Rail Union Votes Resolution For Labor Party

The following resolution received by LABOR ACTION from Rochester Lodge No. 99, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, in favor of an independent Labor Party is, we believe, of enormous importance and interest for the workers of this country.

This local has not only spoken in favor of a Labor Party, it proposes the kind of action that can lay the foundation for the organization of such a party.

This is only a beginning. We urge other labor unions to follow suit and help create a party of labor which would, for the first time, offer a real challenge to the Democratic and Republican Parties of big business and their friends inside and outside the labor movement .-The Editor.

Whereas: the recent insulting awards of the Labor Board to the long standing request of railroad labor, the adherence to the Little Steel formula, the arbitrary decrees of the Administration in forcing this and many other dictatorial decrees on the workers of America, plus the use of the armed forces and threats of draft reclassification to break strikes very plainly emphasize the class character of the Democratic and Republican Parties: and

Whereas: the present Administration, deriving its power from the Bourbons of the South, must and does give way to the policies of the most reactionary and labor-hating elements in America is adequate proof that it is impossible for labor to have its basic social problems solved by either of the two old.parties: and

Whereas: union and non-union workers are becoming more reluctant to participate in election campaigns in support of candidates of either old party and have become sick and tired of depending on so-called "friends of labor" who are only tools of the industrial lords: and

Whereas: labor now is and must continue to be engaged in a life and death struggle with the employers and their lieutenants in the old parties whose aim is to establish a dictatorship in America: and

Whereas: in America the leaders of labor/ have for over fifty years adhered to the policy of "elect your friends and defeat your enemies," which has resulted in the most reactionary Congress since the Civil War and with the enactment of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law and the pending draftlabor bill we have lost more civil rights than we have been able to gain in one hundred years of desperate struggle: and

Whereas: labor must have its own political party, entirely independent of the bosses and their influence, to successfully cope with present problems and the many new problems which will arise after the war: therefore be it

Resolved: that Rochester Lodge No. 99, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, hereby go on record as favoring immediate formation of an independent Labor Party, based on the trade unions and cooperating with other groups of labor and working farmers who express a similar desire; be it further

Resolved: that our international officers be urged to explore the possibility of a conference with other unions of railroad workers, the CIO and AFL for the purpose of forming a Labor Party:

Resolved: that copies of this resolution be sent to all lodges of the seniority districts, the daily and labor press.

LABOR ACTION ONE CENT 98

FEBRUARY 28, 1944

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FDR'S VETO OF TAX LEAVES ISSUE UNSETTLED

IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF LABOR ACTION:

First Detailed Report on Italy to Appear in This Country!

READ ABOUT:

The Conditions of Labor in 'Liberated' Italy

The Coming 'Kerensky' Government

The Split in the Italian Communist Party

The Italian Revolutionary Socialists (Trotskyists) and Their Political Views

Informative!

First-Hand!

CORRESPONDENCE FROM NAPLES!

Labor Action's Tax Program Would Soak Rich, Not Poor

The big business tax bill, which called for new taxes of \$2,315,-000,000, passed by Congress, has been vetoed by the President. In his veto message, Roosevelt again called for the passage of the earlier ten and a half billion dollar tax bill which Congress had previously rejected.

That bill called for higher taxes on individual incomes and corporations, as well as higher takes on all low incomes. The pres-

At the time of going to press it was announced that Senator Alben Barkley, majority leader of the Democratic Party in the Senate and for twelve years Roosevelt's whip in that body, had resigned his post in protest against the President's veto of the tax bill. This resignation has created a crisis among the top layers of the party. It has not merely emphasized the wide breach between the Administration and Congress, but also adds weight to the statement that the veto itself was motivated largely by election considerations.

Next week's issue of LABOR ACTION will carry a full story of these developments.

ent bill is even more of a "company" bill than the earlier one. But they both have this in common: they would soak those least able to pay.

The President faces an election year. While he has not vet assented to run for a fourth term, there is no doubt that he is a candidate. The reaction of the big business press to the veto is that Roosevelt has made it a campaign issue. There is no doubt that this is true.

But the real fact about taxes and tax bills, those coming from the Administration and those from Congress, is that they both proceed on the basis of laying heavier burdens on the workers and all those who earn less than \$5,000 a year.

The new tax bill, vetoed by the President and which it is ex-

They're Still Kicking It Around - -

"States' Rights" Is a Phony To Block Soldier Vote

By WALTER WEISS

The way the soldier vote is being kicked around by Congress makes us think about the great principles of American democracy which we learned in school quite a few years ago. The subject is a big one and would take too long to go into fully, but we will do what we can in a brief space.

Powers are divided, we learned in our school, between the U.S. government and the states. This is supposed to allow the states to experiment with new ideas, which, if they prove successful, can later be adopted by other states. The system also permits differences according to local desires and prevents the national government from becoming too strong and tyrannical.

So what really happens? One power left to the states, we are told, is deciding who shall vote. They can set up all kinds of requirements. They can, for example, test your knowledge of Greek, Latin and Chinese. This has actually been done in the South to keep some educated Ne-groes from voting.

There will be eleven million citizens in the armed forces by election time. It's obviously democratic that they should vote. The states, however, have all these rules that stand in the way. You must be twenty-one years old to vote, only eighteen (or, in the Navy, 17) to fight and die. In some states you must pay poll-taxes, in others pass educational tests, in still others get a furlough so you can come home and register in person.

A New York Example.

9

In some "wide awake" states things are much simpler. Take New York, for example. In the 1942 election a service man or woman could vote by mail. The first step was filling out an application for a ballot. Sorry, the FIRST step was writing for an application to fill out. Of course, a thoughtful relative with nothing else on his mind could give your address to the State War Ballot Commission. The application is filled out and mailed. Then comes the ballot which, if you haven't been shipped around

too much, may find you sooner or

later. For the 1942 elections, New York State sent out 108,000 applications. Of these, 39,000 were filled in and mailed back. About 25,000 votes were finally cast, 1900 of them from overseas (New York Times, September 30). New York, remember, is a "progressive" state.

As soon as a proposal is made that the federal government should hand out and collect ballots and forward them to the states, a big howl goes up in Congress that the idea violates the Constitution because it deprives the states of their powers. It's all right to deprive 11,000,000 Americans of their votes, but it's all wrong to deprive the states of their powers. Of course, nobody is taken in by all this talk about states' rights. It's been used often before-for example, to justify the labor of children of eight or ten and protect them against federal tyranny.

The facts are - and everybody knows this too, since the interested parties have openly admitted itthat the Republicans fear the armed forces will vote mainly for Roosevelt, while some of Roosevelt's own comrades, the Southern Democrats, are afraid that dangerous ideas of democracy will be spread, that Negroes and poor white will expect to

vote both now and after the war. On the other hand, Roosevelt and his backers aren't really very much interested in pure democracy either. As one of them, Chandler of Kentucky, said, he couldn't blame the opposition much and would probably behave the way they are doing if he was in their shoes (New York Times, January 27).

What Roosevelt Said

There have been long in this country millions of persons who are deprived of their right to vote, and Roosevelt and his friends haven't become very excited about the situation. When has the President spoken out so sharply about the Negroes and poor whites of the South, unable to vote because of the poll-tax? The word, "fraud" which he has used in the soldier vote dispute, applies

equally to the poll-tax situation and to the filibusters against anti-poll-tax bills by Southern Senators of Roose-

velt's own party. And how about the millions of workers who in the past and especially now during the war have moved from place to place in search of jobs? They are cheated of their votes by residence requirements.

How Roosevelt really feels about all this is shown by his "fraud" message of January 26. In 1942 Congress passed a law providing that no member of the armed forces need register in person nor pay a poll-tax in order to vote. Aside from that the states could decide for themselves if a voter was gualified. Under the new federal ballot proposal, says Roosevelt, none of this would be changed. The U.S. would just do the job of furnishing ballots and of returning them to the states to count. In saying this, does he attack the poll-tax as undemocratic? Not at all. He says that the registration and poll-tax requirements of the states can't be carried out "because of the absence of a voter from his state of residence by reason of the war." That's why the states must give up these requirements' for persons in the armed forces.

As a matter of fact, the 1942 law waiving the poll-tax for members of the armed forces was a mere propaganda stunt. State officials counted the ballots and could throw out any that they wanted to. No PENALTY was provided for violations of the law! Administration forces, moreover,

have been quite willing to forget about the poll tax in the course of the present fight. For example, Representative Worley, sponsor of the federal vote proposal in the House, on February 2 accepted an amendment "striking out what was viewed largely as an anti-poll-tax clause" (New York Times, February 3). Worley was also ready to give the notorious Rankin extra time to spout his anti-Semitic and anti-Negro filth and to applaud Rankin at least as heartily as anybody else (New York Times, February 2), and that was

heartily enough to be described as an "ovation."

All the talk about the Constitution and about states' rights on the one side and about democracy on the other means exactly nothing. So far as the Constitution goes, it says in the fourteenth amendment that any state which denies or in any way abridges the right of a citizen to vote, in either a federal or state election, shall have its representation in Congress reduced proportionately. The only exceptions allowed here are for age (those under twenty-one), sex (later changed by the nineteenth amendment) and participation in crime or rebelion.

To any ordinary person this seems fairly clear. The right to vote can't be denied outright and it can't be sneaked away (abridged) by state requirements, except those relating to age or crime. But doesn't the Constitution also say that the states can set up requirements for their own Legislatures and the same requirements for federal elections? Certainly, but the fourteenth amendment is a later addition, and it says that states shall lose representatives if their requirements are other than the mentioned exceptions.

