

ROOSEVELT ASKS SWEEPING POWERS

Billions for Imperialist War, Pennies for Relief!

New Budget Means War Entry Nears

Yes, that's just what the proposed budget amounts to: Billions for Boss war, Pennies for Relief.

Look at the table printed alongside this column. You will note that it adds up to \$12,971,453,100. That figure represents 71% of the \$17,485,000,000 budget proposed by the Roosevelt administration for the coming year.

Of course, that isn't the way Roosevelt puts it. He lists \$10,811,314,600, or 62%, as the appropriation for "national defense". That is monstrously high, even were it the truth. But those other items listed in our table are just as much war expenditures as those specifically listed under "defense." In other words, therefore, 71c of every dollar in the budget goes for boss wars—past, present and future.

Contrast this figure with the measly relief appropriation. Cut by one-third from last year's allotment (which had then been sliced a billion), the 1941 appropriation will be approximately \$800,000,000. That comes to a little over 4c for relief, against 71c for boss war.

True, there has been a great deal of re-employment. But this re-employment hasn't made any considerable dent in the number of unemployed. There are at least 9 million unemployed families in the United States. (Even the reactionary New York Mirror admits that the unemployed number well over 8 million.) Millions will probably remain unemployed, however high the re-employment figure.

These 9 million, who with their families constitute about 25% of the population, will therefore get 4% of the budget appropriations. The bosses, who with their families constitute about 3% of the population, and in whose interests the war expenditures are made, will get 71%.

Now Roosevelt isn't appropriating close to 18 billion dollars as a lark. An expenditure so fantastically great can have only one meaning: the administration expects war soon. The billions added to last year's budget correspond to the approaching reality of formal war entry.

In the face of this budget, in the face of the demand for extraordinary executive powers, in the face of one administration measure after the other, how can any man, woman or child fail to see through the hypocrisy of Roosevelt's "no war" blarney? Roosevelt can grow red in the face with hypocritical indignation at Wheeler's charge that, as a result of his policy, one out of every

(Continued on page 4)

71 NOT 62

(1) War Department Administration	\$ 45,415,000
(2) Panama Canal Administration	10,775,000
(3) U.S. Maritime Commission (ship-building program)	150,178,500
(4) National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics	9,900,000
(5) War Veterans Administration	4,000,000
(6) War Department (non-military? no explanation of this item in the budget)	150,300,000
(7) War Veterans Pensions and Benefits—previous wars	564,570,000
(8) Interest on Public Debt—i.e., payment on past wars	1,225,000,000
Grand Total Addition War Expenditures	\$ 2,160,138,500
"National Defense" Expense	10,811,314,600
ACTUAL WAR EXPENDITURE	\$12,971,453,100

No Back-Seat Drivers!



Wants Authority to Decide On U.S. War Policy By Himself—Willkie Says O.K.

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

January 10, 1941, may go down in American history as the official death-date of what is left of American democracy. For on that day a bill drawn up in the White House was introduced into the Congress of the United States. Its official title is: "A BILL TO FURTHER PROMOTE THE DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES". (A lot of territory is covered by "for other purposes".) Some waggish clerk gave the bill the symbolic number, H.R. 1776, but the less people think about the spirit of 'seventy-six, the better pleased the framers of H.R. 1776 will be.

H.R. 1776 is not very long. It goes right to the point. It begins with a definition of the term "defense article" as "(1) any weapon, munition, aircraft, vessel, or boat; (2) any machinery, facility, tool, material or supply necessary for the manufacture, production, processing, repair, servicing or operation of any article described in this subsection; (3) any component material or part of or equipment for any article described in this subsection; (4)

any other article or commodity for defense." Steel mills, coal mines, rubber plants—these are all "defense articles", since they are "facilities" for manufacturing boats and trucks and guns. And section (4) takes care of anything forgotten in the first three parts. Just about every product of American industry—and every plant for producing it—can be embraced under this heading if the President merely lays his hands on it and murmurs the magic word, "defense".

Two Chicago Negroes Resist Army Draft

By DAVID COOLIDGE

CHICAGO—Any opposition to the draft by Negroes seems to be centered in Chicago. It is here that at least two Negroes have received publicity in the daily papers by registering opposition to conscription on the ground that the Negro is Jim-Crowed both in the military service and in industry.

The first Negro here to come out as an opponent of conscription was J.G. St. Clair Drake, a research student at the University of Chicago. Drake issued circulars calling upon Negroes to resist the draft, and to take the stand that they were "Consciousness Objectors Against Jim-Crow." Negroes were advised to return their questionnaires to the draft board using the slogan against Jim-Crow.

At the time this is written, the draft board had before it a questionnaire of one of Drake's followers. The board was forced to make a decision in connection with a similar position taken by Ernest Calloway, educational director of the United Transport Service Employees of America. ("Red Caps").

Objects to Negro Status
Calloway had a low draft number. He wrote the draft board that "as a Negro I have accepted many of the responsibilities of my limited citizenship without benefit of a number of its blessings. . . . The practice of relegating certain types of service to Negroes and refusing their services in other branches of the armed forces. . . is not obeying the spirit and letter of the constitution. I can not accept the responsibility of taking the oath upon induction into the military service un-

(Continued on page 2)

Aircraft Worker Sees Victory for CIO in Douglas Drive

Union Wages 24-Hour Campaign to Organize 20,000 Employees of Douglas Aircraft

By JACK WILSON

SANTA MONICA, Calif.—The CIO is waging an intensive 24-hour a day campaign here to organize the 20,000 employees of the Douglas Aircraft Corp.

Each day, and at every shift, the CIO has distributors at the gates, passing out CIO papers, the Aircraft Organizer, and special messages to the aircraft workers explaining the value and need of industrial unionism.

Soon this company will open another plant in Long Beach and bring its total employment up to 40,000 workers. It is now hiring men at the rate of 300 a week.

It was this company which broke the 1937 sit-down strike and stopped the CIO organizing drive.

We asked a worker to help us tell the story of the situation at Douglas; of the prospects of union organization. Here is how it stacks up:

"It is, I think, the general feeling that with the past experience at Vultee that a union such as the CIO would strongly help our cause," he said.

"Certainly many of us would express that opinion openly if it were not for the fear of immediate dismissal. There are a good number of

unionists in the plant so we do have a base for an organization."

He was bitter about the huge private army that Douglas, the Henry Ford of aircraft, has to intimidate the workers.

"The Protective Police is spread out everywhere. When the CIO passes out stuff the blue-coats and the plain clothes dicks stand around. But the men take all the papers, and read them too.

"From the mighty chief Davis with his chief stooge Fitzsimons down to the lousy stool-pigeons there is always a burden upon us through fear of expulsion because of a slip of the tongue, or a natural mistake which will be interpreted as espionage.

"Why should we honest working men be subjugated to such a policy? Are we all spies?"

"Donald Douglas and the Chase National Bank of New York are responsible for this situation.

"With National Defense and the Espionage Act to induce fear into the minds of the workers they want to make it appear as though we must give our labor, work long hours at low pay as a gift for democracy.

"They do not mention their guaranteed 12 per cent.

"They have built us a fine arena, and given us a fine band to make us believe that these small tokens of

generosity will smother our desires to advance our standard of living with better pay."

He added sarcastically, "Their generosity was so great that Christmas and New Year's they gave us two days off, having us work the Saturdays previous without the customary time and a half."

Speed-up and wages are the burning issues, according to him. "I make more money than some guys that have been there a lot longer. We are all getting hooked.

"Many of the men try to get jobs in other plants like Vultee because there they have a union."

(Continued from page 2)

On The Up and Up!

Year	Armaments	Year	Armaments
1932	\$ 900,000,000	1938	1,000,000,000
1933	800,000,000	1939	1,200,000,000
1934	700,000,000	1940	1,500,000,000
1935	800,000,000	1941	6,500,000,000
1936	1,000,000,000	1942	12,971,453,000
1937	1,000,000,000	1943	?????
TOTAL		\$26,200,000,000	

NOTE: It must be understood that these are MERELY expenditures listed in the annual BUDGETS. Not included are billions expropriated for special bills. For example, in the years 1940, 1941 and 1942 \$10,000,000,000 has been spent IN EXCESS of the budget amounts listed above!

Lehman Brothers Outstrip J. P. Morgan as War Profiteers

EXCLUSIVE

"Inside Track" in Treasury Department Alleged to Be Very Profitable for Lehman Banking Firm—Industrialists and Financiers Crowd Washington with Outstretched Palm

WASHINGTON — The banking house of Lehman brothers has outstripped J.P. Morgan & Co. to become the biggest profiteers from the present war—with the help of an "inside track" to the White House through their far flung family connections.

