

Who Are the Men Behind the War Preparation Program?

We Present a Little Who's Who of the Men Preparing the War to Make the World Safe for Corporation Profits by Dwight Macdonald

This is a struggle of "the American people" against Nazi autocracy, says President Roosevelt. Now you would expect a "people's war" to be run by the people. But if you examine at all closely the list of the several hundred officials who are now in Washington directing the "defense" program, you will find that the closest "the people" come to being represented is in the person of Sidney Hillman, jingoistic trade union bureaucrat—and that even Hillman has little real power and is there largely for window-dressing. (Of his four chief aides, not one is from the ranks of organized labor; two—Lubin and Cooke—are New Deal officials, and the other two—Bransome and Dooley—are top executives respectively of those great labor organizations, the Vanadium Corporation and the Socony-Vacuum Oil Corporation.)

The impression you get from scanning the roster of "national defense" chiefs is that this is to be a war to make the world safe for—corporation presidents.

THE BIG FOUR OF THE "OPM"

In the recent reorganization of the war program, supreme authority went to a board of four men, known as the Office for Production Management ("OPM"): William S. Knudsen, production chief; Sidney Hillman, labor chief; Secretary of War Stimson; and Secretary of the Navy Knox. Hillman need not detain us longer: his background as "labor statesman" is well known and I have already indicated the decorative nature of his role. Let us begin our Who's Who with his colleagues.

1. **WILLIAM S. KNUDSEN**, Roosevelt's No. 1 straw boss in the whole "defense" organization, worked for Henry Ford from 1911 to 1922, most of the time as Ford's production manager. (Then as now Ford had the toughest, most brutally efficient labor policy in the industry.) In 1922 he went over to General Motors, becoming president of the company several years ago. At the time of the 1937 sit-down strikes, Knudsen made his attitude towards labor well known. His responsibilities as No. 1 Champion of Democracy don't seem to have changed his ideas any. When Attorney General Jackson last fall ruled "informally" that defense contracts could not go to companies which violated the Wagner Act (later he backed down), Knudsen exploded: "That's going too far! The Defense

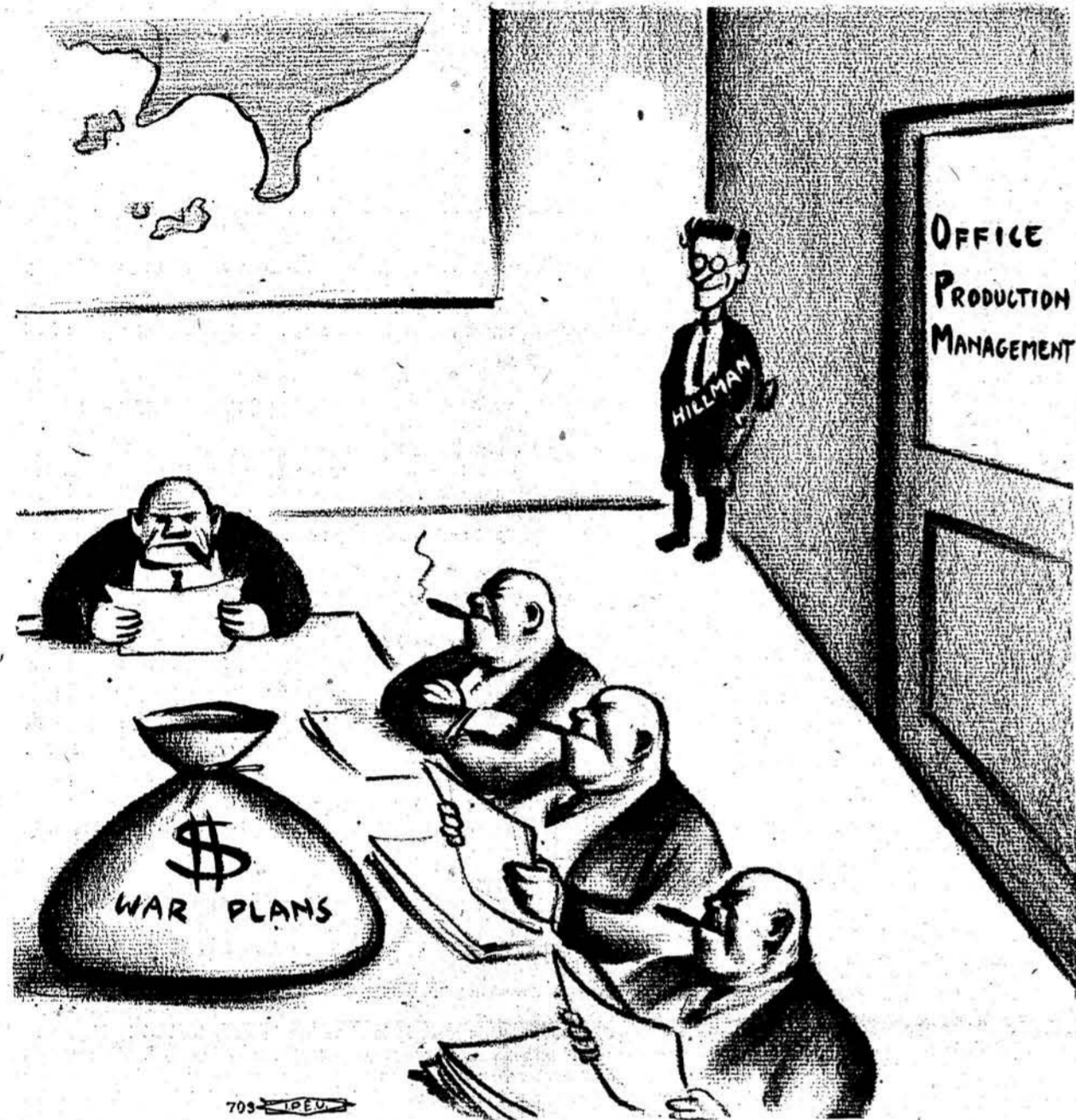
Commission has not the authority and does not want to undertake the job of enforcing the labor laws."

And to a recent interviewer (N. Y. Times, Nov. 3, 1940) Knudsen expounded his philosophy: "Human nature doesn't change. I've never run across a bum who didn't blame his condition on the system or the times. If a young chap has energy and curiosity and a pair of good legs and a good stomach, I'm willing to bet he'll get on. He'll get on irrespective of time, system or anything else—that is, provided he is willing to mind his own business. It's not hard to guess that Knudsen wouldn't consider trade union activity a young man's "own business."

2. **HENRY L. STIMSON**, the man Roosevelt picked for Secretary of War last summer, is a 73-year-old Republican

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And They Call It a 'People's War'!



LABOR ACTION

FEBRUARY 24, 1941

Organ of the Workers Party of the United States

THREE CENTS

"WE'RE IN THE WAR" SAYS SEC'Y. JONES

"We're in the war; at least we're partly in the war; we're preparing for it; when you do that you've got to throw money away..."

Consider the above statement. Consider also who made it.

Jesse H. Jones is Secretary of Commerce, one of Roosevelt's top cabinet men. He is not a private citizen voicing private views. He is a high-ranking government official with many responsibilities.

Jesse H. Jones is therefore a man who knows what goes on behind the scenes.

He is, in fact, a man who helps decide what goes on behind those scenes.

Now, he did not state an opinion. He stated what he as a government official knows to be the fact: "We're in the war!"

But who decided? And when was the public declaration made?

Were the people consulted? Were they asked their opinion? Were they given the facts as to what necessitated war entry? Were they informed of the secret commitments entered into between this government and the government of the British Empire and its dominions?

Every one of those questions has "NO!" for an answer.

The people—that is you, your friend, your brother—are in the war; at least partly. But nobody consulted you, nobody asked you if you were ready to sacrifice life and limb.

Yes, "we're in the war; at least partly." That means we are in the war in every way—alliance, commitment, aid—save for the last detail of military entry. And that is evidently only a matter of time!

But the war is not a people's war. However noble the government propagandists want to make it seem—the facts continue to be cruel and ugly:

The war is a war for profits. It is a war between one set of imperialists and another, between German exploiters and British-American exploiters. It is a war for colonies, a war for conquest. It is NOT a war for democracy!

If it were truly a war for democracy, there would have been no hesitation in consulting the people. The people may be—and we think they are—against sacrificing their lives and homes in the interests of some marauding profiteer.

But the great masses of the American working class would gladly turn out to do battle against Fascism in all its manifestations, and against all its causes.

A real battle against Fascism would, however, strike at the very roots of the foulest of all diseases—the tyranny of class oppression. A real battle against Fascism would jeopardize the whole rotting structure that spawns war and dictatorship. A real war against Fascism would be precisely the kind of war that the war hawks of America want to avoid.

If it were truly a war for Democracy against Fascism, Roosevelt wouldn't need the extraordinary dictatorial powers he has requested in the "lend-lease" bill. He wouldn't need totalitarian instruments to force his will. An explanation, a clear laying of the facts before the people—that would suffice.

But how could he lay the facts before the people today? The facts would show that, as in the last war, the interests of big business and NOT of the people lie behind the scheme.

If this were truly a war for Democracy, Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's personal emissary to England, would report fully to the people—not to Roosevelt alone. Hopkins would tell us about the talks he held with the British officials, what he promised them, and how soon. Instead, the purpose and results of the Hopkins mission are locked in the chambers of the State Department.

But that's just it: it is not a war for Democracy, not a war in the interests of the people and that's why we want no part of it!

Roosevelt and Jones seem satisfied that they have acted for us. But we gave them no authority to do so.

If the bosses want war to swell their profits, that's their business—and logical from their point of view.

If they want US to do the fighting and the sweating, that's our business—and illogical from our point of view.

There is in Congress a bill that would give us the right that properly belongs to us—the right to vote on whether or not we want war. The Ludlow War Referendum Bill would give us the right to vote AGAINST the war.

Since it was first introduced a couple or more years ago, the Administration has sought by every means at its disposal to knife it, squeeze it off the floor of Congress, kill it.

It is still buried somewhere in a committee. But we call upon labor to demand that it be brought out of committee, that it precede in consideration all other bills—because no other bill is, right now, as important as this one.

We call upon labor to demand that Congress act on the bill—and act according to the sentiments of the people.