What we say is that neither side in the present fight has ever been so interested in democracy as to try to deprive the Southern states of representatives for their clear and frequent denial of the right to vote to countless citizens, black and white. Northern states have been guilty as well but in a lesser degree. The fourteenth amendment doesn't say, either, that states MAY be deprived of representatives. It says they SHALL be.

Whatever the motives of Roosevelt in the present situation, we are for a federal ballot. We are for every extension of democracy. We are also for unveiling all "frauds," both those of Roosevelt and of his opponents. We are for exposing supposed democratic principles, such as the division of powers (states' rights), when they are used for undemocratic purposes. In the long run (not too long at that) we are for a workers' govern-

ment. It will allow workers to vote right in their factories and to choose their own representatives from their own numbers. The same goes for the soldiers. It will not foster the kind of "town meetings" where "wiser" men make big speeches and the "ignorant" citizens can just ask questions. It will provide for real democratic discussion. It will not have representatives elected for long and fixed terms. Those who forget their duty to the workers or soldiers will be recallable at any time by those workers and soldiers.

Authentic!

For the present the soldier vote scandal demands the formation of an independent Labor Party as a first step toward a workers government. Neither of the capitalist parties, none of the capitalist politicians, is interested in democracy. Many of them are even getting very bold and shameless and admitting this openly. We shall have more to say in fu-

ture issues about other "principles" of American democracy, as they have shown up in connection with the soldier vote.

pected Congress will override, rejects increases on higher income brackets, corporations and excess profits. Big business therefore will continue to garner excessive and record-breaking war profits!

Against this tax bill and any other which will be produced in Washington, LABOR ACTION again issues the only equitable program for taxation, a program which taxes those able to pay and not those who now carry the burden of the war.

Let the rich pay for the war!

Let the government confiscate all war profits!

Let the government limit individual salaries and incomes to \$25,000 a vear!

Let it place a capital levy on the vast accumulated fortunes of America's plutocracy.

No taxation of the working people and the poor!

Juggling Living Cost Figures

By W. WHITE

The top labor leaders are supposed to be conducting a two-pronged attack on the Little Steel formula: (1) a direct drive for sizable hourly wage increases and (2), in case that fails, a flank movement, aimed to show that the Labor Department's cost of living index is way out of line.

Actually, they are playing their old game of ring-around-a-Roosevelt. Back on October 21, more than four months ago, Philip Murray and William Green complained bitterly to the President in a two-hour conference about the Administration's wage-control policies. Having heard similar complaints, and even some hot-air threats, from these same gentlemen at intervals over a period of eighteen months, Roosevelt promised them nothing. He (not they) suggested instead

that a committee of labor, public and industry members be selected from the War Labor Board to decide whether the government's cost of 'living index was "adequate."

Now, after four months, the committee is split wide open. The labor members, expected by their rank and file to show some results, have issued a report showing that since January, 1941, living costs have risen 43.5 per cent instead of the 23.4

claimed by the Labor Department. This report has been attacked by the public and industry members and by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. Now, after four months, the labor members, on February 19, in answer to this opposition, urgently request President Roosevelt for "an investigation of the Department of Labor, which distorts the basic facts of our wartime living costs."

Investigation-A New Game

On October 21 HE suggests a committee to investigate the situation. On February 19 THEY suggest to him an investigation of the situation. If that's not going around in circles, what is?

Investigate the situation? It's perfectly clear already! Do something about it! The ordinary workers wouldn't need much of a hint to know what to do.

Yes, the situation is perfectly clear, and here's a partial time-table to

prove it: November 5: Roosevelt appoints the committee suggested by him on October 21. Funny how much faster he acts when it comes, say, to appointing a man to dispose of the government's "surplus" war property. In appointing the committee, the President told the press that they would report within sixty days. He

gave the members no such order to report, however (Business Week, January 1).

November 9: At a press conference, when asked whether the Little Steel formula should be changed, Roosevelt said that the first thing was to satisfy the people as to what the cost of living really was. He added, what the New York Times reported recognized as a "wisecrack," that "an individual's idea of the cost of living depended upon his wife, his stomach, and the place of his abode."

That the President expected no serious results from the committee had already been shown in his conference with the labor leaders. He told them that the index had shortly before been investigated by the American Statistical Association and found generally accurate (New York Times, November 6). His attitude was: If you'll be satisfied to settle for another investigation, you can have one.

December 6: With the report already overdue, the New York Times learned that at least another month would be needed and that the committee probably would disagree. Another explanation for the delay was that Labor Member R. J. Thomas was unable to come to Washington for meetings regularly-a pretty ex-

(Continued on page 4)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

FEPC Bill Contains Threat to Labor

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Page 2

The National Council for a Permanent Federal Employment Practices Committee is sponsoring House of Representatives Bill 3986 for a permanent FEPC. The bill was introduced by Representatives Thomas Scanlon (D., Pa.), Charles LaFollette (R. Ind.), William D. Dawson (D., Ill.), lone Negro members of Congress, and George H. Bender (R. Ohio).

The bill is described as "establishing the right of freedom from discrimination in employment and setting up a Fair Employment Practices Commission which will continue after the war." A digest of the bill reads:

1. The policy of the United States is to eliminate discrimination in all employment relations subject to the control of the government. Freedom from discrimination is a privilege of citizens which shall not be abridged by the United States or any state.

2. It shall be an unfair employment practice for any employer or labor union to engage in job discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.

If and when established, the commission will consist of a chairman and six others to be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. The commission will have the power to order the hiring or reinstatement with back pay if discrimination is found. The commission may use the federal courts to enforce its orders and have the power to subpoena witnesses and evidence. Interference with the commission will be punishable, on conviction, by a \$5,000 fine, a year's imprisonment or both.

Discrimination Far and Wide

We are for an act of Congress which makes any form of discrimination, segregation or Jim Crow illegal and punishable by fine, imprisonment or both. We prefer that such acts be made a federal criminal offense punishable by imprisonment alone. But this bill confines itself to "job discrimination." It isn't clear to us just how the federal government, with all its discriminatory and Jim Crow practices, will go about advocating or enforcing such a measure.

There is Jim Crow and discrimination in the federal government at Washington and elsewhere. There is political discrimination and Jim Crow in the South in direct violation of the Constitution, and the

federal government has done nothing needs be said that if they do not more than support this discrimination. The federal government sits by while there is Jim Crow in Army and Navy units and it tolerates the to seize on this situation in order to most vicious forms of discrimination throughout the military service.

The federal government builds housing projects and segregates Negro war workers in separate Jim Crow areas. Negro employees are discriminated against right in the government departments at Washington. In the District of Columbia, which is governed directly by appointees of the President and Congress, there is the grossest discrimination.

Despite all of this, we are for a bill which aims at the single object of job discrimination. We are willing to begin at the point where discrimination hurts most directly and painfully. If the Negro masses get more and better jobs, they will be able to improve their conditions and be in a far better position to fight against other forms of discrimination and Jim Crow.

The Bill Errs

There is one section of this bill against discrimination, however, that we are strongly against. We are against the inclusion of labor unions in the bill. That is, we are opposed to that part of the bill which gives CONGRESS the power and authority to control the practices of labor unions. We are unalterably opposed to the disgraceful, anti-working class and vicious practices of some unions in discriminating against Negroes.

These practices are the official policy of some AFL unions and the Railway Brotherhoods. They are not the policy of the CIO but, on the contrary, are distinctly forbidden in the CIO constitutions and by numerous resolutions and decisions of the CIO and its affiliated internationals. And so, no matter how or where the CIO may fall down here or there in the enforcement of its constitution and practice, the bill so far as unions are concerned, is aimed at the AFL and the railway brotherhoods We believe that the anti-Negro and anti-working class practices of the

unions should be fought consistently and with irreconcilable anger and persistence. A thorough housecleaning is needed. But this housecleaning should and must be done by the labor movement itself. And we can say to the AFL, the railway unions and any other unions to whom it

purge themselves of these stinking practices, the unions will find a reactionary Congress willing and ready

get their anti-labor hands on the unions. It is very difficult to understand how this labor union section of the bill could get the support of trade union leaders. We notice the names of Wolchok of the United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees (CIO) and Minkoff, Joint Board, ILGWU (AFL). Do these men and the other labor leaders supporting this bill believe that giving Congress the power to snoop around in the internal affairs of the unions will benefit Negro workers? Don't these labor leaders know that the government already has the power

objecting unions may think? about the hiring or promoting of Negro workers. This has been proved again and again, even before the federal government began financing and

operating the plants. We are for a bill which strikes at the real enemy of the Negro worker: the enemy that really has the power and that is the employer. We are not for permitting the powerful and reactionary capitalist employer to hide behind the skirts of some stunid blind and ignorant union leaders. But we will not support any act or bill which in attempting to

correct one evil institutes one far greater. We will not support a bill which places a club in the hands of Congress with which to beat the whole labor movement. This will be of no certain benefit to the 500,000 Negroes now in trade unions.

If such a bill is passed, including the punitive provisions against labor unions, it would become a bill, not for the protection of Negroes in their rights to a job, but a bill for antiunion acts on the part of a capitalist government. Congress has no interest in forcing unions to admit Negroes or to cease from discriminatory practices against Negroes. Their anti-Negro practices are one of the very few things that Congress and the employers like about unions. If the white workers should put aside

their prejudices and join hands with

the Negro workers, Congress and the

employers would be highly discomfited.

