

FOR A NEW YEAR OF MILITANT LABOR STRUGGLE!

ONWARD TOWARD SOCIALIST FREEDOM!

British Empire Goes Into Hock -- U. S. Is Pawnbroker

By SHERMAN STANLEY

The British Empire is going into hock, and your Uncle Sam is the pawnbroker. That's the meaning of the diabolically clever scheme cooked up by President Roosevelt and his advisers in the current "All Out for England" campaign.

Suppose you were driving along in your automobile and it suddenly went off the side of the road into a deep and muddy ditch. You tried hard, but couldn't get it out by yourself. To make things worse, a bunch of tough kids came around and starting throwing heavy rocks through your windows. Then, in the nick of time someone came along in a car and offered to help you get out of the jam you were in. Naturally you would accept the offer—even if a couple of catches were attached to it.

Odell Waller Gets Stay of Execution

Odell Waller, Negro sharecropper, sentenced to die in the electric chair on December 27, has been granted a stay of execution until March 14, pending appeal to the Virginia Supreme Court.

Waller was condemned to death for killing a cheating landowner who reached for his "gun pocket" when Waller insisted upon getting his share of the crop and protested the eviction of his family from their home.

He was convicted by a jury of ten planters, a business man and a carpenter—all whites. In the courts of Virginia, these are the "right" sort of people to dispense justice, since Negro and white sharecroppers can

neither vote nor serve on juries because of the poll-tax requirements of the state.

The Workers Defense League, which is handling the case with the cooperation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is making the appeal to the Virginia Supreme Court. They have secured the services of Thomas F. Finerty, prominent liberal attorney who was chief counsel for Tom Mooney.

The Workers Defense League, acting through attorney Thomas H. Stone, charges unfair selection of the jury from the wealthier elements in the community, thereby preventing a trial by Waller's peers.

THE WORLD AT WAR

The Class Struggle Goes On As 3,000 Garment Workers Strike a Lancashire Factory

By MAX STERLING

While Winston Churchill broadcasts a plea to overthrow their dictator to the Italian people, 3000 Lancashire garment workers are on strike in the heart of England's textile center. This action is in clear defiance of an order under the Emergency Powers Act, prohibiting war-time strikes.

The Lancashire workers are evidently not paying too much attention to the Prime Minister's statement that after the war the "advantages and privileges which hitherto have been enjoyed only by the few shall be far more widely enjoyed."

These workers believe in defending their hard earned rights now. They struck when a factory boss refused to fire a worker who had been

expelled from the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers for speeding up the work in the factory. The capitalist press in the United States has attempted to ridicule and slander these garment workers for their courageous action, but the workers in the United States who have had their own experiences in fighting the vicious speedup system will appreciate and applaud this action on the part of their brothers in Great Britain.

CLASS UNITY?

Despite the strictest censorship, news leaked out which shows that "class unity" in the belligerent countries, totalitarian or "democratic", is a fiction. In England it is revealed by the immense profits that the British ruling class is making out of the war, by the dissatisfaction over the scandalous air raid shelter situation, by the demands of the British workers for higher wages to meet the ever rising costs of living and by the fact that, in spite of a certain labor covering, the controls of the nation are firmly in the hands of the most reactionary exploiters and enemies of labor.

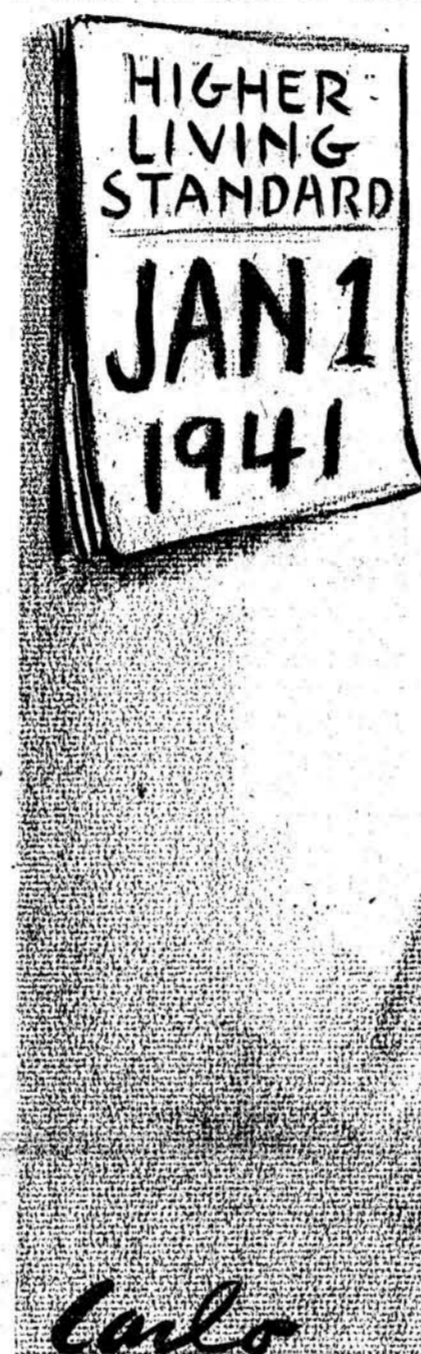
The appointment of Lord Halifax as Ambassador to the United States and of Captain David Margesson, chief Tory whip in Parliament, as the new Minister of War are examples of the real weight exercised by the Tories in the life of the country. To the arch reactionary Lord Halifax is assigned the task of bringing the United States into the war on the side of Great Britain. It is significant that Washington thoroughly approves of this choice.

NEWS FROM INDIA

From India, where the British Tories are attempting to crush the movement for independence and against the war, comes the news that Mahatmanth Roy, Lovestone's international colleague, has sponsored a movement to win the war for the British. This new movement has been organized as the Radical Democratic People's Party. The conference recently concluded by it has resolved "to form a national democratic bloc, composed of organized opponents of the present Congress party policy and to fight fascism in India and abroad from motives of the country's

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New Year's Resolution No. 1



What U.S. Gets

This, in essence, is what the American imperialism is about to do to the British Empire and its center, England. Shortly before he was murdered, Leon Trotsky remarked that the first act of American militarism would be to take firm possession of the mortally wounded, dying British Empire. This prediction is being verified before our eyes as the utter dependence of England upon its cold, hard - bargaining "ally" increases from day to day.

Let us examine the facts.

Already, the United States has accomplished the following:

1) Supplied huge amounts of food and material to Britain at cash prices that have yielded substantial profits to American industrialists.

2) Through these cash transactions, Britain has been forced to liquidate (that is, in effect, to sell to American bankers and stockbrokers) over 50% of its holdings and securities here. An Englishman, let us say, is forced to give up his stock in an American railway company for an American made tank. The tank produces nothing and may be destroyed in battle—but Uncle Sam has made a profit on the tank and now has the profit-yielding stock. The balance of British holdings here will follow the same liquidation process in rapid order.

3) The British, hampered by the war and shipping losses, have lost valuable commercial customers—particularly in South America. America, on the other hand, is gaining control of the Argentine market and

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Brewster Aircraft Union Signs Contract Wins 12c Hourly Increase for Low-Paid Workers in Two Plants

Special to Labor Action

NEW YORK CITY, Dec. 24—The Brewster Aircraft Union, UAW, moved into the national limelight today by winning a 12¢ hourly increase for men making 50¢ an hour. The raise goes into effect by stages—all the 50¢ minimum men receive 55¢ immediately, and after four months employment, will receive 62¢ per hour. The Brewster men thus become the first group of aircraft workers on the East Coast to receive a 62¢ an hour minimum.

Among other gains, the contract, which covers some 6,000 men in the Long Island City and New Jersey plants of the Brewster Aero. Co., provides for a general 6¢ increase for all men, a check-off system for the collection of union dues and a week's vacation with pay for men with one year of service at Brewster, an additional day to be added for

each year of service up to two weeks. There is also a stipulation that draftees will get their jobs back when they return to civilian life.

A comparison of the Brewster union contract with the Vultee contract reveals that in many respects the Vultee man managed to obtain a bit more. The Vultee workers received a 62½¢ minimum to go into effect after three months of service; five days sick leave with pay; a week's bonus for conscripted men, etc. On the other hand, the Brewster union has a closed shop and a check-off system for dues that will be mighty valuable in getting better reclassifications (more pay) and making it possible to strengthen the union in every way.

Important for all unionists to note is that both the Vultee and Brewster contracts contain clauses committing

the unions to endless red tape entanglements by arbitration boards. Many militant unions in the past have been ruined by government arbitration boards. The overwhelming majority of Brewster men who voted for this clause were not aware of its meaning.

The decision to accept the contract was arrived at through a secret ballot, taken by the union.

The contract was signed after weeks of negotiations, and after a union membership had rejected an earlier contract offered by the company. The new agreement includes several improvements over the one turned down by the men a week before the final balloting.

In the voting, the Long Island City employees rejected the new pact by a vote of 1,800 to 1,260. However, at Newark the vote favored the con-

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Let us start the new year right!

Let us start by affirming before all else our working class independence, our determination to fight unitedly and militantly in our own interest, and not in the interest of the boss class.

The year just passed has been a year of terrible darkness. Almost all of the "civilized" world is now engaged in the senseless slaughter of imperialist war. Because the profiteers and overlords of the world seek to fatten their imperialist holdings, millions of proletarian men, women and children are daily being sacrificed in a cause not their own.

