

Measure These Against Wages

No one can even hope to keep up with the war profiteers. The four-volume OPA study you recently read about in LABOR ACTION (and practically nowhere else) covered a period of months or even a year ago. But things have not changed since then. Here is a list compiled from current newspaper reports. All profits are net, AFTER taxes.

Company	Recent Period	Same Period of Previous Year	Percent Increase
Dow Chemical Co.	\$4,677,108	\$4,052,370	18.3
Hayes Mfg. Corp.	224,726	94,737	137.3
Worambo Mfg. Co.	238,938	172,807	38.2
A. M. Byers Co.	365,070	302,997	20.9
Davidson Chemical Corp.	588,175	330,705	78.1
FitzSimons & Connell Dredge & Dock Co.	352,824	10,093	1456.3
Pond Creek Pochonias Co.	550,448	462,079	19.1
Pacific Power & Light Co.	939,063	740,107	26.7
Portland Gas & Coke Co.	661,298	436,410	51.5
North American Aviation, Inc.	10,436,413*	6,075,954*	
Canada Dry Ginger Ale, Inc.	551,889	285,125	95.1
Braniff Airways, Inc.	946,089	-84,212†	
British Celanese, Ltd.	405,495*	187,257*	115.5
Federal Theaters Co.	100,887	36,640	175.3
Sterling Motor Truck Co.	315,726	241,491	30.7

*The company changed its fiscal year, so that no direct comparison is possible. The first figure is for the YEAR ended September 30, 1942, as compared with the second figure, which is for the NINE MONTHS ended September 30, 1941. If profit for a full year was at the same rate, the increase would be 51.2 per cent.

†The second figure is a loss, and no comparative figures can be computed.

*This is an English company, with the figures given in pounds sterling. Its profits are subject to the English taxes, which are supposed to be much stiffer than American.

The figures speak for themselves. Only a few comments are necessary:

The size of the figures does not indicate the size of the company, since some are for a year's profit and some for only a quarter's. Both large and small companies are included. Not all of the companies reporting in this period showed such large increases, but this list represents more than half of the corporations that recently made reports.

Remember that the profits for most companies in 1941, the smaller of the two figures, were not exactly puny.

Remember also that the HIGHEST increase in WORKERS' PAY to come before the War Labor Board was 15 per cent.

Jim Crow Still Rules Industry

By HARRY ALLEN

More jobs have been opened to Negroes because of the need for labor. Nevertheless, job bias—racial discrimination—on jobs open to Negroes persists strongly.

Even where job discrimination is itself weakened, segregation continues in the communities—and frequently in the factories—in fact, it is sometimes aggravated. There are, for example, plants opened on a Jim Crow basis, such as Sun Shipbuilding in Philadelphia. On the labor front, the formation of Jim Crow unions (such as the boiler makers in Portland, Ore.) likewise fosters the spirit of Jim Crow.

However, a better perspective on the struggles ahead can be obtained from figures on Negro and white occupations up to March, 1940. The vast extent of Jim Crow stands out glaringly.

Hardest Work for Negroes

Farmers, farm laborers and other laborers made up 62.2 per cent of all employed Negro men, according to the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. White workers, however, in these occupations were only 28.5 per cent of all white employed workers. These figures reveal that the Negroes performed the hardest and heaviest unskilled work, far out of proportion to their numbers as compared with whites.

However, the opposite proportions are shown in the figures for professional, managerial and white collar jobs. For example, Negroes in these fields constituted a mere 5 per cent of all Negroes employed, as against 30 per cent of all employed whites. Moreover, discrimination carried over into the skilled trades, where the "aristocracy of labor" in the AFL building trades, etc., aged the white bosses and excluded Negroes from the craft unions. Hence, while 15.6 per cent of all employed white workers held the skilled and higher paid jobs in these trades, only 4.4 per cent of all employed Negroes held such jobs.

Differences of even greater degree showed themselves between the occupations of Negro and white wom-

en. For example, 70 per cent of all employed Negro women were engaged in the service occupations, whereas the percentage for white women was only 22.4 per cent.

Further, of all the employed white women, 33 per cent held clerical and sales jobs, but only 1 per cent of employed Negro women held such jobs! Similar extreme divergences are shown in the figures of white and Negro women workers on the farms, in the factories, and so forth.

Bitter Struggle to Achieve Rights

Thus, clearly, the Negro people have always been restricted either in obtaining jobs at all, or in getting jobs commensurate with their skills, knowledge and ability.