Congress can be made to act! It can be made to act if organized labor shakes Washington's rafters with the might of its demand.

War production is spiralling upward at a giddy pace. But every wheel in the country could be stopped if labor so decided.

Let us throw that challenge into Congress!

Let us in union resolution and by union action warn "our" Representatives and Senators that LABOR WANTS THE LUDLOW WAR REFERENDUM BILL TAKEN UP IMMEDIATELY—that LABOR WANTS THE WAR REFERENDUM BILL PASSED!

Ohio Court Frames Negro

Drag in Moth-Eaten "Rape" Blarney Despite Incontestable Evidence

By GUY CORBETT

AKRON, Feb. 8—They have done it once more.

Benny Finney, 23, Negro student at Akron University, was this week indicted and convicted by the dishonorable Jim-Crow court of the master class.

Four white women, goaded on by

police dogs anxious to clear the docket, and the city racketeers of "law and order," respectively identified Finney as their assailant on different nights during the month of November, 1940. Jailed for six weeks while the peddlers of capitalist injustice did their utmost to build up a case against him, Finney suffered a beat-

ing at the hands of the police and watched a career he had struggled long and diligently to build—smashed to dust. Today sold to the jailer, he is the victim of a dressed-up "rape" case.

Leonard Bertsch, attorney for the

BULLETIN

AKRON, Feb. 14 — Today, Judge Harvey, Common Pleas Court, sentenced Ben Finney to one to ten years imprisonment on the framed charge of attempted robbery. Defense Attorney Leonard Bertsch entered a motion to take the case to the Court of Appeals in an attempt to prove a mistrial. Harvey has already denied a similar motion, despite the fact that he expresses doubt as to the legality of releasing the jury, while still in session, for lunch, supper and rest.

Meanwhile, Finney is still free on bond raised by the Finney Defense Committee.

defense, did a competent job of destroying the ludicrous testimony of the prosecution. In one instance—where the alleged crime occurred shortly after six o'clock—Finney, as his white employer testified, did not

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THE WORLD AT WAR

Hitler - Stalin Force Turkey Out of British Fold as Axis Primed Japan for Action

By MAX STERLING

Prior to its next big move, the Axis continues relentlessly to secure its diplomatic and strategic positions. Activity of the Axis powers has been far-reaching and the arenas are as wide apart as the Balkans and the Far East.

In London there is a deep feeling that when the Axis strikes it will do so simultaneously in both these spheres of the war. Reports of the massing of the Japanese fleet in the China Sea, of Japanese concentration of 150,000 troops in the Canton area and the Spratly Islands, and the establishment of a Japanese military air base at Saigon, Indo-China, which is less than four hours' flight from Singapore, gave rise to a declaration by the Australian government that "the situation has reached the stage of utmost gravity" and led to hurried conferences in Washington between Secretary Hull and representatives of the British, Australian and Netherlands governments.

The theory of "the simultaneous blow" is by no means an idle one. The showdown in the Far East, despite the alternating assurances of peace and threats of war on both sides, is absolutely inevitable. The aims of Japan, Great Britain and the United States admit of no peaceful solution. The only question is that of the proper moment. The Japanese would perhaps prefer to wait until Britain is knocked out and for a rapprochement with Russia, but it would undoubtedly be in the interest of the Nazis if they could get Japan to strike at the same time that they make their own big

attempt of Europe. Of course this decision remains hidden in the chancelleries of Berlin and Tokyo but the rapid reactions to Japanese moves on the part of London and Washington shows that the latter are very much on the alert and are taking no chances.

In the meantime the Balkan nations fall one by one into Hitler's lap. He has very cleverly exploited the differences among them and has used his dominant economic and military position there to the best advantage.

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"These Copies Make Us More Active" - - a Sharecropper

We here print two letters sent by a Missouri sharecropper to two members of the St. Louis local of the Workers Party. These letters speak their own story. The sharecroppers eagerly await each issue of LABOR ACTION. Readers will remember our earlier story on the Coolidge meeting in a sharecroppers' camp. There were not enough copies to go around. The letters ask for 50 copies each week. But that is only for one small section. We need hundreds of copies for free distribution in the sharecropper camps of Missouri. Ours is virtually the only political movement pressing its work among these viciously down-trodden people. Help us get LABOR ACTION to the Missouri croppers. Send in your contribution to LABOR ACTION marked: "For _____ copies to be distributed among the Missouri croppers."

Dear Brother M—
We had some more copies sent to us by one of the brothers that was with you the night you all spoke at this Local, Brother Sam. We was

sure glad to get the papers. Let us know what labor is doing. Labor is speaking up all over the world. It makes us more ready to fight. These copies give us new ideas and make

us more active and I am writing to Brother Sam to mail us 50 copies each week. I sat up from 12 to 1 o'clock reading the paper. I don't get tired reading these papers. I will not give up until something is done for the Laboring Classes of people.

Yours,

Rear Brother Sam—

I received your letter and also the copy of LABOR ACTION and we really enjoyed reading this literature. We had them at the meeting on Tuesday night and we read until we got tired. Listen Brother Sam, we are asking you if you can have these papers come to me each week. We need at least 50 copies each. Those copies that you all left here,

they are still here. We did not get to the camp that Sunday and I am going out there on the 12th of this month and I will carry them. I sat up until 1 o'clock reading these papers. They are sure fine to read. This Local is glad you is thinking about us when we think we are friendless.

Yours truly,

Turn to the correspondence column on page 4 for another important communication from a Missouri sharecropper who, in this land of plenty, must appeal to her working class brothers for help.

Pity the Poor Capitalist

On February 2, 1941, the New York Times, on the basis of its own compilations, reported "111 industrial corporations that have thus far reported for 1940 show net earnings 44.8 per cent above those of 1939. The aggregate net income of the group amounted to \$410,344,342 against \$283,389,329 in 1939, an increase of \$126,955,013."

For the week of February 2 to 9, the following companies held dividend meetings: General Motors, Harbison-Walker Refractories, International Nickel of Canada, Ltd., Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Co., Inc., Brown Shoe Co., Inc., Cushman's Sons, Inc., Fajardo Sugar Company of Porto Rico, Homestead Mining Co., Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator, Murphy (G. C.) Co., Parker Rust Proof Co., Purity Bakeries Corp., Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, Union Tank Car Co., Westinghouse Air Brake Co., Atlas Powder Co., Bristol-Norwich Pharmaceutical Co., Phelps Dodge Corp., Sheaffer (W. A.) Pen Co., Borg-Myers Co., Columbia Broadcasting System, Federal Light & Traction Co., Warner Corp., Crown Cork & Seal, May Department Stores Co., Allis-Chalmers Mfg. Co., Dayton Power & Light Co., Van Ralite Co., Inc.

The Men Behind the War Set-Up

Who Is Who and What Is He Doing in the "Brain Trust" Streamlined for War?

(Continued from page 1)

"elder statesman." He was Secretary of War under Taft and Secretary of State under Hoover (where his many boners won him the nickname of "Wrong Horse Harry"). The profound gulf that yawns between the policies of the Democratic Party (the party of the "people," of the "little man") and the Republican Party (the party of wealth, privilege and economic royalism) is well shown in the comment of the N. Y. Times (Dec. 21, 1940) on Stimson's regime, under Hoover, in the State Dept.: "Students of foreign policy have noted a continuity between his policies and those of his successor, Cordell Hull, and his political antagonists of the Democratic Administration often called him in to get the benefit of his experience during the early years of the Roosevelt regime." The "national defense" program is now getting the full benefit of Stimson's half century of experience as a corporation lawyer and a rock-ribbed Republican wheelhorse.

3. COLONEL FRANK KNOX, who became Roosevelt's Secretary of the Navy last summer, is also a lifelong Republican. He was general manager of the Hearst newspapers from 1927 to 1931, when he resigned to take over the Chicago Daily News. During the more "radical" period of the Roosevelt Administration, the News was a violently anti-New Deal paper. In the 1936 presidential campaign, Knox was Landon's running mate.

"OPM": DIVISION OF PRODUCTION

4. JOHN D. BIGGERS is chief of the Production Division of the OPM and Knudsen's right-hand man. President of the huge Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Co. of Toledo, which makes most of the automobile glass in the country, Biggers is considered by New Dealers "the most formidable of the defense organization's reactionaries" (New Republic, Feb. 3). He is described by the U. S. News (Jan. 31): "A handsome, 52-year-old multimillionaire, John Biggers has a background of practical business training and Chamber of Commerce research and statistical study. Also, he has had previous government experience, as a Republican member of the Business Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce."

5. WILLIAM L. BATT, as deputy director, is No. 2 man in the all-important Production Division. He is president of S. K. F. Industries of Philadelphia (ball bearings) and he has long been active in the labor-hating National Association of Manufacturers.

6. W. AVERELL HARRIMAN is chief of the Industrial Materials Section of the Production Division. He is the son of the late E. H. Harriman, the railroad magnate, and is chairman of the board of the Union Pacific Railroad. Tremendously wealthy, Harriman is one of the "economic royalists" who have supported Roosevelt from the beginning of the New Deal. His interests extend beyond railroads to shipping, publishing and finance (also to polo playing).

7. W. H. HARRISON is chief of the Ships, Construction and Supplies Section. In "real life" he is vice-president and chief engineer of the four billion dollar American Telephone and Telegraph Co.

8. E. F. JOHNSON is chief of the Aircraft, Ordnance and Machine Tools Section. He is also a

vice-president of General Motors Corp. 9. GEORGE M. MOFFETT heads the Mining and Mineral Products Subsection under Harriman. He is president of the Corn Products Refining Co., which makes imitation maple syrup and other things and has long been a speculative favorite on the Stock Exchange.

10. R. R. DEUPREE, also under Harriman, is in charge of the Agricultural and Forest Products Subsection. In quieter times he is president of Procter & Gamble, big soap makers (Ivory, Lux).

11. MASON BRITTON, under Johnson, is head of the Machine Tools Subsection. He is vice-chairman of the big business publishers, McGraw-Hill Publishing Co.

12. HAROLD S. VANCE, Britton's predecessor, is now part-time consultant in the Machine Tools Subsection. He is chairman of the Studebaker Corp., automobile manufacturers.

