degree labor is enslaved in the occupied countries. Fascism employs methods of brutal exploitation against the workers which leave far behind everything which has as yet been seen in modern Europe. These methods can only be compared to the exploitation of the African colonial slaves by British, French and Belgian imperialism and they are only matched by conditions which exist in a country which certain ones persist in calling a "workers' state." Modern capitalism in general did not employ such brutal methods against the workers, partially because the class struggle prevented them and partly because they could not afford to kill the goose which laid the golden eggs. But the Nazis are not hindered by such considerations.

150 FOREIGN WORKERS SHOT IN GERMANY

The unrest existing among two millions of foreign workers recruited by and deported to Germany for forced labor to replace the German workers drawn into the army is spreading rapidly, causing great apprehension among the Nazi leaders.

The Polish Telegraphic Agency, in London, reported on January 19 that 150 foreign workers in Germany were executed by firing squads during November and December for rebelling against overlong hours and harsh treatment. Not only Poles and Czechoslovaks but also Italians and Spaniards were included among the victims of Nazi terrorism.

What is most dangerous from the Nazi point of view is the fact that the rebellious foreign workers who are leading the opposition against Nazism apparently have succeeded in establishing some contact and achieved some form of cooperation with native German workers. The immense explosion, for instance, which, according to a Berné report of January 1, completely wrecked the Fiat Automobile Works in Welner Neustadt, and for which 21 Czechs were executed, could not have been effected without some co-operation on the part of the native workers. The same is true of the work of another group of Czechoslovak saboteurs, who were executed in Vienna, in November, for derailing the trains, destroying machinery, and disrupting the food supply system in Austria.

These executions testify to the fact that all measures heretofore adopted by the Nazis in order to isolate the various groups of foreign workers one from another and to hinder their contact among themselves as well as with the native workers have proved to be ineffective. The Nazis are confronted with a new menace on the inner front. Two million foreign workers provide a dangerous wedge of internal unrest in Germany proper.

Europanews.

'Enemy Music' To Be Banned?

Is American cultural life—more particularly its musical life—headed for another orgy of nationalist racial hatred?

Such, it would appear, is a melancholy possibility suggested by certain recent events.

During the 1917 war to "make the world safe for democracy," a wave of frenzied chauvinism swept the country. In many opera houses, the works of Wagner were banned. Some orchestras made a practice of

not playing the music of German composers, despite the fact that such composers as Bach, Beethoven, Brahms and Mozart are among the greatest of all time.

Now, it appears, there are symptoms of a similar development. A few weeks ago, Erika Mann, the daughter of Thomas Mann, wrote a letter to the New York Times in which she suggested that the works of Richard Strauss be banned, because Strauss is a fascist. Miss

Mann's subsidiary argument that Strauss should not receive royalty payments from American audiences is obviously nonsense in view of the present Axis fund-freezing edict in this country.

But much more is at stake than some royalties for Richard Strauss. Whatever one may think of the music of Strauss, it is necessary to evaluate it in musical terms; if Strauss has written or will write good music, it is certainly not BECAUSE he is a Nazi.

Search for "Enemy Ideas"

Attempts to search for dissident or "enemy ideas" in music, or attempts to identify a work of music with the political point of view of the person who wrote it, can only lead to a destruction of whatever cultural freedom exists at present. The merits of Strauss' fascist politics and his tone poems are two entirely different matters and must be judged on two entirely different planes.

But what is one to say of the incredible barbarism shown in the approach of those who would extend their proposed ban from the contemporary German composers, some of whom are friendly to Hitler, to the great German composers of the past, ranging from Bach to Brahms? What is one to say of the proposal made by the English composer, Percy Grainger, reported in the current issue of Variety magazine, that all "enemy music be banned"?

And what is to be made of the report of John Briggs, music critic of the New York Post, that in a recital of last week the singer John Charles Thomas omitted German songs from his program? It is quite evident that Briggs would not have made this remark if Thomas' omission of German songs were merely... accidental.

These voices of cultural barbarism are in no essential respect different from the Rosenbergs and Goebbelses, who have decreed a ban on composers such as Mendelssohn and poets such as Heine because they were "non-Aryans." They voice, if in more polite and polished language, the very same stupid monstrosities as these Nazi fiendishers.

But there is at least this difference: when the Nazis ban "non-Aryan" music and literature, they do not pretend to do so in the name of democracy and culture; they do it openly as the cultural barbarians they are.

Have You Seen the Latest NI?

If you haven't, you really should. It's a humdinger of an issue, chock-full of interesting stuff and natively dressed in a modern make-up.

Among the articles in the March issue are MS's Notes of the Month on the Future of the War; Albert Gates' Economic Review of 1941; Henry Judd's Programs for German Defeat; J. W. Smith's Socialism and National Liberation; the thesis of the Indian Trotskyists on the British Conquest of India; Gregory Zinoviev's Social Roots of Opportunism (an Archives selection); and Jack Wilson's Review of John Gunther's Inside Latin America.

The April issue of The New International will be off the press shortly. It will contain an extremely interest-

ing series of articles, including an article on Marxism and Our Times by Albert Gates; an article on Japanese economy and political situation by Henry Judd; the concluding section of the Indian Trotskyists' thesis, dealing with social classes in India; a thesis of the French Trotskyists on the national question; the second section of Zinoviev's Social Roots of Opportunism; reviews of Stolper's Age of Fable, St. John's From the Land of the Silent People, Kerman's Defense Will Not Win the War; Notes of the Month on India and the Intellectuals; and a letter from Dwight MacDonald in reply to a critique of Partisan Review which appeared in the February NI, as well as a reply to MacDonald from the editors

Anti-Labor Press Campaign--

(Continued from page 1)

Here is the story in brief (space has prevented us from describing how Thurman Arnold, assistant Attorney General, notorious for his anti-labor prosecutions, tossed his two cents' worth of anti-labor poison in also), of how this anti-labor campaign was started. It was all a tissue of lies, a manufactured cock and bull story from beginning to end.

The real tragedy, however, was not in the fact that the daily kept press was smearing the labor movement. No realistic worker expects anything else from the boss press. No realistic worker expects Willie Hearst, or the New York Times, or the Scripps-Howard chain to blossom out with love and kisses for the working people.

What was the real tragedy was the

comparative ineffectiveness of the labor campaign against the smearers. This was due primarily not to the fact that the labor movement has no resources or finances or the wherewithal to put out a great labor paper. The reason for the ineffectiveness of the labor campaign is primarily political.

The entire course of the leadership of both the CIO and the AFL, being class collaborationist, makes impossible a militant, effective fight in defense of labor's rights. How could Murray and Green, pledged as they are not to support any strike even if that strike is to improve labor's conditions, really fight against the labor smearers? Such a fight would mean a knock down and drag out struggle with both the reactionary congressmen as well as the Administration.