There have been important changes since the war. However, the major task for Negroes remains: to achieve equal opportunities and equal rights in all fields of endeavor. Toward this end, only the labor movement is capable of rendering the necessary effective assistance and pressure to break down the Jim Crow practices of the bosses.

The interests of the ruling bourgeoisie have always been in dividing white and Negro workers on color lines. Wherever the opportunity is open, they do so, to the detriment of both white and Negro workers. They will only make concessions when forced to. The same situation and problem hold true essentially with regard to the Jews, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and other racial minorities.

Widespread Discrimination Continues

Negroes correctly point to widespread discrimination in various parts of the country. They see the need of being on guard and girding themselves for future struggles. A few varied examples suffice to show the generally prevailing situation. Thus:

Milwaukee: failure to give jobs to young Negro women in war industry, although they have completed NYA training courses.

Philadelphia: refusal of the city to employ Negro nurses with full qualifications.

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No 'Non-Whites' Wanted!

Presidential Executive Orders notwithstanding, Negro labor still continues to be discriminated against in war industries. The number of Negroes employed in industry compared to the total Negro population remains far below the proportion of whites in industry. The percentage of Negroes in industry in September, 1942, was 5.7 per cent, an increase of 0.5 per cent since May, 1942.

The refusal of industry to utilize these workers regardless of their qualifications creates an unreal labor shortage which results in the importation of white workers to already overcrowded communities. It places a tremendous burden on the insufficient educational, transportation, housing and sanitary facilities, resulting in disease, delinquency and personal danger.

The United States Employment Service, while it posts notices of the President's Executive Order No. 8802, which banned discrimination in war industries, continues to fulfill the requests of employers for "no non-white" workers. It often forces Negroes to use separate entrances and automatically registers them in the custodial and unskilled sections without regard to their previous training or experience.