Here in the United States, this has been a year of reactionary legislation. Anti-alien bills, many of them with specific anti-labor clauses, and almost all of them with anti-labor implications, have been passed by the Congress and signed by the President. Many bills, openly aimed against unionism and labor standards, are now pending in Congress, waiting enactment—unless labor can force their defeat by the threat of organized action.

Behind this reactionary legislation stands the gruesome shadow of formal entry into the World War. Step by step, step by step, the United States has been more deeply involved in the war by the politicians of both Republican and Democratic hue. Months ago, long before the year was out, Roosevelt signed a secret pact with Great Britain, and an open pact with the British dominion of Canada, by which the United States actually, if unofficially, entered the war. And before this year was out, 17,000,000 young men were compelled by Congressional action to register for military service, and the first detachment of these were sent to training camps.

This is an unpopular war, this war to which the masses of American people have been committed. Unpopular—not with the financiers and industrialists whose pockets bulge with the profit of war preparation and who greedily anticipate the greater loot of military conquest—but with the great mass of American people.

That is why Roosevelt had to work in secret. That is why the people of the United States do not know what dastardly agreements have been entered into except for what they can piece together from newspaper half-truths and accomplished facts: the "sale" of destroyers for a "lease" on naval bases; the pledge to defend Canada in the event of attack; the proposed loan to England, etc., etc. That is why the propaganda machine of press and radio has been vigorously churning—working at

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Mexico Frees Sylvia Ageloff

Mexican authorities have announced the release of Sylvia Ageloff, held for questioning in the murder of Leon Trotsky by the GPU agent, Frank Jackson. Everyone connected with the case—members of the Trotsky house-hold, police investigators, and so on—knew from the start that Sylvia was completely innocent. In fact, the Judge in charge of the case ordered her release over a month ago. This order was rescinded by the former prosecuting attorney who wished to question her further. Thus, her release establishes beyond the slightest possibility of doubt what all her friends in the Workers Party knew all along: her innocence.

Sylvia cooperated with the police in establishing the links between Jackson and the GPU, contradicting his testimony where he sought to obscure facts, pinning him down at each turn of the case with what facts she knew about him.

Sylvia's plans are not known—whether she will stay in Mexico or return to the United States. In, after the grueling experience of the last few months, she will probably first rest for a while and then continue the work she has undertaken of exposing before all labor the role of the GPU in the murder of the great revolutionist, Leon Trotsky.

Reactionaries Beaten in Cafeteria Union Election

Special to Labor Action

NEW YORK CITY—Last week's elections in the Cafeteria Employees Union, Local 302, brought a clean sweep for the coalition ticket of Progressives and Stalinists. The United Union Ticket, including the United Progressive Group, the United Spanish Workers Club, the Independent Hellenic Club, and the United Rank and File Club (Stalinist), was opposed by the United Right Ticket, a bloc of all the right wing elements in the union.

The election results for general officers were:

President: Costas Dritsas (R & F) 2851; William Mesevitch 1861.

Sec'y-Treas: Sam Kramberg (R & F) 2692; Walter Conran 1905.

General Organizer: Larry Phillips (Prog. Gr.) 2635; William Kincheloe 1801.

Labor Chief: Juan Avilas (Spanish Club) 2763; Chris Panos 1755.

In Branch A, the United Union Ticket slate carried by approximately 1700 votes to 1300 for the right wing. In Branch B, the chain stores, the vote was overwhelming, 950 to 350.

The coalition represented a complete regrouping of forces in the union. Previously the union administration had been a combination of the Rank and File Club (Stalinist) and the Culinary Club (Right Wing). The Spanish and Progressive Clubs had constituted an opposition, which for militancy and advanced program had no equal in the culinary locals of New York.

Last May, in a special presidential election, the opposition elected Kincheloe, member of the Progressive Group, over Dritsas. After the election, however, it was discovered that Kincheloe had made a deal with the Culinary Club and the right wing machine throughout the New York locals. The new president instituted a policy of appeasement of the bosses' association, failed to enforce unemployment relief, and began an attack on the Progressives as "Trotskyites". By an overwhelming majority, the Progressive Group repudiated Kincheloe.

Nevertheless, the combination of Kincheloe with the Culinary Club, and the vicious red-baiting and attacks on "foreign elements" by the enlarged right wing, caused confusion among the members. Under these conditions, the Spanish and Progress-

sive Groups, fearing that three tickets in the election would result in a victory for the right wing and a purge of all militants, made a coalition with the Stalinists. They felt that a right wing victory in the strongest local of the International would give an impetus to the drive of the reactionaries in all the locals.

A Serious Error

Unfortunately, in forming a coalition with the Stalinists, the Progressives did not adequately present their own independent position, resulting in an apparent fusion of the two forces into one solid group. For example, in the program of the bloc, it is stated that its supporters had been "fighters against the racketeers; fighters against the Pincus-Williams-Epstein regime; fighters for the interests of the union and against the bosses." However, as the Progressives have always correctly charged, this is not true of the Stalinists who defended the racketeers in Local 302.

Even though a bloc with the Stalinists in a union is permissible under certain conditions, it is impermissible for progressives to cover up the true record of their allies or fail to make their own independent position crystal clear. Undoubtedly, many

progressive workers were confused by the coalition and either did not vote at all, or, as in the case with some, voted for the right wing. On the other hand, the Daily Worker was thus able to distort the meaning of the election and to claim a victory for the Stalinist program, a defeat for those who attacked the Stalin-Hitler Pact, and the role of Russia in Poland and Finland.

The Socialist Appeal, organ of the Socialist Workers Party, reports the United Union Ticket as the "progressive slate" and only refers to the fact that it was a coalition with the Stalinists in a backhanded manner: "The right wingers yell loudest about the Trotskyists and Stalinists united against them. The United Union Ticket answers that it is proud of the fact that it is composed of workers of different political beliefs as well as many nationalities and races, who have united on a program of militant unionism and against the corrupt right wing officials" (Dec. 21, 1940). And that's all! There is no criticism of the Stalinist record in the union, no indication of the limited nature of the bloc; no warning as to the future course of the Stalinists.

Is the Socialist Appeal for a "non-aggression pact"—an agreement

against mutual criticism—in a united front with the Stalinists or anyone else? And especially by a political paper? Such a policy contains within it grave dangers for the development of the progressive movement in the trade unions, and on the political field.

The main job that confronts the Progressives in Local 302 is to push for the carrying out of its program, and the building of the union and its own Club on this basis. As was stated at the last mass meeting of the Spanish and Progressive Clubs, before the coalition, only these forces who have waged a consistent struggle for progressive unionism, can carry out a program in the interests of the members. The newly elected Progressive officials, and the Progressive and Spanish Clubs, must be on guard against new reactionary moves by their election allies, the Stalinists. When the latter "forget" the promises contained in the joint program, as they will attempt to do, the Progressives must take the matter to the members for decision. Now that the right wing has been defeated, the struggle for militant unionism will primarily be a struggle against the Stalinists.

With the Labor Unions— On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

GIRDLER PLAYS SANTA—UNWILLINGLY

Tom Girdler, tough guy of Republic Steel, "played Santa Claus to 7,000 workers who had been fired during the 'little steel' strike of 1937..." says the railroad workers paper, Labor. The NLRB ordered dirty-mouth-Tom to pay \$7,000,000 in back pay to these discharged workers. As is the custom with the industrial big shots, Girdler appealed the decision of the Board all the way up to the Supreme Court. He lost.

Last week Tough Tom sent out \$375,000 in checks covering vacation pay which the fired workers would have gotten the past three years if they had been slaving away in Tom's

mill. There will be more later, just as quickly as the NLRB accountants can figure out how much is coming to each of the 7,000 discharged men.

Girdler is the guy who said during the days of the NIRA that he would quit and grow potatoes before he would abide by that act. Now we find him paying out \$375,000 and ordered to hand over millions more to men he fired because they dared join a union and fight against his thugs and company union. Tom doesn't mind the money so much, he just hates like hell to be forced to give anything to his workers.

A KICK IN THE PANTS FOR COMPANY UNIONISM

John Pew's Sun Shipbuilding and Drydock Company is presumably a business for the building of ships. But it was brought out at an NLRB hearing last week that the company shops were used also for the manufacture of blackjacks, nine inches long, and made of rubber covered wire with a lead head. These "hand-ands" as they are called, were used by Pew's gorillas to club union men on strike in his shipyard. Besides the plug-uglies that Pew hired, he had a company union. All this was revealed at the hearing by a "Aggie" Campbell who at one time was the commanding officer of the Sun gorillas.

but all that he ever made was black-jacks. He also served as chairman of the "grievance committee" he said. For this "work" "Aggie" was paid \$7.50 a day and expenses.

Shipbuilding Pew is the brother of the other Pew who is a leader and boss in the Republican Party in Pennsylvania. He is also the person who wanted this NLRB hearing postponed because to have the hearing now would interfere with the "defense" program. Pew doesn't want any worker's rights mixed up with his patriotism. The real truth is that Pew knew that what would be interfered with was his thugs, gorillas and company union. That's why he didn't want the hearing.

BLACKJACKS FOR "NATIONAL DEFENSE?"