American Imperialism Edges Its British Rival Out Of The Australian Continent

By SENTINEL

Prime Minister Winston Churchill apparently did not flatter the Australians when he appointed Richard G. Casey, the Australian Minister to Washington, to the post of Minister of State representing the British War Cabinet in the Middle East. Prime Minister Curtin of Australia has been raising hell with Churchill over this "promotion."

Back of it all is the growing rivalry between the United States and Great Britain for influence in Australia. Of course, Australia is a dominion of Great Britain, but under the stress of the war the loyalty of the dominions to Great Britain is becoming more and more questionable. The British ruling class is afraid that its dominions are fast becoming, like Canada, dependent on the United States. In practically every important sense Canada is an appendage of the United States. Only ceremonial and traditional ties to England remain to be severed for Canada to become another state in the American union of states.

What makes matters worse for Churchill is that Australia itself is clamoring for American "protection." Naturally, at the same time, Australia has been trying to reassure the British that it has no intention of renouncing its age-long loyalty and ties to its mother country. But such assurances, welcome though they are, are evidently not considered satisfying. Far more important is the fact that the United States, at Australia's request, has an army in Australia.

The chief of this army and of the Australian army is General Douglas MacArthur; and it was Prime Minister Curtin who first suggested MacArthur's transfer from the Philippines in order to take charge in Australia.

According to statements made by Curtin in the press, the Casey incident is important enough to merit a "white paper." This alone shows how strained Australia's relations to England are. Curtin considered Casey's services in Washington extremely valuable to Australia. What were those services? They were directed completely to-

ward getting America's and not England's "protective" power to Australia. Casey evidently performed his duty too well. That is why Churchill stepped in and offered him the post of British Minister of State. This is the first time that the British have been solicitous enough to incorporate a representative of the dominions into the exclusive British War Cabinet. Even in the First World War the sanctity of the British War Cabinet was not so violated. This also shows how important the incident is.

Different in This War

Things are a little different in this war. In the last war there was an Imperial War Cabinet in which representatives from the different parts of the British Empire sat. Despite demands made upon him, Churchill has thus far refused to create such a body in this war. Is it because the British dominions are today not as close to the mother country as they were in the First World War? Is it because the British ruling stratum is afraid of being overruled in such a body by representatives whose interests are no longer in harmony with the leaders of the mother country? We suspect that this is the answer.

We suspect that Churchill is afraid of losing his empire not only to his German and Japanese enemies but also to his American ally. Already the United States has strengthened its position in the Western Hemisphere by its acquisition of numerous British bases. Now the same thing is happening in the Far East. The might of America shows itself in the same proportion as British weakness is manifested.

To all intents and purposes, Australia has become the American base in the Far East. Roosevelt, and not Churchill, has the ever-increasing forces to send to Australia. Curtin knows this and that is why his envoy to the United States, Herbert V. Ewart, Australian Minister for External Affairs, is making the demand that a Southwestern Pacific War Council, representing the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and the Netherlands Indies, should sit in Washington instead of London as at present.

American Priority

In China, Chiang Kai-shek also recognizes the priority of America. There the American General Stilwell has become the chief of staff of Chiang's armies and the general in charge of the Chinese armies fighting on the Burma front. Everywhere in the war America is increasingly taking charge of the Allied sectors. American imperialism is taking over in the war. That is the all-important significance of the shifts we see taking place in the Allied camp.

In his latest speech Lord Halifax pointed to the Middle East as the possible important battlefield of 1942. The Middle East and India are the last remaining sectors of the British Empire. It is there that Great Britain has been building up its strength with such forces as it still has. Churchill's appointment of Casey as representative of the British War Cabinet to the Middle East is to remind Australia that it is still British and as such must play its important part to help sustain the British positions there.

That is exactly the reason why the Australian ruling classes object to this appointment. They have become so conscious of their own separate interests and their increasing reliance on America that they want to concentrate their efforts on Australia and, if anywhere else, in Washington rather than London.

Good Pickings in India

But even in the Middle East and India there are signs of America's growing role. It is well known that Washington put considerable pressure on London to gain Indian cooperation in the war. Chiang Kai-shek's visit to India is supposed to have been inspired by Washington. With its military and technical missions to India, Eritrea and Iran, American imperialism has its finger in every pie. Tremendous American bases are being built in Africa and the Middle East. Lease-Lend supplies are pouring into these areas. Turkey too has not been overlooked, and neither has Russia. The American imperialist colossus is rising to its full height in every part of the world. Its appetite is literally insatiable. Before this war is over it will seek to demonstrate to the world who the boss is.

The British ruling class is painfully aware of this. Nevertheless it can do nothing about it. It has been overtaken by powers stronger than itself, and the world belongs to the strong. England is between the dilemma of a Germany and a Japan that would strip her altogether of her empire, and an America that would permit her to salvage some of it. Either way England has already lost the war. That is becoming clearer every day.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

A Letter from Pennsylvania

Dear Editor: I have received two copies of LABOR ACTION. I do not know who I am to thank for them. Enclosed is 30 cents for which please send a copy of the March 16, 1942, issue to the following names and addresses. You may receive some subscriptions as a result.

In case you are out of this edition, send them one as good against the war-murder machine and its true causes. I was a CO during the 1914-18 war on Christian principles. About nine socialists from Reading, Pa., told me that my firm stand helped in their course as CO's on economic and political grounds.

I was surprised by your statement concerning the stand that the American Guardian is making. I let my subscription lapse to that paper last year.

I submitted a short manuscript to

the "Town Hall" about the best way to obtain universal brotherhood. My reasons were mainly based on the true economic solution—a way also which will effectively rid the world of war.

(Then follows a list of 30 names of potential LABOR ACTION readers promised by our correspondent.—Editor.)

P. L. D.

West Lawn, Pa.

(While LABOR ACTION does not subscribe to the principles of conscientious objection to war as held by our correspondent, we welcome his expression of opinion and thank him very much for sending us the names of his friends who would be interested in receiving a copy of our paper.—Editor.)

Offers to Write For LABOR ACTION

Dear Editor: Because I think I have things to say, and must relieve myself by saying them—and because your paper is the one outlet I can find—I am enclosing an article for your consideration.

I have many others planned. For example, I disagree with you concerning Nehru and would like to prove my point. I have prepared an article on the President.

I think that democracy must be defined over and over again and used as an acid test on the actions of our leaders. I believe that American fascism is a pressing danger and can be opposed only by strengthened democracy in an informed people. I believe this strongly and would like to say it in as many ways as I can.

T. F. C.

And Here's His Article

On March 19 an organization called "Freedom House" held a dinner, at which its members gave their opinions on our conduct of the war. The speakers are familiar, having been vocally active for intervention before the war, and since that time waxing hotly oratorical over a milk-and-water slush which they call "democracy." This meeting was of vital importance to those of us who seek coherence in the din of words crashing at the ears of all the people, because it was attended by the spokesmen of those who pretend to lead us to a new world.