LABOR ACTION

We say again, the breaking up of discrimination and Jim Crow in the labor movement are not the business of Congress nor of any other section

of the government. This is a matter predominantly for the white workers with the assistance, of course, of the Negro workers. We are a part of the labor movement and we have some responsibility for its welfare. Congress has no such responsibility and will not assume it. The trade unions should demand that the part relating to unions should be deleted

Next Week:

Technical reasons made it impossible to print the story on the International Labor Conference. It will appear in the following issue.

Local No. 9 Hears **Appeal of Members**

By BILL FORD

AKRON-Hearings on the appeals of the seventy expelled members of General Local No. 9, URWA, are now under way in Cleveland. These workers were expelled without hearing or trial by President Sherman H. Dalrymple of the International URWA in January and have been out of work since that time. Dalrymple invoked the union's maintenance of membership clause to get them discharged for having fought the company by resort to shutting down their department.

Exact news of the hearings will not be available immediately. Suffice it to say, though, that they are being held before the General Executive Board of the International Union, which has already given Dictator workers in May, 1943. Dalrymple 100 per cent support against the growing wave of protest within the ranks of the International.

Many of the workers who were unconstitutionally expelled and fired by Dalrymple's orders have already been inducted into the Army. The families of all the workers involved are being hard hit financially, but are being given support by their union brothers at General. One worker has been reinstated to his job, as he proved before the hearing that he was home celebrating a peism.

religious holiday at the time he was supposed to be striking. This leaves sisxty-nine workers still robbed of their jobs out of the original seventy-two who were fired.

MASS ACTION Shachtman **Tours Midwest**

Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, has just left **Jim Crow in Capital City** New York City for a tour of leading Midwestern cities to speak on "The Need for an Independent Labor Party.'

This speaking tour will cover Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Akron and Youngstown, Shachtman's speeches will concern themselves with a major question facing the American labor move-

ment and one which is of special importance in the light of the 1944 elections. He will advocate independent political action of labor as the single most important political activity of

ing for "white supremacy." the workers in opposition to the policies of the labor officialdoms who are repeating the age-old but harm-If he wants to get a job on the street ful practice of support to the major political parties of big business. cars in this federal capital, administered by Congress, he will be looked

While on this tour Shachtman will make a survey of labor sentiment for an independent political party based on the trade unions, and will urge immediate steps toward its formation as the means by which to advance and defend the interests of the American workers against the offensive of the bosses on labor's rights and gains.

scale by progressive forces.

danced, ate and drank the refreshments provided just like any other soldier. None of the Negro patrons appeared naked nor, so far as we have been able to learn, has a single white woman been raped. This despite the fact that there are white hostesses as well as Negro hostesses. We must point out also that no Negro hostess has been raped by a white soldier.

upon as a freak.

This is highly displeasing, however, to Representative McKenzie of Louisiana. He is worried. Since the of maneuvering through constitutionwhite soldiers in the Philippines and al red tape, but there is little doubt other places in the Pacific, according that sufficient forces exist within the to Senator Eastland, are fighting for international to force the calling of "white supremacy," Louisiana Mcone-provided sufficient energy and Kenzie doesn't want the efforts of courage are shown on a national the white boys in the Pacific destroyed by Negro and white soldiers Also, last Sunday, Goodyear Local and women mixing in a canteen in of the URWA met here and, under the same city where the White House the pressure of the Stalinist Commuand the Capitol are located.

canteen in the Jim Crow city of

Washington. This is Washington, D.

C., the seat of the federal govern-

ment, with Roosevelt at one end of

Pennsylvania Avenue and Congress

in the Capitol at the other end. This

war for democracy and against fas-

cism is being conducted. This is the

city where a congressman from the

South makes a speech and says that

the white boys in the Army are fight-

There is Jim Crow all over the

place in Washington. If a Negro gets

hungry downtown it's just too bad.

At any rate, the CIO opened the

Jim Crow canteen. Negro sol-

servicemen's canteen and it wasn't

diers were admitted just like any

other soldier. They went there,

the city from which the alleged

nist Party-line elements in the lead-McKenzie wants to know "how ership of this outfit, the local turned can anyone be a party to encourage down a resolution which proposed girls into the arms of Negro soldiers full support to the General unionists at a canteen dance while singing against Dalrymple. This local, it will 'Let Me Call You Sweetheart'?" And be remembered by LABOR ACTION that isn't all, according to McKenzie. readers, is the big union whose This CIO canteen is the only one in Kremlin-minded leadership tried to Washington "which invites both promote back - to - work movements white and Negro servicemen and has and other scabbery during the antiboth white and Negro hostesses." He WLB strike of 50,000 Akron rubber wants to know if the sponsors of the canteen have no "regard for the tra-At Goodrich Local, which so far ditions of the South or the culture of the white race?" If they do. "why stands in the lead in aiding the Genthis dishopor to American womaneral Local strikers against Dalrym-

ple's wrecking crew, it is expected hood?" that the machinery will shortly get At time it seems strange to read under way to hear the formal charges such statements as these of McKenthat have been presented against zie and Eastland coming out of Dalrymple. If he is convicted, he Washington. They sound so much like may find himself without a base in talk that has been coming out of his own local union. The temper of Berlin for the past ten years. But it the Goodrich workers is said to be isn't so strange when one remembers growing still higher against Dalrymthat such talk was heard in the United States long before Hitler was

Topping all this, the rubber barons born. are sitting back laughing and watch-

ditional reason why both white and Negro workers should oppose the The CIO has opened a servicemen's Roosevelt national service act.

By David Coolidge

It is important to record, for the benefit of Negro workers who may not happen to know it, that the Communist Party or whatever it is they call themselves now (we mean the Stalinists) has come out in full support of the national service act.

Curran and Bridges, both members of the CIO Executive Council and leaders of international unions dominated by the Communist Party, rushed into print to support this "slave bill." The Daily Worker and other Stalinist papers supported the proposal. They didn't quiet down until they got to the recent meeting of the CIO Executive Council and found out that Murray was against the national service act. Bridges tried to put up some kind of defense for his position but got a terrific blasting from Murray. These "friends of the Negro people" sink lower and lower as the years go by.

Negro Labor and Unions

In a long political editorial, the Black Dispatch, a Negro weekly published in Oklahoma City, Okla., has the following paragraph in its February 12 issue:

"Negro leadership should recognize that despite some existing evils in its organization, labor represents the most liberal force toward which the black man should gravitate in America. No political party that supports poll-tax laws should be condoned. If labor can liberate the six million white workers now disfranchised down in Dixie, through the operation of poll-tax law, that same group of white workers will in turn free four million black workers as a defensive technique. Care should be given now to the attitude of political parties toward labor unions."

This, of course, is good sense, as the half million Negroes now in the organized labor movement are beginning to learn. They haven't learned all they should, but neither have the white workers, who have been at it far longer.

Lily White Boilermakers

At the recent convention of the Brotherhood of Boilermakers, the delegates had before them the question of the Jim Crow locals for Negroes which this international union has established in many cities. We don't know yet what the results of their deliberations were.

X

The Boilermakers are a tough outfit, and not easily changed. This union is very reactionary. It is filled to overflowing with meanness, ignorance and arrogance. Their consti-

DETROIT - The Ford Motor Com- tion with the local president and bar- which ask, in essence, only that pany was the last major auto manu- gaining committee. facturer to be "cracked" by the UAW.

Ford Company Fights Union

Ford Motor Company bargain in That this was not the most impor-

from this bill. and authority to force the employ-

ment of Negroes, no matter what the Any employer in the United States can hire Negroes in any capacity and no union can stop it, no matter what the opinion of the union is

And now it is following a policy which indicates that it intends to be the first company to "break" the union.

Almost every week during the past several months, Ford workers have found it necessary to go on strike or to hold "work stoppages" and demonstrations protesting various practices of the company at the Willow Run bomber plant, the River Rouge plant and at Highland Park.

Behind every immediate grievance, large or small, is a background of piled-up unsettled grievances, refusal of the company to carry out the provisions of 'the contract, ignoring of union representatives by company officials.

This can be clearly seen in one of the most recent strikes at Highland Park, at the end of January, when almost 6.000 members of Local 400 were out two days in protest against the firing of a building committeeman for some minor offense, and the refusal of the company labor relations officials to negotiate the ques-

report of the meeting of union and management "to discuss ways and means to bring about more harmonious labor relations in Highland Park and the cause and effect of the recent work stoppage." Stating that "the recent work

there.'

whose provocative methods resulted in this work stoppage, strict adherence to seniority in transfers, shift preference, layoff and rehire, discontinuance of patrolling of lavatories by plant protection guards and women counsellors, the establishment of rest periods for women, as well as sitting facilities and rest rooms. Here are a few of the manage-,

ment's insulting and provocative replies to these elementary demands

Six Sessions per Course

New York **Workers Party School** MID-WINTER SESSION 8:15 p.m. History of the American Labor Movement By DAVID COOLIDGE Also at 8:15 p.m. **Elements of Marxian Political Economy** By JOSEPH CARTER

FRIDAY EVENINGS Feb. 18 through March 24

\$1.00 per Course LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue

WORKERS PARTY, 114 West 14th Street		
payment.	the following course	(check one). Enclosed find () Political Economy
Name		
CITY	A AN A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A	State

up to provisions of the contract: tant issue, however, was revealed In reply to the union's demand several days later by a three-page that the two labor relations officers be removed, "the company requests that Brother Ben Garrison (president of the union) be removed and that an administrator is going to be requested by the company to take over the activities of the local union

in view of the unhealthy conditions stoppage which was experienced in that exist. And as for the removal the Ford Highland Park plant was of the labor relations directors, due to many ills which have accu-Messrs. Loew and Ross are going to mulated over the past two months," remain in the Highland Park plant the union made eleven demands upas long as the company wants them on the company, including the removal of two labor relations officials On the matter of transfers, the

> company stated that it reserves the right to transfer any employee whenever it deems it necessary. On the question of patrolling lavatories, the company contends that it is the duty of the plant protection guards and the women counsellors to patrol lavatories. On rest facilities for women, the

company stated that it is living up to Michigan State statutes relative to this question (despite the fact that in NO toilet room in the whole plant is there provided even ONE chair). It claims that in the past

many women have complained that they could not get into the lavatories because the place was cluttered up with sleeping women. This report shows that Ford Mo-

tor Company has taken a definite position on the settlement of grievances and its relationship with the union, that is, it refuses flatly to meet any demands of the union and intends to do just as it pleases, regardless of the contract.