LABOR ACTION

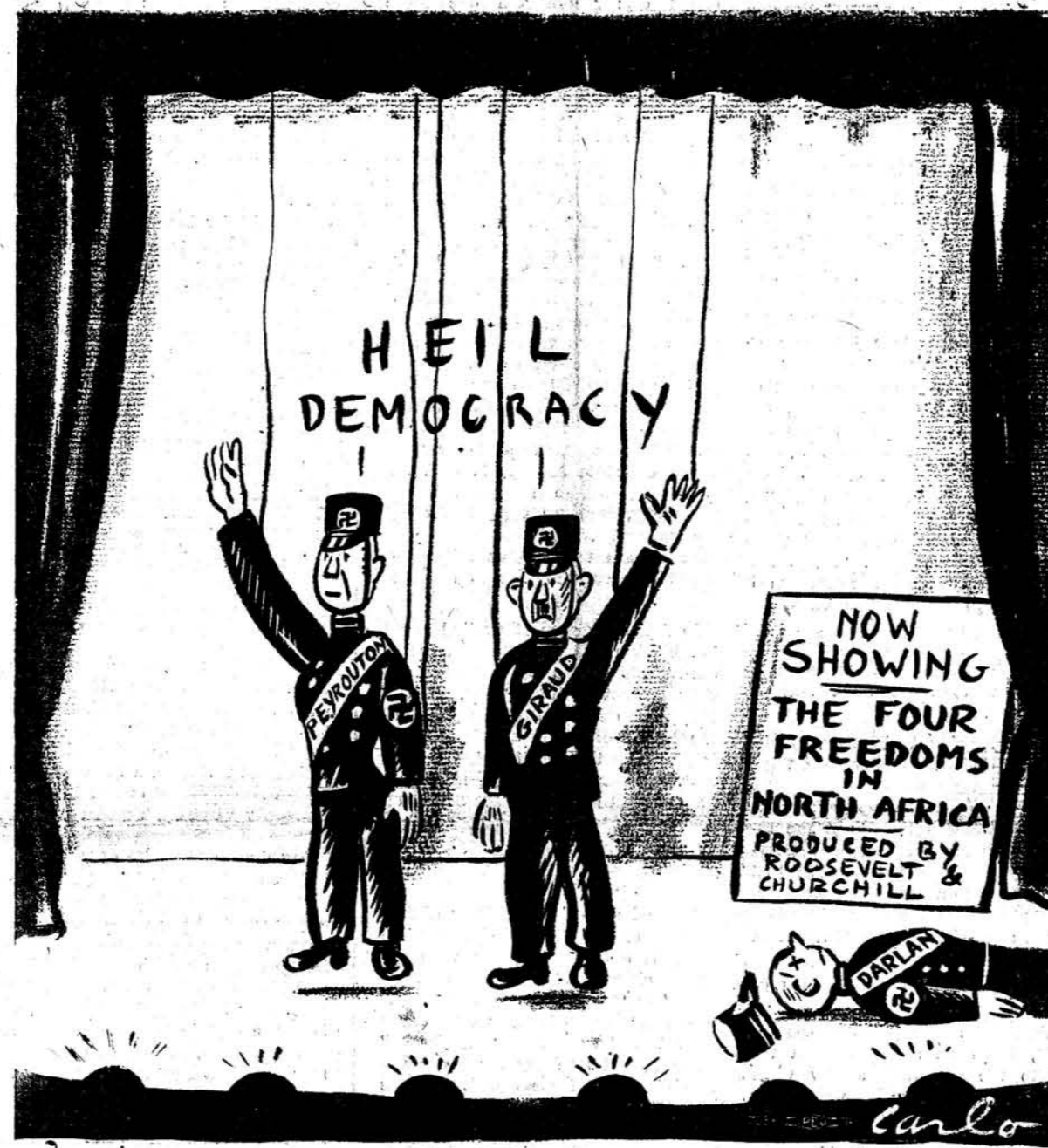
FEBRUARY 15, 1943

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

FDR ORDER BACKS WLB WAGE CHISEL!

The Democratic Farce!



President Roosevelt this week ordered the nation on a 48-hour work week. And, earlier the same day, the WLB reaffirmed the Little Steel wage formula in denying a general wage increase to 180,000 employees of the "Big Four" packing house companies.

The two orders are actually one, and the prominence given the first can only be understood in the light of the second. In fact, there is every likelihood that the two were timed to coincide.

Let us cite a few facts:

1. Prices have risen a minimum of 21 per cent (other estimates place it closer to 36 per cent), while wage increases have been limited to 15 per cent by the Little Steel formula. That represents a WAGE CUT of a minimum of 6 per cent, even for those workers who succeeded in getting the 15 per cent increase.

2. Virtually the entire labor movement is up in arms against the Little Steel formula. The CIO, the railroad brotherhoods, substantial sections of the AFL are unanimous in demanding an end to, or an upward revision of, the stifling 15 per cent formula. Labor wants higher wages!

3. John L. Lewis has announced that he intends to fight for a \$2.00-a-day increase in the new mine contracts.

Not one single newspaper, featuring the Roosevelt order in banner headlines, missed the significance of these facts as they relate to the executive order. They couldn't—because Economic Stabilization Director James F. Byrnes, through whom the order was issued, said as much explicitly.

Said Byrnes: "There must be no further increases in wages beyond the Little Steel formula."

Now, just what exactly does the 48-hour order do for labor? What CHANGES does it imply? The answer is: Virtually none!

Labor is already working 48 hours in the large war industries. In fact, it is working 50, 60 and more hours a week. War production plants operating on less than a 48-hour schedule are just about non-existent or inconsequentially small.

The executive order does not limit the work-week to 48 hours. It merely sets 48 hours as a minimum—a minimum which already prevails in most war production plants.

Why, then, the order, and why the banner headlines?

It is plainly designed as a cover for the reassertion of the Little Steel formula—that is, it is plainly designed as a cover under which labor's standard of living will be cut!

Note how the boss press and the Byrnes announcement emphasized time and a half for all work over 40 hours. But that concedes labor exactly nothing that is not already fixed by law and guaranteed by union contract. The intent is obvious: to make

(Continued on page 4)

Hobbs Bill Initiates Congressional Attack on Labor

Now Is the Time to Form a Labor Party!

By SUSAN GREEN

The CIO, AFL and railroad brotherhoods, together with the National Farmers Union, representing 13,000,000 organized workers and working farmers, have formed a "common legislative front" to fight anti-labor legislation such as the Hobbs so-called "anti-racketeering" bill.

Such united action is, undoubtedly, a forward step. But it is hardly enough in the circumstances. In fact, in going so far and no farther, the leaders of these millions of working people act like frightened swimmers who, when they can grab a log, nervously catch onto a straw.