Two more company unions have been knocked out on the railroads. The Boilermakers, Sheet Metal Workers and Blacksmiths unions, by a vote of 303 to 121, kicked the pants off a company union on the Lehigh Valley Railroad. This makes the Lehigh Valley shops 100% organized. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks cleaned out an 18 year old company union on the Norfolk and Western. It's really funny how the workers keep voting for real unions every time they get the chance unmolested and where they understand the value of trade unionism. The bosses try to make us believe that to join a union is to waste our money and give it to a

gang of "outsiders" whose only interest in the workers is the wages they draw. The argument of the bosses is that the workers should let the boss form and finance a nice "employers association" that will take care of all our interests without any cost or inconvenience to us. They will appoint the chairman of the grievance committee, the secretary and the company treasurer will be the finance officers of the "union." Then all the workers have to do is to remain at their machines and not waste time running to the office complaining about hours and wages. All of this will be taken care of by the bosses' man in the company union.

WAS THERE A WORKERS' SON AMONG THEM?

High School YMCA students, organized into what is called "Hi-Y" clubs, held an assembly recently at Albany, New York. This assembly, and the things it did, are an illustration of just how reactionary middle class youth can be when under the influence of such a conservative and reactionary organization as the YMCA.

"This evidently means that the workers will remain at work, wait for the board's decision and abide by it no matter what that decision may be.

Not satisfied with this, the "Hi-Y" youth went further. They passed a "bill" calling for the fingerprinting of everyone past 8 years old; the prints to be filed with the state Bureau of Fingerprinting and the FBI.

The assembly had several "bills" up for consideration. By a vote of 95 to 30 the assembly adopted a "bill" to "prohibit" strikes in New York state rearmament plants used by the federal government in the "defense program." According to these high school youths the government should appoint a mediation board to take the place of the State Labor Relations Board. This board would assume charge within two weeks of the outbreak of a dispute and render a decision within 60 days.

These youth evidently do not understand that such a proposal eliminates not only the SLRB, but the unions also. But perhaps like their leaders in the YMCA, they are against unions. The mediation board will take "charge" and "render a deci-

It is clear that the majority of these youth do not come from trade union families or even from workers' families that are not in trade unions. They are the sons and daughters of little businessmen and other middle class parents. If they were workers' sons and daughters they would have more intelligence and would not be playing around with serious questions in such nonsensical and stupid fashion.

For Labor Action—
Join Workers Party

Commissioner Hillman Swallows A Mountain and Chokes on a Pebble

American capitalism, under the slogan of "national defense," has launched a vicious campaign against the trade-union movement. It anticipates, and correctly so, that the workers will demand a share in the enormous war profits.

In recent weeks, Congress has worked itself into a frenzy against labor leaders, collective bargaining, strikes, etc. Representative Howard W. Smith, for example, has introduced a bill which would make it possible to give "defense" contracts to violators of the Wagner Act if they have "appealed" NLRB decisions—an attempt to legalize an existing practice.

No one has been spared: Sidney Hillman, who along with Knudsen, Knox, and Stimson makes up the Big Four who head the newly formed Office for Production Management for Defense (replacing the Defense Commission) was denounced for "his part" in recent strike activities. Representative Leland Ford, his critic, was answered by Representative Voorhis who pointed out that his fellow Congressman from California failed to distinguish between "subversive" and "patriotic" elements in the labor movement.

A "Reliable" Man

Voorhis is right. Sidney Hillman, by his very position, is committed to act against the interests of the trade-union movement. Roosevelt has no doubts about Hillman's "reliability." In a recent press conference he insisted it was fair to assume that Mr. Hillman will agree with the three other members of the Big Four. No votes will be taken.

The Defense Commission (now the OPM) has repeatedly assured the trade unions that "all work carried on as part of the 'defense' (our quotes—Ed.) program should comply with federal statutory provisions effecting labor." The Wagner Act is one of the most important of the "statutory provisions." Nevertheless, war orders have gone to firms well known as Wagner Act violators.

The Henry Ford Co. is notorious for its anti-union stand. It never has obeyed the Wagner Act. There are

six NLRB decisions outstanding against it, one of which has been upheld by the United States Circuit Court. In spite of its declared policy, the Defense Commission, one day after the presidential election, gave Ford a \$122,000,000 contract for 3,000 airplane engines. Hillman said nothing. The Commission explained that the "need for airplane engines is desperate." On November 27, the Commission awarded Ford his second contract: \$2,000,000 for light passenger cars and trucks. I.F. Stone, in the Nation for December 14, reveals that the Defense Commission and the War Department went out of their way to favor Ford and are at present negotiating with Ford experts in order to change the technical specifications which Ford is not equipped to meet.

Feeble Protest

Sidney Hillman decided to protest—verbally. After all, he has to do something in his role as "labor's man" on the Commission. The issue was comparatively safe—only \$2,000,000 involved and he had shown that he was safe by keeping his mouth shut about the \$122,000,000 contract. Hillman jested that "the award carried no stipulation for compliance with the labor laws and particularly the Wagner Act." But the earlier and larger award had no such stipulation either. Nor have a good many other contracts given to various corporations.

A boss' committee is organized to serve the bosses. If a labor-leader joins such a committee, accepts its intent, he too, by the very nature of the committee, must serve the bosses. A feeble and occasional protest doesn't change the situation very much. Hillman, may now and then object on small matters. On the larger matters he is committed to working with Messrs. Knudsen, Knox and Stimson as willing collaborator. And that's something for labor to realize when next Hillman urges a "united sacrifice" for "defense."

LET THE PEOPLE
VOTE ON WAR!

Dear Mary:

Was glad to get your letter. You are sure right about one thing. The Vultee boys established their union, and the fact that they can strike. That in itself is a tremendous victory. Even around here in the east the boys are talking about it. There's a lesson there they won't forget.

I've just finished reading another book—something like the one I wrote you about last week. The House of Morgan, by Lewis Corey. Try it—it shows how Morgan built up his banking system. And for novels along the same line, read The Octopus by Frank Norris, and The Financier by Theodore Dreiser. They show America when she was growing rich, building up the industries of today so that the wealth is now in the hands of the 60 Families, and 10 million haven't jobs. A crazy arrangement to say the least.

I suppose you are all messed up with Christmas. It's fakery becomes more and more obvious. The stores with their glittering counters filled, bright-eyed kids racing madly from Toyland to Toyland and mothers desperately wondering if they'll be able to get that scooter or doll when the kids need underwear! And right in the center of the city—a big sign "A Merry American Christmas". Can you beat it? Hypocrisy and misery all around. I should think the Christmas Carol "Peace on Earth" would stick in their throats.

You tell Joe I'm glad things are going so well at the shop. Winning his case must have helped to strengthen the union. How does he like being on the grievance committee? I'll bet he gets madder than hell when the boss tells him not to try to run the shop. Funny a man can work at a job for 50 years and the boss still thinks he don't know anything about how it should be done. Cheer up, we'll show them some day we do. Just because a guy's got all the money is no sign he's got all the brains! Joe's got the right idea when he says that the grievance committee has got to meet regular once a week and try to coordinate the grievances of all the departments. In that way they'll get to be a sort of shop committee and everyone will know as much about the whole shop as he does about his own department.

Sis says she's getting married anyway! I expect her to come home any day now and say meet my husband! I don't blame her. The old folks say "wait till your ship comes in". But young folks today know there's no ship.

Give my best to the kids, and take care.

Sally

The Negro's Fight

By JACK MANN

The fight to obtain equal rights for Negroes who have joined, or want to join, the armed forces of the United States has been given a peculiar twist by a section of Negro "leaders" who have organized the "National Committee for Participation of Negroes in National Defense."

We have repeatedly pointed out in LABOR ACTION that we wholeheartedly support every struggle waged for complete social, political and economic equality for the Negro—including the right to serve in the army, navy and every other branch of military service on equal terms with white volunteers and draftees. BUT, this does NOT mean that we can give any support to an organization which in any way supports and approves the war plans of the boss government. And this is precisely what the National Committee seems to be doing in its campaign for Negro participation in "national defense." There is a hell of a lot of difference between protecting the interests of Negroes who have joined the army and navy because they were hungry and jobless—or even through misguided motives—and the advocacy of "national defense." Elsewhere in this issue we reprint an article by George Schuyler who shows very clearly what the present war means for the Negro.

Defend What?

The slogan of "national defense" is a means whereby the bosses and their servants in the government hope to lead the workers into the war for the greater glory and profit of Wall Street. Certainly no Negro will dare say that the war is being fought to defend "their" interests! By calling on Negroes throughout the country to organize "defense meetings," instead of condemning and opposing the war preparations of the government, the Committee gives tacit aid to the war plans of a government which persecutes and degrades them.

What in the name of common sense does the Negro have to "defend" in America today? The continued rule of the Bourbon lynchers in the south? The vicious discrimination to which they are subject in every phase of American life? The poll-tax laws which prevent them from voting? The ghettos to which they are restricted and for which they must pay artificially inflated rents in houses which would be condemned if Negroes did not live there? What else?

In their statement published in the Negro press the Committee correctly says: "White America is preparing for war... Private industry has become war industry... patterns are being set which make outcasts of Negroes... Negroes are being pushed further and further from all kinds of jobs..."

What Kind of War?

In the light of this, the next question is: What kind of war is the United States preparing for? Democracy? Then how about some democracy for the Negro here—NOW—before he is asked to die for it abroad? It is clear that the war that is being fought and that the United States is preparing to enter is not a war for "democracy," but for profit and plunder, for colonies and raw materials, for the continued oppression of the colonial peoples... What stakes does the Negro have in this war? He certainly does not want to perpetuate the rule of either of the imperialist gangs, who are both equally responsible for the dismemberment of Africa!

EVERY NEGRO MUST BE MADE TO REALIZE THAT SUPPORT OF

THIS WAR MEANS BETRAYAL OF THE COLONIES.