"OPM": DIVISION OF PRIORITIES

13. E. R. STETTINIUS, JR., is Director of the Priorities Division (which decides which orders and products shall get right of way over others). Son of a J. P. Morgan partner, Stettinius is a "Morgan man." He resigned the chairmanship of U. S. Steel Corp. last summer to head, with Knudsen, the original Defense Commission. Even more openly than other business men in the "defense" set-up, he has played the game of big business. He has been the chief defender of the aluminum and steel industries against critics who charge that their policies are causing or will soon cause shortages of materials.

14. JAMES F. TOWERS is assistant director of priorities. He is executive vice-president of the big New York firm of industrial engineers, Ford, Bacon & Davis.

15. CHARLES E. ADAMS is senior consultant to the division. He is also president of the Air-Reduction Corp.

16. ARTHUR D. WHITESIDE, head of the Commercial Aircraft Subsection, is on leave of absence from the presidency of the well-known New York financial information house of Dun & Bradstreet.

17. ERNEST M. HOPKINS, head of the Minerals and Metals Subsection, is president of Dartmouth College.

18. CARL CONWAY is a member of the Iron & Steel Priorities Subcommittee under Hopkins. He is also chairman of Continental Can Co. and a leading Wall Street speculator.

19. WALTER S. TOWER, another member of the Iron & Steel Subcommittee, is president of the steel industry's powerful trade association, the American Iron and Steel Institute.

MISCELLANEOUS WAR AGENCIES

20. COL. LEONARD P. AYRES is serving in the office of the Secretary of War as coordinator of statistics. He is nationally famous as the economic analyst of the Cleveland Trust Co.

21. NELSON ROCKEFELLER, brightest and most energetic of the present generation of Rocke-

llers, is chairman of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Inter-American Affairs. His job is to promote "better understanding" between the U. S. and Latin America.

22. JAMES FORRESTAL resigned the presidency of the big Wall Street banking house of Dillon, Read & Co. last summer to become "administrative assistant" to President Roosevelt.

23. GANO DUNN, dollar-a-year man recently delegated to arbitrate the hot dispute between New Dealers and steel executives as to expansion of the industry's capacity, in private life is president of the J. G. White Engineering Corp.

24. RALPH BUDD, president of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, is defense commissioner in charge of railroad transportation.

25. DONALD M. NELSON, vice-president of Sears, Roebuck & Co., holds one of the most powerful jobs in the whole "defense" set-up: director of purchasing for the entire \$20,000,000,000 program.

26. EDWARD BRANSOME is one of Sidney Hillman's four aides. His job: director of labor relations in industry. His qualifications: president of the Vanadium Corporation of America.

27. CHANNING R. DOOLEY is another of Hillman's aides: His job: director of job training. His qualifications: vice-president of Socony-Vacuum Oil Co.

Such is a partial list of the big business men now running the "defense" program. The list could be extended almost indefinitely. The individuals composing it change from month to month, as Businessman A has to go back home a while and see that his corporation is making money satisfactorily, yielding his Government post to Businessman B. In LABOR ACTION for July 15-I compiled a list of businessmen who then occupied key posts in the "defense" organization. About half of these seem to have dropped out of sight, being replaced by other businessmen.

But however the individuals shift, the only general shift noticeable in the last six months is towards a greater preponderance of businessmen in the "defense" agencies. As the U. S. News (Jan. 31) describes the process:

"There is a new business 'brain trust' now in Washington, numbering in the hundreds, most of them big industrialists serving for a dollar a year, many of them in opposition to the New Deal's domestic policies. When they first arrived in the capital, they were not given a clearcut sense of direction, or a right of way to follow the direction, but now all is different. The shift is away from control by the New Deal planning group. And these industrialists alone are being armed with authority to carry through the vast defense program. Now it is they who are on the inside—with almost complete control."

It isn't hard to guess whether these corporation executives' "sense of direction" will lead them as the strain of an all-out war effort bears down on the national economic and social structure. The pressure of the American working class is the only power that can deflect the drive towards fascism these men will lead. Unless the great mass of working people of America take political and economic power into their own hands, the course is all too clear. And Sidney Hillman is not the kind of leader American labor must have in this fight.

Glen Martin Rats Scared By CIO Drive

Special to Labor Action

BALTIMORE, Md.—Scared by the CIO organization drive, the Glen L. Martin company union, the Middle Lever Aeronautical Employees Association, has miraculously and suddenly taken up the cudgels for the workers in the plant.

A leaflet issued by this raty outfit has just informed the workers that the MLEAES has waked from its two-year slumber and is "negotiating for Regular pay for all legal holidays. Five per cent bonus for second and third shift. Sick leave..."

By a coincidence(?) the leaflet followed an announcement by the UAW (CIO) that Glen Martin will soon be a CIO shop.

The coincidence is as strange as a recent one of similar vintage: no sooner had strike talk begun in the shop, when Martin decided on a Christmas bonus of a week's pay for all his employees as a reward for their cooperation.

The men in Glen Martin are "hep" to the MLEAES. The only other time that these company stooges became occupied with the needs of the workers was in 1939 when they helped break a CIO strike. The MLEAES recently got very bold and tried to convince the workers that the Vultee workers won a 62½¢ an hour maximum after a militant strike. When challenged to prove it, they beat a hasty retreat into complete and total silence.

All of which points to the fact that you can look forward to seeing Glen L. Martin a CIO shop, and Baltimore a union town.

Frame Negro—

(Continued from page 1)

leave work until six-thirty. In another, one woman "positively" identified him, although she had previously admitted she could not tell whether her attacker was white or colored. In still another, a woman—testifying she could recognize ONLY his voice—identified him without hearing him speak! In descriptions of the assailant's height, witnesses differed one-half foot.

A score of character witnesses, white and colored, swore to Finney's unimpeachable record. One white mother stated aggressively, "I would trust my own daughter with Ben Finney." Young colored girls, on the stand, replied with magnificent feeling to the cheap insults of Prosecutor Azar. A professor of psychology testified that the women "victims" were incapable of reliable accounts and subject to wishful hallucinations.

Despite every shred of evidence to the contrary, Finney was convicted on one of the four frame-up charges for which he was villainously tried. An all-white jury, with definite Jim-Crow prejudices, has pleased its masters; they have convicted and imprisoned innocent Ben Finney.

Finney, in discussions with the reporter for LABOR ACTION, revealed his personal strength and heroism.

"I know this is not a case by itself," he said, "and I know it does not concern only my people. I know also that it will not end with my conviction or release. It must be fought all the way through."

Throughout the ordeal, the defendant conducted himself with intelligence and restraint, justifying the pride every white and Negro worker in the courtroom felt for him personally. His demeanor, by comparison, made the prosecution, the judge and the police look like the vicious morons they are.

The Akron Beacon Journal and the Cleveland Plain Dealer, local dailies of the capitalist class, both refused to print an inch of type covering the shocking events of the trial.

In the courtroom adjoining the Finney trial, an injunction case representing the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union fighting powerful boss interests was being held. More or less the same audience observed both proceedings, and the vital connection between the struggle of labor and all the oppressed was well noted. Police and prosecutors of Akron, long experienced in beating and jailing union militants, assumed that one lone Negro would serve as a scapegoat. They are beginning to fear the truth—that Ben Finney is not alone.

During the course of the trial, another young Negro—Bernard Jones—was arrested while walking to a friend's home. The police broke his jaw and hold him today on an undisclosed charge. These acts of brutality against the Negro people will not go unanswered! A Finney Defense Committee has been organized to fight the cases of Finney, Jones and others.

With the issue after the next one, which will be out in a few days, the New International becomes a 32-page magazine. Get your subscription now! The rate is the same—\$1.50 a year!

Good and Welfare by Lefty

IT SEEMS THAT DAN GILLMOR, editor of the Stalinist front magazine Friday, has just bought up the pulpwood magazines Popular Psychology Guide, and Silver Streak Comics.

What we can't understand is why Gillmor hasn't bought up a couple of gangster and murder mystery magazines. After all, there must be a lot of REAL talent for that sort of writing among the GPU's roster of international gangsters, assassins, poisoners, kidnapers and torture chamber artists.

LANDMARKS OF EDITORIAL CAUTION ("LIBERAL" MAGAZINES DIVISION):

"We suspect ulterior purposes in the new drive for a six-day week in defense industries... What some employers apparently want is to get rid of overtime pay."—The Nation, January 18, 1941.

Yes, sir, you've got to get up early to get ahead of The Nation!

ALAN H. MOGENSEN, SPEED-UP EXPERT, recently told the foremen's club of the B. F. Goodrich Company that one of the reasons "for our inability to increase production" lies in the failure to understand the difference between "work done at high speed" and "work done in a hurry."

O.K., mister, we give up—what the hell IS the difference?

GENERALLY SPEAKING, THIS COLUMNIST is not the joining type. Every once in a while, however, one of these little fervent organizations which people organize to combat their pet peeves appeals to my old crusader's heart. That anti-noise league, for instance, which the great four-flusher LaGuardia horned in on, had a good idea behind it. Right how, however, all my good wishes are being extended to the Theater Boers movement which has sprung up in the Mid-West. The idea behind the movement is simple: instead of suffering silently at the movies, members boo lustily at advertising shorts, stupid Class D pictures, inane newsreels and cheesy dramatics. Labor ought to take up the idea. One of the first jobs to work out on is the March of Time release on "Labor and Defense," which ends on a speech denouncing strikes in the war industries.

FLASH! FLASH! ROOSEVELT RECEIVING "LABOR ACTION!" One of those persons who seems to have been scissorbills from birth informed one of our LABOR ACTION salesmen out in Ohio that he sent a copy of the paper to President Roosevelt every week, so that Roosevelt could read right with his own eyes the lies that people were writing about him. So don't be surprised if you find a letter to the editor denouncing us, and signed Franklin D. Roosevelt. It might arrive any day now.

AN OPEN LETTER TO WESTBROOK PEGLER.

Dear Mr. Pegler: Among those gangsters, chiselers and plain rats shaking down a fat, unearned \$60,000 per year income at the expense of the labor movement, it seems to me that you have forgotten one of the foulest.

His name is Westbrook Pegler. Sincerely yours, Lefty.

HOW TO BE A PATRIOT (LESSON NO. 1): Contemn Hitler for his treatment of the Jews; forget how the Negroes are treated in the South.