The leaders of these organizations realize fully that we are on the eve of the most reactionary attack on labor that capitalist politicians have ever launched. CIO President Murray, in announcing the "common legislative front," declared that "the unholy alliance of poll-tax Democrats with the most reactionary wings of the Republican Party... have served notice of their intention to attack labor and reduce labor standards without regard to health or productive efficiency of war workers."

In face of such an attack, the "common legislative front" is altogether inadequate because it still places laborers and working farmers at the mercy of Democrats and Republicans, i.e., capitalist class politicians. To be sure it is the "good" Democrats and Republicans that Murray, Green & Co. will rely upon to "protect" labor.

has been doing up till now? And hasn't this policy of "rewarding labor's friends" landed the workers in such a vulnerable position that today their basic standards can be taken away from them?

Why should 13,000,000 organized working people—with their families and friends and the mass of unorganized workers behind them—be beholden to "good" capitalist politicians for political "protection."

In these organized workers lies the broad base for independent working class action. In them lies

the strong base for an Independent Labor Party. That is the log labor must firmly grasp—or it will sink in the maelstrom of reaction.

A Well Planned Thrust

In the light of the above, let us consider the Hobbs so-called "anti-racketeering" bill. It is a shrewd, well planned thrust at labor's heart—dressed up in the garb of innocence. It simply calls for "equal treatment" of all racketeers guilty of "robbery and extortion." That is all.

When it is pointed out that there

already is an anti-racketeering law—passed in 1934—which includes protective clauses for labor organizations and legitimate union practices, and that the Hobbs bill carefully omits these protective clauses, the supporters of the Hobbs bill report that there are no protective clauses for other organizations, either. Then why for labor? they "innocently" ask.

You see what "absolute equality" this bourgeois Democrat from poll-tax Alabama aims at. Even "good" Democrats and Republicans can fall for such an abstraction—especially if

they have pressure put on them by their generous campaign contributors from the boss class.

But rank and file workers on an Independent Labor Party ticket would know better. Their class experience has taught workers that even protective clauses in the laws do not prevent pro-capitalist injustices. Their class instinct tells them that when these protective clauses are not in the laws, anti-labor judges and juries take it as an invitation to go the limit against labor.

Let there be no mistake about it! (Continued on page 3)

Railway Labor Gets Run-Around

Unions Protest Stalling by Railway Mediation Board on Demand for Substantial Wage Increases

A million and a half railroad workers are getting the run-around in their demand for substantial wage increases. At the same time railroad profits have soared sky high—to such an extent that it "outrages any decent regard for equality of sacrifice in war-time," according to the OPA.

The National (Railway) Mediation Board—the government agency responsible for considering the demands of the workers—is not even functioning today. It lacks the required number of members to make the board legally operative. Despite the unions' request, President Roosevelt has failed to name a new member to the board.

Meanwhile, while the cost of living has risen sharply, the railroad workers are being stalled in their demands for wage increases. LABOR ACTION has previously reported on the low wage standards among railroad workers (in both the brotherhoods and the non-operative unions) which make immediate wage increases ranging from 15 to 30 per cent imperative.

As Cashen, president of the Switchmen's Union, on behalf of the nineteen standard railroad unions, outlines the bad working conditions as well as poor wage status of the rail workers and strongly protests the obstructive, delaying tactics of the Railway Mediation Board and the government.

For instance, a large group of railroad workers have not received wage increases since 1937, despite recommendations by two presidential emergency boards to grant immediate increases. Further, railroad workers work forty-eight hours, and many of them fifty-six and sixty-three hours, at straight time. Time and a half and double time for excessive working hours is practically unknown.

In addition, Cashen's statement declares that the average hourly earnings of all railroad workers is only seventy-four cents. Thus the myth of high wages is blasted for the Brotherhood Unions as well, not to mention the notoriously low-paid maintenance men, laborers and other workers of the non-operative unions. Yet, obviously, out of the huge

railroad profits, the wage increases can easily be met. The railroad owners are standing pat, unwilling to disgorge a cent. They believe that the workers are in a blind alley, anyhow.

Rail Labor Act Serves Bosses

Now, what is the situation of the unions in respect to their demands?

Above all, the hands of the railroad workers are tied by the machinery of the Railway Labor Act itself, which calls for slow-moving, long-drawn-out mediation and arbitration methods. The non-functioning altogether, at present, of the Railway Mediation Board is only an added aggravation.