Among the temporarily glorified speakers were Quentin Reynolds

(magazine articles and capitalist propaganda for sale), Archibald MacLeish, once a poet, now the co-author of the speeches of the smoothest politician in the world, and Dorothy Thompson, ardent columnist.

Since they speak for the millions of us, outline our aims and ends, it seems well to examine their releases.

MacLeish, for example, said that irrelative and divided public opinion will lose us the war. This much is obviously true—but are these gushers of pale compromise possessed of what is required to unify public opinion? They express righteous indignation at "half-hearted citizens," deploring the popular lack of enthusiasm for their "crusade." He also implied that all who criticize the Administration are inspired by "personal hatreds, immigrant mentality"; that they are a "vengeful few."

Of course it was also mentioned that a selfish labor group, a noisy minority, was hamstringing our war effort and would have to be silenced. Strange words for democrats!

They complained again and again that "we, the people," did not respond to them—and never thought to look to themselves for the answer.

The body they represent is revealed in its members: First, Winston Churchill. What thinking man would call him a democrat? Lord Halifax, smelling badly of misdeeds

against freedom in India. Wendell Willkie, who thinks American democracy is a commercial priority police right to "rule the world."

The heyday of power for these men is gone, and they do not command the words to draw new power from the people. They speak for imperialism, sugar coated, as against imperialism naked. They give us an opponent but no positive principle.

A struggle between democracy and fascism is the movement of the century. With characteristic fumbling they offer us a struggle between half-hearted fascism and the real thing well armed. Then complain of our unwillingness to sacrifice.

Britain's difficulty with India is not merely incidental—it is symptomatic of their weakness. There are two things strong enough to combat Hitler and Japan: full fascism, or complete democracy. The economic framework of complete democracy is socialism. Our self-appointed spokesmen say no, and we remain without a battery.

We cannot afford to let their weakness become our own. Nor can we afford to allow Smith and Connally and the rest to impose fascism upon us. We must win this war over the heads of our "democratic" leaders.

That is our position. We must fight their war and fight them too. We must win both.

Only democracy holds lasting peace for the world, and we alone can

bring it to be. Our President offers us no such leadership. So it remains for us to hold grimly to our own ideal—however difficult it may be to fight a war with mental reservations. To allow them to impose their order upon the world would be to submit our children to the wasteful suffering of this battle over again.

If this is a government by the people we can demand that our wishes be obeyed. Freedom for the colonies of the world, for India, China, the East Indies and, if we can arrange it, freedom for ourselves. We cannot allow the seeds of war to be sown again in a mangled earth, to be reaped, again, by our children.

(LABOR ACTION is pleased to print this letter and article from reader T. F. C. It is understood, of course, that we do not assume responsibility for the point of view of those who write letters to us. We cannot agree with T. F. C.'s idea about "We must fight their war, and fight them, too." We believe, as is well known, that the only way to destroy fascism is to fight against the capitalist system which breeds it; we cannot accept the idea that the present impe-

Worker Gets Poetic Urge

Editor, LABOR ACTION:

The capitalist class is very grand
And quite the happiest in the land.
With righteous hands they write the law,
And it gives them many a gay guffaw.
In their own little world they're rarely tricked
And their sons for the trenches are seldom picked.
Though their nearest and dearest are sometimes snatched,
Their dollars and cents are seldom scratched.
Their dollars and cents are seldom scratched.
They're great believers in workers' marriages,
And Sunday schools and baby carriages.
They spend their lifetime in doing good,
For the ruling classes, who are misunderstood.
For the bourgeoisie, who should be given a chance
To prove they are victims of circumstance.
They may start a little World War now and then,
And kill off seven or eight million men.
But such things are really and truly trifles
Compared with the profit on all those rifles.
For there's money in mourning and shot and shell
And doubtless they'll all get punished in hell.
Besides, war brings out the best in all men!
(Heart, lungs and liver and ribs now and then.)
And the ships of state are steered through the tide
By these wholesale dealers in homicide.
Have been reading LABOR ACTION regularly for some time. A paper like yours should be read by millions of workers who need leadership.

B. P.

New York.



The following is the list of LABOR ACTION and The New International combination subs received in the last TWO weeks:

New York City	13
St. Louis	4
Baltimore	3
Washington, D. C.	2
Ann Arbor	1
Philadelphia	1
Buffalo	1
Chicago	1
California	1
Ohio	1
Total	28

Last week all our literature agents received bundles of special leaflets. They've been busy distributing them and next week we'll report on their results.

Meanwhile, we'd like to know what Lynn and Boston are doing for the \$1.00 sub campaign. As well as Chicago, Akron and Los Angeles. And we haven't heard from San Francisco as yet. Let's remember that there's only a month left to go in the \$1.00 campaign!

Odds and Ends on the War:

Some Things We'll Bet You Never Even Noticed

The Kiplinger letter of March 14th warns its businessmen clients not to get any "false impressions about higher prices and inflation."

Says Kiplinger: "Actually the government has no idea of keeping prices from going higher. Actually the government EXPECTS (Kiplinger's emphasis) them to go higher."

Elaborating further, the letter states: "To make the rise 'moderate' (Kiplinger puts this in quotation marks) is the most that is now sought. Especially to keep certain prices from jumping far ahead of the average."

LABOR ACTION passes this tidbit along to its readers who should be at least as well informed about high prices and inflation as are the businessmen who read Kiplinger's Washington Letter.

On the subject of high prices, the following contribution by Carlton Shively, financial editor of the New York Sun, journalistic pillar of the most steadfast worshippers of private-profit without-let-or-limit, is very pertinent and illuminating:

"The way to get more munitions and win the war is to let the most powerful of all production stimulants—price—get to work. We can preach patriotism, urge the purchase of defense bonds, implore everyone to sacrifice, imprison chiselers and what not, but the way to get the goods is to pay for them."

This is a more elegant and circumspect way of saying what LABOR ACTION has been saying in plain English right along, namely, that an important contributing cause of high prices is just plain war profiteering—the bosses boosting prices all the traffic will bear—and a little more.

Then there is the story of the man who went to the Internal Revenue Bureau at Stamford, Conn., and demanded that the government pay him the \$800 it owes him for the year 1941.

The man explained that he earned \$1,600 during the year on WPA work. As the father of six children, the income tax law allows him a deduction of \$400 for each of them, or a total of \$2,400. By the logic of the situation, the man figured the government owes him the difference between what he earned and what the government admits he should have earned. Many workers will agree that his logic is flawless.

Raymond Clapper, columnist for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, is now in Cairo, Egypt, and writes some mighty interesting items about goings-on in Africa.