LIKE ME, I SUPPOSE THAT all five of you readers of this column were innocent victims of the sob-stories on Laddie, the airedale, who died of loneliness because his master was sent off to camp. Nobody seemed to worry much about the drafted's wives, sweethearts, sisters and brothers who were left behind to suffer and to get along as best they can without benefit of all the care lavished up Laddie.

In the thick of all this guff, it is cheering to note that at least one man, Roosevelt, has the interests of the masses continually in mind. We see by the papers that after the war those men who were lucky enough to escape death or horrible disablement are going to be taken care of. How, my friend? Why, Roosevelt has elaborate plans for increased WPA projects. It's wonderful, isn't it?

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

The NAACP asked William S. Knudsen to use his influence as head of the "defense" program and as former chief of General Motors to get them to change their employment policies with respect to Negroes. They called attention specifically to General Motors' refusal to give Negroes any skilled or semi-skilled work and reminded Knudsen of his statement that: "We shall have need of the active, aggressive and enthusiastic cooperation of every man, woman and child in the United States if we are to make this arsenal in America adequate to the successful defense of democracy and freedom (haw, haw)." Mr. Knudsen replied that he now has no control over the employment policies of General Motors.

What all this jive adds up to is this: Nobody mentioned Negro when referring to "every man, woman and child in the United States." AND—Mr. Knudsen's employment policies with respect to the Negro are the same as General Motors whether he is the head of General Motors or not... So let's all get together "for the successful defense of d-e-m-o-c-r-a-c-y and f-r-e-e-d-o-m." Oh yeah!

AFL President William Green, when asked to cooperate with other individuals and groups in requesting an investigation of the persecution of Negroes by the Crump political machine in Memphis, based his refusal on a report by Pres. Lev Loring, AFL official in Memphis, who states that "the Negroes who abide by the law are not suffering and not complaining."!! An even more important reason is that: "The CIO has created quite an unrest among the Negroes in this city by preaching social equality (horrors!)." And to cap it all, this profound bit of Cracker wisdom: "Those who do preach social equality are only retarding the Negro's advancement and social welfare..."

All patrons, including ministers, physicians and even school children who entered the store were subjected to a minute search. Rather than be humiliated by these indignities, the people simply stopped patronizing Dr. Martin's place. The result, of course, was the drug store went out of business and Dr. Martin was driven out of town.

The Memphis chief of police says: "This is a white man's country and always will be, and any Negro who doesn't agree to this better move on."—Editorial from Chicago Defender.

A three weeks' strike organized by the parents of 220 pupils at the Grant School in Ferndale, Mich., against the overcrowded conditions in the school rooms was ended last week.

One Day Strike Gets Food-Workers What They Want

Wage Increases and Sliding Scale of Wages Highlight New Agreement

Special to Labor Action

LYNN, Mass., Feb. 17—One hundred and sixty-five workers walked out on strike at 5:30 a.m. last Friday in eight cafeterias of Hunt's, Inc., in Lynn and Salem. Not a single worker remained on the job and a solid picket line forced all the cafeterias to shut down tight.

The workers, members of the United Food Workers Union, Local 701 (CIO), went on strike when their demands for a substantial increase in wages and for a sliding scale of wages were refused.

Negotiations had been carried on for a week, and the workers had held regular meetings to hear the reports of the negotiating committee and decide on the procedure of the committee. At Wednesday's midnight meeting (the hour when the fewest

number of workers are on the job), it was decided that the union had been negotiating long enough and getting nowhere. It was time to call the company's plant.

The committee was instructed to give the company an ultimatum: either all the workers' minimums are raised, some higher than others to fill existing uneven gaps, especially among the women workers, plus a 5 per cent general increase over that, or else we strike. The committee met with the company the next day and presented its demands. The company refused. The following morning at 5:30 the workers went on strike.

The workers were out only a few hours when the company and all the city and state politicians up to and

including the Governor's office were yelling at the State Board of Arbitration to step into the picture. The union informed the Board that it was willing to meet the company at any time, but made it plain that the strike would continue and that the Board would not be allowed to arbitrate one comma of the agreement, knowing too well that the function of these Boards is "conciliation" and the stopping of strikes, no matter at what cost to the workers.

The company met with the committee for a ten hour session and an agreement was reached that was ratified by the membership at another midnight meeting that night. The new contract calls for an increase in wages for all the workers. New minimums on all the jobs—something that the union considers its

biggest gain; workers to be paid for six holidays when stores are closed; five day week for night cashiers; and a sliding scale of wages.

Although the sliding scale of wages is regarded as one of the best ever written into a union agreement, it can stand much improvement. All the features of the previous contract were retained—48 hour week, time and a half for all overtime, vacation with pay, closed shop, etc.

After the workers voted unanimously to accept the agreement they decided to take the next day as a holiday to rest up and at the same time give the boss a little more time to realize just who had the power. And the day that the workers decided to take as a holiday was Dollar Day, the busiest day of the year.

AFL Seeks to Knife San Pedro CIO Shipyard Union

Cooperation of All Progressive Union Forces on West Coast Seen as Vital

Special to Labor Action

SAN PEDRO, Calif.—Recent developments indicate that the AFL craft union bureaucrats, in cooperation with the bosses, have opened a widespread drive against the CIO shipyard workers' union in its Pacific stronghold—San Pedro.

Where the workers are now largely under one banner, the AFL scheme is to cut a wedge into the CIO control by signing an agreement with a yard now in construction on Terminal Island similar to the backdoor agreement it signed with the

Consolidated shipyard last year.

In recent years, the shipyard industry has not been of great economic importance, but the workers nevertheless united unanimously and militantly in the industrial union. They won a closed shop and working conditions without equal in the country. The AFL craft union, on the other hand, remained completely dormant. But, with the hard depression years temporarily over for the shipyard workers, the bureaucrats have once again come to life. There are juicy initiation fees to be gotten from new workers. The gravy appears to be thick. And the bosses approve!

Severe Struggle Ahead

What the AFL is letting the workers in for is an exhausting struggle that may have damaging effects on working conditions and standards. The fight will be a severe one. By its backdoor maneuvers, the AFL has persuaded the bosses to set a \$1.12½ rate for mechanics in some of the small boat yards around the harbor, where the prevailing CIO rate in the big yards is \$1.00 or, at best, \$1.05. This will be the vital talking point with the less experienced workers who, magnifying the importance of the wage differential, will overlook the main issue—a union capable of

fighting, now and in the future, for conditions and wages. In this respect the AFL union and the Industrial do not even compare. With all the men organized in the industrial union they would be in an infinitely better position to press for substantial concessions during the war boom and after it, when, in the face of a greater depression than the last, the AFL union will be so much chaff in the wind.

The CIO union has a powerful factor in its favor in the support of the large Longshoremen's Local. Longshoremen in this port are happily free of the strangling influence of Harry Bridges and his Stalinist machine. They are consequently free to give militant support to a progressive struggle.

SUP Role Vital

Unfortunately, the Sailors Union of the Pacific, which could exert a powerful influence in behalf of the industrial union, has gotten involved at the wrong end of the dispute. With its splendid record of fearless struggle against the shipowners and the boss government, and with its

militant membership, it could advance the cause of progressive unionism by cooperating with the progressive elements in the labor movement. Instead, it seems to be backing the proposal, conceived by the AFL bureaucrats, to set up a separate riggers' local which will demand jurisdiction of all rigging in this area. It is to be hoped that the Lundeberg leadership of the SUP will see its mistake in backing such a proposal. For the victory of progressive unionism rests largely on the cooperation of all the progressive union forces in the area.

Forced-Labor

And apropos the conscientious objectors (see editorial column), a reader calls our attention to a scab scheme the Government has devised for handling the C.O.'s. They will be put to work in reforestation, land reclamation and so forth for their service period at no pay. (The Government is, of course, dead set against forced labor—in other lands.) Our reader adds that we may not agree with the C.O.'s, but that we must certainly stand up for their rights—and for working class standards.

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

MASS MEETING

"Will the Lend-Lease Bill Lead to War?"

Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN AT PARK PLAZA 1530 Pitkin Av. (nr. Saratoga) Brooklyn, N. Y.

Friday, Feb. 28, 1941 8:30 P.M.

Auspices: Workers Party and Young Peoples Socialist League (Brownsville Branch)

In Memory of a Stainless Revolutionist: Leon Sedoff

In February, 1936, Leon Sedoff, son of Leon Trotsky, the great revolutionist whom Stalin murdered this last August, mysteriously died in a Paris hospital of a suddenly acquired stomach ailment. The circumstances of his death pointed clearly to the GPU, though the methods and weapons they used to achieve their foul purpose have not yet been discovered. Now, on the third anniversary of his death, which follows only by a few days the murder of another GPU victim, Walter Krivitsky, we reprint, in part, the text of a speech delivered by Max Schachtman at the memorial meeting held in New York at the time of Sedoff's death.

It is not customary among revolutionists to pronounce conventional and meaningless panegyrics upon departed comrades and to extol them for virtues they never possessed.

But our times are so darkened by treachery, by the backsliding of renegades and turncoats, by retirements of those who have become wearied or frightened at the rigors of the struggle—that we do no more than our simple duty when we gather to pay tribute to a soldier who knew neither fear nor fatigue, in whom were mingled modesty, courage, devotion and a stubborn self-determination to fight without thinking of the possible consequences to himself, for the final victory of history's greatest cause.

Leon Sedoff was cradled in the revolution. He was born at the time when the Russian working class experienced its first great tumultuous awakening—in the period of the Revolution of 1905. His father was chairman of the first soviet in history, the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

From his earliest childhood he learned in the school of life the meaning of the struggle for the proletarian revolution. For 12 difficult years of reaction in Russia, he shared with his father the vicissitudes of exile, living one day in Austria and another in Switzerland, now in France and then deportation through Spain to the United States.

The revolution in Russia released the family from Czarist exile and enabled it to devote itself for the next ten years to the direct work of building and defending the socialist republic. Leon Sedoff, as a 12-year-old child, was already in 1917 a partisan—in his own immature way—of the Bolsheviks and this brought down upon his head more than one struggle.