The "inside track," is said to be through their cousin, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., secretary of the treasury, who, it is rumored, has given them advance notice of every firm which will shortly receive government contracts. Every government contract, under United States law, must be approved by the treasury department.

A minor example of the effectiveness of this arrangement, lies in their dealings with Bethlehem Steel Co. Early this year, they suddenly in-

creased their holdings of securities in that company from 2,000 shares to 10,000 shares.

Since that time, the Bethlehem company has received contracts for four heavy cruisers, four light cruisers, and four destroyers at a guaranteed profit of more than \$14,000,000, exclusive of any costs.

A similar coincidence occurred when they increased their holdings of General Motors, including the Yellow Truck and manufacturing company, from 5,000 shares to 45,000 shares. General Motors has received more defense contracts than any other single corporation.

Lehman brothers have a guarantee that the war situation will NOT end too soon through Gov. Herbert H. Lehman, who has been making ultra

"patriotic" speeches throughout New York State. The governor believes that all Americans should cooperate "without thought of personal gain" in the armament program.

Gravy for Others, Too

Of course, the Lehman brothers are NOT the only organization that have siphoned off some of the huge profits flowing from Washington. The Capital, at present, is crowded with gentlemen offering to give their all to the United States (with outstretched palm.)

S. Fory Laucks, President of the York Safe and Lock Co., York, caught on to the idea with amazing rapidity. One day in November, he announced the formation of a committee in Pennsylvania to "promote

the ideals of national defense and to rear America." Of course, it was probably mere chance that the Army announced the award of more than \$2,000,000 in contracts to his company on the same day.

Another gentleman who permitted NO grass to grow large under his feet was Ward Cheney, of Cheney Bros. silk firm. Ward is one of the brightest spirits on the "Defend America by Aiding the Allies Committee."

To date, Cheney brothers have received nearly \$500,000 in contracts for parachute silk and the army has turned to NO other source for this material.

Meanwhile, the government assured itself that these corporations would NOT lose any money through any

of the weird tax laws that have been passed during recent years. As a result, the so-called "excess profits" tax bill was passed through congress.

The measure was so obviously a fraud, that even Pat Harrison, Roosevelt's tax expert in the senate, admitted it would produce neither revenue nor a ceiling on war profits. However, he expressed the "hope" that it might accomplish both of those objectives in the future.

The tip-off was in the second section of the bill which repealed the Vinson-Trammell act and granted tax-amortization to industrialists "cooperating" by accepting national defense contracts. The Vinson-Trammell act limited profits on naval contracts to 10 percent and on airplane con-

tracts to 12 percent.

Tax amortization was a bit more subtle and merely meant that manufacturers could write-off plant expansion (which they had to undertake to fulfill their fat contracts) in the form of tax credits for five years. This was the primary reason for passing the bill.

With screaming headlines that Congress had enacted a measure to cut down on war profiteers, the bill aimed at helping big business, became law and the last barriers to enormous profits under the armament program were removed. Since that day, industrialists and manufacturers have reigned supreme in Washington and seem bound to continue their rule despite any pious words from the administration.

(A) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the President may, from time to time, when he deems it in the interest of national defense, authorize the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, or the head of any other department or agency of the government:

1. To manufacture in arsenals, factories and shipyards under their jurisdiction, or otherwise procure, any defense article for the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States.

2. To sell, transfer, exchange, lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of, to any such government any defense article.

3. To test, inspect, prove, repair, outfit, recondition, or otherwise to place in good working order any defense article for any such government under Paragraph 2 of this subsection.

4. To communicate to any such government information pertaining to any defense article furnished to such government under the proposed bill.

5. To release for export any defense article to any such government.

(B) The terms and conditions upon which, any such for-

(Continued on page 4)

Export Figures Show U.S. Imperialism Maneuvering for World Domination

By SHERMAN STANLEY

American export figures for 1940 reveal two basic tendencies of our economy — tendencies which will reach full maturity during 1941 and which mark the precipitous rush of American imperialism toward worldwide domination.

These two basic tendencies are: (1) The rapid gearing of American national economy to total war production; (2) The successful maneuvering to place America in a position from which she can organize, control and regulate the commerce of the world.

Under the first category the export figures show the following:

(a) Aircraft, iron and steel in finished or semi-finished form, and industrial machinery for war purposes (tools, etc.) led our export list in the order named. They comprised 40% of the total exports—as compared with 17% in 1938.

(b) There was a 25% export increase over the 1939 total. The total figure was slightly over \$4,000,000,000 and approached the level of 1929. This increase was entirely due to increases in exports listed under (a); that is, entirely due to the war.

(c) Export of farm products and manufactured consumers' goods showed a severe drop below figures of 1939. In the last 3 months of 1940, exports to Europe proper (excluding England) totalled a miserable \$39,000,000 thus signifying the end of all European trade for the time being. Again we see the purely warlike character of our trade increases. The "normal" American trade of peacetime (foods and grains, consumers' manufactured products, industrial machinery) has been replaced by guns and tanks, planes and cannon, shot and shell.

(d) The decline in export of food products and consumption articles means that we are storing up great surpluses of these life necessities. Trotsky once spoke of America's goal of "putting the world on rations." When F.D.R. at the judicious moment holds out the surplus stocks of American economy to a war-exhausted Europe—at what a terrible price!—we shall see the fulfillment of this objective.

These are the two tendencies in the American "arsenal of Democracy" as shown in the export figures of 1940.

The second important tendency is the emergence of America as the "Superman", confronting exhausted or semi-exhausted rival imperialisms (England, Germany, France, Japan, Italy, etc.) The United States is fresh on the scene; the hot blood of war productivity has just begun to flush our cheeks, and already the other powers sag wearily.

Relief That Does Not Relieve—New York City Chisels on Relief Funds

By SUSAN GREEN

What happens when the relief client tells his investigator that his family needs warm clothing? The investigator says, if he is polite: "Sorry, but there is no money."

So the client argues that the children all have colds and must have warm clothes. He points out to the investigator that he has not had a clothing allowance for months and is entitled to it.

But the investigator still says: "No. You will have to wait. There is no cash for clothing."

THAT HAPPENS TO BE A LIE.

First, I want to remind you how the City gets its relief money. It comes from the sales tax that you and I and all of us pay on almost everything we buy. People are paying that sales tax with the understanding that it goes to the home relief clients.

Last year, 1940, \$18,000,000 of the amount collected in sales taxes for relief purposes, was NOT USED FOR THAT PURPOSE AT ALL. Most of it was just taking a rest and drawing interest in the bank, and \$4,500,000 of it was used by the City FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

Lincoln Square Project Going Up, Tenants Face Severe Moving Problem

By J. REILLY

Within two weeks, the tenants living between Amsterdam and West End Avenues on 62nd and 63rd Streets, most of whom are Negroes, must move out of their homes so that work may proceed on the Chelsea-Amsterdam Housing Project. This slum-elimination project, planned for many years is finally getting underway. Thus the question of where the evicted families will move while the project was going up, has become an immediate one. Also the question of how families who are too poor to pay moving expenses will make out, and whether there is much chance of getting into the new buildings.

Last Tuesday evening the Lincoln Square Tenants League met to hear a summary of a joint meeting held the previous evening at the YMCA on W- 63rd St. by the Ethical Culture Ass'n and the Good Neighborhood Club of the Upper West Side. The tenants outlined a plan to fight to realize a resolution unanimously passed at the earlier meeting to "include 1,000 families in the project. The present provision would exclude approximately 200 families now living in the area, into which 800 are crowded at present.

A report was heard that an office is to be set up in the area at 63rd St. and Amsterdam to take care of vacancy listing and rehousing. Miss Martha Zalles, of the Good Neighborhood Club, stated that that organization will draw-up a list of vacant apartments between 59th and 69th Streets, many of which, however, she admitted, might not be available to these tenants because of color discrimination.

Miss Catherine Lansing, director of community planning for the Hous-

(a) Subtracting our total imports from our total exports gives a favorable trade balance of \$1,400,000,000 for the year 1940—the largest since 1921. This balance had to be paid for in cash by our foreign customers. It was paid for by gold imports and by the liquidation of American securities held by foreign investors and renters. American interests were richer at the expense of their European "friends" and "enemies" alike.

(b) To the British Empire (England, her dominions and colonies) went 62% of our total 1940 exports! Mother England herself took 34% alone, or more than double that of the previous year! This utter dependence of England and her Empire upon the United States for its continued existence expresses—as we have previously written—the bloodless conquest of the British Empire by America. F.D.R. is heir apparent to the Crown of King George! Let us realize that this export dependency will steadily increase, not contrariwise.