The union now is faced with the question of what to do about it. President Garrison, in his report, correctly places the blame for work stoppages upon the COMPANY but calls upon the WORKERS to uphold "their" no-strike pledge. The union

leadership gives no direction, no guidance to the workers in the shop who are daily feeling the results of the company's policy. Instead of taking a firm offensive against the company, they say "we still have one obligation which the company has failed to assume"-that is, to produce.

The continued failure of the union to take a definite stand against the ·company can lead only to continued sporadic leaderless strikes and stoppages which are doomed to failure by the attitude of the leadership and result in a steady retreat of the union; step by step.

Last Sunday the membership of Firestone Local met and discussed proposals to begin action to secure a special convention of the International to secure justice for the General Local strikers. Just what action was taken by the local is not known at present. The calling of a special convention involves a great amount

A Reader Discovers An Error; We Agree and Explain

Dear Editor:

I was greatly surprised to read your description of the "German-American" as a "liberal German-language weekly" in this week's LA-BOR ACTION. I had thought you people knew the score on Stalinist outfits....

The "German - American" is the sheet put out by the German Stalinists and their stooges in this country. It is the successor, in a way, to the former Stalinist "Volksecho," which collapsed with the advent of the Stalin-Hitler pact (the "Volksecho" itself was a successor to the original Stalinist German publication, "Der Arbeiter," of third period days). The "Volksecho" was merely the Stalinist popular front organ. When Russia was invaded in 1941, the "comrats" rigged up their "German - American Emergency Conference" and launched the "German-American," which conformed at-all times with current Stalinist "militant anti-nazi" lines (in reality, of course, only 100 per cent pro-Stalinist line.)

The late Kurt Rosenfeld, formerly a Social - Democratic functionary in Germany, who during his stay in this country had become a Stalinist popular fronter and general toer of the party line, was very closely connected with this sheet until his death, as are all the current German Stalinists (Anna Seghers, Ludwig Renn, Budo Uhse, and the whole crowd who are behind the so-called "Fries Deutschlands" movement in Mexico, a vicious Stalinist outfit which naturally joins in every incitement against real anti-fascists like Pivert, Serge, Gorkin, etc.)

Of course, I don't agree with the War Department edict banning the

ing how Dalrymple tries to dodge the brickbats being hurled verbally at him from the ranks. They are quite satisfied with his bureaucratic suppression of democracy within the URWA; particularly since their profits continue to grow. The General Tire & Rubber Co. has just announced the highest profits in its history, which are 5.8 per cent higher

of 1942!

sheet (although the "G-A" probably joins with Johannes Steele in demanding the banning of the Social-Democratic "Volkszeitung" from the camps!) and we should all demand that MORE anti-Nazi material be allowed in the prison camps. But let's keep the facts straight-and call a Stalinist a Stalinist!

M. M.

The writer of the above letter is absolutely correct. It just goes to show that we can make a mistake. too. Our mistake was not our criticism of the action of the military authorities and we are glad that M. W. is in agreement with us. We erred in not labeling the German-American Weekly for what it is. It is just one of those slips that happens once in a while.

We cannot leave off, however, without commenting on the action of authorities against this Stalinist sheet. As everyone knows, the Stalinists have become real jingoists. They are scabs in the labor movement, the most dangerous union wreckers.

Even where the labor officialdom is compelled to protest and oppose actions taken by Roosevelt and his Administration, the Communist Party and its members and fellow travelers in the labor movement have supported the former. They have now become the champions of labor slavery, of low wages, incentive pay and "legitimate and high" profits. For their services they merely received a kick in the face, for which the military authorities afterward relented. But this is just what they deserved.

Service Act and Negroes

LABOR ACTION has stated its position on Mr. Roosevelt's national service act, but there is one side that we have not commented on. That is how such a "slave act," how such for 1943 than for even the good year "quack medicine," would affect Negro workers. It has been charged and correctly that this act will tie workers to their jobs, or transfer them from job to job and from town to town for the benefit of the capitalist employers. That is, the biggest benefits from the passage of this bill will come to private industry and give industry a chance to increase its profits.

> If the national service act will be a new slavery for white workers, it will be doubly a new slavery for Negro workers. It will give employers a new club to use in their discriminatory acts against Negroes. If workers are to be chained to the job, that means that Negro workers will be chained to the worst jobs.

Under this act it will be very easy for some Negro-hating foreman or employer to make out a case of keeping Negroes in the most dangerous, the heaviest, dirtiest and lowest paid jobs. All the employer has to do is "prove" that they are needed in this or the other job. This is only an ad-

tution and methods of admitting members are an echo from the dim past. Furthermore, their constitution is so framed as to keep out Negroes, Chinese and other colored races.

Under the heading, "Subordinate Lodge Constitution," Article VI. "Qualifications for Membership," appears the following:

"Section 1. An applicant for membership must be a male citizen of some civilized country between the ages of sixteen (16) and seventy (70) years...all applicants must be balloted for, and three black balls may reject any candidate. When three or more black balls are cast they must be explained, after which it will require a two-thirds majority vote of the members present at a regular meeting to declare said applicant eligible to membership."

Evidently this international believes that Negroes in the United States are not citizens or that the United States is not a civilized country. At any rate, Negroes are not admitted to the Boilermakers Union. Whereas on the West Coast there are many Negro workers in shipyards coming under AFL and the Boilermakers' jurisdiction, Negroes are barred and Jim Crowed into separate locals under a Negro stooge and traitor. The FEPC and the WMC have had this matter under advisement for about six months but, so far as we know, nothing has been done.



LABOR ACTION

Only Socialism Can Bring Peace and Freedom

In behalf of the National Committee, I call the third national convention of the Workers Party to order and extend a comradely welcome to all the delegates and guests.

Almost four years have passed since our founding convention in April, 1940.

Those who assembled in that convention were not newcomers to the principles of revolutionary socialism and the struggle for their vindication.

They met to reassert their attachment to these principles and to continue the preparations for the victory.

The Second World War, which we had foretold and warned the people against, was already six months old. The imperialist lie of a durable peace that was to follow the First World War gave way to the imperialist lie that the second world slaughter within the life of a single generation was a just war.

To one extent or another, every public organization in the country, every organization of the working class included, became the propagator or the victim of this lie. But there was one exception, and the significance and value of its position are still to be realized, in full. That exception was our young party, mature, however, in the ideas, traditions and principles of the great builders of international socialism which it made its own on the day it was founded.

We branded the lie for what it was. We solemnly declared that Truth, first victim of the war, would continue to find in us an unyielding champion. We declared that England, France and Poland were not fighting for democracy or against fascism, but for imperialist gain and power; and that, in this decisive respect, they differed not at all from the equally predatory Axis. .

We urged upon the workers of this country that they too would find themselves catapulted into the imperialist war, with all the appalling suffering and mounting reaction that would follow, unless they took over control of society by estabishing a workers' government.

THE ROLE OF STALINIST RUSSIA

We refused to give our support or sanction to either of the two imperialist camps. We rejected with merited contempt the Stalinist swindle that Russia-ally of Hitler!-was fighting a war of liberation. We rejected just as decisively the self-deception of those well-intentioned revolutionists who declared that Stalin's Russia was fighting a just war of national defense that deserved the unconditional support of the international working class.

It is not true, we said. Stalin, jointly with Hitler, is fighting a war of imperialist expansion. The loot of the war is to be divided between them. Stalin comes not as a liberator but as a slavemaster

Against the two war camps, we said, the banner of the Third Camp must be raised. That is the banner of the oppressed classes and nations, of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and the working class of the advanced countries. It is the banner of the struggle against imperialist war and for the triumph of socialism. Our task, we said at our founding convention, is to maintain confidence in the emergence of the Third Camp again, is to keep that perspective constantly before us, and to work with all our strength to organize that camp and promote its victory.

We continued to hew to it when the first big shift occurred in the war camps. When the two big partners of the Axis fell out between themselves, when Hitler launched his attack upon Russia, when Stalin was obliged to leap into the camp of his enemies of yesterday-we did not follow suit. The democratic imperialists suddenly found only virtues in the same Stalinist Russia where they had seen only vices the day before. In return, the Stalinists rediscovered the virtues of imperialist democracy which up to the day before they had excoriated as mainly responsible for the war and its continuation.

Our critics inside the radical movement, who condemned us as the "petty bourgeois opposition" and "capitulators to bourgeoisdemocratic pressure" because we refused to support Stalin's Russia when it was allied with Hitler, confidently expected that we would now turn coat, presumably under the same "bourgeoisdemocratic pressure," now that Stalin's Russia was allied with that citadel of democracy, the British Empire. There were a baker's dozen among us who, to use our critics' language, did thereupon capitulate to bourgeois-democratic pressure and called upon us to come now to the "defense of the Soviet Union." Inasmuch as the pressure or interests or politics of capitalist democracy never determined our basic line, we did not heed this call. The capitulators quit our ranks and, lo and behold, were received with open arms by none other than our calumniatory critics!