In the Thick of the Fight

He was only 18 when the fight broke out between the Stalinist machine and the Trotskyists, who were then known as the Moscow Opposition of 1923. But like most of the active and militant young communists of his time, he flung himself into the thick of the fight on the side of the revolutionary internationalists who were defending the heritage of the already dead Lenin.

I remember what he told me when I first met him in Turkey in 1930. In spite of the difficulties and machine-manuevers, the Opposition received the majority of the votes in the nuclei of the young workers in the schools—those whom Trotsky described as the most accurate and sensitive barometer of the party. He remained an uncompromising adherent of the Bolshevik-Leninists throughout the four long and intense years of struggle inside the party.

When the expulsions came, and with them exile to Siberia and Turkistan, he continued to remain loyal to his principles. The bureaucratic machine made strenuous efforts, especially among the younger members of the families of the Oppositionists, to have them renounce their parents. To this day, the bureaucracy takes special pride in printing statements from the sons or daughters or wives of its victims, from whom they have extorted denunciations and disavowals of their parents or husbands.

But they could get none from Leon Sedoff. When his father was exiled to Alma-Ata, he joined him voluntarily and applied himself with all his energy and talent to the enormously difficult work of continuing the fight of the Opposition—an inseparable collaborator of Leon Trotsky.

It was during this period that he worked with his father on two documents which constitute perhaps the two most important works of Marxism in our generation: "The Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International" and "The Permanent Revolution." In the first Trotsky subjected the nationalist doctrine of Stalin and Bukharin—socialism in a single country—to a classic, merciless, thorough-going criticism in the great Marxist tradition. In the second, a polemic against Radek and Stalin, Trotsky forged an unbreakable link between the theory of the permanent revolution as enunciated by Marx and his own elaboration of this theory, applied to the complexities of the international class struggle in the twentieth century, which is undoubtedly the greatest contribution Trotsky or anyone else has made in our time to the science of living Marxism.

The year in Alma-Ata was one of intense literary activity and of a voluminous correspondence among the exiled Oppositionists, in the course of which the basic cadres of the Leninists were tempered and kept together in spite of the capitulators who abandoned the Opposi-

tion and bent the knee to the reactionary regime. The effectiveness of this activity infuriated the Stalinists and decided them in favor of even more Draconian measures, in the hope of breaking the ties that bound Trotsky and Sedoff to the proletarian revolutionists in Russia. In January, 1929, an administrative order of the GPU banished Trotsky from Soviet soil and deported him to Turkey. It marked the beginning of Trotsky's third exile from Russia and the beginning of Sedoff's second.

'Despite the Greatest Handicap

But the Stalinist machine had miscalculated. In exile, Trotsky was freer to tighten and harden the ranks of the International Left Opposition in the capitalist countries, at the same time that he was able—at least for a while—to continue contact with the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union. Once more he found in his son a loyal, untiring and resolute collaborator.

Like his father, Sedoff looked upon revolutionary duty as standing above all other considerations. Grievous as was a separation from his parents, he nevertheless left them to take up residence in Germany—the country where it was most easily possible and feasible to publish the first printed organ of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists. He was the managing editor of the "Bulletin" and despite the indescribable difficulties, he organized its distribution on a wide scale and kept it going month in and month out.

On the eve of the Nazi conquest of power in 1933, Leon, who had remained by his post in Berlin to the very end and was being hunted by the Hitlerites, was compelled to flee to France. There he immediately resumed publication of the Russian Bulletin. Without his conscientious supervision it would not have appeared.

There too he became one of the founders of the Fourth International, for his interests, like those of every revolutionary Marxist, went far beyond the boundaries of the problems of the Soviet Union. I remember him at the conference in August, 1936, where the foundation stones were laid for the Fourth International. In spite of the maddening ravages of a headache and a disorder of the throat which reduced his voice to a whisper, he participated actively and energetically in the reports and discussions, especially on the Russian question, giving the other delegates the benefit of the solid Marxian learning and the revolutionary experiences which, although he was then only 30, he had already accumulated in the movement and in the class struggle.

He was not unaware of the danger of his activity, but he was unmindful of it. He knew that the work he was carrying on, the work carried on by his father, was unforgivable in the eyes of the counter-revolutionists in the Kremlin. They, in turn, knew that neither Trotsky nor Sedoff could be bought or bribed into that Byzantine sycophancy which Stalin demands of all his followers; that they could not be intimidated or silenced by threats, even when these threats were backed, as they were, by the vast and sinister power of the GPU.

Hunted and Hounded by the GPU

And when it became clear that while others, like Zinoviev or Radek, might capitulate, Trotsky and Sedoff would continue unflinchingly by their posts; when it became clear that their work was like a thorn that every day dug deeper into the hide of the Stalinist bureaucracy throughout the world, Stalin determined to rid himself by violence of the opponents against whom his reactionary political arguments were of no avail.

The Stalin clique determined to make Trotsky and his family pay with their lives for their steadfastness and devotion to the international revolution. And one by one, the bestial machine of the modern Genghis Khan has struck down the children of that unbending revolutionist who remained adamant in the face of adversity.

In June, 1928, while he was still in exile in Alma-Ata, Trotsky and his life-companion, Natalia Ivanovna Sedoff, learned of the death of their first daughter, Nina—learned of it 72 days after it occurred. Tubercular, her husband arrested and exiled, she died in Moscow, deprived of proper care and treatment by a cynical gang of bureaucratic monsters.

In January, 1933, their second daughter died in Berlin. Zinaida Volkov committed suicide, but she felt herself driven to it by the murderous persecutions of her father's enemies in the Kremlin. In the same way, Trotsky's secretary, Glazman, was driven to suicide in 1924. In the same way, his life-long friend, the noble and unforgettable revolutionist, Adolf Abramovich Yoffe, was driven to suicide in Moscow in 1927.

Almost exactly four years after the death of Zinaida, early in 1937, Sergei Sedoff was arrested on the charge of plotting the mass poisoning of workers in the factory where he worked. He has not been heard of since, and we do not know if he is alive.

Even before that, Alexandra Lvovna Bronstein, past the age of 70, was exiled to Siberia, in total disregard of her 50 years in the service of the Russian Revolution, and only because she was guilty of the unforgivable crime of being the first wife of Leon Trotsky.

And now, the last of Trotsky's children, Leon Sedoff, lies dead and buried in the cemetery of the Communards massacred in Paris in 1871. The circumstances of his death are sufficiently suspicious. We know that he



LEON SEDOFF

was under the surveillance of the GPU. We know that he was being watched by the same gangsters who murdered Ignace Reiss in Switzerland. We know that he was a special object of hatred of Stalin and the crew of wretched assassins who rule the Soviet Union today. And even if it should turn out that his death was directly due to the consequences of an innocent operation, we stand here today and charge that the despot of the Kremlin—who hounded and persecuted Leon and his parents, who drove them from Russia and from one country to another, who murdered their comrades of today and yesterday in the cellars of the GPU, who made them outlaws at the mercy of any gunman's bullet by virtue of the verdicts of his hand-picked courts, who set assassins to spy upon him and to plan his death—we charge that this modern Cain is just as guilty of the death of Leon Sedoff as if he had himself driven a dagger through his heart.

How miserable are the miscalculations of these autocrats in power! Is the past of these power-drunk bureaucrats so completely obliterated in their own minds that they forget how impossible it is to crush a rising, progressive, revolutionary movement by mere force—by persecution, by trials that are an infamous travesty upon justice, by imprisonment, by execution and by assassination?

The early socialist movement of the last century suffered no less heavy blows, and it survived; while its detractors and traducers disappeared into oblivion. We do not fear extinction, for we know, as did Leon Sedoff, and all true Marxian revolutionists before him, that our cause is linked with the inexorable processes of social evolution, that reaction may delay its triumph, but never prevent it. We remember the inspiring words of Ferdinand Lassalle, the flaming tribune of the German proletariat:

"From the high watch-towers of science, gentlemen, one can discern the red dawn of the new day sooner than if one is situated in the turmoil of daily life.

"Gentlemen, have you ever witnessed a sunrise from a high mountain top?

"A purple border tinges the extreme horizon with a red and bloody glow that announces the new light; mist and fogs rise and contract into great mounds, attacking the rosy dawn, and for the moment concealing its rays; but no power on earth is capable of hindering the slow and majestic ascent of the sun itself, which, but a single hour later, will stand bright and warm in the sky visible to all the world."

The untiring work of the fearless champion of revolution, Leon Sedoff, was a herald of that rising sun.

His life, so young, so cruelly cut down before it had an opportunity to reach its full flowering, was a shining example for the revolutionists of our generation and the next.

The stigma which Stalin's Bloody Assizes sought to besmirch him with in the trials of the Old Bolsheviks, the monstrous slanders with which it sought to cover him—those are badges of honor well earned by the dead revolutionist.

We dedicate ourselves to the work of rescuing his name from slander. The calumniators of the dead are the oppressors of the living. The vindication of the martyred dead lies in the unrelenting struggle against the tyrants and against all tyranny.

Stalin has wreaked a frightful revenge upon the family of Leon Trotsky, the revenge of the common criminal.

We are pledged to avenge our dead. But we disdain the methods of the gunman and the skulking assassin.

Ours are the methods of the great teachers. Ours are the methods of the class struggle, of the fight in open combat, of the victory honestly won. In open combat, the Bolsheviks won their revolutionary triumph over capitalism. In open combat, we shall win ours. In open combat, we shall win the struggle to destroy the horrible plague of Stalinism which is eating out the vitals of the labor movement.

Students Offered \$100 in Contest On Sharecroppers

The fifth annual observance of National Sharecroppers Week, March 2-9, will once more be marked by an educational contest in the high schools and colleges of the nation. High school students will discuss the origin of the sharecropping system or describe the conditions of the sharecroppers in a 250 word essay. Total prizes of \$50 will be awarded to the four best essays. The presentation will be made at a public dinner to be held in New York City during the week, March 2-9. The college students will discuss at some length (2,000-3,000 words), with original research, the relation of civil liberties and sharecroppers. Total awards of \$150 will be made for the three final selections. Outstanding educators will be the judges in both the high school and college contests. All under-graduates are eligible for participation in both contests.

National Sharecroppers Week is under the joint auspices of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and the Workers Defense League, its official defense agency.