(c) The drop in exports to Latin America is due not to a decline in demand for our products, but the inability of these countries involved to pay for anything. They themselves have lost their European—and to some extent—world markets. Only by borrowing money can they pay. And to whom can they turn for loans? The American Export-Import Bank, financed by the American Government. Each loan, naturally, will tighten the grip that "Yankee imperialism" already has round their throats.

(d) The decline in export of food products and consumption articles means that we are storing up great surpluses of these life necessities. Trotsky once spoke of America's goal of "putting the world on rations." When F.D.R. at the judicious moment holds out the surplus stocks of American economy to a war-exhausted Europe—at what a terrible price!—we shall see the fulfillment of this objective.

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These N.Y. Stands Sell Labor Action

LOWER MANHATTAN

K & K Store—Monroe and Market Sts., SW. Salkind's—339 E. 10th St. Essex & Delancey—NE. 14th St. 6th Ave.—SE. University Pl.—SE. Broadway—SE. 4th Ave.—SW. 4th Ave.—NE. 4th Ave.—SE (2nd Stand) 3rd Ave.—SW. Opposite Jefferson Theater. 2nd Ave.—SE.

UPPER WEST SIDE Eisenbergs—Bdwy. near 63rd St. 66th St. & Bdwy.—SE. Bdwy. bet. 103rd & 104th—W. 110th & Bdwy.—NE. 114th & Bdwy.—SW.

BRONX 160th & Prospect—subway stand—opp. Brighton Cafeteria. Simpson St.—subway stand. 174th St. & Boston Rd.—candy store. Freeman St. & So. Blvd.—NW. Allerton Ave. & White Plains Rd.—SE. 167th St. & Jerome Ave.—SE. 170th St. & Jerome Ave.—SE. Burnside Ave. & Jerome Ave.—SE. Burnside Ave. & Jerome Ave.—SW.

BROOKLYN Utica Ave. & Eastern Pkwy.—SW. Strauss St. & Pitkin Ave.—NE. Rockaway Ave. & Pitkin Ave.—NW. Rockaway Ave. & Livonia Ave.—SE. Watkins St. & Pitkin Ave.—NE. Sutter Ave. & Van Sinderen—NE.

SEATTLE February 3 February 6 February 7-8 February 9-10 February 11-13 February 14 February 15-17 February 18-19 February 20-21 February 22-23 February 24-25 February 27

LOS ANGELES January 21-27 SAN FRANCISCO January 28-February 1

ST. PAUL February 3 February 6 February 7-8 February 9-10 February 11-13 February 14 February 15-17 February 18-19 February 20-21 February 22-23 February 24-25 February 27

PHILADELPHIA February 18-19 WORCESTER February 20-21 LYNN February 24-25 NEW YORK February 27

Akron Activities Keep Coolidge Busy During Stay

AKRON—David Coolidge, now on a national tour for the Workers Party addressed a meeting attended by forty people on January 3. His address on "Will the Second World War Bring World Revolution?" was enthusiastically received by the audience which stayed late to participate in a lively exchange of discussion.

In addition to his public meeting, comrade Coolidge had several meetings with the branch and a group of Negro sympathizers who also attended and participated in the public meeting.

The branch is planning another series of meetings for Coolidge if it is possible for him to stop over in Akron on his return from the West Coast.

Tells Movie-Star, Clark Gable, What Democracy Means to the Negro

Mr. Clark Gable, the flicker star, expounded the virtues of American democracy under the title "What Democracy Means to Me" in an article in Liberty magazine of November 23. The following article, written by a Negro attorney and published in the Negro press of Los Angeles, is a copy of a letter he sent to Mr. Gable telling him what democracy means to the Negro.

You have reached the top of your profession and doubtless you earned your way, but you do not deserve any particular credit for what you have done, because your white skin was your passport to everything you wanted and had sufficient ability to achieve. Democracy means many things to you that it does not mean to millions of others; and in conclusion permit me to tell you—and get this straight—until every man in America, no matter what his color, has a chance—if only a fighting chance—to cash in on his ability as you cashed in on yours, there will be no real democracy in America.

Very truly yours, Curtis C. Taylor

Chicago— (Continued from page 1) der the present anti-democratic structure of the United States army and ask to be exempted from military training until such time that my contribution and participation in the defense of my country can be made on a basis of complete equality."

Then Calloway proceeded to say that "the present U.S. army is the most anti-democratic institution in American governmental life."

The draft board held that Calloway's objections do not come within the definition of conscientious objection to war by reason of religious training. His petition was rejected. Members of the board said that they had no suggestions as to how the ills of society complained of by Calloway could be corrected.

They said that the board had no remedy and that the board could not be used as a forum for the discussion of this question. Also the board held that Calloway could not make an appeal because the local board, they said, had no authority to send the case up on appeal for the reasons that Calloway gave. Calloway was classed as a conscript.

Good Negro contacts have been made, and several Negroes are attending the classes and social affairs of the Party. The Organization is rendering assistance to a Negro organization that is fighting discrimination against Negroes in the Aircraft industry.

The Los Angeles Party understands its obligations to the National Headquarters, and has been helping the National work financially to the extent of about \$50.00 per month.

For David Coolidge, National Trade Union Director of the Workers Party, now making a Coast to Coast tour on the War situation, the Los Angeles organization is planning a full week of work. A public meeting under Party auspices is being organized, and Coolidge will also speak before a Negro organization. A Party membership meeting will also be held to which Coolidge will report for the National Committee, and where the next tasks of the Local will be outlined.

Unquestionably the progress of Local Los Angeles is one of the bright spots of W.P. activity, and demonstrates that organized effort will bring results, despite the growth of reactionary and social-patriotic trends in the country.

How about the AFL campaign? "They come out once in a while with their stuff. The CIO is always here. At noons when the band plays, the CIO has its sound truck going. The organizers make small speeches about unionism.

"Sure I am joining the CIO. It's going to be a long grind. Douglas is a tough guy. But I think the CIO will win."

"Defense" Board Forces Settlement in Ranger Strike Though Men Get a Few Concessions, Settlement Is By No Means as Good as That Won in Vultee

NEW YORK CITY—A close-up view of the labor policy of the new Knudsen-Hillman "defense" committee was offered workers in this area when a representative of the committee succeeded first in postponing and then averting a threatened strike by aircraft workers in the Ranger Engineering Division of the Fairchild Engine and Airplane Corporation, located at Farmingdale, Long Island.

The strike, authorized by members of Local 661, Aircraft Division of the UAW, was scheduled for January 9, but was postponed for 48 hours at the request of John R. Owens, special labor representative of the Office of Production Management, the recently formed committee headed by William Knudsen and Sidney Hillman. During the interview Owens induced the union to accept a compromise

highly acceptable to the company. The new wage scale, calling for a beginning wage of 50 cents an hour, and a full year to elapse before a beginner obtains the basic wage of 60 cents an hour, was a drastic reduction from the original union demand that the basic wage be 60 cents an hour after four months.

More important to the workers in the plant was the failure to gain a voice in the classification of the work done. The union had asked for classification of new workers after 90 days and for union participation, but the agreement leaves this in the hands of the company. The custom is to push the less-experienced workers into more skilled work but to continue paying them the minimum wage.

Several weeks ago the front pages of all the newspapers flamed with headlines about an alleged attack a Negro butler was accused of committing against his employer, a wealthy white society woman of Greenwich, Conn.

It is well known that such stories always lead to wholesale dismissals of Negro workers throughout the country. Nevertheless the press made the most of the case, printing everything which would prove damaging to the defendant. Anything for a good story!—especially if it whips up racial hatred and spreads the old Negro-rapist canard.

The NAACP took up the case and discovered that the "confession" the defendant was said to have made was secured by the good old third degree. The FBI which jumped into the case, jumped out even more quickly. It was too fishy even for them! The police also began to lose interest when no evidence was found which could be used to incriminate the defendant.

But our "democratic" press has now completely lost interest in the case and doesn't print a line. It now appears that the lady involved, who originally accused her butler of kidnapping, etc., doesn't feel particularly interested in taking the stand to substantiate her charges.

The lone Negro congressman, Arthur Mitchell, hasn't found his voice yet to protest the discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces. It doesn't seem to make very much difference whether a congressman is black or white, as far as the rights of workers are concerned. Moral: A bourgeois congressman is a capitalist politician first, black or white.

Congratulations to the Bermuda Workers' Association, the first workers organization in the history of Bermuda.

The rumor has it that most of the Negroes conscripted will eventually end up in labor battalions where they will do their soldiering with pick and shovel. The brass hats in control of the military forces can really be accused of "favoritism" when it comes to the Negro. They always find the dirtiest work for them to do.

Of the 200,000 Negroes in the last war, 160,000 were also "pick and shovel boys."