For instance, the Pan American Airline is expanding its service across the "dark continent," carrying the war supplies of the United States to the African and Near East battle fronts. This should make everybody but the Nazis very happy. But not so, Mr. Clapper explains:

"Unfortunately the impression is abroad in some quarters that this is later to become a competitive commercial service. It does not seem practical as a post-war venture for profit, yet undoubtedly some British commercial interests have these suspicions. As a result there is some surface irritation on both sides."

We hazard a guess that "British commercial interests" have a better nose for profits than Mr. Clapper, and that it is neither common interest nor brotherly love that "unites" the United Nations.

The desperation with which the British are holding on to the last remnants of their empire is revealed by the fight Australia is putting up to slip out of that hold.

In his recent speech broadcast to the United States, John Curtin, Prime Minister of Australia, bitterly complained about the tenacious, unyielding grip of the mother country. He said:

"We looked to America, among other things, for counsel and advice and therefore it was our wish that the Pacific War Council should be located at Washington. It is a matter of some regret to us that even now, after ninety-five days of Japan's staggering advance south we have not obtained first-hand contact with America."

On the contrary, instead of facilitating Australia's contact with America, England has removed from this country the able Australian ambassador, Mr. Casey, at a time when he would be most useful toward cementing the ties between Australia and the United States.

It is obvious that the British imperialists no more wish to lose Australia to their Yankee rivals than to their Japanese enemies.

An Associated Press dispatch from London a few days back reports "from sources in close contact with Berlin" that "there has been a marked change in German soldiers returning from Russia compared with those who came back from the fighting front a year ago."

The report goes on: "The men are more serious and more anxious about the future, these sources said. They try to find solace and rest and avoid any talk of the war and heroism."

The report pictures "the returning soldiers as openly critical of Nazi propaganda, especially such catch phrases as 'Bolshevik monster' and 'Russian hell.' Their attitude, it is said, is that the Russians and the Germans are suffering the same hardships."

We all know, of course, how highly seasoned with propaganda is a news item of this kind. Yet it has a genuine taste of probability.

It will be a great day for the workers of the world and for civilization when the soldiers of all countries wake up to the fact that they are the victims of catch phrases coined by the imperialists of all countries alike.

Akron Industrialists Finance Both Boss Party Candidates

When the congressmen from the South rave and rant against labor, most people attribute this to the fact that the common people don't get to vote down there because of the poll taxes, so only the businessmen and landowners control the elections.

But up North it's supposed to be different. After all, the workers in the big industrial centers vote, and are a majority. How come the congressmen from there join in the anti-labor orgies that go on daily in Washington?

The clue to an answer was contained in a little item which we picked up from the Akron Beacon-Journal, daily newspaper from the rubber center of the world. It's from a political column and deals with the coming congressional elections, at which Dow Harter, one of the more stupid and prominent legislators, will seek to return for his fifth term to office.

Read this carefully: "Akron industrial leaders, having more important business in Washington than ever before, have shown no indication they are dissatisfied with Dow Harter as their contact man there."

"Following the usual practice of 'playing it safe,' the industrialists no doubt will contribute to the campaign fund of the Republican nominee this fall. But you can be certain that they will give an equal sum, if not more, to Harter's campaign for a sixth term."

There it is, in black and white, Congressmen, to big business, are something you back like horses at a

"No Sabotage Is Proof of Sabotage . . ." (You Figure It Out!)

As the prize stupidity of a week which had more than the usual quota, we quote from a column, dated March 19, of Fred S. Ferguson, in the New York World-Telegram:

"One sure-fire reason for being certain that there is a well organized plan for sabotage in the United States, particularly on both coasts, is to be found in the fact that, to date there has not been any sabotage."

Justified Hatred of American Jim-Crow Rule Must Not Lead Negroes Into Japanese Trap!

By PAUL HARRIS

The Negroes are humiliated and oppressed; but the greatest crime against them is that they are deprived of the opportunity to lift themselves from their degradation. As long as a man cannot take his place in industry on equal terms with all other men, his efforts to improve himself are doomed.

That is what makes the slogan "Jobs for Negroes," of such tremendous importance. And that is why the government's exclusion of all but a few hand-picked Negroes from federal jobs shows that it is the government which is determined to keep the Negroes where they are. In this matter there is slight difference between the government and the employers. The government is the government not of workers but of the employers. Since it bears the official responsibility for determining policy and since it has to get votes in elections, it makes gestures, appoints commissions and every now and then offers the Negroes some concession.

But the fundamental policy of government and employers must be the same. This is what the Negroes know. Hence their almost unanimous repudiation of American "democracy" and their skepticism about and antagonism toward the war program.

In this respect the masses of Negroes see more clearly than any other section of American society what a thundering lie is the propaganda of "war for democracy."

That is a great advantage, a great step forward in political clarity. LABOR ACTION agrees entirely that to look to American capitalism for any serious attempt to change the Negro's status is not only an illusion; it is the surest way to bind the Negro still tighter in the chains which have held him for nearly a hundred years. So far, so good.

Japan, the "Savior"?

But, from there, many Negroes, turning away from what they rightly see has no hope for them, propose instead that the Negroes look for their emancipation to the rulers of Japan as the so-called "leaders of the colored peoples." And the victories of Japan have stimulated hopes that the "day of the colored peoples" is near. No more catastrophic policy has ever been placed before the Negro people. It will send many of them wandering along a false road and for a long time prevent their finding the road to freedom.

How far has this propaganda spread? Japan, by means of the "Pacific Movement," has done organized propaganda work among the Negroes for this doctrine. The actual success of this movement as an organization is difficult to assess. What

is certain is the spread of the idea.

It is prevalent not only among the "ignorant and backward" sections of the Negro population; among many Negro intellectuals who know that nothing is to be gained by a victory of Japan there can be heard the sentiment that "At any rate we are glad to see the Japs give those British upstarts a good beating. It will teach them that the white man is no longer master of the world" In Negro universities of high standing, similar ideas are spreading among the students.

Now, what about the arguments being advanced in favor of Japanese victory as a means for the freedom of the Negroes and the colored races? It is said that:

1) "The Japanese are destroying the power of the white man in Asia. They will establish racial equality among the billion people in the Far East. This will weaken the white race, allowing Africans to fight for Africa and establish each race as a master in its own sphere."

2) It is further said that "even if the Japanese are not fighting for that, it is better for the Negroes, as colored people, to be ruled by the Japanese, another colored race, than to be ruled by whites. If the white man conquers in Asia he will continue to rule the world as he always has and the colored peo-

ples will never come out of the misery in which they now are."

Those are the arguments. Let us discuss them.

Asia for the Asiatics?

The Japanese are supposed to be fighting to make Asia free for the Asiatics. Their history ought to teach us something about that. This Asiatic people was brought into the area of the Western capitalist world by Commodore Perry about ninety years ago. Japan's economy was a serf economy; large masses of the people were tied to the land and worked not for wages but for their subsistence. This is a backward method and countries which used it were far behind in the race for world domination.