'Defense' Program Means Reduced Labor Standards

"Any major increase in the present defense program—such as war itself might bring—almost certainly would mean longer working hours, or a reduced standard of living, or both." These are the introductory words to a report just issued by the Twentieth Century Fund—a research organization financed and backed by prominent American business men.

Pointing out that prevailing labor legislation such as the "Fair Labor Standards Act" of 1937 does not prevent the raising of hours above 40 per week, the report notes that current "defense" programs will not necessitate a lengthening of the week. But expansion is sure to come this year and in 1942. Then "a general lengthening of working hours will be called for."

In studying what work-week should yield the maximum output per worker the report generously claims that "there is some reason to think it may lie between 48 and 60 hours for most occupations in the United States." In other words, the 8-hour day for 6 days; or the 10-hour day for 6 days! Here is advance notice of what American war production will mean to our working class.

One of the most shameful things to note about the "Twentieth Century Fund" and its anti-labor "research activity" is the membership of Philip Murray, President of the CIO as a member of the Committee which drew up the report outlined above.

World at War—

(Continued from page 1)

vantage. The absorption of Rumania is already a fact and Britain has gone so far as to write her off.

With Bulgaria, Hitler came to an agreement almost from the start. Bulgaria admitted at once her inability to prevent any German troop movements through her territory and agreed "in principle" to such a step. The Nazis control her body and soul and Russian maneuvers there were never taken seriously.

Of all the Balkan countries only Turkey was seriously considered as a possible bar to the Nazis. In fact the Turks went so far as to hold joint staff talks between their commanders and the British.

Now we see the Turks and the Bulgarian vassals of Hitler in a non-aggression pact. Only yesterday the Turkish press was full of threats of war against Bulgaria were she to permit the passage of German troops through her territory. The pact is a complete reversal of this stand since it takes for granted German troop movements through Bulgaria.

It is difficult to give any other interpretation to the pact than that in the face of a showdown the Turks have retreated before the might of Hitler. This, despite assurances from London that the pact will not prevent Turkey from living up to her commitments to Great Britain. The Turks were forced to content themselves with the assurance that the Nazis will confine their operations to the Greeks and will stay away from the Dardanelles. It is reported that the Nazis have used Russia, with whom the Turks have been on excellent terms, to convince her of this. It seems that Moscow has been very persuasive, and not the least effective argument must have been that the Turks could not expect any aid from Russia should she follow a different course.

If the Nazis in their operations against Greece succeed in effecting the neutrality of Turkey, as it appears they will, then the position of Greece and Britain in Greece and in the Mediterranean will be considerably weakened. The neutrality of Turkey will be a major diplomatic victory for Hitler and will strengthen the capitulatory tendencies in the British ruling class. To offset this Washington will have to go to even greater lengths in its participation in the war on the side of British imperialism.

Of Special Interest to Women

By Susan Green

I know of at least one incident of his visit to England that Mr. Wendell L. Willkie will not talk about. Morgan's candidate for President in the last election and Morgan's personal representative to England will have lots to say to make war propaganda in the interests of the House of Morgan. And this particular incident will not fit in.

Planned to coincide with Willkie's arrival at a swanky hotel for a luncheon engagement, London women staged a food demonstration. While the poor are rationed and don't get enough food to keep their souls in their bodies, the hotel larders are bursting with all the delicacies that the pampered palates of the rich require. They eat of these delicacies to their hearts' content and get their regular rations anyway. But not so the poor! A food demonstration before this swanky hotel was, therefore, quite in order and certainly Mr. Willkie should report it as part of the London scene. But the demonstration was ruthlessly broken up, and the representative of the "great democracy overseas" will not disturb his countrymen by reporting the evidences of lack of democracy in England.

We must give the devil his due. When American capitalism is really interested in doing something, it does it up brown.

Take this matter of war, for instance. Certainly everything is swinging along at a brisk pace. Billions of dollars of orders are being handed out. Plants are being expanded and new ones are being built. The military camps are full of conscripts being turned into soldiers. Congress is debating and will soon pass a bill making an all-powerful warlord of the President. The Treasury Department is cooking up ways and means of extracting every dollar from the masses. There is no monkey business.

But when American capitalism is not interested in the business at hand, how it a-hems and a-haws! There isn't money and there isn't the power. Every possible objection is raised. There is stalling and stalling and more stalling.

Take the matter of proper schools for children, for instance.

In the great city of New York, the richest city in the world, you would think the schools are something to be proud of. Some of them are. But plenty of them are a crying shame.

Children, numbering 150,000, go to schools that are unsanitary and unsafe. One out of every three New York City schools is NOT FIREPROOF. Some of the structures date back as far as 1875. The toilets are the worst imaginable.

In some classrooms children sit in their coats all day because there are no wardrobes or because of insufficient heat. Or they work crowded against piping hot radiators because of lack of space. In some schools, the gymnasiums constitute a danger to the life and limb of the children using them. In others, children have to go through cold yards to get to the antiquated toilets.

Under the so-called reformer, LaGuardia, as under Tammany's Walker, these conditions continue. American capitalism as such is just not interested enough in such things to make a thorough job of them. After all, what matter, the lives of 150,000 poor children!

BUT WHEN IT COMES TO FIGHTING FOR FOREIGN MARKETS—why, that's another story!

Every housewife can understand how nice and pleasant it must be for the gregarious Londoners. Imagine the fun of crowding together on damp, stony floors, surrounded by buckets of excretion from human bodies, with rats romping about and water gurgling down the cave roof and walls.

Yet it is being noised about—as reported by Ernie Pyle in the World-Telegram—that the poor people of England actually ENJOY living underground worse than animals. They are supposed to be as pleased as punch, and they will not want to give up their cave dwelling existence even after the war.

We are supposed to believe such frightful lies because the super-democratic British government does not care to build shelters for the masses that are fit for human beings.

Maybe you are one of the few lucky working women whose family has had a more or less steady income. Maybe you have been so awfully lucky that, by dint of scraping and pinching, you have been able to save a few dollars.

Are you feeling a little bit secure, thinking that if that rainy day comes, you will have something to tide you over? Were you going to a decent doctor about that pain, now that you have the money saved up? Or were you planning to buy some much needed furniture? Whatever you have had in mind to do with your meagre savings, it does not matter any more. The government has decided to spend YOUR SAVINGS for airplanes, battleships, tanks and guns.

It is a capitalist war, but you and you and YOU are helping to pay for it. You pay a tax on every darned thing you buy—and that money goes for war. You and your husband pay an income tax on your miserable wages—if you don't now, you will soon—and that money goes for war. And now, from the Treasury Department, comes the announcement of a nation-wide drive to separate people from their savings—and that money will go for WAR.

There will be issued by the Government war savings stamps and baby bonds. Tremendous public pressure will be exerted to make the poor people who have been so foolish as to try to save a little money, part from it. For the money that was to take you to the doctor or buy a new bed, Uncle Sam will build an army, navy and air force big enough to protect the profits of American capitalists throughout the world.

Yes, your savings will go TO PROTECT THE PROFITS OF PROFITEERS—not to save democracy. You can't even have the comfort of knowing your money is being used for a good cause. Such an eminent authority on the nature of war as War-President Woodrow Wilson himself let the cat out of the bag when he said:

"Is there a man or a woman—let me say is there a child—who does not know that the seeds of war in the modern world are industrial and commercial rivalry?"

You have every right, working women, to be good and mad!

From the Diary of a Migratory Worker

(Continued from Last Issue)

Three weeks' work picking tomatoes and it's near time for frost. We left the tomatoes to pick English walnuts in Crow Canyon. The place we chose was a 1200 acre ranch with labor contracted by Jim Reed. In his camp there were 16 cabins and a shower house. The cabins were filled by himself and his stooges who followed him from crop to crop. The others of us pitched our tents just outside of this charmed circle. A bath and not having to go a mile for drinking water are decided advantages which we did not have in the tomato fields, and which my wife appreciated very much. Our first night we learned there is discontent with the high-handed way with which Reed handled his workers. One picker explained to me that it was a result of the lost Lodi grape strike held by UCAPAWA in 1939. He said the union spent \$20,000 bucking the growers, Bank of America, American Legion, Chamber of Commerce, etc., and the only results were many pickers gassed and 18 thrown into prison. It was his opinion the next showdown would come in the cotton fields. He was hopeful that with the discontent shown in this camp, a spontaneous demonstration would soon break here.

The price for picking and sacking English walnuts was 25 cents a sack. This seemed reasonable enough until we learned the method of picking and sacking. Each picker's family was given a row of trees at a time, a heavy wooden mallet, and a 16 foot pole. The man went ahead, climbing the trees and knocking the nuts off with the wooden mallet. Those that he was not able to knock off with the wooden mallet he had to reach with the 16 foot pole. This was slow, as the nuts were green and hard to dislodge from the trees. The women followed—a tree behind—scratching on their hands and knees picking up the nuts, sowing them and placing them in buckets. It took about 4 or 5 buckets to make a sack full. At 2 p.m. we had made 75 cents when the trucks came around picking up full sacks and leaving

empty ones. We had been hired to sack these nuts in regular 100 lb. sacks. To our surprise we found the new sacks of all sizes from 100 lbs. up. Upon our protest to Reed, he said, "You'll put them in the sacks as you come to them or else move on—and you and you (picking out several of us) I don't like your attitude. Damn you, I don't believe you want to work. Go to the office, get your pay, and clear." The rest of the slaves meekly went back to work while we headed south, looking for the cotton and some means of fighting back against slavery.

In Madera County the cotton picking was just starting. The cotton here was as nice cotton as a planter could want. The stalks ranged in height from 5 to 8 feet. They were so close together, it was like plowing through tropical foliage to walk between the rows. The price paid for picking was 85 cents per hundredweight. There was a charge of \$2.00 a week for a space to pitch your tent and for water. The pickers furnished their own sacks at a cost of \$1.00 each. The average picker picks between 200 to 300 pounds a day. If he deals with the company commissary he will have to have two or three pickers in the family to live on beans and potatoes at their prices. Usually the picking is so far from town that, the pickers not having any cash and the cotton tickets being good only at the commissary, they are forced to deal there.