The Negro is discovering that they will get just about as much "democracy" in the new army as they got in the last war for "democracy." The following official United States Army memorandum was issued in August, 1918 to French civil and military authorities. It was entitled: Secret Information Concerning Black American Troops and reads:

"The Negro is regarded by the white American as inferior. The vices

Ernest Calloway, educational director of the United Transport Service Employees of America, has demanded exemption from the draft until the official Jim Crow policy is ended. He filed an appeal from the decision of his local draft board in Chicago placing him in Class 1-A, and called the army "the most anti-democratic institution in American governmental life."

Here is a concrete action that every progressive trade union and workers organization can help in. Not only send your protests to the proper national, state and municipal officials, but organize joint committees with Negro organizations in your community to visit the various employment agencies and officials in your city demanding an end to these discriminatory practices. Keep a close check on the methods used in filling jobs and protest every attempt to deny Negro workers equal opportunities for obtaining work.

Dear Mary: Haven't heard from you all week. Hope nothing is wrong, no colds or other troubles. Everyone around here has colds, bad ones too. As yet, I haven't caught it, but have an uneasy feeling in my throat. Oh well, and well!

I suppose the most important thing that has happened since I wrote you last is Roosevelt's speech. He sure didn't pull any punches. He did everything but declare war—that's all that he left undone. He says we are living in a "war economy" etc. But declarations of war are out of fashion now. We would be fooling ourselves if we thought that was necessary these days. In all that mess in Europe there have been only two declarations of war.

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"All Men Are Created Free and Equal..."

Several weeks ago the front pages of all the newspapers flamed with headlines about an alleged attack a Negro butler was accused of committing against his employer, a wealthy white society woman of Greenwich, Conn.

It is well known that such stories always lead to wholesale dismissals of Negro workers throughout the country. Nevertheless the press made the most of the case, printing everything which would prove damaging to the defendant. Anything for a good story!—especially if it whips up racial hatred and spreads the old Negro-rapist canard.

The NAACP took up the case and discovered that the "confession" the defendant was said to have made was secured by the good old third degree. The FBI which jumped into the case, jumped out even more quickly. It was too fishy even for them! The police also began to lose interest when no evidence was found which could be used to incriminate the defendant.

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Of the 200,000 Negroes in the last war, 160,000 were also "pick and shovel boys."

The Negro is discovering that they will get just about as much "democracy" in the new army as they got in the last war for "democracy." The following official United States Army memorandum was issued in August, 1918 to French civil and military authorities. It was entitled: Secret Information Concerning Black American Troops and reads:

"The Negro is regarded by the white American as inferior. The vices

Ernest Calloway, educational director of the United Transport Service Employees of America, has demanded exemption from the draft until the official Jim Crow policy is ended. He filed an appeal from the decision of his local draft board in Chicago placing him in Class 1-A, and called the army "the most anti-democratic institution in American governmental life."

Here is a concrete action that every progressive trade union and workers organization can help in. Not only send your protests to the proper national, state and municipal officials, but organize joint committees with Negro organizations in your community to visit the various employment agencies and officials in your city demanding an end to these discriminatory practices. Keep a close check on the methods used in filling jobs and protest every attempt to deny Negro workers equal opportunities for obtaining work.

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Our West Coast Correspondent

Speaking before an audience of 100 Negroes recently on the burning issue of Negroes in aircraft, we summed up the whole situation in one phrase: **Jim-crowism.**

And that's about the size of it. A royal run-around, a kicking around, and an endless merry-go-round in all that Negroes have been getting when seeking employment in the aircraft industry.

There are a total of 8 Negroes employed in production, out of over 60,000 workers in this area. They work at Douglas. The company put them on after a pressure campaign by Negro organizations. This bread crumb is supposed to prove that Douglas doesn't discriminate. But everyone is wise to that one.

Before we discuss what has happened to Negroes seeking work in aircraft, let us point out that they expect to get jobs just like anyone else for the very good reason that they have the same rights to work and live as anyone else. Besides, they know they'll be called on to die during war, and they feel a country isn't worth dying for unless they live like men in it beforehand. The large Negro population in Los Angeles, numbering over 75,000, is very bitter about Jim-crowism in general and even more so about the exclusion of Negroes from war industries. And they are most bitter about aircraft because of the lousy deal they get.

WHEN THEY GO FOR A JOB

When young Negroes go to an aircraft plant, the management tells them that they would be very glad to hire them but they are inexperienced. "We don't discriminate, but of course we must have trained men," is the story.

So the Negroes go to the trade schools and apply for training in various aircraft jobs. At the schools they are told, "We'd be very glad to teach you, but the aircraft companies don't hire any Negroes so it would be a waste of time. We feel that under the circumstances we should not admit you to school."

That's what the more astute and polite bosses stooges tell the Negroes. Others tell them point blank, "You got to be a white man to handle that kind of work. You're not smart enough." And similar insults.

The Negroes have experienced so much of this that they had a hard time believing that a white man, myself, was willing to aid them in a campaign to place Negroes in aircraft. The chairman of the meeting carefully explained that I was not running for office or getting paid, but that I was just as hot and bothered about the injustice as they, because I believed in class solidarity as a step towards building socialism.

UNION TAKES COURAGEOUS STAND

Not the least ticklish problem in connection with this situation is the attitude of the union movement.

Only one aircraft union has dared to face the issue, had the courage to take a stand on it. This is the Vultee CIO union.

The Vultee union took a stand on the question of Negroes in aircraft, after a disgraceful incident at the Vultee strike victory dance. Some Negro unionists came to attend the dance and were asked to leave. They had to leave.

A resolution was introduced at the next union meeting at which speeches were given by militants and Stalinists explaining the disgrace this was to the best traditions of the CIO and showing the need for class solidarity.

The resolution which called for an apology, passed. It also put the union on record against racial discrimination, affirmed the Negro's right to work in aircraft, and pledged the union to assist in this struggle.

The resolution passed by a substantial majority, not unanimously. As a matter of fact, its passage, to put the truth bluntly, hurt the CIO temporarily in the drive to organize aircraft, because so many of the aircraft workers are white chauvinists at present.

The white workers are easily duped by the bosses and their stooges who tell them that if Negroes are hired, white men will lose their jobs. The CIO is doing a good job of exposing this lie. Aircraft industry is still hiring hundreds of men weekly. New jobs are always being created. And Negroes should have their share of them.

One of the Negro organizations here which has taken up the struggle is the militant American Advancement League. The National Negro Congress, a CP controlled outfit, has also raised the issue.

Groups of Negroes are demanding training at least at their own trade school, which the NYC has set up. And they intend to go to the plants and demand jobs or else picket the employment office, we've been informed.

This is going to be a long and hard struggle. It will first be necessary to teach the union movement why the white workers must unite with the Negroes in this fight. It won't be a picnic to force the NYA to give classes to the applicants. Nor are the companies going to be convinced easily.

But, as we told the audience, "You know you never got a thing in life unless you fought bitterly for it. You have nothing to lose. Your lives can't become more miserable no matter how this thing ends up."

"Soon we'll have to fight and die for nothing in another phoney war to save democracy which we don't have. Surely it's better to fight and die for something worthwhile."

The response was such that we have confidence in the future. Fighting Jim-crowism in aircraft isn't the only fight these splendid people are going to make.

JACK WILSON

The First of a Series of Articles on Russia

Stalin Supplies the Hitler War Machine

By FRANK DEMBY

The recent Russian-German trade agreement once again focuses attention on what has been happening within the Soviet Union. The following is the first of a series of articles by Frank Demby on developments within the USSR since the outbreak of World War II, with special emphasis on the economic situation.—Ed.

Many, indeed, were the speculations concerning the trip of Soviet

London Lovely Place to Live in Today—If You Have Money

What's all this we read in the papers about there being a shortage of food in London, about rationing of fuel and clothing, about dank, unheated, unventilated air-raid shelters?

Must be all Nazi propaganda. At least, that's the conclusion you might reach from a hasty reading of an article by a reporter, Ernie Pyle, the N.Y. World-Telegram has just sent over to look into London life today.

"Some very wrong things were told me in America about the way I would have to live in London," begins Mr. Pyle. "I was told that . . . you could get hot water only once a week . . . that you couldn't buy any new shirts . . . that you could get only one egg a week and no tea; that food was so scarce it would be wise to bring concentrated food tablets."

"Well, you ought to see where I'm staying. My room is the last word in good taste. It is completely modern and comfortable . . . I have two telephones and a waiter, maid and valet who come when I ring. My bathroom is as big as an ordinary room and the water is scalding hot 24-hours a day . . . The radiator gives off real heat . . ."