Because of the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, strike action can be delayed for years if need be. Thus, the essence of the effectiveness of the strike weapon—swift, militant action—is in fact nullified. The strike—the instrument which, if it were utilized today, would bring quick, positive results, is on the shelf.

are sore about poor pay and working conditions, the railroad operators can gloat. For, through the class collaborationist machinery they were instrumental in setting up, together with the government, they have succeeded in their main purpose: namely, to prevent or slow up militant action by the workers.

Militant Union Is Needed

Thus, once again it is demonstrated that the chief reason for the establishment of such instruments as the WLB, mediation boards, government agencies of every description, is to hamstring the needs and interests of the workers. They are the servants of the bosses, set up to defeat the workers obliquely where it cannot be done directly.

Probably, after still greater delay, the railroad workers will receive some meager handout. It will be small—that much is sure. Therefore, the chief lesson the railroad workers must learn from their serious predicament is the necessity for militant unionism. The railroad workers must aim to transform their unions into conscious organs of class struggle.—H. A.

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

FEBRUARY 12, 1934: POLISH UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT REMEMBERS FIGHT OF AUSTRIAN WORKERS

This week is the ninth anniversary of the heroic revolt of the Austrian workers against the Dollfuss and Schuschnigg semi-fascist clique. While Allied imperialists now associate with the very same people who were instrumental in crushing the Austrian working class, it is of great significance that members of the socialist underground movements in Europe have not forgotten the fight of their Austrian comrades—the very first to rise in armed resistance against fascism. We therefore think the following document which was distributed in Poland last year important as a symbol of the active solidarity of all European workers in their fight against fascism.

"On February 12, 1934, a truckful of Heimwehr men drew near the Labor Temple of Linz. They had come to carry out the order of Prince Starhemberg to seize all labor halls and offices and disarm the 'Schutzbund.' The attack did not succeed. The Heimwehr men were shot at and withdrew. On the following day the press throughout the world announced that an insurrection had broken out in Austria.

"Austrian socialists arose to fight the fascist! Groups of armed workers fought against the army, the police and the Mussolini-financed Heimwehr in the streets of Vienna, Steyr, Linz and other cities. Italian military units were concentrated at the border ready to strike. The ensuing days were days of bloody and heroic struggle.

"The fascists had the army artillery at their disposal. They had military superiority and the assurance of Italian aid. In spite of this they had to fight the Viennese workers in their districts for many days, from street to street, from house to house. The boroughs of Floridsdorf and Ottakring were hammered incessantly by artillery fire, until the fascists were able to occupy them....

"The shellholes in the Goethe and the Karl Marx housing projects have long since been repaired, just as the traces of shellfire have been removed in Warsaw and Madrid. But a new revolt is fermenting again, both here and in faithful old Vienna. The people's anger and desire for vengeance are becoming a mighty stream.

"And when the day comes for a settlement of accounts, the sound of marching 'Schutzbund' columns will fill the streets between the Goethe and the Marx housing projects."

Brewster Workers Will Get Short End In WLB Classification Procedure

LONG ISLAND CITY—Although the election in Local 365, UAW-CIO, is momentarily occupying the attention of the Brewster workers, the question of classifications remains uppermost in their minds.

LABOR ACTION has time and again warned that the WLB, in rendering a decision on the Brewster reclassifications, will be largely concerned with holding the cost down for Brewster Aeronautical. The WLB, for example, threw out the September classifications because they add 22 per cent to the payroll.

The procedure in the present classifications is another case in point. The WLB has announced that shop stewards and foremen, even where they agree, can only RECOMMEND an employee's classification. These classifications are then to be sent to a committee of three (company, union and WLB) which will decide the classification.

Not one man on this top committee has ever seen the work of any given individual, and consequently is not in a position to make an adequate decision. The procedure quite obviously has only one purpose: to add up the cost of all the classifications and arrange them so that Brewster will have to shell out as little, as possible.

Brewster workers are likely to lose either way. If the present classifications are approved it will merely mean that the September classifications have been chopped down. If these haven't been chopped down, they will not be approved because to the WLB it is simply a matter of bookkeeping. Thus, it's heads Van Dusen wins and tails the Brewster workers lose.

The difficulties in which Brewster workers now find themselves have to be connected with the licking labor took when the national union leadership signed away the right to strike. However, the leaders of the Brewster union have refused to include the no-strike pledge in the proposed new contract. That is an action to be applauded and backed with solid support. The job right now for Brewster workers is: to rescind the no-strike pledge; to defend the powers of the shop stewards; to resist any effort to lower the classifications.

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News and Views from the Labor Front

What's in Proposed Sperry Contract?