We reaffirmed our fundamental position toward

Speech by Max Shachtman, National Secretary, Opening the Convention of the Workers Party of the U.S.A.

We stated that national defense in this war could mean for us only one thing, the defense of the position and the interests of the working class.

We weighed every word, not out of fear, but out of a feeling of the heavy resposibility that lay upon us as a working class socialist organization, and of the attacks to which we would be subjected for our uncompromising principled position by governmental reaction and reaction inside the labor movement. We did not have to tell the workers the truth about the war and about the role they should play in it. We did it as a matter of course, we did it because we were trained that way, because it was our . elementary duty to our class and to ourselves.

And that is our great pride, which nobody shall ever take from us and to which we shall always be faithful. It is the great tragedy of the American labor movement that its leaders and spokesmen decided to suppress the truth, and with it to render labor. docile, to tie it to the machine of imperialism. It is our great pride that, despite our smallness in numbers, despite the ominous threats of persecution implicit in the trial of the Minneapolis Case just before war was declared, we nevertheless spoke out with the same simple and honest words that we learned from the lips of the fearless unconquerables of the First World War, Lenin and Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

Now the war is in its fifth year, following four years of such devastation and so much killing as the world has never before known or dreamed of.

And our truth is making its way!

Millions are awakening to the realization in this country that under cover of this war for democracy capital is coining unheard-of blood profit, is becoming increasingly arrogant, is determined to wipe out the economic and political standards of the working class.

Millions are having their illusions disturbed and even dispelled at the sight of the imperialist democrats doing all in their power to prevent the authentic voice of the people from being heard in the very lands from which the Axis oppressors have been driven; at the sight of the Darlans, Girauds and Badoglios with whom the Allies seal their compacts of friendship.

Our predictions about Russia's role in the war also become increasingly confirmed by events. What is left of all the pernicious nonsense about Russia fighting a just war, a war of liberation, a war of national defense? Not very much. What has happened to the tongues of those who amused themselves so much by deriding us for speaking of Stalin's imperialist aggression and plans for expansion? They do not wag so animatedly today. They don't wag because they are hanging out at the spectacle of Stalin's now widely recognized plan for annexing and subjugating Poland; his plan for converting Yugoslavia into a vassal state; his plan for establishing the totalitarian rule and terror of the Kremlin bureaucracy over as many nations and as many peoples as his armed forces and the agreement of his imperialist allies make possible. The myth of the "unconditional defense of the Soviet Union" is beginning to evaporate.

FAITH IN THE WORKERS CONFIRMED

And what has happened to the tired and retired radicals, the cynics, the faint hearts; the turncoats, who asked us at the beginning: Where is your famous Third Camp? They are not so derisive now. The Third Camp is growing in power and growing in consciousness! After more than twenty years in power, Italian fascism lies in ruins, and the Italian working class is once more on the march. All over Europe can be heard the rumblings of the approaching' revolution. All over Hitler-dominated Europe the earth shakes with the heroic efforts of the revolutionary workers and peasants in the illegal underground-workers and peasants who do not want to overturn the Nazi overlords merely in order to restore the old power of the old bankers, monopolists and landlords, who do not want a return to the old order but an advance to the new-workers and peasants in whom can be seen, through all the vapors of nationalism and of political prejudices and illusions, the authentic aspiration for a world of freedom, of peace, of brotherhood, of equality, of security-the kind of world that only

I said that the significance and value of the exceptional position that our party alone took when the war broke out is yet to be realized in full. In that position is our great capital, for our capital is our principles.

The workers are beginning to awaken to the realities of the war, the fundamental realities. They are beginning to think, and to think deeply. As the illusions wear off, as clarity dawns, the resentment of the deceived people will grow at a great pace.

But with it will grow the question in their minds: Why were we deceived again, as we were in 1914 and in 1917? And they will begin to see: There was one party that told us the truth from the very beginning. There was one party that told the truth when it, was not popular to tell it. It told the truth because it was devoted to the interests of the people, of the working class. And even when we did not believe what it said about the war, it nevertheless stood by our side in every fight we fought to defend our rights and our standards. That is the party for us.

In a very small way-for we do not want to exaggerate-in a small but highly gratifying way, that process has already begun among workers in this country.

OUR PARTY CARRIES ON

The most impressive sign of it is the great circulation and the tremendous sympathy of our magnificent LABOR ACTION among tens of thousands of workers in this country. Tens of thousands already look upon our LABOR ACTION as the paper which best expresses their feelings, their aspirations, their interests. Thousands have already been won to the program it stands for, won to it, to be sure, only in part for the time being, but in that part whose acceptance logically leads to acceptance of the whole.

Our party has not grown as rapidly as LABOR ACTION has. But it has grown and the manner in which it has grown is indicative of the bigger things ahead. Like LABOR ACTION, our party has been in the midst of every working class struggle in this country in which we have been able to enter.

We did not decide, when the war broke out, that the first and main task of the revolutionary socialist party is to "preserve the cadres" by remaining silent in the factories and the unions, by effacing ourselves in the actual class struggle, by sowing defeatism among the workers. Our teacher Trotsky warned, just before the war, that a party that acted that way in the difficult days would deserve, after the war, to be treated by the workers like "preserves," that is, to be put on a shelf. We therefore left that policy as the exclusive possession of the critics who specialize in calling us the "petty bourgeois opposition."

For our part, we entered as actively as our strength permitted into every fight of the workers, seeking everywhere to heighten their class consciousness, to imbue them with a determination to defend themselves and their rights from the attacks of capitalist reaction, to emphasize to them the need of turning to a counteroffensive.

Because of our position and our activity, we brought down upon our heads repeated attacks from reactionaries. They are not disturbed by the existence of the Social-Democratic vegetables. They are not worried about the activities of Norman Thomas, who sometimes calls himself the Socialist Party. The Stalinists are doing all in their power to break the back of the labor movement, and to that extent they meet with approval and not reprobation from the ranks of reaction. We are different, thank God. That is why the Post Office authorities tried to harrass LABOR ACTION which always tells the truth. That is why the Stalinists attack us in their venomous way in the Daily Worker, for they have felt the effects of our influence among the workers in the unions and it is not pleasant for them. That is why you can find repeated attacks upon us in the official publications of the labor bureaucracy of one union after another-in highly gratifying contrast to the approval with which we are greeted by the rank and file workers. We are not ashamed of these attacks. They are a testimony to us. The reactionaries attack us, but the best rank and file militants are finding their way straight into the ranks of our party.

You will remember that when we first founded our party

Today that hope is on the way to realization. We are well established and ably represented among Negro sharecroppers and day laborers, as their delegates to this convention will testify. They were won to our party, not by abstractions, not by mere sermons on socialism, but above all, by comradeship in actual strug-

In the deep South they saw how LABOR ACTION fought with them and for them during the splendid and courageous fight of the Negro and white sharecroppers of southeast Missouri. Thousands know from direct experience that LABOR ACTION was the ONLY labor paper to do so, week in, week out.

Let me here, parenthetically, pillory the disgraceful attitude of The Militant, in the course of the southeast Missouri strike. For the entire period of three months during which this most important single action of the Negro people in the United States was being prepared and carried on, The Militant could not find space in any of its issues for so much as a paragraph, a word, even a syllable, that as much as mentioned the struggle. Its silence was due not to ignorance of the facts, but solely to its disgustingly factional narrow-mindedness, which impelled it to remain silent about so important an event on the ground that LABOR ACTION, its spokesmen and its friends, had some connection with the fight.

The process of growth of which I spoke will continue. Our ranks will swell. Our task will be performed by ever greater numbers.

To facilitate the accomplishment of our task is the primary purpose of our national convention. It is summoned to hear an 'account of the stewardship of the party from its national committee and to pass judgment upon it.

It is called not primarily to approve, but to criticize, so that we may be able to do better in the next period.

It is called not merely to listen, but to exchange views, to exchange experiences, to give all the benefit of the opinions and experiences of each.

It is called to establish the political line of the party for the next period-this above all. It is not our basic principles that need to be established; that was done by us and for us long ago. It is our current political program that is involved.

That must be decided by you, as is our good custom. We are not at a Communist Party convention-if such gatherings are still held -where the delegates come to find out at what hour they are supposed to vote unanimously for the latest switch in policy worked out for them by the GPU. In fact, we are not at all the kind of convention or party that takes particular pride in its "unanimity."

We are happy, instead, that there are not only fruitful exchanges of opinion in the party, that there are not only differences and discussions of differences in the party, but that we have the kind of party in which such differences are possible, in which such discussions are possible and profitable, and in which ample provision is made for the democratic conduct of the discussions and the democratic settlement of the differences. Discussion is our life's blood, and we will not drain it for the embalming fluid of "monolithic unanimity."

We will discuss-again as is our custom-with much vigor. That is not the worst thing in the world, in my opinion. I have always felt that only those views and convictions that are not of importance, or that are not seriously entertained, can be put forward in a dispute without "passion." If the limits of propriety are sometimes overstepped that is not as bad, I think, as the kind of dispute that is discussed so lackadaisically that the only thing it can produce is the yawn of boredom.

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO US

But the discussions, however passionate, are aimed, and must be aimed, at providing the party with such a policy, or policies, as enable it best to fulfill its revolutionary working class and socialist duties, as enable it best to serve the working class, as enable it best to recruit into its ranks the most conscious, the most self-sacrificing, the most devoted and the most militant members of the working class.