On account of this, and for no other reason, Britain freed her slaves in 1833. Half of the United States produced by means of capitalist economy, but the other half, the Southern states, functioned by means of the slave economy. Large parts of Russia produced by means of serf economy. In those days the major capitalist problem was to get rid of the slave and serf economy that still survived and had no place in the modern capitalist world.

No Interest in Colonies

The capitalist world was not very much interested in colonies as yet. The United States had the vast ter-

ritories west of the Mississippi to develop. Britain of course held on to India, but the then general capitalist sentiment was best expressed by Disraeli, the British statesman, who called the British colonies "damned millstones around our neck" and wanted to get rid of them.

In those days nine-tenths of Africa was still under the rule of the native Africans. Soon in the United States a fierce civil war was fought, not for love of Negroes, but to put an end to the economic system of slavery, which was abolished by the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863.

That this was not a race question was proved by the fact that in Russia, in the same year, the Czar made an attempt to put an end to serfdom by a law which decreed the emancipation of the serfs.

Just six years before that, the British, having crushed the first war of independence in India, began to modernize India by railways, etc., in order to exploit it better.

Japan Modernizes Its Economy

It was in this period that Japan modernized its economy just as all the other capitalist nations were doing. White or yellow, all countries' economies are during a particular period governed by certain laws and the ruling class in each country must follow these laws or perish. Had the Japanese been green in color they would have done exactly as they did. We shall see them step by step following out the policy of world capitalist economy and not any policy of race.

Between 1860 and 1880 was a period of great prosperity and development for capitalism, which is a world-wide economic system. Japan learned Western methods quickly and adapted her serf economy to the capitalist system.

After 1880, however, a change came over world economy. Capitalism cannot have prosperity for long, but progresses by means of crises which get worse and worse and are continually more difficult to get out of. By 1880 world capitalism had reached the first stage of the crisis which is tearing the world to pieces. It tried to solve the crisis by imperialism.

This can be seen most clearly by what happened in Africa. Whereas in 1880 only one-tenth of Africa was in the hands of the European powers, by 1900 only one-tenth remained in the hands of Africans. Britain, France, Belgium, driven by the crisis of capitalism, rushed to Africa to solve their crisis at the expense of African territory and African labor. However, the crisis was not too sharp as yet and the great European powers sat around a table in Berlin and divided up Africa peacefully. Then they told the masses everywhere: "We are doing it to save the Africans from heathenism and to make them Christians."

Everyone now sees what a great lie this was, that this was nothing but an excuse for imperialist expansion. And Japan was doing exactly the same thing in the Far East.

Now that we have sketched the background and setting for the Japanese policy, we shall end here for this week, and in next week's installment discuss the specific policy of Japanese imperialism itself.

How Can We Break Hitler's Hold On the Weary German Soldiers?

Some extremely interesting reports have recently been coming out of Europe about internal conditions in Germany. These reports stress alleged internal unrest among the German population, as well as sabotage in the occupied countries.

Many such reports are merely propaganda, especially those about the occupied countries. Of late, however, the Allies have stopped talking about the internal revolt in Germany and have not widely publicized any such reports. Their reason for keeping pretty mum on this subject is readily seen. They understand that they cannot really, provided their imperialist governments continue to exist in the Allied countries, provoke and stimulate revolution in Germany.

On his recent visit to America, Churchill admitted as much. Therefore, in order not to arouse false hopes, they keep quiet about internal conditions in Germany and concentrate on talk of vague military offensives to be launched no one knows where or when.

MORALE OF THE GERMAN SOLDIERS

This does not mean that there are not interesting developments inside Germany. For instance, a conservative Swiss weekly, Die Weltwoche, contains very important information with regard to the mentality and reactions of the German soldiers. The Weltwoche writes that German soldiers on leave after six to eight months on the Russian front are jumpy, dislocated, skeptical of the war and of the future. They constantly ask why their sufferings and what reward awaits them.

"They are not greeted with hurrahs or welcomed with flowers and gifts," the writer reports. "They walk insecurely like sailors after a long voyage and speak either too loud or too low. They are nervous, excited and jumpy."

The writer reports that the soldiers are constantly asking: "For whom do we conquer all this and are we really getting something out of it?" So pressing has this skepticism about the character of the war become that Das Schwarz Korps, organ of the SS Guard, had to answer in a recent issue:

"Naturally some factories are still owned by private shareholders, but this is 'economically indifferent' as their production is determined by the higher authorities, independently from the owners' will."

While certain befuddled theorists will take this statement as "evidence" that capitalism has been abolished in Germany, the more realistic German workers understand it as an attempt to cover up the fact that the basic causes of German participation in the war are imperialistic and that German capitalists are the ones in whose interests the war is fought.

THEY KEEP ASKING QUESTIONS

And then Die Weltwoche concludes: "Tomorrow the German soldier will find himself in the midst of the spring offensive doing his duty as before, but he will not stop asking, asking more and more until he is answered."

These are highly important facts. They give specific factual corroboration to what can be deduced from a general consideration of the role of Germany in the war:

The soldiers no longer have that world-conquering morale, that feeling that they are fighting a quick war to a glorious victory.

They see now that it will be a long war and that, as Die Weltwoche puts it, there is no answer to their question: "What life will be ours after this war?"

Whoever can give the German workers and soldiers a genuine answer of promise can break the hold which Hitler has over them—the hold of fear that a German defeat will mean national humiliation and suffering such as took place after the last war: in short, a new Versailles.

CHURCHILL HAS NOTHING TO OFFER

But this is all that Churchill and Roosevelt CAN promise them. Can they promise them economic freedom, a secure job, national independence? Can they promise the German workers anything but another Versailles? By the very nature

of the war they conduct, that is all they have to offer.

Imagine what a German worker or soldier thinks when he reads how Churchill refuses to make any sizable concessions to the Indian people, let alone grant them their freedom. Imagine how this German worker or soldier feels when he reads of the exploitation of the British imperialists in Malaya. He certainly cannot be prompted to risk his neck trying to organize a revolution against Hitler... only to fall prey to the mercies of Churchill.

The Allies have no banner to offer the German people, no program, no faith, no cause worth dying for. They have only the horrible specter of a new Versailles.

HOW TO BREAK HITLER'S HOLD

But now the hold of Hitler on the soldiers appears to be weakening a little bit. This is the result of war itself, with its concurrent horrors and miseries. Were there an opponent to the Hitler regime which could inspire confidence and enthusiasm among the German soldiers and people, then the tie between them and Hitler could be more quickly severed.

The only kind of government that could so win the confidence of the German workers and soldiers would be a workers government in London or Washington. Such a government could promise the German people a joint struggle for freedom, for economic security. Such a government would have no record of imperialism; on the contrary, it would prove its sincerity by immediately freeing the colonies, such as India.