"National Defense" can only mean defense of the interests of the bosses of the world, including our own bosses here who have been piling up war profits of millions of dollars, while refusing to employ Negroes.

We are also in favor of a campaign—not however for the "national defense" of American or British imperialism—but for full democratic rights for the Negro in the United States. This means an uncompromising struggle against the war plans of the government and the bosses.

It is only the few Negro pensioners who get some gravy from Washington that dare to talk to Negroes about "preserving the American way of life."

The American Way of Life! Of rope and fagot—of Jim Crow—of unemployment and poverty—of one law for white men, another for black—of Elbert Williams lynched in Brownsville, Tennessee, for merely requesting the right to vote—of Odell Waller, condemned to burn in the electric chair for standing up for his rights—of the fifteen million other Negroes to whom these words only mean a continuation of discrimination, low wages, bad housing and a life apart from the rest of the nation.

"ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL"

The Selective Service Act provides "that there shall be no discrimination because of race or color." Very few Negro draftees will be inducted in January, since Uncle Sam has so far made housing provisions for WHITE ONLY. Jim Crow still rules in the land of the free...

In New York City, Williams Pickens, national field director for the NAACP, and one of the leading Negro members (with Frank Cross-waith, late of the Socialist Party) of the William Allen White Committee, now also serving as a member and secretary of Draft Board 58, received instructions that Negro draftees be sent to Harlem Hospital for examination and white men to the Lutheran Hospital. Needless to say he was pleased to discover that no discrimination was intended!

The Chicago Urban League has made a survey of the Metropolitan Chicago area where "National Defense" contracts totaling over 165 million dollars have been awarded and discovered that practically no Negroes have been employed though employment generally has increased in the industries involved. NOTE: The Council for National Defense in a recent statement on its labor policy said: "Workers should not be discriminated against because of age, sex, race or color." P.S. Several well known Negroes have recently been placed on the payroll of the Council. Their job is to integrate Negroes into the "defense program." Among them are Dr. Robert C. Weaver and Theodore (Ted) Poston.

Around the Corner

"The time will come when millions of workers engaged in producing goods for national defense will be released from that employment, when a large army of young men will have completed their military training; when the support provided by the defense program to employment in non-defense occupations will cease. In other countries similar conditions will exist, the effects of which upon this nation's domestic and foreign markets should be anticipated." (From a report at the NAM convention).

A "rosy" future indeed—unless the workers of the world decide to produce the things of life for the use of human beings.

Brewster—

(Continued from page 1)

tract, 1,170 against 161. R.J. Thomas, international president of the United Automobile Workers, to which the Brewster Local 365 is affiliated, hailed the agreement as "one of the best contracts ever negotiated with an aviation manufacturer. It means approximately \$165 added every year in each employee's envelope and an increase of about \$1,500,000 in wages without the increases that will come through reclassification."

However, there is considerable resentment among the workers at the Long Island City plant against the settlement. The company is making tremendous profits. Last Friday it received another order from the United States Navy which calls for production of more than \$16,000,000 worth of combat planes. The workers therefore expected immediate substantial wage increases and payment for holidays; real increases in pay for those working the second and third shifts. They will now get only 5c and 6c an hour more than the regular shift for an eight hour day. In several other aircraft plants, workers in these shifts get eight hours pay for six and a half hours work.

The men believe that if another membership meeting had been called before the vote was taken the contract would have been rejected, and better terms obtained from the company. They are now looking forward to general wage increases when the next reclassification period comes around, sometime in April. Above all, there is a strong feeling among them that in the future they will have to participate more actively in union affairs, particularly in negotiations with the company. (LABOR ACTION invites readers interested in the problems of the aircraft workers in New York to write in about them. All names will be kept confidential. —The Editors.)

In A Nutshell

William Knudsen, National Defense Director, summed up the practical production program of the war industries as follows. Industry's job is to turn out:

- 50,000 airplanes
- 130,000 engines
- 17,000 heavy guns
- 25,000 light guns
- 13,000 trench mortars
- 33,000,000 loaded shells
- 9,200 tanks
- 300,000 machine guns
- 400,000 automatic rifles
- 880 warships
- 200 merchant ships
- 210 training camps
- 40 government factories
- 1,200,000 trained and equipped soldiers.

And they say this is the Xmas Season!

After the first of the year, the War Department will use special forms for drafting Negro conscripts. Less chance of a mistake!

Labor Action Institute Opens January 13. Register Now!

MONDAYS

TUESDAYS

LABOR ACTION INSTITUTE

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM: History, Policies and Future
7:30 to 9:00 p.m. Instructor: ALBERT GATES

An intensive analysis of the imperialist development and policies of the United States, in order to explain the present aims of this country in the world crisis.

1. The economic basis of American imperialism.
2. American colonial policy: 1812 to 1870.
3. The beginning of the imperialist era in the United States: 1870-1898.
4. America as a world power: 1900 to 1918.
5. American imperialism in the post-war period.
6. The second imperialist war and the future of American imperialism.

THE FIRST WORLD REVOLUTION, 1917 to 1920
9:10 to 10:40 p.m. Instructor: PAUL TEMPLE

An historical study of the world-wide revolutionary upsurge which followed the World War—three years which provide a laboratory for the study of revolutionary policy and strategy.

1. Rise of the anti-war movement and regroupment of the revolutionary forces during the war.
2. The German Revolution, 1918-1920: from the Kiel mutiny to the Kapp putsch.
3. The overthrow of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
4. Revolutionary crisis in Italy; revolt in the Baltics.
5. The British Empire totters: England and the colonial world.
6. The Americas. Summary of the First World Revolution.

MARXISM AND THE WORLD TODAY
7:30 to 9:00 p.m. Instructor: JOSEPH CARTER

A course in the fundamental ideas of Marxism, studied from the point of view of present-day problems.

1. The method and outlook of Marxism.
2. The economics of American capitalism.
3. Fascism and democracy: the capitalist state.
4. Imperialism and the Second World War.
5. The Socialist revolution.
6. The revolutionary party: its organization and tasks.

FASCISM, DEMOCRACY AND THE STATE
9:10 to 10:40 p.m. Instructor: MAX SHACHTMAN

A Marxist analysis of fascism: its nature, its road to power, its economy and its state organization—concretely studied with relation to specific countries. The state organizations in Russia and in the still-remaining democracies.

1. Italy: Fascism and Bonapartism.
2. German economy and the totalitarian state.
3. The lessons of Spain and France.
4. The Soviet state: materials for an analysis.
5. Democracy and fascist trends in the United States and England.
6. The future of democracy—the future of socialism.

LABOR ACTION INSTITUTE
114 West 14th Street, N. Y. C.
I wish to register for the following classes:

_____ American Imperialism
_____ The First World Revolution
_____ Marxism and the World Today
_____ Fascism, Democracy and the State

Fee _____
Name _____
Address _____

Coolidge Will Visit Ohio Next

David Coolidge, National Labor Secretary of the Workers Party, opened his coast to coast tour on December 26 with a visit to Rochester, and then to Buffalo. Comrade Coolidge goes next to Ohio where he will divide his time between Cleveland and Akron. We go to press too early to report on the results of his tour in these cities.

As we announced in the last issue, comrade Coolidge will continue his travels from the field. Again we urge you to watch LABOR ACTION for his interesting articles. Again we urge you to watch LABOR ACTION for the latest announcements on his tour. Watch especially for changes of date in your city!

THE SCHEDULE FOR THE TOUR:

Cleveland	
December 28-January 2	
Akron	January 3-4
Chicago	January 5-11
St. Louis	January 12-15
Kansas City	January 16-17
Denver	January 18
Los Angeles	January 21-27
San Francisco	
January 28-February 1	
Seattle	February 3
St. Paul	February 6
Louisville	February 7-8
Columbus	February 9-10
Pittsburgh	February 11-13
Baltimore	February 14
Washington	February 15-17
Philadelphia	February 18-19
Worcester	February 20-21
Boston	February 22-23
Lynn	February 24-25
New York	February 27

Party News

PHILADELPHIA—The North and South Side branches of the Workers Party, following a series of meetings with Harry Allen, National Organization Secretary, are planning an extension of their activities. The South Side Branch has been conducting a successful Forum, and another Forum is to be instituted in the North Side, with the objective of reaching Negro workers.

The membership and City Committee have decided to utilize the services of a Negro organizer. The membership voted to increase the bundle order of Labor Action by an additional 75 copies for disposal regularly at a selected factory. Members are taking part in the Waller Defense and in other defense activities. A special anti-war activity has been planned by the YPSL unit in cooperation with the Party branches. A study class for women and another study class for members is being held regularly. Contacts are followed up regularly with literature and for prospective recruitment. Both Party branches and the YPSL unit are functioning well, with interest, enthusiasm and confidence high for the prospects of our movement.

World at War—

(Continued from page 1)

interest and patriotism." With this formula, Roy joins those traitors to labor and colonial freedom like Herbert Morrison and Ernest Bevin who have established "national unity" in the cabinet of His Majesty the King.

U.S. WAR FOOTING

When Lord Halifax comes to these shores he will find that things are much more advanced from the time that his predecessor, the late Lord Lothian, first took on the job. Not only are the maximum of airplanes, ships and munitions being sold to Great Britain but, with the latter short of cash, outright gifts are on the order of the day. There is even talk now of American warships conveying ships to Great Britain because of the huge shipping losses inflicted by German raiders.