We have people who know how to work-others are in training. Their tools are the policies of the party, which will be reaffirmed, revised or expanded upon at this convention.

We have people with unshakable convictions and a deep, ineradicable confidence that win we can and win we shall.

We have people with warranted optimism, for after all it is the OLD social order that is crumbling into a new barbarism which entitles its defenders only to the right to pessimism,

We have all of us just had another and most dramatic example of the irrepressibility of the proletariat and its all but magic pow-

whole and toward Russia's participation in it.

OUR PARTY TOLD THE TRUTH

Our second national convention met virtually on the eve of the tragic events of Pearl Harbor and the declaration of war in this country. Even under the tremendous stress of these events, our party did not flinch or waver for a moment.

Qurs was the only organization in the entire country, the only one, that made public a declaration in which we stated, weighing every word, that the character of the war had not been changed by the entry into it of the United States, and that as a consequence our attitude toward the war could not and would not be altered.

socialism can create

Our confidence in the reanimation of the Third Camp has been justified. We were right a thousand times over, and the Allied imperialists know it better than anyone else. That is why they can argue and intrigue against each other; that is why they can quarrel over and over again about the spoils; that is why they can (and have to) meet in conference after conference-Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin-and find no fundamental agreement-except on one point: the coming revolution of the masses must be crushed jointly and with all the force at our disposal. That revolution they fear more than anything else, more even than they fear the expansionist plans of their respective partners, and they are entirely justified in their fears!

critics predicted hopefully: "You will disintegrate. In six months there will be nothing left of you." We refused to accommodate the prophets. In one city after another our branches have been recruiting new members from out of big factories and mills, from shipyards and ships, and from the farms, the best workers, the best fighters, the best unionists.

We are especially jubilant at the progress of our influence among Negro workers. At our last convention we had in attendance two Negro agricultural workers from the deep South, representing a great hope for our party. It is only the party that wins this most exploited, poverty-stricken and disinherited section of the toiling population that really deserves the name of a revolutionary socialist party.

ers of recuperation-the revolution in Italy. A class like that cannot be destroyed.

Socialism, the historic mission of that class, cannot be indefinitely postponed.

We, soldiers of socialism, have thus far met our tests and passed them not badly. The really decisive test is still a distance off in this country.

Between now and then, let this convention so prepare the party for that test of tests to come-for the socialist society-let the party as a whole so prefare itself that when the hour strikes our class will say of us:

"They did their duty and did it well; "Our freedom is witness to it."

United Mine Workers Journal Tells Truth About the Cost of Living

(Reprinted from the United Mine Workers Journal)

Three years ago, the Journal attacked the Bureau of Labor's cost of living statistics as being antiquated and unrepresentative of actual living costs. We insisted that the statistics were predicated and calculated upon a phony base: that the formula used and items included were outmoded, and the geography covered too limited.

The AFL and CIO, however, accepted the Bureau of Labor statistics as a base for the establishment of the Little Steel formula. The UMWA was attacked on many fronts rejecting the BLS, as well as the Little Steel formula.

In February, 1943, the UMWA gathered spot food costs from pivotal centers throughout the coal regions. The high average of these compilations of increased living costs, as between August, 1939, and February, 1943, showed an increase of 125 per cent for food items. The lowest average of increased food costs ascertained from certain coal areas was 84 per cent. During this period fresh vegetables had soared 25 to 50 per cent above what they are even now selling for. The necessity for the people to shift their food purchasing in accordance with the rationing points issued constituted an increase of approximately 20 per cent.

When bituminous wage negotiations started in New York on March 10. President Lewis presented these food-cost-increase figures to prove that the miners' earnings were inadequate to provide the necessary and proper diet. Professional statisticians employed by coal operators, and phony cost-of-living conference boards immediately set up a great

howl. Every form of trick statistical performance was indulged in to disprove the cost figures presented by the UMWA.

Shortly after the mine workers' expose of food price gyrations, certain leaders of the AFL and CIO were forced to take cognizance of the disparity between the Little Steel formula, the BLS and actual price increases

They indulged in radio addresses. They made statistical surveys in certain cities and, invariably, a comparison of food-cost increases found and publicly stated by the AFL and CIO representatives substantiated the findings of the UMWA.

Instead of pressing for the abolition of the Little Steel formula, and a true application of wage rates with food costs, they accepted the phony "roll-back-and-subsidy" program of the Administration's "burrocrats." They vacated their right of leadership to accept bamboozlement at the hands of the alleged "smart boys.". But, as we have repeatedly stated, the leaders of labor, like those of political parties, in periods of rapid change are often behind the rank and file of their membership. And so, as time went on, they were forced to demand either fulfillment of the roll-back promises or the abolition of the Little Steel formula-in other words, an upping in the allowable percentage of wage increases under

the Little Steel formula. Several months ago, President Roosevelt authorized the WLB to make a new study of the cost of living. This was the President's way of prolonging and delaying recognition of increased living costs. AFL and CIO representatives had to demand and receive some governmen-

tal recognition of the situation, since consideration of the food cost inthe rank and file of labor, from the creases. first days of the expose made by the UMWA, had become more and more and industry members of the invesinsistent in their demands that their tigating committee have blocked the officials do something about it-ad- investigation in every way possible

PRICE: \$1.50 PAPER

Paper and Cloth Bound Copies of

As was to be expected, the public just the wage formula to an honest in order to gain whatever advantages

The New Course -- By Leon Trotsky

Struggle for the New Course Shachtman

ARE ON SALE NOW!

You can get your copies by ordering from the:

NEW INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHING CO.

and the weeks

there might be from delay. Labor members, however, finally mustered the courage to act on their own responsibility. In an 80-page mimeographed report, labor representatives found the cost of living had advanced 43.5 per cent, and food 74.2 since Jan-

uary, 1941-this base date being six- Housefurnishings 62.0 teen months after the outbreak of the European war and after commodity prices and foodstuffs had skyrocketed to substantially higher levels.

The 43.5 per cent increase found by the labor representatives is approximately twice the 23:4 per cent reported by the BLS. The labor representatives did not have the staff necessary to take into the fullest account the deterioration in quality of clothing and accessories; nor the constant shifting in food items in the American diet necessitated by point rationing. As an example, every time it becomes necessary for a housewife to buy a food item at a higher cost than she would have purchased if she had the points with which to purchase the lower priced item, it necessarily increases living costs. When the housewife is forced through restricted point rationing from purchasing meat, and substitutes eggs at 60 to 70 cents a dozen for a family of five, such substitution reflects a sizeable percentage increase in the cost of preparing a meal. These necessary shifts alone account for a tremendous increase in living costs.

(The labor report made no independent analysis of the items listed as "miscellaneous" and "fuel" but accepted the BLS figures in these

BLS Report Index Up Pct. Up Pct. Group 74.2 40.2 72.2 33.7 15.0 8.6 Fuel, etc.

3.0

8.6

27.8 Miscellaneous 15.9 15.9 All Commodities _____ 43.5 23.4

It is our opinion that the increased living costs reported by the labor representatives constitute, a minimum, for the reason that the OPA attempts to regulate most of the prices contained in the BLS index, while , numerous other necessary items, uncontrolled, have reflected twice the increase of many of those contained in the index.

As proof of this contention, it is only necessary to refer to the commodity price index of the New York Journal of Commerce. Based on average wholesale prices of August 15, 1939, that Journal's base index (100) shows the following increases:

Feb. 4. 1944

a second s	100000
Daily Index	178.2
Grains	250.1
Foods	159.3
Textiles	171.5
Metals	122.1
Miscellaneous	181.8

Thus it will be seen that while the general index has increased only 78.2,. grains, the staff of life, have increased 150.1. The index covers raw commodity prices. Turning to the BLS, we find that, between August, 1939, and January 15, 1944, domestic farm products increased, 118.1. Handling charges and profit margins have likewise registered substantial increases which, added to the increased cost of raw farm products, should make it patent to anyone that the Bureau of Labor's food cost findings do not reflect the true rise in food prices. Every housewife knows as much.

114 West 14th Street

By Max

New York 11, N.Y.

categories.) Labor

Food \$2.00 CLOTH Clothing Rent

EDITORIAL PAGE

The Baruch Plan

LABOR ACTION

Page 4

"Democratic" Powers Debate While

For Monopoly and Profits Jews of Europe Face Doom

By EUGENE VAUGHN

With production for the sake of the war effort reaching its highest level, the problem of reconversion and post-war planning looms larger and larger in the long-winded discussions and the voluminous documents published by the members of the Roosevelt Administration.

The Baruch-Hancock report submitted to President Roosevelt is the most recent contribution to the proposals for reconversion and postwar planning, and is in reality the consummation of all of the "practical" thinking done on the subject.

The dish cooked up by Bernard M. Baruch, head of the War and Post-War Adjustment Advisory Unit of the Office of War Mobilization, and his assistant, John M. Hancock, chairman of the Joint Contract Termination Board, is in reality a dainty dish, most enjoyable to the captains of industry and finance.

Mr. Baruch, himself a very successful industrialist and financier, knows quite well the needs of business, and his proposals are motivated by these very needs. An analysis of what this report proposes, or rather an analysis of what this report fails to mention, tells a very interesting story. This, coupled with several other facts, proves once again what LABOR ACTION has maintained continuously: Any reconversion or post-war plan instituted by the capitalist government of the United States must (in the opinion of the capitalists) be promulgated in the interest of business profits, the welfare of the working taking at best a secondary or worse position in relation to the welfare of the capitalist profit enterprise.