"On my first morning here, I asked if it would be possible to get an egg for breakfast. I not only got an egg; they brought me two eggs, ham, toast, jam and coffee, and they've been bringing me the same thing every morning. Honestly, I felt ashamed to eat it."

"The hotel's big dining room has been moved to a low floor, the better to keep away from bombs. Here the waiters are all in formal clothes, an orchestra plays, and bellboys hurry about calling people to the telephone . . . On each table stands a handsomely printed card which says: 'This room is provided with special protection from blast and splinters. The inner wall is 14 inches thick. The outer wall, five feet distant, is nine inches thick . . . There are nine floors of steel construction above this room. The air-raid shelter is immediately below.'"

So you see, life in London today isn't so bad. Of course, there is a small detail: you have to pay for it all. As Mr. Pyle states:

"Of course, only a tiny portion of London's population is living like this . . . But my life now is at least a true picture of how it is possible to live in London if you pay the price. And the price I pay the hotel is \$6 a day, which includes breakfast."

The vast majority of the people of London, who couldn't afford to pay \$6 a week for a room, let alone \$6 a day, live in quite a different style—but that's another story . . .

CIO's Program On Jobless

The CIO has prepared a ten point program to present to Congress on unemployed benefits amounting to one half the weekly wage of the worker, but not to exceed \$20 weekly. But why should a worker, unemployed through no fault of his own, get only one half of his weekly wage when unemployed? He should get all of it. His expenses are just as great. His rent is not reduced and he needs just as much for food and clothing.

The workers are responsible for the great wealth produced. We must not be too modest about demanding that we get this wealth in one form or another. One of the most reasonable demands that workers should fight for is the chance to live in decency whether employed or unemployed.

Premier-Foreign Commissar, Vyaschesslaf M. Molotoff to Berlin last November and his conversations with Hitler and other high Nazi dignitaries. The first visible result has been the signing of an "enlarged economic agreement" in Moscow on Jan. 10, 1941 by Molotoff for the USSR and Ambassador Schulenburg for Germany. This treaty includes a settlement of the Russian-German boundary and an agreement on property claims in the former Baltic states. The treaty is subject to ratification in Berlin in the shortest possible time.

"The new agreement is based on the Soviet-German economic agreement of Feb. 11, 1940, and constitutes a further step in execution of the economic program outlined by the two governments in 1939. The agreement regulates the trade turnover between the USSR and Germany until Aug. 1, 1942. It provides for an amount of mutual deliveries considerably exceeding the level of the first year of operation of the agreement."

"The USSR delivers to Germany industrial raw materials, oil products and foodstuffs, especially cereals; Germany delivers to the USSR industrial equipment."

"The negotiations passed in a spirit of mutual understanding and confidence conforming to the friendly relations existing between the USSR and Germany. All economic problems, including those that arose in connection with the incorporation of new territories into the USSR, were solved in conformity with the interests of both countries." (Quoted from the text of the agreement, released by Tass, and published in the N.Y. Times of Jan. 11, 1941—my emphasis—FD).

Closer Relations

In an era where economic problems are steadily multiplying, it is very refreshing to see that two countries have solved "all economic problems." The new Soviet-German accords, official bombast and vague promises aside, do, however, indicate steadily closer economic relations between Russia and Germany. How much actual material was delivered by the Soviet Union to Germany during the past year is impossible to determine. But there are some indications given of the size of the trade expected during the coming year. "The Soviet Union is said to have agreed to furnish Germany with 2,500,000 tons of grain and fodder, barley and 1,500,000 tons of oil in exchange for German finished goods." (Perceval Knauth, from Berlin, in N.Y. Times of Jan. 11).

These figures, passed through the Berlin censor, may merely reflect German expectations. On the other hand, there is just as good a reason for believing that they give a good indication of the size of German-Russian trade relations. If the entire 2,500,000 tons of grain are considered as wheat, this would be the equivalent of about 92,000,000 American bushels. This is no insignificant sum, nor is the figure given for oil one to be ignored in estimating Russia's current role as a supplier of the German war machine. According to German sources, the amounts involved will "run into billions of marks."

Acts as Broker

A further indication of Russia's role may be seen from the fact that Russia has recently emerged as a fairly large buyer in the American market, and is reported as trying to negotiate trade treaties in many other countries, notably China, Argentina and other South American countries. During 1940, according to the U.S. Department of Commerce, Russia bought approximately \$100,000,000 worth of goods here—about double the 1939 figure. This very substantial rise in American exports to Russia has virtually all occurred since the outbreak of the war, and has given rise to the suspicion that most of these imports are being shipped through Siberia to Germany, or are being used to release equivalent amounts of Russian commodities for export to Germany.

This suspicion is reinforced when one considers the particular materials that Russia is importing from the U.S. Russian foreign trade policy, ever since the institution of the first five-year plan in 1928 has been aimed at importing machinery, parts, machine tools and similar technical equipment—for the purpose of furthering the industrialization of Russia. It is very rare that raw materials are imported. On the contrary, Russia has paid for her technical imports with gold and raw materials. Hence, the imports of 139,591 bales of cotton (since Aug. 1, 1940), of 108,955,000 pounds of copper (in 1940),

of more than 1,000,000 barrels of oil (which figure is steadily increasing)—all point to the conclusion that Stalin, willingly or unwillingly, has become an important part of the German war machine.

According to C. Brooks Peters, from Berlin, in the N.Y. Times of Jan. 12, "The Russians have agreed to facilitate the transit of German products to the Far East, as well as lighten the tasks of commerce between Iran and Afghanistan and the Reich." Also, "The treaty is said to stipulate that Russia will deliver to the Reich goods whose origin is in a third country." This undoubtedly is part of the "fresh proof," of which Pravda speaks, "of the durability of good-neighborly relations between the two greatest European states." Stalin has not only agreed to act as a supplier of vital materials for the German war machine, but, in addition, he is undertaking the role of German broker!

Depends on Hitler

The Germans claim "the reciprocal agreement was reached in favor of the Reich." This claim is reinforced by the German admission that their deliveries of industrial equipment during the life of the previous treaty were behind schedule. And yet, Stalin in contracts for "deliveries considerably above the level of the first year." Why? The answer lies in two factors that are becoming increasingly important in understand the evolution of Soviet Russian economy.

The first factor is one of geography. Or, as Gedye, writing from Turkey in the N.Y. Times of Jan. 12 puts it: "Thus the old fear of Germany's mechanized forces still holds Soviet Russia in check—and this fear has, it is known, led her to speed up deliveries recently, deliveries that the Nazis need." (My emphasis—FD). The other factor may prove even more important in trying to estimate the direction in which Soviet economy is now moving.

Russia's fundamental economic weaknesses, the virtual breakdown of her system of economic planning, the introduction of peonage labor decrees, visible faults in the structure of collective farming, all force Stalin to depend more and more on German industry and German technicians. German experts "are now acquainted with the special problems involved," and thus may be

expected to play a steadily more important role in the Russian economy. Even if Stalin were separated by vast oceans from Hitler's Germany, the fact remains that the economic weaknesses of Soviet Russia force him to depend more and more on Hitler. These economic weaknesses, and the direction in which they are leading, will be analyzed in subsequent articles of this series.

From the Diary Of a "Democrat"

Today, as every reader of the boss press clearly understands, England "stands in the forefront of the battle for world democracy," against Hitler-bestially. Leading this great struggle is the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of England.

This great leader, it is said, has been advocate of national independence and of democracy for many years. We here give, in his own words, a striking illustration of this great truth.

While serving as an officer with the British forces in India, in 1897, Churchill was commissioned to go along with an expeditionary force to the Mamund Valley to "chastise the truculent" natives. The chastisement took this form:

" . . . we were to stay in the Mamund valley and lay it waste with fire and sword in vengeance. This accordingly we did, but with great precautions. We proceeded systematically, village by village, and we destroyed the houses, filled up the wells, blew down the towers, cut down the great shady trees, burned the crops and broke the reservoirs in punitive devastation . . . The tribesmen sat on the mountains and sullenly watched the destruction of their homes and means of livelihood . . . Whether it was worth it, I cannot tell. At any rate, at the end of a fortnight the valley was a desert, and honour was satisfied."—from Winston S. Churchill, "A Roving Commission" N.Y. 1930, p. 147.

Lenin on War and Revolution

One month after his return to Russia from exile, Lenin, whose death we commemorate this week, delivered a lecture in Petrograd on the War and the Workers. Below, we quote his concluding words. The day was May 27, 1917. The great Bolshevik revolution was to wait until November. But it was out of such words as these spoken by Lenin that the Revolution was organized. In face of the new World War, the passage is doubly significant.