That is the key to the situation. The way to sever the ties between the Hitler regime and the German soldiers—now apparently already beginning to crack a little bit—is to fight for workers' governments in the Allied countries. Such a struggle can end fascism, shorten the war by allowing a socialist victory to emerge from it and thereby open a new path to a free society, where imperialism and Hitlerism will be a dread memory of the past.

What Will the Jews Do About the Struma Murder?

Protest or Play Diplomatic Ostrich?

A few weeks ago the steamer Struma, packed with 788 Jewish refugees from central Europe, left a Rumanian port headed for Palestine. According to the words of its own captain, it was a death ship, completely unseaworthy.

But these desperate, harassed refugees from Hitler's ghettos and torture chambers were willing to grasp at any straw in order to escape his clutches. And so, despite the fact that they had been unable to secure the necessary visas from the British authorities, they sailed. After all, visas do not loom as very important when one's life is at stake.

They put into the port of Istanbul, in Turkey, and there waited for weeks trying to get permission to land in Palestine. But the British government—fighting for freedom, justice and the Atlantic Charter—refused to give them permission.

Desperately the ship had to put to sea again to return to Rumania, where they would be once more at the mercies of the Gestapo. But they were saved that agony, at least.

On February 24, the Struma—condemned, we repeat, by its own captain as a death ship—exploded in the Black Sea. There were 769 Jewish refugees on board.

There was one survivor. Can anyone with eyes to see deny that British imperialism must assume responsibility for this mass murder? Can anyone deny this terribly obvious fact?

Yet the American press had nothing to say about this. And what is even worse, the Jewish press says little. It mumbles; it murmurs its regrets; but it fails to speak out in terms of genuine condemnation, it fails to see any connection between the Struma incident and the policies of British imperialism, and attacks anyone who suggests such a connection.

It is likewise with the Zionist movement. The mass demonstrations, the mighty shouts of protest are reserved for German atrocities. British atrocities are handled... delicately. Even the mass meeting organized by Zionist organizations takes the tone not of protest against this massacre, not of attack against the British imperialist policy, but rather of supplication to Churchill, kneeling before the rulers of Downing Street, whose only interest is the maintenance of their ill-gotten imperialist possessions.

But there are some—only a handful as yet—who understand that it is necessary to speak out, who see that this incident, this cold-blooded murder of 768 Jews in the death-ship Struma, is not an accident but an inevitable by-product of British imperialist policy. Listen to the statement of a group of young Socialist-Zionists, who have severed their connections with the official, "respectable" bureaucracy of the Zionist movement, because they are opposed to imperialism of all kinds, because they want to fight the disease of anti-Semitism, whether it be German or British. Here is what they write:

"750 ANTI-FASCISTS KILLED

"Could They Have Been Saved?"

"1) Why were the victims of Hitler forced to take to sea from a port in their own 'homeland' in a death ship condemned by its own captain?"

"2) How much of the responsibility can be accredited to the policy of the Zionist Organization?"

"The Zionist Organization of America sees the use of Palestine only as a tool for the execution of Anglo-American war strategy, even to the extent of hushing up the Struma incident for two weeks until they were forced to

acknowledge it by popular pressure from below."

"THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION IS NOT A POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF THE JEWISH MASSES. IT IS A PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTION BASED UPON CRUMBS THROWN TO THEM BY WEALTHY JEWS. IT BECOMES THE TOOL OF BRITISH IMPERIALIST POLICY WHICH IS FORCED BY ITS VERY NATURE TO APPEASE ARAB FASCISTS SUBJECTING THE NEAR EAST TO ITS OWN INTERESTS."

"ONLY A MILITANT WORKERS ZIONISM CAN EXERT A MAXIMUM EFFORT FOR A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH."

"WORKERS ZIONIST LEAGUE."

We do not know what is meant here by "workers' Zionism" or "Arab fascists." But we do know that in raising their voices these Jewish youth are expressing what should be the battle cry of all the Jewish workers. And that is a good sign.

The hopes of the Jewish people now literally rest on the victory of socialism. What Nazism means for them, everyone knows. What British imperialism means for them, the Struma incident vividly illustrates. (Nor can anything better be expected from Soviet Russia, integrally interwoven in British imperialism's war—Soviet Russia, the "workers' fatherland," the "workers' state" which has not lifted a finger to aid Jewish or anti-fascist refugees.) Only the struggle for socialism can smash anti-Semitism. Only the struggle for socialism can make possible self-determination for the Jewish people, the creation of a Jewish homeland, if the Jewish people desire it.

The existence of the Jews as a free people depends on the victory of socialism. That is why militant working class Jewish youth must enlist in that struggle.

Crane's Profits Jump; Workers Worse Off

CHICAGO—The Crane Company, giant local manufacturer, has reached the heaviest production in its history with tremendous profits on war contracts. But the situation for Crane's workers is growing steadily worse.

Within two weeks after the announcement of a \$7,727,818 profit for last year, the management officially announced a speed-up. One part of the speed-up order was for piecework employees to "turn in" all they can. Although the order was issued with the usual attempt to trim it up with patriotism, it was immediately recognized by the workers as just an old company trick. Time and again the company has encouraged piece-rate workers to put out all they can "to make yourself an extra piece of change," as they put it. But every time it has been tried, the rate on that job was cut, with the usual comment by the management: "Well, if you can put out that much, the job must have been overrated."

Many Crane workers look on this as the last straw. And it is no wonder, after already having had piece-rates drastically cut, working seven days a week since the beginning of December, being constantly hounded for more output and seeing the best jobs and shifts being given out without regard to seniority.

Say, Mr. Reader?

What do you think of this paper? Interesting? Like it?

Why not make sure of getting LABOR ACTION plus The New International, a monthly socialist magazine, for six months for only \$1.00? Fill in the blank on page 2.

Editorials

Workers! Beware of GPU Frameups!

On page 1 of this issue of LABOR ACTION you will find several stories of the anti-labor drive which is now reaching its peak in Congress—descriptions of how the congressional representatives of the American capitalist class are trying their damndest to enslave and degrade the American labor movement.

Among the enemies of the American labor movement must be counted, however, not merely the Howard Smiths and Tom Connallys, not merely the vernal capitalist press, with its fake anti-labor stories. Among the bitterest enemies of the American labor movement must be counted a force that corrodes it from within, that works in the name of a piously false attachment to the interests of American labor as well as an hysterical super-patriotism.

We refer, of course, to the (Stalinist) Communist Party as well as to its more reticent ally which prefers to do its work on moonless nights—the American branch of the GPU.

Ever since the sudden collapse of the Hitler-Stalin pact and the resultant disruption of what promised to be such a beautiful and noble friendship, the American Stalinists have been the most bitter enemy inside the American labor movement of any attempt by the workers to engage in militant action in the defense and improvement of their rights.