BARUCH WANTS NO NEW DEAL

To really appreciate the conservatism of the Baruch-Hancock plan, one must consider it against the background of the erstwhile mouthings of the several government boards and agencies about the possible beautiful future which les in store for the American masses in the post-war millenium. The readers of LABOR ACTION must surely remember the report published not so very long ago by the National Resources Planning Board, a board whose efforts were inaugurated by President Roosevelt himself.

The gist of these "liberal" economic doctrines is that it is the duty of the government of the United States to assure the American people that the economic bankruptcy of the Thirties will not recur in the post-war period. It therefore becomes necessary for the American government to underwrite full employment. In order to underwrite full employment, the government must enter actively into the business activity of the community. Never again must the discredited system of "free enterprise" be given full responsibility in the employment of all the members of the community.

The government must make employment for those left idle by private enterprise. In carrying out its employment policy, the government must institute a social security program, social legislation, housing, medical service, etc. The main concern of the economic community must not be profit but the welfare of the laboring people.

Such patter is just the thing on which liberals thrive. However, what effect does this kind of thing have upon a government which serves the capitalist class? None whatsoever, and the report of Mr. Baruch proves this. Let us now look into the Baruch-Hancock plan. Let us see what it holds in store for the American labor movement and the American working class.

PLAN FOR BIG BUSINESS

The foremost aspect of the plan is the role it delegates to big business in ordering and organizing the reconversion process. Mr. Baruch pro-

sion, to help private enterprise make the hurdle of reconversion. This proposal comes at a time when, according to the economists of the Department of Commerce, there will be between ten and twenty billion dollars left for plant and employment expansion after private industry finances its own reconversion even to the sum of \$36,000.000.-000. There's nothing too much for American initiative and free enterprise, argues Mr. Baruch!

All terminated war contracts must be paid quickly. Likewise all unfinished orders must be paid for in full. What will happen with these-unfinished orders which the government will probably never use and perhaps never receive does not concern Mr. Baruch. The companies will undoubtedly make some of them and plenty of extra lucre will materialize from this windfall.

The plan insists that the foremost task of the government must be to extricate itself from all business activity. That must remain the domain of private capital and "free enterprise." This is a far cry from the economic doctrine of the liberals that the government must take an active part in the economy.

FREE ENTERPRISE AND MONOPOLY

The blatant hypocrisy of the capitalists is best expressed by their demand for free enterprise. Actually the term free enterprise is a misnomer. for what the capitalists really want is something very far from free enterprise.

A free enterprise system is a system where the individual capitalist seeks out his market for his products, engages in free competition, hires his employees from a free labor market in which the individual laborer may hire himself out or quit his job at his own free will.

Also, a capitalist under a free enterprise system borrows his money capital from private bankers at the rate prevalent in the money market. But under the conditions of modern enterprise, the capitalist prefers to have his market guaranteed either by a monopolistic control or by a government at war which orders his product before he even begins producing.

He prefers to have his laborers frozen to their jobs and even his money capital is lent to him most of the time by a willing government at very low rates. Yet wise Mr. Baruch wishes to see free enterprise flourish in the United States.

But does Mr. Baruch say anything about public works or the common man? Oh, yes! He does say something. "Early engineering, planning and designing of public works are to be put on the sheft for use if needed." According to Mr. Baruch "free enterprise" has yet to prove itself incapable of bringing about full employment. The unemployment experience of the Thirties is as nothing to wise Mr. Baruch.

As to full employment, Baruch suggests that in the Office of War Mobilization, a "Work Director" be appointed to "see that the human side of demobilization is not forgotten!" This "Work Director" is to be a man of "such outstanding caliber as to command the immediate confidence of the country.'

Social planning, full employment are the stock in trade of cranks like Wallace. However these considerations play no role at all in the economic plans of an astute business man like Bernard M. Baruch. Mr. Wallace may talk all he wishes, but Mr. Baruch's words will carry weight with the government of the capitalist ruling class.

Full employment and social security are possible of attainment for the working class. But they are possible without the Baruchs and without the wishy-washy Wallaces. They are only possible in a workers' society of production for use and not too, profits for big business are most important of

By JESSIE KAAREN

About one million European Jews who are now dead might have been saved if Palestine had been opened to unrestricted Jewish immigration during the past five years, according to conservative estimates put forward by leaders of Jewish organizations in this country.

Although there are several million Jews in other parts of the world who are deeply moved by this tragedy and are willing to supply the funds and set up the rescue machinery to save the Jewish survivors, hundreds of Jews die daily in the concentration camps of Poland. in the labor battalions of the Nazis, in the barracks of Hungary, Siberia, Rumania and other countries, because there is no place for them to escape to.

Huddled as they are in remote corners of Europe, it is impossible to arrive at a figure of the number of Jewish survivors of the Nazi blitzkrieg against them. But there are at least hundreds of thousands, if not millions, that could be rescued in spite of the war and Nazi supervision if the Allied governments were to put into action the fine sounding phrases they devote themselves to like those in the Atlantic Charter.

Jews and Palestine

Palestine is the only country that welcomes the Jewish refugees and is the only place where the Jewish community makes provisions to integrate them into its national life. It is ridiculous to say that after the war the European Jews can go back to their native lands. The fires of anti-Semitism that were started by the Nazis will be fanned even higher after the war by the conditions of starvation, disease and unemployment that will rock Europe.

Jewish refugees can be given new leases on life in Palestine and helped by funds from outside. They can aid in developing Palestine into an independent, industrialized nation. Outside funds will be forthcoming as they have been for a long time because Jews all over the world are interested in building a Jewish national home and the necessary talent is already at hand, as evidenced by the relatively good growth that Palestine has experienced since the last war, because of the settlement there of almost half a million Jews.

In the past four years, millions of dollars have been raised by the Jews of the United States, England, South Africa, Palestine and other countries for relief in Europe, and a corps of relief againcies already has been set up. Relief officials understand and stress constantly the urgency of the job of rescue.

director of the War Refugee Board, are impressed by the American pres-

he says that the job of rescue must be done within the next few months or there will be no job to do at all. He says another interesting thing, one which proves that if words were horses, many Jews could have been brought out of Germany, Poland, Rumania and the Balkans from under the noses of the Nazis. Mr. Pehl says it will be one of the tasks of the War Refugee Board (a U. S. government agency) to speed the flight of refugees from occupied countries through the underground.

This is an admission that many lives could have been saved if the "democratic" nations had been sincerely interested in democracy, instead of being merely anxious to "make the record." The big stumbling block in the work of relief was that too much reliance was placed by Jewish leaders on favors to be wrung from Great Britain. Again and again, the relief agencies came up against the stone wall of British diplomacy, but they continued to spend the major part of their efforts in diplomatic deals. Conditions have worsened instead of improved because the White Paper provision restricting all further Jewish immigration into Palestine goes into effect this April.

Congressional Action

It is with this background in mind that we must consider the resolutions on Palestine that are now before the House and Senate in Washington. As far as the United States government is concerned, it would like to see the Jews safely settled in Palestine so that there will be less pressure against the American immigration restrictions. So it costs nothing to placate over four million Jewish voters in the United States by introducing resolutions (bi-partisan) which ask that "the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

What can the Jewish masses in this country and the refugees they wish to save expect from such resolutions even if they are passed? The resolutions do not even come out openly in denunciation of Britain's White Paper because that would be too embarrassing. There is nothing said about opening the doors of the United States to unrestricted Jewish immigration.

Congress is simply making another John W. Pehl, recently appointed hypocritical gesture. If the British

when he was brought back to this

country to be tried as an agent of

Hitler. It was disclosed that he had

been in close relation with the Ger-

man war machine. Vichy collabora-

tors. American friends of fascism,

The dear friend of the Prince of

Wales, now governor of Nassau, was

Before this country entered the

war he went about freely, making

his connections with the fascist re-

gimes in Europe and representing

them in the Allied countries. For

all of this, he earned himself a pretty

penn. No one stopped him; no one

interfered with him. Only the war

simply mirrors their concern when sure behind these congressional measures, it will mean another small trickle of Jewish immigration into Palestine, at best. But there is no assurance that even this much good will come of it.

The British are conducting a very powerful campaign of their own. They have sent an official of the **British Ministry of Information, Miss** Freya Stark, on a lecture tour of this country to prove that the White Paper is a just document. In Palestine itself, they use harsher techniques. There they impose long prison terms on the leaders of Jewish settlements who are in charge of self- defense, while encouraging the illegal arming of the Arabs by imposing only nominal sentences on Arabs for the same offense. The British have extended a warm welcome to the extreme Arab nationalist leaders who had to go into exile at the beginning of the war because of their pro-Axis dealings.

Turkey permits only a small number of immigrants to travel across the country en route to Palestine. and Iran does the same. What are these except the result of the machinations of the British Foreign Office?

A close study of Britain's Palestinian relations during the years following the close of World War I will convince anyone that Britain is not moved by concern for either the Jews or the Arabs. It will go to extreme lengths to keep the Arabs in check and to prevent the Jews from developing Palestine. It will not release its grip on one barrelful of oil except to the superior capitalistic force of the United States. It will not permit any sentiments of freedom or democracy to endanger its control of the Suez Canal and India.

Jewish Disillusionment

The Jewish masses throughout the world are already bitterly anti-British, and American Jews are gradually becoming disillusioned with the fine phrases of the American government. In Palestine the Jews tend more and more to cooperate with the Arabs in actions against the British: the lesson is being hammered home by cruel events that Jews and Arabs will have to fight for their independence from the British in a grouping that gives equal status to the Arabs and the Jews.