In our passage through Tulare County we learned the same thing had happened with the strike there. We went just north of Bakersfield in Kern County before stopping again. Thinking maybe we could make more money picking olives than in picking cotton, we looked into it. We learned that the olive pickers had to furnish their own ladders and buckets and only received 30 cents per box for picking them. The most any couple could possibly pick was five or six boxes a day. So we stuek to cotton.

The place we stopped at had about 700 acres of cotton to be picked. There was a public camp about two miles away. This cotton was three to five feet high, which was much better from the pickers' viewpoint than the cotton in Madera County. After finishing the first picking the pickers demanded \$1.00 per hundred instead of the 85 cents we had been receiving. We won our demands only to have a damn labor contractor contract the work from under us at 90 cents per hundred. And so once more we move on.

Talk of Strike and Organization

Our third morning in the field a string of seven or eight autos drove down the road at the end of our cotton row with big slogans painted on banners. The slogans told us there was a county-wide strike on, involving the 6,000 to 7,000 cotton pickers in Madera County. Of the approximately 150 picking families in the field with us, about 75 quit outright and moved away. They said they had had experience with the California UCA-

PAWA before and they knew Stalin's little boys would let it die, but they did not want to scab on any union. The rest of us went to the camp to wait and see what would happen next. One of the men drove into the town and got the Madera and San Jose papers. They played the strike up strong, even hinting of the Governor being called upon to act as mediator. The following day there was only about 40 families left in the camp when others began to drift in. When informed of the strike they laughed and said the gins all over the county seemed to be operating as usual. Being very low in gasoline and grocery money, we drove around to try to find out something. At last we located one of the officials of the union, who told us the strike had been called off. He said they were going to attempt to organize the pickers further south.

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(Continued in Next Issue)

Boston Readers . . .

DAVID COOLIDGE

will speak on

"The Negro and the Second World War"

SUNDAY
FEBRUARY 23

At Masonic Temple
1095 Tremont St.

The meeting is being held under the auspices of the Boston Branch of the Workers Party.

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 Teachers Union Dispute

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers voted last Monday to expel several Stalinist controlled locals. The action will be submitted for final decision to a membership referendum.

What is the issue? While the official indictment includes many trivial and vague charges, the real charge is that the locals in question are controlled by the Communist Party. Now, we have not been the least hesitant in exposing the anti-democratic and disruptive activities of the Stalinists in the unions. A few weeks ago we reported the resignation of a group of progressive and liberal teachers from the New York Teachers Union, Local 5, because they could not stomach the Stalinist policy and bureaucratism.

However, this dissident group did not question the right of Local 5's several thousand members to have a union of their own, served by leaders of their own choosing and shaped according to their own policies. The group did not propose that the charter of Local 5 be lifted. Instead, faced with this particular situation, the group called upon the executive council to charter a second local in New York which would be able to organize the teachers repelled by Stalinism.

The Stalinists of course opposed this proposal. Their Howard University local submitted to national referendum an amendment to the union constitution prohibiting the executive council from chartering a second local where another local existed.

While the referendum was pending, the executive council, at a meeting previous to the one mentioned above, brought charges against Local 5. It is reported that the Howard University amendment was defeated by a majority vote of the national membership, thus clearly giving the executive council the authority to accept the request of the New York progressives and liberals.

Instead the executive council is pressing the expulsion of Local 5 and other Stalinist controlled locals. Believing it has the support of the majority of the national members (but not assured of the two-thirds majority necessary for lifting a local charter at the next national convention), the council is submitting the matter to referendum.

In its statement explaining its action the council declares that the issue involved is "democracy." To which it adds that the disputes in the union "must be placed in the context not only of America but also of the bitter struggle of democracy with totalitarianism in its several forms throughout the world."

We are, of course, opposed to totalitarianism wherever it raises its ugly head. We are no less definitely against the obvious reference to the present imperialist war as one between democracy and totalitarianism.

On our part we struggle for genuine

democracy by democratic means. And in the unions that means a struggle for free discussion and election. In our opposition to the Stalinists in the unions, we know that it is only by convincing the rank and file union members that we can destroy their poisonous influence. Any other course is not only grist to the Stalinist mill, but is contrary to the building of a healthy, democratic, militant union movement.

The action of the executive council should be defeated in the referendum.

9,000,000!

The CIO estimates that in the month of November, 1940 (the latest month for which figures are available) unemployment in the United States totalled 9,129,000. That despite considerable reemployment in the heavy industries, and despite the fact that some 400,000 young men joined the armed forces in the year before conscription.

Nine million people unemployed in the midst of a gigantic profits boom! Nine million people, and their families, without the means to eat or live decently. Nine million people who have the right to jobs—or decent government relief if jobs cannot be found for them. Nine million people who have been denied adequate relief by the Roosevelt government which has deprived the unemployed of all but a meagre pittance in order to pour the great resources of this country into war preparation.

In face of the industrial boom, many sections of the labor movement have begun to ignore the needs of the unemployed as though that problem no longer existed. The problem is still a real one, and will forever be a real one, in greater or lesser degree at any given moment, so long as the workers don't take industry and government into their own hands.

Instead of life-destroying instruments of war, let the government use its funds to feed and house the unemployed adequately.

Let all labor demand, as the mine workers are doing, the six hour day at no reduction in pay in order to absorb workers who cannot get jobs.

And forward to the day when people will not starve in the midst of plenty!

In Defense...

We live in a real democracy. Good. That's what they tell us, and for the moment we don't want to quibble about it.

But we do know that in a real democracy there is such a thing as freedom of opinion and conviction (you know—the kind of freedom Roosevelt says he wants to save in Europe). We know too, that even if it isn't always applied, the Constitution guarantees precisely such a freedom.

What, then, about the conscientious objectors who out of religious or political conviction oppose the war and therefore refuse to serve in the war machine?

Last week, Judge Alfred C. Cox sentenced two C.O.'s to two years in jail after a fifty minutes' trial. What had they done so heinous that it warranted a stiff jail sentence? They had refused to register for the draft because it was against their convictions—and so notified the authorities.

Now, as we explained in LABOR ACTION some time back, we disagree with the conscientious objectors. We believe their convictions to be wrong, ineffectual and deceptive. At best, theirs is a futile program from which no concrete anti-boss-war results can come. At worst, theirs is a program which actually interferes with the adequate conduct of a militant anti-war struggle by creating confusion and spreading deception.

Still, they are, in our opinion, democratically entitled to hold to their false conviction. We, in the working class anti-war movement, take it upon ourselves to point out to the working class wherein conscientious objection is erroneous, why it should not be adopted. But when the C.O.'s come up against the much-flaunted "democracy" of this land, when the "democratic" courts seek to put them in jail, then we rise to their defense.

In the punishment meted out to the two C.O.'s you have a preview of war-time rule in the United States once we are officially in the war—which will soon be accomplished, if Roosevelt has his way, as it seems he will, in an even more high-handed way than his preparation for the war.

The Chinese Stalinists and Chiang Kai-Shek at Odds

By MAX STERLING

A new and major crisis has developed between Chiang Kai-Shek and the Chinese Stalinists. The Tass agency recently reported the events which gave rise to the crisis. Its report revealed that the Stalinist Fourth Route Army had lost 4,000 dead and 2,000 prisoners in a bloody

battle between it and troops of the Chinese government. The Fourth Route Army was broken up as a result of the battle and the Stalinist commander was held for trial and charged with rebellion. Tass gloomily predicted that this marked the beginning of a campaign on the part of Chiang Kai-Shek to liquidate the

main Eighth Route Army, which may result in a general civil war.

The crushing of the Fourth Route Army came after its refusal to comply with a military order issued by Chiang Kai-Shek that the Stalinist guerilla armies, numbering some 200,000 men, move out of the lower Yangtze Valley in Central China through Japanese held lines to the famine stricken areas north of the Yellow River. The position of the guerilla armies is an unenviable one. They were permitted to deploy their forces in Central China when the fighting against the Japanese armies in that region became very critical. Now that the Japanese have withdrawn from many of the interior areas, Chiang Kai-Shek, afraid that the Stalinist armies would obtain a permanent foothold in Central China, decided to give them the boot.

For some time now the Stalinists have been in a "united front" with Chiang Kai-Shek and his party, the Kuomintang. In this "united front" the Stalinists occupied a completely subordinate role. The Communist Party existed by Chiang Kai-Shek's sufferance as a semi-legal party. The only legal party in China is the government party, the Kuomintang. On orders from Moscow, the Chinese Stalinists accepted this one-sided relationship in the interest of Kremlin diplomacy.

Chiang Kai-Shek treated the Stalinist guerilla armies in accordance with this lackey relationship. Although they are supposed to have the standing of government armies, they have been without medical supplies for the past 14 months and without pay for the past three months. Under the terms of the "united front" they must accept the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuomintang. They are barred from criticizing the government and they have "suspended" the class struggle.

Appalling Conditions

They do this in spite of appalling conditions in China that cry out loudly for a remedy. Robert Neville, PM's special correspondent in China, writes, for example, that in Chungking, the capital of China (it is much worse in other sections), the cost of living has risen from six to ten times in the past six months, while the Chinese workers' wages are more or less stationary. The high prices are not caused by a lack of foodstuffs. For example, the rice crops have been very good, but hoarding and profiteering have resulted in fantastic prices.

The Chiang Kai-Shek government is financing the war by borrowing from the bankers, instead of taxing them. The government has been issuing paper money without any backing. Result: an inflationary situation. It is for this reason that Washington has had to earmark half of the latest \$100,000,000 loan to bolster up the skidding Chinese currency. Roosevelt has dispatched Administrative Assistant Lauchlin Currie to Chungking to study the menace of Chinese inflation.

The fortunes made by the Chinese bankers, landlords, militarists and capitalists out of their hoarding and profiteering activities are either reinvested in these activities or are sent abroad for safekeeping. As a consequence there is a shortage of capital. One highly placed Chinese was recently accused of sending as much as 17,000,000 American dollars to the United States. One well known Chinese family alone is said to have as much as \$50,000,000 in American banks.

It is difficult to say at this time whether the new break between the Stalinists and Chiang Kai-Shek will be "healed" on Chiang Kai-Shek's terms or will lead to the Stalinists assuming the role of champions of a "new class struggle" in China. The telegrams that Chiang Kai-Shek has received from Stalinist supporters and fronts like Madame Sun Yat Sen, the Friends of China, the American Youth Congress, etc., urging him to mend the breach while hailing him as the leader of the Chinese nation, demonstrate that the Stalinists, at least, are in the mood for a compromise.