Everything has been speeded up. A super war council has been set up by Roosevelt consisting of the Secretaries of War and the Navy, the American Bevin, Sidney Hillman, and headed by that super exploiter of labor, Knudsen. The militarization of America is proceeding at a feverish pace. The latest news from Washington is that President Roosevelt and Draft Director Dykstra, at a meeting held last Thursday, explored the question of eventually transforming the emergency draft program to a permanent plan to maintain a large reserve army of trained men at all times.

Like the European countries, America is being put on a permanent war footing in which there is mobilized the entire economy and manpower. Only here as befits the imperialist colossus it is being done in a grandiose scale.

FROM OUR WEST COAST CORRESPONDENT

Calif. Business Men Rally Anti-Union Forces

SCAB CONVENTION MEETS

Time magazine beat us to the punch in reporting on the annual convention of the Associated Farmers last week. Its account of this strike-breaking outfit speaks for itself. We reproduce its story, adding a comment or so at the end.

"Along California highways last week, red, white and blue billboard posters shouted: National Defense—A nation at work—Protect the open door for jobs for everyone—The open shop is the open door. California businessmen were rallying their forces for a last ditch fight with labor.

"Businessmen were alarmed by labor's successful strike at Vultee Aircraft Corp., where workers had won a higher wage, by a State Supreme Court ruling upholding the legality of a closed shop contract. From their annual convention in Fresno, bigwigs of the Associated Farmers of California scurried to Los Angeles to huddle with members of the State Chamber of Commerce, the San Francisco Employers Association, and the Merchants and Manufacturers Association. There they discussed ways and means of nullifying the Supreme Court decision.

"Most notorious labor-baiting group in California are the so-called Associated Farmers. These Farmers track very little earth into their parlors. They were born at a meeting of an agricultural committee of the State Chamber of Commerce in 1934, when the state was being invaded by Dust bowl migrants (the Okies of John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*).

"The Okies wanted better wages, better living conditions than Mexican peons. With mounting labor costs great industrialized farms faced a cut in profits. Shippers, cannerymen, bankers were also vitally concerned. The time had come, the Chamber of Commerce decided, for aggressive action if business is to survive.

"The Associated Farmers supplied the aggressive action. During the Salinas agricultural strike in 1936 and in the Stockton strike in 1937, they acted with tear gas and shotguns. The stench of blood and powder hung over California's Imperial Valley. Strikes were broken, but so was the secretive silence that had surrounded these private affairs in the Valley. For direct action the Associated Farmers turned to quieter campaigns in the state legislature.

"They went on record as favoring the complete exemption of agricultural labor from the Wages & Hour Law, the National Labor Relations Act, the Social Security Act and similar legislation, and as opposed to repeal of the local anti-picketing ordinances, to the closed shop and the hiring hall. (They did not pass a resolution endorsing Hitler. Why bother?—JW).

"Contributors to the Associated Farmers, as revealed by the La Follette Committee, include: American Trust Co., Bank of America, Bank of California, Cannery League, railroads, utilities, packers, employers associations. Claimed membership of 40,000. According to the LaFollette committee report, a truer figure would be something under 2,000. Membership includes a small percentage of small growers in the state who were scared by desperate, frequently reckless labor tactics the important membership is a large percentage of the large growers. They are the hierarchy and inner circle, and were genuinely hurt by growing labor costs. But gentlemen landowners who have closer bonds with the banks than with the soil.

"That the California big shots met in Los Angeles after this convention was no accident. For they understand that the problems of the agricultural workers and the fate of the Okies depends primarily on events in the Los Angeles area.

"If 65,000 aircraft workers are organized into militant unions the agricultural workers will have a powerful ally in their struggles. That's why the Vultee strike worried landowners so much.

"The Associated Farmers scab outfit dreads the day we look forward to, the day when representatives of a powerful union movement call on the gentlemen and say, "Listen you dirty so and so's, we'll tie up every damn plant you own, unless you sign a contract giving the agricultural workers a decent wage and better conditions." Plain language like that, backed by a union movement of over 100,000 workers in aircraft, steel, rubber, shipping, etc. in this area, is something that even a businessman can understand.

"And when Mr. Donald Archibald Steveson, ex-Army officer, and new president of the Associated Farmers, blusters, "We'll be ready soon to shift from the tactics of defense to offense," we can smile and reply, "That's what Mussolini said too."

"RED SCARE" SCARES SANTA

If Santa Claus failed to arrive in the homes of millions of American homes this year it was not merely because so many people were poverty stricken. He was afraid of being picked up by the FBI or Martin Dies as a dangerous foreigner and red.

So the story goes out here. And it illustrates the level of the present hysteria which continues unabated.

Hollywood, as usual, contributes its share with a garbage pile full of mystery thrillers in which Boy Gets Girl via exposing sinister Fifth Column plots.

J. Edgar Hoover, striving hard to live up to the Hollywood conception of a G-man, came through with a report on Harry Bridges as a member of the Communist Party.

Martin Dies announces another "sensational" disclosure. There are 150 German-Americans working at the North American Aviation Co. This was too much, even for the company, which pointed out these workers had been with the company for between five to ten years and were quite reliable. Dies forgot that as yet it is not a crime to be of German ancestry in the United States.

Leaders of the "I Am" religious racket, on trial here because they failed to account for thousands of dollars taken from suckers, used all this spy hysteria to present a defense which, to say the least, is quite novel.

Among the good deeds done in the past year by Mr. Ballard, leader of this racket, was to make a psychic discovery that three submarines of Nazi Germany were headed for the Panama Canal to destroy it.

Making Super-Man look like a chump, the I Am boss used his power with God and forced the submarines to turn back and to be destroyed.

You might think this is silly beyond words, but it was all said very seriously at the court trial here, and the newspapers printed the story as serious testimony.

Of course, having the Los Angeles Times and two Hearst rags as the main newspapers here accounts for part of this stupidity. They do their darndest to make the workers believe all the propaganda about reds and spies in an effort to confuse and divide the union movement.

BRIDGES TRIES A LITTLE "SCARE"

The Harry Bridges machine came through by the skin of its teeth in selling the two year contract between the CIO longshoremen's union and the employers. Now the Stalinists have turned to the job of crucifying union opponents.

Since the San Pedro local has prominent oppositionists it was only natural that Bridges begin his campaign here. And what a campaign!

Last week Tom Brown, secretary of the Pedro local, committed suicide because of personal worries and ill health. He was a Stalinist.

So the C.P. machine is calling that suicide a murder, and blaming it on the union leaders, headed by President Bowen of this local. If they hadn't opposed the two year contract and criticized Bridges, Brown would have been happier and wouldn't have committed suicide, they say.

Anybody who opposed or opposes Bridges is, therefore, morally responsible for the death of Brown, say the Stalinists.

Sounds like the Moscow trials, doesn't it? And those trade unionists who thought that the Moscow frame-up trials didn't have importance to them are learning by painful experience how wrong they were.

Only a GPU mentality is capable of pulling the stuff that Bridges and his men are using against the opposition in the longshoremen's union.

"I'm staying down here until we revenge the death of Brown," snarled Bridges at the funeral last week. But it won't be so easy to liquidate the opposition.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

After a real pressure campaign, the workers at the Vega and Lockheed air plants finally signed enough cards to help pay for a Hudson bomber for England. The bitterness against this phoney company move remains so great, however, that over ten per cent of the workers still have refused to donate time to pay for the bomber.

The CIO Mine, Mill and Smelter union won bargaining rights at the American Potash and Chemical Corp.

Wages and the Last War

By SUSAN GREEN

As far back as October 5, the Kiplinger Washington Agency was writing to its big-shot clients: "Whether we are in the war is a technical borderline quibble. Certainly we are close to it. Not necessarily by days, or even by weeks, but perhaps by months."

Since the above was written, the aforesaid big-shots have tasted the war appetizer of the enormous profits of intensive war preparation. Their appetites are sharpened now for the grand feast. That makes "whether we are in the war" even less than "a borderline quibble."

The workers must think seriously about this situation. On greased wheels they are being rushed into the world conflict. What will THEY get out of it? WHAT THEY GOT OUT OF THE LAST WAR IS SOMETHING TO GO BY.

A High Price

The workers of the world have a rough idea what the last war cost them. The 20,000,000 dead came mainly from their class. The overwhelming majority of the 10,000,000 wounded, were workers. The millions who were wiped out by the epidemics following in the wake of the war, were poor people. In short, the workers were uprooted, murdered, wounded, smitten by disease. That's what they paid.

That they did not collect "democracy" for the high price they paid, is a fact that does not need proving. Definitely, the blood of the workers of the world flowed in vain when it comes to "democracy." And this is true in America as elsewhere. To cite only one glaringly revealing fact: in the United States in 1940 there are poll tax laws keeping 10,500,000 citizens from exercising their "democratic" right to vote. We all know that the "ideals" of the last war were a fake.

REAL Wages

What, then, about the less "idealistic" side of things? There was plenty of CASH in it for the bosses. Was there any cash in it for the workers? Did those who were not slaughtered in the war find themselves better off economically, if not politically?

The shrewd propagandists in the service of the imperialists circulated the idea that during the war the workers were literally rolling in money. Factory hands were pictured as going to work in \$20 silk shirts. Every working woman was supposed to be the proud owner of at least one fur coat. Two or three chickens were said to be flapping around in every pot. These clever propagandists discovered a fictitious river of milk and honey in which they said the working people were having a lot of fun.

What wages did the workers REALLY get during the war?

It is not generally known that, at the beginning of the last world war, the wages of the workers had declined so that they were less than they had been in 1900. In a word, the standard of living the workers were asked then to "defend" had been bombed successfully right here to such an extent that they were worse off in 1914 than they had been in 1900.