A Discreet Silence

The Daily Worker, in its advice to the American workers, has gone further than any official union leader of either the CIO or AFL; it has even gone a good deal further than many capitalist newspapers. While the entire labor movement—to cite one instance—has been incensed and outraged by the tremendous war profiteering of the bosses, the Daily Worker has maintained a discreet silence on the subject.

On the rare occasions that it has spoken it has counseled workers not to get excited about war profits. Thus, on January 17 the Daily Worker, in the midst of the Truman committee's disclosures about war profiteering and refusals on the part of big business to convert to war production, writes:

"The employers have a right to reasonable profits; have a right to manage their own plants; have a right to make contributions to the war program out of their own experience; have a right to press their point of view."

It is with such hogwash that the Daily Worker, playing the game of the Chamber of Commerce and the bosses of the country, tries to dull the fighting energy of the American workers.

Or again, in relation to the burning need of the workers for wage increases, the Stalinist Daily Worker writes:

"When short-sighted men and groups speak of labor seeking to 'profit' or 'share in the war profits' or 'take advantage of the war,' every intelligent and honest trade

unionist has to reply: We don't talk their language."

Here we are told in just so many words that anyone who says that the big corporations shouldn't get away with their fabulous profits, that anyone who believes that labor should slice into those profits with well-deserved wage increases—that such a person isn't a good union man! We know that the Stalinists couldn't get many workers to agree to that!

Stalinist Super-Patriotism

The reason for this sudden burst of super-patriotism on the part of the Stalinists is known to everyone. When Stalin was nestling up to Hitler, the local Stalinists were yelling blue murder in favor of isolation, against entry into the war. When their boss in the Kremlin was forced to shift sides in the imperialist war, they nonchalantly proceeded to change their line 100 per cent and become war-mongers and apologists of American imperialism.

Now that America is in a war alliance with Stalinist Russia they are quite ready to knife the American labor movement in the back, so long as it helps Uncle Joe's war effort and the war effort of Uncle Joe's partners.

And in what capacity can they do this best? Here again their merits are proved and their credentials universally accepted. It is as the finger-men of reaction, as the stool-pigeons of the bosses and their agents that the Stalinists now function. They make it their special business to smear militant workers who believe that labor should defend itself and attempt to improve its conditions, even during wartime.

Anti "Trotskyist" Campaign

It is as a result of this role of the Stalinist movement that one can really understand the nation-wide campaign they have begun against "Trotskyism." By "Trotskyists" they do not, of course, mean merely or even predominantly followers of the political ideas of Leon Trotsky. They mean anyone who is opposed to Stalinism, who is an active fighter in the ranks of the militant labor movement. Any worker who fights for a wage increase these days, any worker who fights against war profits suddenly find himself called a Trotskyist—even though he may never have heard of the word before!

Their technique is very simple. In a leaflet distributed before a New York factory, they accuse LABOR ACTION, for instance, of being a "Hitler agent" and a "poison peddler."

Why? Because LABOR ACTION brands the present war as imperialist and reactionary on BOTH sides. But, as every worker who reads LABOR ACTION well knows, we have been the most consistent and bitter opponent of Hitlerism and fascism.

And just think what gall it is for the Stalinists to call anyone an agent of Hitler! Why, only yesterday the Russian Stalinist official paper was writing in support of Hitler:

"One may respect or hate Hitlerism, just as any other system of political views. This is a matter of taste. But to undertake war for 'annihilation of Hitlerism' means to commit criminal folly in politics." (Izvestia, official Russian government organ, October 9, 1939.)

And again, by Stalin's scraping stooge, Molotov: **"We have always held that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for durable peace in Europe." (From speech by Molotov, Foreign Commissar and at that time Premier of Russia, quoted in the Daily Worker, September 1, 1939.)**

And finally, to quote another gem from Molotov: **"Today Germany is in the position of a state which is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace." (Molotov, quoted in World News and Views, a Communist paper, of November 4, 1939.)**

And it is these people—only yesterday sugar-coating Hitler's criminal war machine—who dare assault a paper like LABOR ACTION as being a "Hitler agent"!

But this scurrilous slander is not reserved solely for LABOR ACTION. Any paper that speaks up for labor's rights is likewise smeared as "an agent of Hitler." Thus, for instance, The Militant, a socialist weekly, has been attacked in front of a Cleveland factory by a leaflet of the Communist Party in a similar vein.

In Southeast Missouri

As part of this continental drive against "Trotskyism" (read: militant labor), the Stalinists have even gone so far as to designate sharecroppers in Southeast Missouri who are fighting for a wage increase over their present miserable \$1.25 a day as "Trotskyists" and, in this case, to add variety, as "agents of Japan." So now the desire to get more than \$1.25 a day makes a worker an "agent of Japan"!

And in New York City, the Stalinists, in their eagerness to smear all militants in the labor movement, have recently launched a vicious attack against Louis Nelson, manager of the Knitgoods Workers Union, affiliated to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Nelson is a supporter of the war, he is miles away from anything resembling Trotskyism; yet he is made the victim of a vile and slanderous assault simply because he retains some degree of belief in the need for labor independence and militancy.

An International Campaign

This Stalinist campaign is not limited to this country. It is of international proportions. Its greatest climax—and greatest crime—was the murder last year of Leon Trotsky. The GPU has murdered many more who dared disagree with it. And now, in Mexico, it is attempting to frame up a group of socialist anti-Stalinist refugees, all with long records in the European socialist and labor movement: Victor Serge, Marceau Pivert, Grandizio Muniz and Julian Gorkin. The GPU branch of Mexico attempts to smear these refugees as "agents of Hitler" in order to have them deported from Mexico... to Hitler's concentration camps; and failing in that are ready to assassinate them, or prepare the ground for that.

We have gone into such a lengthy description of the activities of the GPU and the Stalinists because it is clear that in its present nation-wide campaign against Trotskyism the GPU has something afoot. It does not engage in these campaigns merely for literary exercise. It produces them as part of larger frame-ups, as part of a deliberately worked out pattern of attempting to wreck the militant labor and radical movement.

We therefore say to the entire labor and radical movement, as well as to every honest and sincere worker, regardless of his affiliation: **BE ON GUARD AGAINST GPU FRAME-UPS!**

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Does Hindu-Moslem Enmity Prevent Indian Freedom?

By HENRY JUDD

Whenever the problem of India and the incessant demand of its 385,000,000 people for freedom arises, the Hindu-Moslem question is immediately brought in.

It is the most powerful and most often used argument against granting India its independence. It is most frequently employed by British imperialist officials and their apologists in America.