This war can be brought to an end only by means of a workers' revolution in several countries. Meanwhile, we must prepare for this revolution, help it along. As long as the tsar conducted the war the Russian people, in spite of their hatred of war and their determination to secure peace, could do nothing against it except prepare for the revolution against the tsar, and overthrow the tsar. And it was so. History confirmed this for you yesterday, and it will confirm it for you tomorrow. Long ago we said: We must help the growing Russian revolution. We said it at the end of 1914. For saying this our deputies in the Duma were exiled to Siberia. We were told: "You do not answer. You talk about revolution when strikes have ceased, when the deputies are in exile and when not a single newspaper is published!" We were accused of declining to answer. Comrades, we heard this accusation for a number of years. We replied: You may be as angry as you like, but nothing can be done against the war until the tsar is overthrown. Our forecast proved to be correct. It is not yet fully confirmed, but it is beginning to be confirmed. The revolution is beginning to change the war from the Russian side. The capitalists are still continuing the war; and we say: the war cannot stop until the advent of a workers' revolution in several countries, because the people who want this war are in power. We are told: "Things seem to be asleep in a number of countries. In Germany all the Socialists are unanimously in favour of the war; only Liebknecht is opposed to it." To this I reply: This one Liebknecht represents the working class; in him alone, in his adherents, in the German proletariat, lie the hopes of all. You do not believe it? Continue the war! There is no other road. If you do not believe in Liebknecht, if you do not believe in the workers' revolution, in the revolution that is maturing, if you do not believe this, then believe the capitalists!

Nobody will be victorious in this war except the workers' revolution in several countries. War is not a game; war is a terrible thing; war entails millions of victims, and it cannot be brought to an end so easily.

The soldiers at the front cannot tear the front away from the state and decide things in their own way. The soldiers at the front are part of the country. As long as the state is fighting the front will suffer. There is nothing to be done about it. The war was called forth by the ruling classes; it can be brought to an end only by a working class revolution. The question as to whether you will get a speedy peace will be determined solely by the process of development of the revolution. No matter what sentimental things may be said, no matter how much you may be told: let us put an end to the war immediately, it can be done without the development of the revolution. When power passes to the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies the capitalists will oppose us: Japan—opposed, France—opposed, England—opposed; the governments of all countries will oppose us. The capitalists will oppose us; but the workers will support us. Then—the war which the capitalists started will come to an end. This is the reply to the question of how to end the war.

To See or Not To See

by Susan Green

Rich Boy, Poor Girl' Divorce

"Kitty Foyle"

Ginger Rogers is my favorite actress. Back in the days when Hollywood's queens never cracked their faces into expressiveness, Ginger was acting on the principle that the face should be more than a pretty mask. She has gone far on that principle. Another fact that marks her up in my eyes is that she usually plays the part of the girl or woman who works for a living. Her acting as the tom-boy daughter of the slums in the "Primrose Path" I voted the best female screen performance of 1940.

From this introduction you have guessed that I think Ginger Rogers pretty swell as Kitty Foyle, in this film story about the unhappy love of a white collar girl for a son of Philadelphia blue bloods. To see her in action is a delight. Only once in this rather long film did I catch an expression that was a dud. From an attitude of uncomprehending pain on being told that her baby was born dead, she turns full face to the camera to give the audience the benefit of tears on lashes. That I didn't like.

I have not read the Christopher Morley book on which the film is supposed to be based. However, what the critics are saying is that any resemblance—except for names of characters and places—is purely coincidental. The implication is that the story is much better.

However, I see much to be grateful for in the film. There is the scene where Kitty is selling \$67.50-announced perfume to the wealthy dowager; another showing what happens to two of three girls sharing a one-room apartment, when the boy friend of the third comes a-calling, another in which Kitty tells off the family of rich snobs into which she married and out of which she escapes as soon as she discovers their plans to make her over in their own image.

Running through the whole story is the burning desire of girls of Kitty's class for a home of their own and security—through a husband whose job might possibly be more secure than their own. And while most rich-boy-meets-poor-girl stories end with the fiction that there are no social differences in this country, this film strikes the honest note that the social differences between the rich and the poor are real and insurmountable.

Nothing to Get Excited About

"Night Train"

Just what the critics saw in this English picture to rave about, remained invisible to me. Perhaps they were influenced—at least a little—by the "all out for Britain" campaign. It is a rather routine escape-from-the-Nazi film, of which the number is now legion.

Los Angeles Readers . . .

The Labor Action Institute of Los Angeles offers a new series of classes which it is confident will attract your interest and your attendance as did previous courses.

This time the school will concentrate on analyzing American problems exclusively. These classes will enable you to understand better the significant trends and development in America today.

The classes will be held every Tuesday night at the Institute at 320 1/2 W. 2nd St. at 8 p.m. beginning on Jan. 14. There is no fee!

Here are the scheduled topics of discussion:

1. WAR BOOM AND INFLATION

How will the Roosevelt war budget be financed? Who will pay the bill? Is inflation inevitable and what does it mean?

2. THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH

What is the real status of the Negro down South? How do conditions compare with the North and West. What answer is there to Jim-Crowism?

3. THE MIGRATORY WORKERS

Why are the "Okies" increasing despite the war boom? What's happened since the Grapes of Wrath exposed their miserable conditions? Can they ever find jobs and security?

4. WOMEN AND THE WAR

Will women replace men in industry during war time? How did the last war effect women? And what does the future hold for them?

5. AMERICA'S YOUTH AND ITS PROBLEMS

How did the "depression children" grow up? What do high school and college graduates expect now? What kind of home will Army barracks give them?

Moreover, in "Night Train", credulity is required to stretch itself quite a bit. You will be asked to believe that Englishmen can traipse about Germany in Nazi officer and storm troop uniforms—that a couple of Englishmen in Germany, simply by picking up a receiver, can hear important gestapo secrets which enable them to go to the rescue of a compatriot—that the Nazi military staff are nitwits—that in general everything in Nazi Germany works out just as an Englishman plans.

As is usual in this type of film, there is the prominent scientist. In this case the Nazi want to keep him because he is working on an experiment to produce invincible steel or something. He escaped to England from Czechoslovakia, but was kidnapped by the Nazis and returned to Germany. So a British secret agent, who has of course fallen for the scientist's inevitable daughter, goes to Germany, poses as an officer of the Nazi engineers' corps no less, and gets scientist plus daughter over the border into Switzerland.

What saves the film from flatness is the element of suspense. There is the situation where the lion-in-Nazi-uniform is caught whistling an English tune. Then he is recognized by an English tourist. Later, the note warning him that the gestapo is on to him, is almost taken from the waiter's tray by a gestapo agent. And, of course, some may like the ending where the hero fights for his life by the synchronized use of two cable cars over a bottomless Alpine gorge. Don't worry. He gets over the border—and kisses the heroine.

Praise is due the actors who play the role of two imperturbable English tourists in Germany, more concerned over the loss of their golf clubs than about the declaration of war.

David Coolidge

National Labor Secretary of the Workers Party

will address a Mass Meeting in Los Angeles on:

Will This War Lead to Revolution?

Time: Friday, Jan. 24, 8 p.m.

Place: 320 1/2 West 2nd Street

ADMISSION 10¢

Auspices: Labor Action Institute

St. Louis Meeting

ST. LOUIS—The local branch of the Workers Party held a well-attended and enthusiastic meeting last Sunday night at which David Coolidge, national labor secretary of the party, was the main speaker. Comrade Coolidge's subject was, "Will the World War Lead to World Revolution?"

The audience was composed of Negro and white workers who sat intently through the meeting asking many questions.

Philadelphia Readers . . .

Max Shachtman will speak at the

LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING

SUNDAY, JANUARY 26, 8:30 P.M.

at 715 PINE STREET

AUSPICES: Workers Party and Young Peoples Socialist League

Editorials

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

1. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war. All war funds to the unemployed.
2. For a rising scale of wages to meet increasing cost of living. Thirty-Thirty—\$30 weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers.
3. Expropriate the Sixty Families. For Government ownership and workers control of all war industries—aviation, steel, chemicals, railroads, public utilities, etc.
4. Against both imperialist war camps. For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples.
5. Let the people vote on war. For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18.
6. Abolish secret diplomacy. Open the files of the State Department.
7. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
8. Against compulsory military training and conscription.
9. For the defense of civil liberties and workers' rights. Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day Plans and war-time dictatorship.
10. For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and trade unions.
11. For an independent Labor Party.
12. For Workers' Defense Guards against Fascist and vigilante attacks.
13. No confidence in the Roosevelt government. For a workers' government and a people's army.
14. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, and for the World Socialist Federation.