One of the many attestations to this fact, was made in May 1920 by no less an authority than E.B. Wood, economics professor of Dartmouth College, speaking before the eminent American Academy of Political and Social Science.

The professor went on to say that

it was announced by the National Labor Relations Board, following an election.

The CIO union received 476 votes to 172 for the AFL Potash, Borax and Phosphate union, and 103 for the company union. The concern, which produces war materials, is owned entirely by a British Corporation.

A study of the facts on the trial and conviction of Don Keppler, vice-president of the Boeing Aircraft workers union, AFL at Seattle, on charges of being a "Communist" reveal that it was a company move.

The trial board was headed by a stool-pigeon, a man who has an open record as being in the pay of manufacturers to give them labor information. He admitted that he was assisted by the FBI and the local police in framing the charges.

Our suspicion was aroused immediately when the newspaper carried the story that Keppler was to be expelled from the union and fined \$5,000. "Someone more familiar with the union movement would have known that to fine a person for political activities is almost impossible in the union movement. Keppler is taking the business to court, among other things.

Disunity in the AFL union on this question will hardly help it in organizing workers in opposition to the CIO in aircraft.

And the fact that AFL craft unions are putting pressure on the large Lockheed local to give them jurisdiction over various workers isn't going to help much either. It shows, among other things, how craft-union minded the AFL still is.

Reports are that the leadership of the Machinists international are not adverse to dividing up the Lockheed workers into craft unions.

CIO officials are watching this situation closely since an open craft union move is all they need to swing over the majority of the 14,000 Lockheed men into the CIO.

JACK WILSON

in 1917 and 1918—THE YEARS WHEN THE UNITED STATES WAS IN THE WAR—there was "a further shrinkage in the position of the American industrial worker."

The truth of this statement, affirmed in many magazine articles after the war was over, is again affirmed today by no less an authority on things economic than United States Assistant District Attorney Thurman W. Arnold, in charge of "trust-busting". The following passage is quoted from his latest book, "The Bottlenecks of Business":

"What happened to the ordinary consumer in the boom which followed the outbreak of the war in 1914? When the war first broke out there was a drop in prices and general distress. Then came the war inflation which robbed productive industry for war boom industry, resulting in complete unbalance of prices. We were confronted with the spectacle of the southern farmer going hat in hand to the newly-created millionaires and asking them for charity's sake to buy a bale of cotton. There were no controls. REAL WAGES WENT DOWN ONE - THIRD WHILE THOUSANDS OF NEW FORTUNES WERE MADE."

You can bet your last button that during the last war the silk shirts and fur coats were not on the backs of AVERAGE working men and women, and that the chickens in AVERAGE workers' pots somehow turned into cheap lamb stew. That's how much propagandists of the boss class can lie.

The shameful truth is that the workers not only sacrificed their precious lives, but also the equivalent of good hard cash. Real wages went down one-third, says Mr. Arnold. It does not take an Einstein to figure out that during the war, when they were supposed to be living high, the workers on the average were getting only two-thirds of what they had before.

What happened to workers' wages when it was all over—when the trumpets stopped blaring and the flags were furled? Hold on to something. The prosperity that befell the laboring man may be too much for you.

In the fall of 1919 weekly earnings actually overtook the retail price of food, and at the beginning of 1920 real wages appeared on the average to have risen to their 1914 level, which, as stated above, was less than in 1900. However, economists were hopeful that this "loss since 1900" might also be retrieved.

Summarizing labor's position at the end of 1919—and again he is only one of many who made statements like the following—the same Professor Wood, in a speech before the same eminent American Academy of Political and Social Science flatly stated:

"American labor has prospered during the past five years IN A NEGATIVE SENSE, in that, in spite of high prices, IT EMERGED AT THE END OF 1919 NO WORSE OFF THAN BEFORE."

He said in the same speech: "This is being achieved in a period of full employment and insistent labor demand; any widespread falling off will mean lower wages."

He did not say, but it is nevertheless true, that even full employment would not have brought the workers the "negative prosperity" he described, if the WORKERS HAD NOT FOUGHT FOR IT. The year 1919 was one that stands out in labor history. It was a period of

The Negro And the War

By GEORGE SCHUYLER

This article is reprinted from the *Pittsburgh Courier* of Dec. 21, where the author conducts a weekly column. While we often have serious disagreements with many of the author's opinions, we commend his outspoken opposition to the war in the paper with the largest Negro circulation in the country.—The Editors.

I believe a larger number of Negroes than is generally supposed are sick and tired of the repeated assertion that they are so loyal that neither constant bootings, smearings or starving can shake their affection for this Ku Klux democracy. I believe a surprising number of colored folk have quit going around boasting about how Negroes have fought and died in every American war.

I think there is a growing feeling among intelligent colored folk that loyalty should be reciprocal: that one should only be loyal to those who return that feeling in word and action.

It is, indeed, a strange Negro who will assert that black boys should fight and die to uphold economic discrimination, social ostracism, disfranchisement and racial pollution laws. And that's what they WILL be fighting and dying for. No government official or public personage has declared, to my knowledge, that if the Negroes loyally support the government all their economic, social and political disabilities will be removed. The clauses inserted in recent legislation to the effect that there must be no discrimination based on color or religion in the administration of these laws is actually meaningless, save as a hypocritical device to appease Negroes.

I loathe the white hypocrites pretending to uphold and defend democracy and eager to get this country actively in the war ostensibly for that purpose. These people (and they include the owners of the daily press, the radio, the schools, business, the church and the government) are not even interested in democracy for poor white people. They merely want to defend their way of life; i.e., the system of robbery which enables them to sit on the backs of the poor white and colored peoples of the world and live off the income. I find no evidence whatever to the contrary, and I closely follow the trends of the time.

They all love their South and Central American serfs NOW because these people and their territories are a present and future source of income. They all love the Chinese NOW because Japan threatens to close China to white exploitation. They are cuddling up to Russia NOW because, like their English fellow-exploiters, they hope to persuade the Reds to fight the Japs, and thus enable the Anglo-American capitalists to again control the rich Chinese slave pen. They are even making goo-goo eyes NOW at bloody Franco of Spain and promising a loan of \$100,000,000, whereas they wouldn't even permit the former Loyalist government to buy a single gun, bullet, cannon or plane for cash on the line.

But they are not agitating for aid to the starving Ethiopians, the exploited African serfs nor the embattled Ethiopians. Worse, they are refusing to budge one iota from their traditional anti-Negro attitude toward their darker fellow-Americans. They are busily expanding the frontiers of segregation, closing their eyes to cruel anti-Negro discriminations and almost eagerly condoning every kind of frustration, insult, smear and discouragement that three centuries of Negro-baiting experience can devise.

Our war is not against Hitler in Europe, but against the Hitlers in America. Our war is not to defend democracy, but to get a democracy we have never had. Our war is not against the Mussolinis and Stalins, but against the dominant American spirit of Balboism.

What is there to choose between Hitler's exploitation of the Poles and Churchill's exploitation of the Hindus? What is there to choose between Mussolini's anti-intermarriage laws and similar laws in 30 of our States? What is there to choose between the Nazi "cold pogrom" against the Jews and America's "cold pogrom" against the Negroes? What is there to choose between Jewish ghettos in every important American and South African city? What is there to choose between the New German Paganism and the American Christianity that silently condones the studied suppression of 13,000,000 fellow Christians?

There is nothing to choose between them. The current World War is a struggle between rival groups of white exploiters for the right to fleece a billion colored folk whose ONLY inferiority is military inferiority: i.e., inferiority in the ability to murder in the grand manner.

My attitude, and that of more Negroes than white folks suspect, is "A plague on both your houses" because neither house means anything except continued grief to us. There can be no doubt about this because words and actions have clearly demonstrated it.

Perhaps we can do nothing about this, since the choice is between two evils, but we can stop yammering that, despite everything, we are loyal; that we are willing to shed our blood and give our lives that Negro-phobia in all its horrible aspects may continue to prevail. If nothing more comes out of this emergency than the widespread understanding among white leaders that the Negro's loyalty is conditional, we shall not have suffered in vain.

ATTENTION NEW YORK READERS!

The last lecture in the Shachtman series, WILL THIS WAR LEAD TO REVOLUTION? has been postponed to this coming Sunday, Dec. 29. The address has been changed to BETHOVEN HALL at 5th Street and 3rd Avenue.

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 America, for the Socialist United States of Europe, and for the World Socialist Federation.

Workers' Guards, Not Home Guards!

Philip Murray, president of the CIO, in a letter to all CIO affiliates, has expressed opposition to a Home Guard bill that has been prepared for presentation to the 48 state legislatures. The bill is being sponsored by the Federal-State Conference on Law Enforcement Problems of National Defense.

The CIO objects to this bill because it is planned to make the new Home Guard subject only to military law, the civil courts having no authority. This means, as the CIO correctly states, that there will be no protection for the workers against lawless acts by the guards. The guard could receive private gifts, as such outfits have in the past, and thereby come under the influence of private corporations. Constitutional rights of labor could be violated and there would be no redress in the civil courts. The writ of habeas corpus could be suspended and nothing could be done about it. **Under these conditions, the commander of the Home Guards in any state would become a dictator:** breaking up picket lines, invading workers homes or arresting workers on the street at will.