The argument runs as follows: "We (the English) have India's best interests at heart. We would like to see the country free, and standing on its own feet. But we don't DARE to free India because of the Hindu and Moslem antagonism. Why, if we were to leave India, the country would fall into chaos and civil war; every Hindu would try to murder every Moslem, while every Moslem would try to slit every Hindu's throat. Therefore, we, the English, must—in the name of common humanity—remain to prevent the outbreak of a Hindu-Moslem struggle. The fact that we continue to drain the country of its wealth and exploit its manpower (and, incidentally, now ask the Indians to prepare to scorch the earth of their country as the Japanese advance) is simply a coincidence. We are really remaining in India to prevent civil war between Hindu and Moslem."

Thus speaks every spokesman and every newspaper of the United Nations.

A tissue of lies from start to finish! It is not true that the Hindu people and the Moslem people hate one another; that they are prepared to slaughter one another; that, therefore, the British must remain to prevent such a catastrophe. And we shall prove this.

What is the difference between a Moslem and a Hindu? Is it a racial difference, a color difference, a language difference?

Absolutely not! The difference between a Hindu and a Moslem is simply and solely a religious difference;

a difference in religious beliefs, customs and practices. It is the same sort of difference as exists, let us say, between Catholics and Protestants, or Baptists and Lutherans in the United States. The Moslems (about one-third of the population) are not a separate and distinct race of people—as, for example, are the Negro people in America—they are a different religious community!

Live and Work Together

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

Furthermore, there has been such an enormous racial intermixing during India's thousands of years of history that there is no such thing as a racial group in India. Hindus and Moslems look alike, act alike and follow the same general traditions and customs; they differ only on religious questions.

But what about the Indian Nationalist Congress? Isn't that a Hindu organization? And doesn't the Moslem League represent the Moslem people? The answer to these questions is NO.

The Congress is not a Hindu nor a

religious organization of any kind. It is a POLITICAL organization standing on a POLITICAL program. It participates in political actions and elections. It has no religious program or customs and includes in its ranks members of every religious community in India (Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees, etc.) So do the Democratic Party and the Republican Party in the United States, but that doesn't make them religious groups.

Why More Hindus

Naturally there are more Hindus than any other group in the Congress because Hindus are two-thirds of the population. But they are there because they are NATIONALISTS and fight for their country's freedom, not because they are Hindus. There are also many Moslems in the organization. The president of the Congress (Azad) is a Moslem; the leader of the Congress Socialist Party (Meharally) is a Moslem. In the North-west Frontier Province, which is 90 per cent Moslem, the Congress got 90 per cent of the votes at the last election! In a word, it is a political question, not a religious question. Hindus and Moslems alike are united around the problem of attaining national independence.

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

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

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

Some Additional Facts

Here are some additional FACTS (not British propaganda) on the Hindu-Moslem question.

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

(2) The first Moslem state in India was established in 1206. That is, the Moslems came to India over 700 years ago! Their racial and cultural mixing with the original inhabitants has been going on now for more than seven centuries.

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

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

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

Hindu and Moslem workers and peasants have shown over and over again, in practice, that they recognize their REAL enemy—foreign imperialist rule. In every action involving the question of their freedom they are as one.

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

This is THEIR answer to the Hindu-Moslem question.

LABOR ACTION Replies to St. Louis Paper's Slander

The following letter has been sent by the managing editor of LABOR ACTION to the editor of the St. Louis Star-Times. It is reprinted here for the interest of our readers:

March 21, 1942.

Editor, St. Louis Star-Times
St. Louis, Missouri.

Dear Sir:

My attention has been called to an article in your issue, dated March 10, in which LABOR ACTION—a weekly labor journal in whose name I write this letter—is both incorrectly connected with a certain organization and an extremely serious and vicious implication is made about its character.

In order to clear this matter up, I wish to make the following points:

1) LABOR ACTION is not, as your article asserted, the "official organ of the Socialist (or 'Social') Workers Party," nor has it ever in any way been connected with that organization. Until recently, LABOR ACTION was the official organ of the Workers Party, and though no longer such, is still regarded as a partisan of the Workers Party's principles. A simple check by your writer of these facts would have prevented this error.

2) A slanderous and vicious implication is created about LABOR ACTION by your writer by using one of the oldest tricks in journalism. He writes a paragraph about "Japanese agents... promoting pro-Japanese Pacific Movement among Negroes of this area." He then follows immediately with a description of the alleged activities of the Socialist (or "Social") Workers Party in New Madrid County and of LABOR ACTION. Thus, by "cleverly" making two utterly unrelated assertions, one immediately after the other, he creates the obvious implication that the alleged activities of the Socialist Workers Party and/or LABOR ACTION are in some way connected with the "pro-Japanese Pacific Movement."

I do not have any way of knowing if the Pacific Movement is active in New Madrid County, but I do know that it is a vile and libelous slander to connect in any way a labor newspaper, such as LABOR ACTION (which has always been opposed to Japanese imperialism—even when many people were selling, or sanctioning the sale of, scrap steel to Japan, which is today landing in the bodies of American boys) or a labor organization such as the Socialist Workers Party, with this Pacific Movement. It is true that LABOR ACTION printed an expose of the Sikeston lynching and it is possible that copies of that issue were read in Sikeston itself. But what connection has that with "pro-Japanese activity"?

Certainly, the Star-Times does not believe that anyone opposing a lynching or advocating better working conditions for sharecroppers is thereby "pro-Japanese."

What makes this matter particularly sinister is the fact that Mr. Carl Pretschold, the author of the article in question, is fully acquainted with all of these matters, and could not possibly be ignorant of the above-mentioned facts.

I insist on immediate publication in full of this letter in order to clear up the slanderous impression created by Pretschold's article.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Howe, Managing Editor,
LABOR ACTION.

P.S.—I am enclosing for your information a copy of the March 23 issue of LABOR ACTION containing an article which gives the point of view of Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, on this matter.

Bethlehem's Secret Govt. Contract

WASHINGTON—The secret provisions of a contract which the government signed three months ago with Bethlehem Steel Corp. were disclosed here last week. These provisions give Bethlehem one of the greatest opportunities of all war producers to profiteer without end. (Three months ago, when this contract was about to be signed, LABOR ACTION was one of the few papers in the country that printed a story of the pending negotiations.)

The provisions of this contract signed by the dollar-a-year men with Bethlehem-Steel include:

Provision for construction of the government-financed plants on company-owned land. Thus, if the government wanted to cancel the contract after the war, it would have

to tear down the plants, since they are on Bethlehem's property.

Lease of the plant to the company for 35 years. Most of the plants financed by the government are leased for only five years. Thus, Bethlehem gains a tremendous advantage.

Terms which permit the company to retain the plant after the war for an annual rental of less than 2 per cent of its cost, using them only at peak production periods.

Bethlehem risks nothing in financing these plants. It profiteers on them during the war. It has nothing to lose and everything to gain.

Say, isn't it terrible how these selfish workers want more wages so they can buy milk for their kids, while Bethlehem sacrifices so nobly?

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!