The Mystery of Clarence Hathaway

The Stalinists have expelled Clarence A. Hathaway from the Communist Party, and nobody seems to know just why. At least nobody has yet said. The official pronouncement says he didn't live up to his personal and political obligations, and his expulsion is dated back to October 10 of last year. What's more, Hathaway is nowhere to be found, up to the time we go to press.

The expulsion made a mild sensation in the press. Next to Browder and Stachel, and perhaps the ghost of Foster, Hathaway was the outstanding spokesman of the Stalinists. He was entrusted with the editorship of the Daily Worker. Now, suddenly, he is unceremoniously bounced, like a common employee.

That, however, is precisely what he was, and what the others who still hold on are: hacks in the employ of Stalin's GPU and Foreign Office. People without conviction, without pride or dignity, without principle, without ideals—who but they could continue in Stalin's party and still pretend to be socialists?

Hathaway differed from most employees in this, that he was an incorrigible intriguer. Browder's prominence irked him, and more than once he tried to set afoot a cabal against Stalin's chief foreman in this country. In addition, Hathaway is a bit of a tippler. But it wasn't so much what and how much he drank, as what he said after he drank it. Wags have said that he dribbled too much from the mouth when he was in a state.

The effects of these doubtful virtues began to add up. That was what undoubtedly caused his downfall, for it is hard for the most credulous person to imagine him developing any "principled" differences with his chums.

Yet, the circumstances of the expulsion are curious and interesting. Hathaway, in a manner of speaking, knows a lot. How come he wasn't taken care of if you know what we mean. How come he was allowed to remain at large, where he could continue with his distressing habit of talking too much and not always to the right people? The Stalinists aren't always so careless in such cases, as many

LABOR ACTION
114 W. 14th Street
New York City

Dear Friends:

I am interested in learning more about the Workers Party and its fight against the bosses' war plans.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____

vanished "servants of the state" in Russia could testify—if they could still talk.

The "dating back" of the expulsion is, perhaps, the clue to the mystery. It is possible that Hathaway, who isn't exactly a dope when it comes to taking care of No. 1, saw what was coming and ducked in time to avoid an involuntary trip across the sea. That's why it is also possible that the report in the papers, shortly after his expulsion was announced, that he is working with the FBI, is more than mere rumor. It would not surprise us, for the Stalinist bureaucracy is a natural breeding spot for rats.

Obituary Notice

Jay Lovestone has announced the official disbandment of his organization, the Independent Labor League of America, but not a single mourner turned up for the obsequies.

In the eleven years since his expulsion from the Communist party, which he did his own good share in undermining, we do not recall ever having had the occasion to say a kind word for him and his group. This was not due to lack of will but to lack of reason for it. Even before he set up his separate group, Lovestone was never distinguished in the radical movement for principledness or political honesty. After his expulsion, he did not once go out of his way to dissipate his well-earned reputation.

Speak no evil of the dead, says the New Testament. We have no desire to do so, especially as the corpse did the only decent thing in his life when he committed suicide. "There is no use blinking the facts," says Lovestone in the note he left before taking the gas-pipe. "Our present organization, too, as an organization, has outlived its usefulness. If we were to maintain it out of cherished illusions or blind devotion, we would be doing a distinct disservice to the cause of American socialism. This we will never consent to do."

This graceful confession is worth a straight year of penance. Graceful, and also truthful. The Lovestone group had outlived its usefulness. Usefulness? Yes, it had its uses. For the past eleven years, it could almost always serve as a living example to revolutionary Marxists and radical, socialist workers in general, of what a socialist organization should not be, of how it should not proceed, of what it should avoid. On a small and simple, and therefore easily traceable, scale, it served as a model of what happens to revolutionary militants who abandon revolutionary principles, who are taught that these principles have to be given up in order to "work among the masses" and "work in the trade unions," whose integrity is undermined by the preaching that these principles are in conflict with "practicalness." It was a model of the gradual and inescapable degeneration of a movement that seeks to establish a place for itself in the No Man's Land between revolutionary Marxism and social-reformism, between internationalism and nationalism. The fate of the Lovestone group, in a word, was the fate of centrism.

Before 1914, centrism could lead a more or less "solid" independent existence in the labor and socialist movements. But with the opening up of the convulsive and violent epoch of wars and revolutions, there was less and less room every day for half-heartedness, lack of preciseness, vacillation and straddling. Every problem is posed point-blank, and point blank answers have to be given—or else. The revolutionary Marxists give their answers that way; in a sense, so do the social-democrats and social-patriots. The in-betweeners didn't and couldn't. Lovestone was one of them.

The minute Lovestone adopted the social-democratic position on the main question of our day—patriotism and support of the "democracies" in the imperialist war—he definitely passed out of the tiny camp of centrism and into a "broader" arena. But in that arena he was lost and could not maintain any trace of independent existence. Hence, consciously or unconsciously, he told the whole of the truth when he wrote in his suicide note that his group had "outlived its usefulness."

The self-inflicted death-blow was the only honorable thing to do. We cannot mourn over the deceased. But common decency bids us stand for one minute in silence to mark our appreciation of the man who did the right thing.

F. D. R. Asks Congress for Sweeping Personal Powers

(Continued from page 1)
eign government receives any aid authorized under subsection (A) shall be those which the President deems satisfactory, and the benefit to the United States may be payment or repayment in kind or property, or any other direct or indirect benefit which the President deems satisfactory.

In non-legal language this means that the President would have the power, if he thinks it in the interest of "national defense," to (1) hand over to England or China, or Peru, or any other nation "whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the U.S." every gun, plane, and tank now owned by the U.S. Army and every ship of the U.S. Navy; (2) repair and recondition the entire British (or Chinese or Peruvian) fleet in American shipyards and drydocks; (3) accept as "compensation" anything at all he "deems satisfactory", from \$1 up, or, if he thinks best, nothing at all; (4) organize the whole U.S. productive capacity to turn out munitions for England (or China or Peru).

All of this the President can do entirely on his own initiative, without consulting either Congress or Cabinet or another living soul. No wonder the N.Y. Times headlined its London dispatch that day: "ROOSEVELT'S PLANS ENCOURAGE BRITAIN . . . Amazement and Gratification Are Expressed Over Terms of Our Defense Bill . . . THE ABSOLUTE ULTIMATE . . ." The "absolute ultimate" indeed!

There has been considerable opposition to the new bill expressed already in Congress, mostly from Republicans, but one Republican has come out boldly for it: Roosevelt's late "opponent" in the 1940 campaign, Wendell Willkie. Dropping the pretense of being less pro-war than Roosevelt which he had adopted in the closing weeks of the campaign, Willkie not only endorsed the bill but also announced he was leaving by Clipper in a few days for London, so that he could get a first-hand impression of the "international atmosphere". The State Department, Willkie added, sees absolutely no objection to his proposed trip.

Thus the last footnote has been added to the fraudulent "Willkievelt" campaign, in which the voters of this great democracy were per-

Billions—

(Continued from page 1)

our American youths will be "plowed under" in war. The facts speak for themselves. And aside from phoney outbursts, even Roosevelt has gradually begun to shelve some of his pretenses.

In a recent LABOR ACTION article we pointed out that, in his much discussed fireside chat, he significantly dropped the phrase "short-of-war" in his "all-out" plea for Britain. You can be sure that the closer we get to war, the more open will the war propaganda become. The limits of deception are circumscribed by twelve billion dollars of war appropriations, unprecedented personal powers, and repeated acts of war. "I Hate War" has already become I-Hope-We-Don't-Have-to-Go-to-War. Tomorrow, it will become We-Must-Go-to-War, and finally, "WAR DECLARED!"

The capitalist overlords of this land are least of all concerned with the needs of poorly housed and under-fed men and women. They are occupied with profit and empire. Right now the way to greater profits and greater empire is through war. Even their much-touted concern for Britain is so much hog-wash, except insofar as the British and American profiteers are linked in their own particular brotherhood of imperialist exploitation. American imperialism is interested in saving the British Empire for its own use. It sees a way of virtually taking over the British Empire lock, stock and barrel. It sees a way of becoming the uncontested imperialist ruler of the world—through war.

A juicy prospect indeed! And one that needs only the sacrifice, of a few million American youth. And juicier still because the very process of preparing pays for itself in unexampled profits and dividends.

Twelve billion dollars! Think of it. Think of how many houses could be built, how many people fed and clothed.

And think of it also as it really is: twelve billion dollars poured into destruction and world murder—All for the greater glory of the imperialist bank-roll.

IT'S INSANE! Insane because the needs of a hundred million must be sacrificed to the gain of a miserable few.

A world that has the resources to spend billions for war, has the resources to satisfy the wants of every human being. A world so rich in materials is a world rotten-ripe for SOCIALISM!