The CIO is correct in entering vigorous protest against this proposed legislation. But mere protest will never stop those things of which Murray complains. When the time comes, the so-called Home Guards will do anything they please—if the workers do not stop them. Such outfits will not be deterred by "inconsequential" things like constitutional rights, or civil liberties. They will make their own law for the breaking of strikes and workers' heads.

These Home Guards will be reactionary and anti-labor. **Labor should therefore refuse to give them any support, and no worker ally should volunteer for them.** If a worker joins, he will find himself marched off to fire at a picket line and to break a strike.

The workers will, however, need guards to protect their rights, their liberties, their homes and their picket lines. **This guard should come from our own ranks. Workers' guards will be needed in every union and every plant.** This is the only sure way to protect our workers' rights: our right to organize; and our right to strike whenever we decide such action is necessary.

The workers' guard will be especially needed to protect us against the vigilantes and the company thugs. Despite the table thumping of the Justice Department's Mr. Jackson against private bands of super-patriots, there will be gangs of this kind hunting out militant workers and strike leaders. Some of these outfits will come wrapped in the flag and mouthing religion and "patriotism." **Labor will need to be strongly organized into workers' guards to protect itself from these hoodlums and night-riders.**

Mr. Hypocrite

Winston Churchill made a speech to the Italian people last week.

He said he was in favor of a revolution—in Italy. He called on them to overthrow Mussolini.

This is calculated to delight the hearts of those war-mongering "socialists" and "anti-fascists" who think that the only way to smash German and Italian fascism is by British bayonets.

Still, we appreciate this recognition by Churchill of the power of the revolutionary idea in this war. But what is this revolutionary that Churchill is so boldly demanding?

ONE: There is not a single mention of democracy in Churchill's speech. There is not a single expression of opposition to fascism.

On the contrary: Churchill emphasizes that Mussolini is a "great man". He protests that he has never been "at heart the foe of the Italian law-giver" (Benito-Moses).

Isn't this queer for a war-leader who has made some people believe that he is fighting for democracy? All this talk about "our way of life" seems to be strictly for home consumption only, doesn't it?

TWO: To whom does Churchill appeal for this revolution? Who are the Italian "people" he addresses?

The King, the Pope, and the Army generals. He needles them: You didn't want this war; assert yourselves. Otherwise, he tells them, you're going to lose your empire.

"Surely the Italian Army, which has fought so bravely on many occasions in the past (in Ethiopia, for example)—Ed.) but now evidently has no heart for the job, should take some care of the life and future of Italy."

There you have the aim of the Churchill Revolution: **MILITARY DICTATORSHIP**, imposed by the generals, blessed by the Vatican, backed up by England—**OVER THE ITALIAN WORKERS AND ITALY'S COLONIAL SLAVES.**

There you have the picture of the new regime in Italy, planned by Churchill, following victory in this second "war for democracy".

In Italian and German fascism today, you have the results of the Allies' victory in the FIRST "war for democracy".

Then, too, the Allies appealed to the German people "over the head of the Kaiser". But when the German workers made their revolution, the "democratic" Allies greeted it with blockade, economic strangulation, starvation.

Now, as in 1918, the British imperialists are playing with dynamite when they try to find an ally in the third camp of the Revolution. Dynamite blasts both ways.

The Italian prisoners in Greece, when they heard of an Italian defeat, SANG. But they did not sing **Rule Britannia.**

They sang **The Red Flag.**

Economic liberty and real democracy will follow this war only if the workers take their fate in their own hands and throw out both sets of quarreling robbers. It will not be brought by Churchill or the Churchill-socialists.

More 'Democracy'

Out in Oklahoma City, Alan Shaw has been sentenced to ten years imprisonment and fined \$5,000 . . . for being a member of the Communist Party. Yes, just that. **Sentenced and fined for belonging to the Communist Party.**

As it happens, we have less than little use for that party. More than that, we want to see its poison isolated from the labor movement. But just as we defend the Stalinist teachers from reactionary investigation in New York City, so do we call upon labor to protest this dangerous, this very dangerous conviction.

We must prevent the Rapp-Coudert Commissioners, The New Leader jingoists and the Oklahoma City reactionaries, who are so terribly concerned with saving "democracy" in Europe, from destroying what remains of democracy right here—at HOME. For, just as the Rapp-Coudert investigation is aimed at teacher unionism in general, so is the Shaw conviction a token of war-time totalitarianism to come!

It is up to labor, as a measure of self-defense, to see to it that the Supreme Court sets aside this verdict. The Court has on several occasions recognized the legality of the Communist Party. But the pressure of labor will be necessary, because the democratic principles of yesterday are no longer the mode today.

Uncle Sam - Pawnbroker To the British Empire

(Continued from page 1)
taking ever larger proportions of British trade in its vessels—even to such remote markets as South Africa, Malaya and India.

4) America has gained invaluable naval and military bases in the Atlantic—steps preparatory to full political and economic control over the British West Indies, Virgin Islands, Bermuda, Bahamas etc.

5) American supremacy over Canada has been established and recognized by conclusion of the American-Canadian military alliance.

A New Phase

This much has been accomplished up to now. The proposed plan of Roosevelt, to be presented before Congress at its forthcoming January session, by which the American government will "loan" or "lease" material war supplies to the British, marks a new phase in the bloodless conquest of the British Empire.

The plan in essence is based upon a realization by American imperialism of its own vastly superior position, and of the terrible weakness of the British in the fields of finance, shipping and war production. As a result of this superiority, the American government is determined not to see a repetition of 1914-1918, where the British gained most from the war—and then proceeded to liquidate their debts! This time there will be one victor—and each loan will be heavily mortgaged!

The proposed plan of FDR gives U.S. big business the following advantages:

1) Not one cent of American capital, invested in war industry producing the goods that are to be loaned, will leave the country. Thus, American capitalists will make all the profit on these additional investments and American war industry will be further expanded by these new pump-primmings. In terms of profit, British industrialists will not even reap a plugged nickle.

2) The increased flow of material to Britain will fall into line with the real objectives of American imperialism—namely, that Britain takes the heaviest buffettings from the German war machine, steadily wearing it down, while the United States keeps its powder dry and feverishly organizes its own blitzkrieg machine. Britain is the buffer, absorbing the heaviest shocks. America will step in when both adversaries begin to show signs of exhaustion.

3) Return payment on these loans is guaranteed—one way or the other.

(a) The loans may be repaid in kind. That is, the British will return an equivalent number of tanks, guns, ships, etc. But this possibility is exceedingly remote—or rather impossible. If the British were unable to repay their loans in World War I, is it conceivable that they could in World War II? England is vastly weaker and has suffered infinitely more material loss during one year of this war. The economic fabric of its Empire is tearing into shreds—witness the increased dependence of the Motherland upon imports from abroad. England won the last war—but did not pay; England is losing this war to Germany and America—again it will not pay.

(b) Then what return payment will there be? It will take the form of gathering in Britains mortgaged property. FDR has told the British to go ahead and order \$3,000,000,000 worth of war material in America. This sum represents just about the net balance of British securities and investments in America, which U.S. bankers shall now proceed to take over. "Go right ahead, take everything you need—the house is yours", says FDR, reminding us of the money lender opening up his vaults to the unsuspecting victim. "We'll talk over the terms later, no hurry." And most certainly, FDR is in no hurry. For what alternative do the British have? Where else can they go? They know in advance that FDR will fix the terms—mortgages on the British West Indies, naval bases (and more) in the Pacific, etc.

But more than real estate will be mortgaged. Professor Harris of Harvard University sums it up as follows: "It is conceivable that the United States may demand a mortgage on these (British) assets in exchange for credits . . . Private British investors would give up their foreign investments, obtaining in return sterling that they would have to exchange for British securities or to keep idle. British companies all over the world would fall into the possession of the United States Government. The United States would not only become a gigantic trading organization in rubber, tin, gold, diamonds, etc., but would have taken the longest step toward worldwide imperialism and domination that has ever been taken by any country."

3) From an imperialist viewpoint the most beautiful part of the entire scheme is that the British ruling class must take this, swallow their medicine and pretend to love it. They are caught in a neat trap. They pretend to be fighting for freedom, idealism, etc.—in a word, for things into which no "sordid profits motive" can enter. Good. Here they are getting precisely what they have been

cried for—guns, munitions, etc. How can they complain of the financial stranglehold Uncle Sam is putting on their necks? The British rulers must take it and like it—or face the only other alternative from their viewpoint: surrender to Hitler in the French style. Only the British working class is capable of breaking up not only their own rulers' schemes, but those of Roosevelt in addition.

American imperialism is striking

out for World Empire and will attempt to smash everything in its path. Roosevelt aims at reaching this objective in a series of stages—culminating in direct war intervention. An important step is the economic and financial subjugation of the British Empire as America's number one imperialist victim. The clever "lease and loan" scheme of the President fits neatly into the broad and general pattern of this program for world domination.

Our Readers Take the Floor . . .

PICKS A BONE WITH A COLUMNIST

Dear Comrade Editor:

I always enjoy reading Susan Green's movie reviews in her "To See or Not To See" column, but I'm afraid she missed the boat in her piece on "The Letter." Susan writes that the British lawyer risks his career in defending the murderer out of friendship for her husband, the Malayan planter. I'm afraid Susan's natural inclination to give everyone the benefit of the doubt has fooled her. The real motivation of the lawyer, who actually despises the woman he defends and is not at all touched by sympathy for her weakling husband, is simply one of defending his class; the British imperialists who rule Malaya. It wouldn't do, you see, to reveal to the natives just how immoral, decadent and utterly rotten their "superiors" are! (As if the natives don't know.)