Chiang Kai-Shek, of course, is determined to have his way, especially since increased British and American backing is making him more independent of Moscow's aid. Whether the Chinese Stalinists will accept Chiang Kai-Shek's decree to keep them in isolation and away from Central China will be decided, of course, in Moscow. A few days ago the Tokyo radio quoted a report from Shanghai that 25 Soviet delegates and officials to the Chungking government had "suddenly" left for Moscow as a result of the rift between Chiang Kai-Shek and the Chinese Stalinists.

What will be decided in Moscow will depend on the latest turn in the Kremlin's foreign policy. If Stalin is coming to terms with Tokyo then Moscow's need of Chiang Kai-Shek will be less, and the stand against him by the Chinese Stalinists will become firmer. If the opposite should turn out to be the case, then we can expect the Chinese Stalinists to prostrate themselves even more before Chiang Kai-Shek. The coming events will soon show how the Kremlin has decided. However, it is certain that whatever the decision is, it will have no relation to the needs of suffering and struggling Chinese masses.

Our Readers

Take the Floor...

ATTENTION TO THIS URGENT PLEA!

To the LABOR ACTION and to the Editor,

We are members of cannery, agricultural packing workers allied workers of America in this organization Local (we withhold the local number for obvious reasons—Ed.). About half of us out here in the sharecroppers camp can't hardly get bread to help our children. We are suffering. I myself and my little boy is in a suffering condition. My little boy hasn't got fittin clothes to wear. Can you please help us.

Please put this report in the paper. Maybe some one will help us and please answer soon.

From your sister,

Mrs. N.

(We add our own appeal to that spoken by Sister N. We cannot publish Sister N.'s address but LABOR ACTION will transmit such help as is offered by our readers. Please act quickly! The need is great—Ed.)

WANTS A SHOP PAPER IN BREWSTER PLANT

Editor:

I don't think that your reporter in the article in the Feb. 3 issue of LABOR ACTION, was right in heading his article "CIO Workers March on Every Front." I think this column should have been headlined "CIO Workers Held Back on Every Front by the Union Leadership." Take the case of the recent Brewster contract. This contract was shoved down our throats by the union officials (and the same "boys" have the nerve to try to run for office in our next union election, being held this week!)

At a general membership meeting held a few days before the contract was accepted we made it plain by a unanimous vote that at the very least we wanted a contract exactly like Vultee's. All the brothers at the meeting felt that if we couldn't get that we were ready to go out on strike. I remember quite clearly some of the boys saying, "Let's give 'em 72 hours," or "NO, make it 48." Do you think that with the millions of dollars of government contracts that Brewster has, that we would have stayed out more than a couple of days? Nuts!

I'm from Missouri, and it'll take a helluva lot of talking to prove to me that the way the Brewster contract was handled by the union officials, hasn't also been used in other unions. If it wasn't for that, I'm sure that strike news would have taken up so much space that most papers would have had to leave out their society column (or maybe that's more important).

The letters you have been printing from Brewster workers shows that we in Brewster need a local shop paper. I know damn well that most of the brothers want to see such a paper. The brothers who have

written to your paper (and whose grievances I agree with), including myself and probably a lot more, would like to see these letters printed in our own paper, instead of an outside labor paper, because I don't think that all of our grievances should be made public. We should be able to work out our own answers. I know we have the money to print such a paper, once or twice a month, and why it hasn't been done before, I don't know. I would be willing to bet my last cent that it's probably the fault of the old executive board, since they have been running everything for at least a year now. If we do get such a paper, it should be handled by and for the membership, and not by these boys.

Thank you.

B.

SAYS IT COULD BE TOLD IN LESS WORDS

Dear Comrades:

In the December issue of the New International appeared an article, "Is Russia a Workers' State?" in which the author is struggling to tell us that it is not. I agree with the article, all right, but not with the way it was written. It took 14,000 words to tell us what a good trained theoretician could have told us on a penny postcard. So here is my version of the subject matter, and if you think it is worth the space in LABOR ACTION, then print it.

In Germany, the means of production and distribution are privately owned and controlled by the police power—the Nazi party—in the interests of the capitalist state; therefore, we'll call this system State Capitalism.

In Russia the means of production and distribution are collectively owned and controlled by the police power—the OGPU—in the interests of the bureaucracy; therefore, we'll call this system State Socialism.

In the so-called democracies the means of production and distribution are privately owned and privately controlled; the police power is being used against the workers only in wage and industrial disputes; therefore, we'll call this system Capitalist Democracy, or Capitalist Anarchy—whichever you choose.

In the United States, the New Deal is a Capitalist Democracy, whereas the era before the New Deal was a Capitalist Anarchy.

The "approaching proletarian revolution will bring social changes in all capitalist countries while in Russia the change will be political; therefore, we'll call for a social revolution in all countries, except in Russia, where there'll be a political revolution.

There it is in a nutshell.

Yours for theory, but more action.

S. D.

Carmel City, Pa.

Dear Mary:

I wonder how closely you and Joe have been following the hearings on the "lease-lend" bill. It is interesting that those in favor of it in Congress stated at the very beginning that they could have passed it then, but that they wanted to get unity on it before it was passed. And the hearings have been conducted not only before the Foreign Affairs Committees of the House and Senate, but only on the floor of Congress, but have been conducted over the radio and in newspapers—of course in the case of the two latter, a one-sided hearing more or less. Every person in the United States, I guess, whose name is known, has been interviewed on the subject. It sure has had a hearing. And the purpose of all this furor has been one—to mobilize the people for war. Any thinking person knows that if the United States sends over arms and ammunition, the next to go will be the men. The last war proved that.

Who believes that the industrialists of the U. S. are going to be so big-hearted that they are giving these things to England. They'll get paid for them, of that there is no doubt. And the workers of England and the U. S. will be the ones to pay. There must have been some arguments before the House Foreign Affairs Committee about taking over English possessions as security—the whole report wasn't given, but Knox's answer to one question was: "Don't try to put on pressure now to get the British possessions in the West Indies; they'll be ours one day by their willing consent. We don't have to drive a hard bargain now." This was reported in the New York Times. You can imagine what the basis of that discussion was.

There were two animal stories reported in the paper this past week which made me think a bit. One, the story of the heroism of a dog which slept by its mistress as she lay in a ditch with her newly-born baby. The ability of a newspaper to get sentimental over the intelligence of a dog warming and guarding its mistress is truly remarkable. But they forgot the real story—the story of the woman, trying to reach the hospital, slipping into a ditch and giving birth to a child. You know—the richest country in the world, and the expectant mother walking in the rain, trying to get to the hospital or to a neighbor to help her. It happened in Oklahoma.

And the other story about the "humaneness of the Major" of one of the Army camps. The quotes are from the Associated Press story. You probably read about the dog that was transported by airplane to its master because it was dying of loneliness. Well, anyway, I like animals, but the "humaneness" of an Army Major whose main business is training men to murder and be murdered is just a little bit too much to swallow.

Sis is getting married next week-end. They've found the couple of rooms and got sheets and towels and are all set. Your package came and Sis is more than pleased. She'll write you soon to thank you.

My job is still lousy, part-time and not enough of that. But I keep at it, hoping for the best. And the best to all of you.

Bally.

—THE NEGRO'S FIGHT—
A Square Deal For the Negro In the Unions!
 By JACK MANN

Unless the trade unions awaken to the dangerous situation which is developing as a result of the discrimination against Negroes in industry—particularly the war industries—they may soon find the Negro worker completely disillusioned with trade unionism and an easy prey for the bosses who will use him as a weapon against the trade unions in a strike or to forestall unionization.

This situation has never been as acute as it is today. The increase in employment as a result of America's preparations for war has left the Negro worker just where he was. He is still refused work on the pretext that "it would lead to trouble" to have Negroes and "whites" work side by side. This, in spite of the fact that black and white workers have had no difficulty in the steel, auto, coal and other industries where they have worked together for a great many years.

By refusing to take up the cudgels for Negroes and in many cases barring them from membership, the trade unions are alienating the Negroes, making them hostile to unionism, and creating a division between black and white workers which will be utilized by the bosses to the detriment of both.

It does not answer the problem for many unions to point to the fact that they have Negro members, while they meekly accept the boss restrictions against employing Negroes. A lot of good it does a Negro painter, mechanic, waiter, etc., to be a member of a union when his union does not defend his right to a job on equal terms with his white brothers.

Unions Must Fight for the Negro

The trade unions must do more than merely "accept" Negro workers into membership. It must FIGHT to get them jobs without discrimination. This means forcing the bosses to accept Negro workers on an equal basis with white. It also means a determined struggle to break down every form of discrimination against Negroes by the unions.

The failure of the unions to do anything about this problem is leading such Negro organizations as the NAACP and the Urban League to press for federal legislation which would give the government the right to intervene in the internal life of the union. It is true that these organizations are motivated only with the thought of protecting the interests of the Negro.

But how can a government which sanctions and fosters Jim-Crowism everywhere be depended on to defend Negroes against these very practices? No, this is a job for the trade unionists themselves! The progressive trade unionists, both AFL and CIO, must IMMEDIATELY start a campaign to guarantee the Negro a square deal. This means complete equality in every respect.

A Complete About-Face Needed

Unless this is done, unless the trade unions make a complete about face in their treatment of Negro workers—they are in for a mess of trouble. Negro workers who have been pushed around by the unions, denied work and protection, and forced into the most menial jobs will not be very sympathetic to the trade unions when they are engaged in a battle with the bosses. The chances are that in such a situation the bosses will take advantage of the division by using Negro labor to smash the unions, as they have done on countless other occasions.

There can be no united labor solidarity until the black worker is integrated with full rights in the trade union movement. The past few years have witnessed the growth of many Negro unions throughout the country as a result of the "lily-white" policy of the AFL bureaucrats and the passivity of the rank and file in standing up for the rights of their black brothers. This development has led to bitterness and hostility between black and white workers, from which only the bosses have benefitted.

It is now up to the white trade unionists to show their black brothers that they are seriously taking up the problem of integrating the Negro in the trade union movement with full and equal rights.

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 _____

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