

Struggle for Freedom in India

by Bertram D. Wolfe

June 4, 1931.

Sailendra Nath Ghose
India National Congress of America
New York City.
Dear Mr. Ghose:

I have just received an invitation to a "Testimonial Dinner tendered in honor of Mahatma M. K. Gandhi of India" to take place at the Hotel Astor on Thursday, June 4th "for the purpose of formally expressing America's good wishes for the success of his undertaking in achieving India's independence."

I note that the speakers include U. S. Senator Copeland, Judge Cohan, Upton Close, Major Kinkhead, Bishop McConnell, Raymond Robins and yourself. The invitation contains the further information that "good-will messages from our friends will be conveyed to Mahatma Gandhi personally by an American delegation who will meet Gandhi on his arrival in London." Finally to cap the climax, I this morning received a second letter from you on your official stationery reading in part:

"May we request you to send us your personal message of good will for India's success which will be forwarded to Gandhi."

These two circular letters and the fact that for many months my name has been on your letter-heads as a member of your National Committee of Friends of India's Independence makes it imperative that I write to protest against the turn which your work is taking. I wish also to protest most emphatically that the Committee of which I am a part has never met once, altho statements have repeatedly gone out in its name and only one effort was made to call such a meeting--on Dec. 26, 1930 and then invitations went out so late (I received mine Dec. 24) that it was obviously impossible to get a satisfactory meeting, so that altho I attended even you personally did not feel it necessary to attend.

This use of my name as part of a non-functioning committee and the issuing of statements in its name which I am sure other members of the committee and indeed any sincere and conscious friend of freedom for India must disapprove, creates an impossible situation and I therefore must insist upon an immediate meeting of that committee or at least of all members residing in or near New York, within one week, to define the attitude and future work of the committee, or, if there is no harmony on these matters, to dissolve the same.

For the consideration of the members of the committee, I wish to define my attitude on some of the questions involved:

1. I stand for complete and absolute freedom for India.

2. Dominion Status, "autonomy", "home rule", etc., do not represent such freedom. They are thinly veiled forms of imperialist exploitation which would leave India no freer than the so-called Irish Free State. Only complete independence can satisfy the needs of the Indian people.

3. As you correctly stated at a meeting in Park Palace last year at which we both spoke and at which we laid down the basis and platform on which the committee was organized, India will gain its freedom only thru successful revolution and the violent overthrow of British imperialist power.

4. At that meeting I stated that Gandhi's significance even at its high point was not personal, but as a rallying center for great masses; that his theory

of passive resistance was harmful and false; that the revolution would have to sweep beyond that theory and any one preaching it, in order to be successful. I denounced the Round Table Conference as a treacherous farce. You expressed your agreement with those views and proposed a statement attacking Gandhi if he should go to the Round Table Conference.

5. Today Gandhi is the leading figure in that treacherous farce--he urges the disarming of the mass revolt, sanctions by inaction and sabotage the killing of the Lahore victims and the continued imprisonment of the Meerut labor leaders, and urges cooperation with the British Vice-Roy and British imperialism, disavows and denounces all efforts at the continuation of the struggle to emancipate India and throw off the British yoke, and has sanctioned the Second Round Table Conference to which he is preparing to go as a delegate.

6. In spite of repeated pledges that the non-cooperation and civil disobedience campaigns would be maintained until complete independence is achieved, Gandhi has called off even these campaigns merely because the British government is "willing to discuss matters" with him.

7. In view of these facts it seems obvious

to me that the Friends of India's Independence, if it is to fulfill the purpose for which it is organized, should not "express good wishes for the success of his undertakings" (Second Round Table Conference) nor "forward messages of good will to Gandhi", nor arrange banquets in his honor and in honor of the Round Table Conference, with you or any other committee member as speakers. It should, on the contrary, make clear to the American people that Gandhi no longer in any form, not even objectively, represents the movement for Indian freedom, that his present activities represent an obstacle to the development of that movement, and that all friends of India's independence must support those forces in India which in defiance of Gandhi's orders and over his head continue the struggle against British imperialism on a newer and higher basis.

As a member of the committee of Friends of India's Independence I feel I have the right to have these views sent to all members of the committee and request you as secretary to forward copies to all committee members and to call the meeting requested at once.

Yours for India's Independence

Bertram D. Wolfe

Rationalization and the Workers

RATIONALIZATION AND PSYCHOLOGY

by Hal Long

To master psychology, to be able to analyze the minds of others, and to be able to influence them, has always been regarded as an outstanding achievement. But only recently has psychology become a science, been put on a basis of systematic investigation and research. This young science has however, already to a large extent been employed by the bosses and where no scientific results on this field are at their disposal, they try to get around it with common horse-sense.

Vocational Psychology

The worker meets psychology as soon as he enters the employment office. He is given tests that aim at finding out how well he is fit for the job in question. Vocational adjustment, as this is called, may evidently proceed from two ends: either, a worker may be tested in order to find out what kind of work he ought to take up; or else, several applicants for a job may be tested to find out which one fits the job best. It is significant that books deal exclusively with the latter phase. As humble servants of the ruling class, the scientists are not interested in the welfare and success of the workers but only in interests of the bosses.

The technique of vocational selection consists in reproducing the mental situation in which the worker finds himself on the job, or perhaps only certain aspects of this situation. The reaction of the worker towards this situation will then tell how well he will do on the job. Famous is the test that the German psychologist Munsterberg devised for street-car drivers in Berlin. The driver is placed in front of a board with a hole in it. A moving belt is placed behind the board and makes spots, differently colored, appear in

worker will get disgusted with the job and slow off. The jobs in industry are getting duller and duller so the smart worker in many cases stands the least chance of staying employed. That is what the "rugged individualism" and the "right of the superman" means.

Finally, the workers are tested as to their general desirability as employees, often without knowing about it. Their honesty, temperament and emotions are tried and weighed, and thru the word-test, the employer learns about their interests and hobbies. In this test they are told to answer the first word that enters their minds when a certain other word is recited. They are told to do this to a long series of selected words and the answers will tell the boss to what extent they are "undesirable" (class-conscious) men.

Psychologizing the Workers in the Shop

All this concerns the employment office, the selection of workers. But also inside, in the shops, the bosses are trying hard to work on minds of the workers. In the first place, they try to train the workers, to break them in on the jobs with a minimum loss of time and energy. This is made possible thru the extensive research in the field of educational psychology that has been made during recent years. But this aspect is rather insignificant, the main part of psychology in the shops consists in mental pressure on the workers. Here the bosses have no systematic investigations to apply but whatever scattered experience may be accumulated by scientists on human reactions and relations in general, these scientists are placed, indeed to