This point is made much clearer in Somerset Maugham's play, upon which this Hollywood version is based. Before becoming a routine defender of the British Empire, Somerset Maugham wrote some striking satires on the English colonials, particularly about those of Malaya. Mention Maugham to a Britisher in Singapore now and he literally explodes in your face.

Despite its Will Hays distortions, "The Letter" is an effective piece in describing the treacherous and cynical lives of the Malayan planter class. While making for excellent melodrama, the shots of native Singapore are absolutely phoney. Orientals just don't leer that way—particularly the Chinese who are about the most naive, friendly and good natured people there are.

Yours,
Sherman Stanley

FAMILY TRENDS AS SEEN IN THE CENSUS

Comrade Editor:

A recent press report states, "The Census Bureau, analyzing the results of the 1940 census, reported today that the contemporary household has an average of 3.8 persons."

The average number of persons in the household has been steadily declining since 1890, when the first survey was made. Here is how the decline has been running: 1890, 4.9; 1900, 4.7; 1910, 4.5; 1920, 4.3; 1930, 4.1; 1940, 3.8.

Here we see a decline from 1890 to 1930 in a measured, steady tempo. However, from 1930 to 1940 there is a sudden increase in the tempo of the decline. Why?

Could it be that the increased

tempo of the decline of capitalism is being reflected in the decline in number of members of the average household? Is it possible that mothers, scraping along on narrowed incomes during the depression beginning in 1930, did not wish to increase their difficulties by having more children? Or is it that parents no longer like children and consider them an annoyance?

No—the women of the U.S. have not suddenly gained a revulsion towards children. They do not want to spend their "large" incomes on luxuries and soft living. They merely wish to give as much necessities of life and educational and recreational benefits to their children as possible. They cannot do this unless they do curtail the number of children in their families.

Thus, declining capitalism strikes at the very core of the family, the institution which is supposed to be the bulwark of the present social order. The women of the U.S. are unconsciously fighting against the very economic system itself, and when they realize that the decline of capitalism is causing their increased miseries, they will help to overthrow it. They will help to establish socialism, where they will be free to determine the number of children they will have according to their desires instead of because of the compulsion of economic necessity.

Fraternally,
R.S.

CANADA PRACTICES "DEMOCRACY"

Dear Editor:

It seems that while the Canadian bosses are conducting a war against Hitlerism in Germany, they are not opposed to practicing it in Canada.

The United Automobile Workers Union is now publicizing a case in which 46 UAW Local 195 men were arrested and placed under conditions closely resembling the well known concentration camps of the country that Canada is now fighting.

What was the crime of these union men? They dared to picket the Canadian Chrysler Corp. for violating a section of the contract made with the union. It is now a crime in Canada to peacefully assemble in order to defend one's right to live decently.

It is well known that most of the labor laws designed for the protection of labor have been suspended and the employers given a free hand.

I hope your paper will give this case the publicity and attention it deserves.

Sincerely,
Dec. 17
UAW union member

Onward Towards Socialist Victory—

(Continued from page 1)

double speed for that day when, the military and industrial preparations completed, the United States will formally enter on one pretext or another. That is why, the young men of the nation had to be DRAFTED for service in this war—because they could not be persuaded, by the loud-est and most skilled of propagandists to volunteer.

This and much else we enter on the debit side of the year. All of this LABOR ACTION has in the past months discussed and exposed.

BUT THERE IS A CREDIT SIDE TO OUR BALANCE TOO. Despite of this darkness, several rays of proletarian insurgency burst through—and they continue to shine. The working class began to move. It stood off attack and libel, and pressed its demands in many notable instances. We mention only one: in the face of as bitter an assault as was ever launched against a strike, short of actual armed attack, aircraft workers in California stood their ground and pushed the Vultee strike to victory. They were followed by aircraft workers in other plants who refused to be misled by the wailings of the profit-swollen bosses, or intimidated by dire threats, and succeeded in wresting better wages and conditions from the boss. This is only an instance that stands as a symbol—a symbol of what labor can do, has done, and must again do on a greater scale.

Even out of war-lashed Europe have come signs of proletarian solidarity and revolt. A spark here, a spark there. Defying war restrictions, workers in England strike. Italian soldiers sing Bandiera Rossa, a song of proletarian promise. These, and not the hypocritical appeals for an

Italian palace revolution made by a Winston Churchill who would sacrifice a hundred-million men before he would allow the colonial plunder of England to slip from British imperialism's grasp, are the signs of a new world—a world in which the fascist butchers and the "democratic" despots will be swept away to make room for the liberation of all human-kind.

The CIO at its recent convention pledged itself to militant struggle. It blasted the anti-labor bills and warned boss-dom against their adoption. It heralded a drive among labor, black and white, to organize the war industries.

Let that then be the spirit of labor in 1941. Full steam ahead:

FOR A RISING SCALE OF WAGES TO MEET THE RISING COST OF LIVING—NO LESS THAN \$30 PAY FOR 30-HOURS WORK.

FOR THE DEFENSE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES.

FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE POLL TAX AND LYNCH LAW AND EVERYTHING ELSE THAT STANDS IN THE WAY OF FULL POLITICAL, RACIAL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO MASSES.

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL OF THE WAR INDUSTRIES.

FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS FOR THE DRAFTEES.

FOR WORKERS' GUARDS.

FOR THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE SIXTY FAMILIES OF EXPLOITERS.

FOR A WORLD OF PEACE AND NOT OF WAR, A WORLD WHERE NO MAN LIVES OFF THE TOIL OF ANOTHER, A WORLD OF LIBERTY AND EQUALITY. FOR SOCIALISM!

LORD HALIFAX: Christian Gentleman, Imperialist Spokesman

By JOSEPH CARTER

Lord Halifax has been appointed to succeed the late Lord Lothian as British Ambassador to the United States. He received prior endorsement by President Roosevelt, and is being acclaimed by the daily press as a worthy spokesman of the British people.

Now there is no doubt that he represents the British people—in fact, the "right" people, the aristocracy of wealth and privilege and power. As for the great mass of working people, Viscount Halifax—now that Neville Chamberlain is no more—has the honor of being the most hated man in the Isles. Quite a distinction!

For them Halifax is the symbol of the Tory ruling class, that powerful collectivity of rich parasites, polite hypocrites and accomplished liars; a worthy gentleman and good diplomat—if we recall that a gentleman is one who never does productive work and a diplomat is a skillful liar.

IN THE CLIVEDEN SET

Halifax—as Chamberlain—is remembered by His Majesty's subjects as a leading spokesman of the notorious Cliveden Set, that group of arch-reactionary bankers, big business men, army officers and politicians who helped finance and rear Hitler, and sought to reach an agreement with him which would avoid his "muscling-in" on their own rich preserves—above all, the British Empire. They looked with great envy and hope at the growth of Fascism—envy because it had destroyed the nuisance of the labor movement and political democracy; hope because here appeared the answer to the threat of "Bolshevism", and the power which, by war, could open the Russian market to capitalist exploitation and oppression.

They thought that Hitler, and big business behind him, would be their allies, if not their tools, in bringing order into the growing chaos. A "new social order," to use the popular phrase. Their last heroic and magnanimous effort in this direction was the Munich "appeasement" of 1938. The big-hearted gentleman sought to "appease" Hitler by handing over to him what was not theirs: Czechoslovakia. Consult the people who were being placed under Fascist barbarism? Old-fashioned nonsense! Well then, consult the government of Czechoslovakia? Why go through with that formality!

Halifax, who was Viceroy of India from 1926 to 1931, is a past master of the art of shouting for democracy while crushing national freedom. In fact, this worthy gentleman had to be recalled by his government in the midst of the widespread civil disobedience campaign waged by the Indian people against British tyranny.

Yes indeed; Halifax is an authoritative voice of Tory Britain. Outwitted by the upstart Hitler, he and his class could not surrender their fabulous plunder—the British Empire—without a struggle to the last drop of blood . . . of the British people, and of the American people. In any case, unless a new agreement between the gangster powers could be arranged.

HIS HANDS ARE FULL

But Lord Halifax has two tasks to accomplish in the United States. The first, is to get the maximum military aid for his cause—airplanes, tanks, battleships, merchant ships, and finally manpower. The second, and for him as important is to drive as good a bargain for this assistance as possible. It is known that Halifax's friends have a total investment in the Western Hemisphere of nine billion dollars. (The three billion dollars of British securities usually referred to covers only the United States.)

American big business wants this dough. Before Roosevelt announced his new three billion dollar "lease-loan" program for war materials to Britain, bankers in this country were considering another neat scheme to skin the cat. They talked of organizing a private finance corporation to finance British purchases in the United States. The British would pay in cash as provided in the Johnson Act, and deposit their securities—bonds and stocks—as collateral for the loan. If at the end of fifteen or twenty years the British did not pay back the loan or did not meet the agreed upon annual payments, then the securities would become the property of the private finance corporation. And to cap the climax, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation—a government body already engaged in subsidizing British orders in the United States—would be called upon to help this scheme by buying and selling these securities as befits the interest of the private bankers.

Whether this ingenious plan will be a feature of Roosevelt's new "lease" proposal or not, Halifax has the job of fighting on two fronts: not only against his German enemy, but also against his American competitors. His hands will be full.

However, if we are to believe what we read in the New York Times, the new British Ambassador has the personal qualities for this Herculean job:

"He believes in the decencies of international and individual conduct as he believes in the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount."

These are the credentials of the Christian gentleman and imperialist spokesman.

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