How long, fellow-workers, shall we tolerate this cruel insanity? How long before we oust the profiteers and war-lords, and re-make the world in the image of our own needs? HOW LONG BEFORE WE REPLACE CAPITALIST BESTIALITY WITH SOCIALIST FREEDOM?

mitted to choose between getting into the war under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt and getting into the war under the leadership of Wendell Willkie.

Candor compels me to admit that the best summary of the situation was formulated by none other than Alf Landon of Kansas, who said: "There is no essential difference between Mr. Willkie's position and Mr. Roosevelt's position, which is to go to war if necessary to help England win. If Mr. Willkie had revealed it before the Republican National Convention, he would not have been nominated, and if Mr. Roosevelt had revealed it before the election, he would not have been re-elected."

(The last sentence, of course, is a fraud. The only ones who may be said, to have been unaware of Willkievelt's war policy, were those workers who were deluded into voting for the Boss candidates. Certainly not Landon!)

It Happened— In Washington!

WASHINGTON — Representative Engel, paunchy, curly haired congressman from Michigan, is protesting vigorously because steel workers "are making around \$90 a week for five days in fixing the roof of the House chamber." Well, my frank, how about a fellow making \$10,000 a year for adding to the production of hot air on a four day a week basis under the same roof?

Sir Frederick Phillips, undersecretary of the British treasury, was closeted with our own treasury man Henry Morgenthau for several hours the other day. According to reliable sources, he was seen leaving with Henry's shirt a few minutes later. Well, don't worry boys, it's all in the family and you can make it up with taxes on American workers in the next few weeks.

Clair Hoffman, labor baiting congressman from Michigan, says that strikes against the government at the present time are "treason" to obstruct the defense program. Remember, Clair, last year when you said that American business could NOT reasonably be expected to fill defense orders unless they were given a little "leeway" in their taxes?

"Well, boys, I'm for adequate defense if it takes our shirt," Senator Connolly of Texas told reporters, when he heard that the president wanted \$10,000,000,000 for defense this year. Your shirt, maybe, Tom, but how about that 50 cent cigar

There is little doubt but that some of the more sweeping powers in the bill in H.R. 1776 will be curtailed in the course of debate in Congress. And one should also remember that in a not-yet-going-there totalitarian society like the United States there is always a big difference between the forms of State control, however sweeping, and the actual extent to which they are able, with the best will in the world to be put into practice. (As I showed two weeks ago, England is far from having a "total" war economy even today, eight months after the Churchill-Labor government got from parliament the sweeping formal powers of the Emergency Acts.) But there seems little doubt that the bill, in modified form, will be passed by Congress. And even if Roosevelt is able to exercise in fact only a quarter of its formal powers, a great step will be taken on that road to war and dictatorship along which American capitalism is now marching.

you were puffing when you said that.

Major item of fifth column activity to hit the nation's Capital is the wreck of one-half of the Senate railroad. A couple of senators, told that someone had turned the switch during the night have started an investigation of a senate page boy, who, it is reliably reported, refused to have his hair cut last week.

By the way, a couple of Arkansas senators want some dams built on the White River near Bull Shoals. True, nobody would have much use for the dams, and the democratic vote was rather light in that district, but it's all in the interests of national defense.

We've got quite a flock of national defense projects floating around Washington right now. "Puddler Jim" Davis, burly senator from Pennsylvania, thinks a road from Washington to Gettysburg is just the thing needed to hold back the Germans. Puffy Holman from Oregon thinks that national defense would be aided by a few stream conservation projects.

THE WORLD AT WAR "Lease-Lend" Dictatorial Powers Asked by F. D. R. Is Virtual Declaration of War

upon his return from England Kennedy presented Roosevelt with a lengthy report, the conclusion of which was that from the point of view of the stability of world capitalism and American imperialism a negotiated peace with the Nazis would be most desirable. The bill would be most desirable, Mr. Kennedy is also supposed to have reported that this is also the opinion of an influential section of the British ruling class.

SPECTOR OF REVOLUTION

To combat this "appeasement" feeling in England is probably one of the reasons for Roosevelt's emphatic "all out" commitments to Great Britain. The reports from Washington are that this is also the purpose of Harry Hopkins' speedy trip to England. In addition, he is to find out exactly what is happening in England, socially and politically. It is significant that Willkie is also planning a trip to England which appears to have the tacit approval of the State Department.

A section of the ruling class both here and in Britain is worried by the mounting discontent in Great Britain over the rising cost of living, the food and air shelter scandals. Profits and luxury at one pole and terrible misery at the other, is beginning to arouse the English masses. Strikes are occurring despite war prohibitions while the laboring masses are demanding a greater say in the affairs of the country. The peoples in the occupied territories are displaying a resistance and hostility toward their conquerors that, the moment the iron hold is released, could very easily go beyond the bounds of capitalist control. In the colonies, as in Syria, India and Ethiopia, the war has given the colonial peoples new opportunities in their struggle for independence.

In short it is the specter of revolution which haunts the capitalists. They realize that the war may be a prolonged affair which, while exhausting the rulers, may provoke the ruled.

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT Discrimination Hurts Labor— Black and White

By JACK MANN

Another instance of discrimination in the re-armorment industries was brought to light last week in Los Angeles. Four Negro carpenters, along with several white carpenters from a WPA project, were chosen by their foreman as qualified to be placed on a union (AFL) job in Paso Robles, where U.S. Army barracks are being built. The men immediately joined the union and paid a first installment on their initiation fee. Reporting to work on December 31, the Negroes were told by the employment manager on the job that he did not think it "advisable" for them to work on the job "because there might be trouble."

The men were thereupon sent back to Los Angeles with a letter to the union stating that it was impossible to use colored men as "there is no place for the men to stay except the camp which makes these men sleep and eat in the same camp with other men than their own color."!!!

Although the men denied any display of racial feeling on the part of the white workers while in Paso Robles, and were even invited to bunk with several white carpenters whom they knew previously, the union refused to take any action to protect their rights to the job.

It is up to progressive trade unionists to take immediate steps to guarantee the elementary right of Negro workers to trade union membership on equal terms and to wipe out discriminatory practices against Negroes, whether by trade unions, the bosses or the government.

The Vultee workers (Local 683, UAW) have made a good start in this direction by officially apologizing for requesting two Negro fellow workers to leave a public dance given by the Vultee unit. The resolution they adopted reads in part:

WHEREAS: We recognize that discrimination of any kind is the weapon used by the employer and his organizations to split and divide us in our struggle for a higher standard of life, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That we apologize to the Negro people for this action, and that we give our complete assurance that this action will not be repeated, and be it further

RESOLVED: That this local 683 of the United Auto Workers, CIO, do all in its power to break down the anti-labor, racial discrimination policy in the aircraft and national defense industries. . .

In Chicago, the International Fur and Leather Workers Union, Local 45, have set an example for other trade unions to follow. The Evans Fur Company, the largest retail furrier in the middle west, sponsored a party for its employees at a swanky club and requested the union not to have the Negro workers attend. The union refused to acquiesce to these arrangements and threatened to picket the club if the affair was held. The result was that the company cancelled its arrangements at the club and had the affair in another hall where all the workers attended.

It is prompt vigorous action of this kind that will win the Negro worker to the trade union movement, while the refusal of the carpenters union in Los Angeles to protect its Negro members' right to work only alienates the Negro from the trade unions and forces him to accept non-union work.

It looks as if the U.S. Maritime service wants to go the Navy Department one better by gradually excluding Negro seamen from jobs as firemen and coal passers on government transport ships.

Three Negro seamen who applied for jobs on the "Old America" were told that the jobs were open but that they had to obtain passes from the Port Engineers office in order to receive a medical examination. When they applied for the passes they were told that no jobs were open. At the same time four white seamen came in, got passes and were taken on immediately after their examination.

The NAACP which has taken up the case of these men with the Maritime Service learned that there are approximately 18 Negro seamen aboard the "Old America" and that they are rapidly being supplanted by whites.

These men cannot look to the Maritime unions, for aid since these unions have consistently refused to accept Negroes on equal terms with white members. They have refused to fight against the discriminatory practices of the shipowners which restricts Negroes principally to the Stewards department on Class C ships. No Negroes are permitted to work on the larger ships in any capacity.

If such conditions as the one described above are allowed to continue, the bosses will be able to make good use of the division by using one group against the other, as they have done in the great strikes following the last war.

The steel workers learned their lesson in the strike of 1919 at great cost when Negro workers were brought in to break the strike. Now Negroes are working side by side with their fellow white workers in all the steel plants and are the most loyal trade unionists. You can bet your bottom dollar that a strike in the steel industry will find the black and white workers firmly united. Isn't this something for the maritime workers to consider?

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