The condescending status that is implied in the term "Jewish Commonwealth" will have to be revised. In this struggle the Palestinian Jews will undoubtedly be able to count, on considerable material support from the Jewish masses throughout the world who are becoming more and more disgusted with the weakness and conservatism of their leadership.

ON FASCISM What Some Liberals and Educators Said

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University and Nobel Prize winner for peace, once announced to the world that "Italian national vigor was being reborn with the advent of fascism," that it was safe to predict that just as Cromwell made modern England, so Mussolini would make modern Italy: that "fascism is a form of government of the very first order of excellence": that "we should look to Italy to show us what its experience and insight have to teach in the crisis confronting the twentieth century." Dr. Butler was proud to announce his warm friendship for Mussolini and that he had a notion that "Rome might again become the capital of the Western world" because "Italy had an intelligent and eager leadership and accordingly interesting things might happen in the next few years."

Richard Washburn Child, who was sent as American Ambassador to Italy by the Harding Administration, drew such an idealized picture of fascist Italy and Mussolini that he made even the fascists laugh. A couple of years later he wrote a book, which appeared in English under his editorship, as an autobiography of Mussolini from material, mostly lies, which Mussolini admitted he and his brother gave him. This book was so full of lies that he didn't even dare to publish it in Italian. Professor Brown of Princeton University wrote of the corporative state in Italy as "the most amazing creation of fascism for the solution of the thorny probem of the relations between capital and labor," and that it was "an extraordinary achievement worthy of the closest study and ad-

miration." T. K. Haydon, an English Catholic, wrote a book entitled, "Fascism and Providence," to tell us that it is not excluded that "God sent an angel to whisper in the ear of Benito Mussolini."

Those were the days when Winston Churchill could say in an interview granted in January, 1927: "If I were an Italian, I would don the fascist Black Shirt." In 1931 he admired "the monumental work of Mussolini" and that "the best years which Spain had known had been those lived under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera." In the September, 1938, issue of Collier's magazine, he ranked Mussolini far above Washington and Cromwell, and extolled the Italian King for helping fascism. Even as late as December, 1940, he said that Mussolini was "a great man."

Churchill's supporter, Lord Lloyd, wrote a pamphlet, "the British Case," with an introduction by Lord Halifax in December, 1939, three months after the war broke out, and stated that "above all, the Italian genius has developed in the characteristic fascist institutions a highly authoritarian regime which, however, threatens neither religion nor economic freedom nor the security of other European nations." and that "there is much in the Italian labor charter which we should, and do, admire."

And Roosevelt was no better. His most laudatory and more or less official biographer could write: "Now it should be clear. All of these people-the writers, the presidents of universities, the 'liberals,' Roosevelt and Churchill-should not shock anybody by their actions. They are consistent representatives of their countries' imperialistic aims."

X

4

A Southern Gentleman **On Capital Punishment**

poses the continuance into the reconversion and post-war period of the Industry Advisory Committees set up by the WPB. He even proposes to augment the actual power of the committees. It never enters the mind of Baruch the darling of big business, to call labor unions into consultation with regard to the economic problems of the community.

Labor, which more than any other section of the economic population is concerned with the question of full employment, is to have no say in planning the economic destiny of the nation, according to Mr. Baruch.

However, big business, whose primary concern is profits, and nothing else, is entitled by its birthright to have all the say in post-war planning.

Baruch further proposes that the government dispose of all of its war holdings as quickly as possible. Disposing of property as quickly as possible means selling government holdings at great loss. That, however, does not concern Baruch.... The government has a lot of money and can afford a loss. It is only big business that does not have enough money!

Baruch proposes that the government set aside, funds for termination loans to finance reconver-

LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Published Weekly by the

LABOR ACTION PUBLISHING ASSN. 114 West 14th Street New York 11, N. Y. (3rd Floor)

Volume 8, No. 9 February 28, 1944

ALBERT GATES, Editor GERTRUDE SHAW, Managing Editor Subscription Rate: 60 Cents a Year

75 Cents for Canada, New York and Foreign

Re-entered as second-class matter May 24, 1940. at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 8, 1879.

Charles E. Bedaux, originator of the "stretch-out" system in industry, by means of which workers were sweated and speeded-up in the name of greater profits for business, has committed suicide!

and others of the same stripe. This event will not cause the labor movement any sorrow, for Bedaux was an anti-labor scoundrel of the first water. He made his living inan open fascist. He looked upon fastroducing speed-up and incentive pay cism as a wonderful instrument to schemes for industrialists, who paid destroy the labor movement and thus him well. They paid him well beexploit it no end. And he had many cause his systems increased their friends among industrialists in this profits at the expense of the workers. country. For his contributions to a greater

exploitation of labor Charles E. Bedaux, a French-born but naturalized American citizen, earned the love of big business. But he also earned the contempt and hatred of the labor movement and of every American worker.

There is an interesting lesson in brought about an investigation of his his suicide. Bedaux took his life activities, not because he was a fas-

cist, but because he "consorted with the enemy."

If he had survived this war, Bedaux would have continued as before. As a matter of fact, his company in this country still operates. It has been and continues now to campaign for "incentive pay," a new scheme to defraud the workers.

You Should Read **Plenty for All**

The Meaning of Socialism By ERNEST LUND

Get Your Copy Now!

Price 10c WORKERS PARTY 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

According to at least one of its state representatives, South Carolina maintains capital punishment primarily because of its large Negro population.

The representative, Marion Winter, revealed this point of view at a recent session of the State Legislature during a discussion on a bill to abolish capital punishment. The speakers favoring the bill listed six states that have abolished capital punishment.

Representative Winter immediately asked: Those states don't have large Negro populations, do they?"

This question is most revealing when one considers the actual amount of crime that the Negroes of South Carolina are even accused of and the reason why this bill is before the Legislature. The movement to abolish capital punishment began last year after a white woman was electrocuted. No Negro woman has ever been electrocuted in the state. And although figures for the entire state are not available, the record of Richland and Charleston Counties for the past five years clearly show that the Negro population has been charged with less than one-third of the crimes in those counties, despite the fact that it represents one-half of the total population.

Quality and Prices of Goods Show Workers Getting Gyped

Association did a little research between December 26 and January 15 which turned up some interesting facts about "secret" rises in the cost of living-rises due to deterioration in the quality of merchandise. That sleazy, inferior merchandise amounts to a cut in the contents of the pay envelope is no secret to working class housewives, but it usually is to government statisticians who compute cost of living indices.

New Jersey parents who brought a pair of \$2.98 white kid shoes for their ten months old baby reported that the toes were worn through in a week. White kid shoes purchased for a two-year-old child at three dollars wore one month. At the end of that time there was a hole "as big as a dime" where the baby's big toe hit the shore. The store where the shoes were brought refused to make any adjustment.

Two rayon slips costing \$2.25 each, bought by a New Jersey woman, were worn out in four months. According to the Home Economics Association, two slips at that price should last two years. Other examples cited by the association included a \$2.00 boy's cap in which the lining had worn out in a week, and a boy's

.

The American Home Economics flannellette pajama top which had split down the back after two nights' wear.

all.

The association also mentioned the disappearance of sturdy low-priced cotton goods from the market. All that is available is cheap material that loses its shape after a washing. Then the price jumps so much for material of decent quality that most people can't afford to buy it.

The Home Economics Association presented its findings to Donald Nelson, head of the War Production Board. Mr. Nelson politiely congratulated the association for its good work.

If past performance is any indication, then Mr. Nelson will have a clerk in the WPB neatly file the report.

India in Revolt

By Henry Judd

25 Cents Postpaid

WORKERS PARTY

114 West 14th Street

New York 11, N.Y.

FELLOW WORKERS, ATTENTION! You can now get a whole year's issues **1943 Labor Action Bound in One Volume**

This is an invaluable collection of America's best labor and socialist weekly. The year 1943 was a most important one for American labor. This was the year of great labor conventions, the miners' strikes, the struggle of the American workers for wages and better working conditions. But not only that. It was also a year of important political events relating to the war, international relations, national politics, the movement for a Labor Party. The role of Russia, the development of the war, the activity of Roosevelt and his Administration-all of these make up the content of Labor Action in its banner year—1943.

Price per Bound Volume of 52 Issues: \$2.50

You cannot be without this Bound Volume. Get your copy now. Send your order to:

WORKERS PARTY 114 West 14th Street New York 11, N.Y.

Juggling Living Costs - -

appointed.

(Continued from page 1)

planation, in view of the fact that only the labor members so far have produced a report.

It Was a Stall

Business Week on January 1 commented that the committee was stalled-and added:

"This should not distress the President too much, as the living-cost investigation was just a stall anyhow." Why did the President want to stall? As we showed several weeks ago, he was counting on second front casualties to still labor's "selfish" demands, if only the workers could be held off for a few months. When the rail and steel workers refused to wait, the President resorted to his now famous General Marshall propaganda campaign and to demands for a labor draft. January 29: Labor members finally

"for some months to come."

Mr. Hinrichs, Labor Department expert, answering the report of the labor members, recalled that "impartial experts" of the American Statistical Association had in October, "after months of careful study," given the index their okay. In other words, there had already been made the best possible investigation even before the President's committee was

February 19: Labor members, as we said before, urge the President to investigate. Now, tell us please, whom is he to choose to do the investigating? The country is running out of investigators-and the workers are running out of patience. Labor has made its own investiga-

tion. It is an accurate investigation. Say so, and tell the workers to proceed to the next thing on the order