After successfully defeating the stagger-shift proposed two weeks ago by Sperry Gyroscope Co., Local 450, UE-CIO, this week agreed almost unanimously, in membership meetings of its various plants, to accept the company's alternate proposal of a two-shift, ten-hour day.

Local 450 has gone on record in its paper, Shop News, as not "fundamentally opposed" to the two-shift system as long as the stagger system is not proposed. It further demands that the night shift bonus be 15 per cent instead of the present 10 per cent, and that the company agree it will not "use any increased 'take home' ensuing from the longer hours worked on a two-shift system, as an argument against the new rates asked for in the contract."

With the two-shift system agreed to as a temporary expedient, the union demands progress on contract talks with the company. The company has agreed to enter upon real negotiations.

In the Contract
So far, the contract, which has supposedly been presented to the company by the negotiating committee, has never been seen, let alone voted on, by the rank and file union membership. A mimeographed rough draft, presented to some shop stewards, contained the following proposals, among others:

1) **Wage Rates: Learners**—75 cents per hour minimum (5 cent raise every two months to \$1.00); regular rates then to be \$1.15, \$1.20.

Machine Operators—\$1.20 per hour minimum; normal rate, \$1.50 per hour.

Assemblers and Inspectors—Same rates.

Machinists, tool makers, instrument makers—\$1.30 per hour minimum; \$1.60 normal.

Repetitive workers—75 cents per hour minimum.

Leaders and instructors—10 cents above other classifications.

2) **Holiday Pay:** Holidays as provided by Federal executive order; bonus of 40 hours' pay at end of year for any loss in holiday pay as result of the order.

3) **Vacations:** Two days a month for first five months in the year; one extra day for each year after four with the company, up to 15 days.

4) **Sick Leave:** Twelve days' sick leave with pay; if not used, to be given in form of bonus or vacation at end of year.

5) **Pension Insurance:** The company shall pay in full for all present pension and insurance laws.

6) **Grievance System:** Same as at present, with minor changes.

7) **Discrimination:** The company shall not discriminate against any person either in hiring, promotion, advancement or assignment to jobs, regardless of union membership or that person's sex, race, creed, religious or political affiliation or union activity.

It bodes ill for the union that this contract was never presented to its members for a vote or discussion. Rank and file UE militants have proved in the past by spiking the stagger shift and sitting down when their promised pay raises were held back that they know how best to bargain with the company. Now, however, with the all-important contract at stake, they are not even consulted.

If the Sperry worker wants a good contract, he must have something to say about it. Unless he is given a chance to criticize and help write his contract, he becomes a piece of property, that is bargained over, not in behalf of. And his bargain, the contract, will be weak, if not absolutely bad.

Points to Remember
It is probable that Sperry workers will eventually have an opportunity to discuss their contract, because the leadership must bring it back to them for ratification. Abiding that time, here are certain things they should not forget about the company they work for:

1) **Wage rates and standards in Sperry** are far below those in other shops, even below standards of another Sperry Corporation subsidiary, Ford Instrument.

2) For a long period of time the company has abused its trainees on the learnership program, both with respect to pay and training.

3) **Second-class men** as a rule have been the forgotten men at re-rate periods.

4) Sperry's sole consideration has always been, and remains, profits. So much so that the company was forced, through a Senate investigation, to disgorge a hundred million bucks back to the government.

5) Sperry bitterly fought organization of its plant for years, through company unions, the courts and, their final stroke, the firing of Mike Orfink, union president.

With these points in mind, and with the results of past instances of militant action ready to stand them in good stead, Sperry workers should be well equipped to answer the company's present stalling and to demand that their contract, when they get it, be a good one.

Speakers at New York Transit Rally Offer Workers Little but Sympathy

By GERTRUDE SHAW

The TWU workers in Madison Square Garden Tuesday night at one point set up a chant: "Two, Four, Six, Eight—Make the Mayor Arbitrate!"

Everything, of course, revolves about the word "make" and another word—HOW?

Most of the speakers at the rally attended by some 20,000 TWU and other workers—namely, Quill, international president of the Transport Workers Union; MacMahon, president of New York Local 100; Curran, of the Maritime Union—seemed to think the way to "make" the Mayor arbitrate is to be very nice to him. For, while they all lambasted John Delaney, chairman of the Board of Transportation, as he deserves, the Mayor—the real city boss, who has kicked the transit workers around since 1939—was gently spared.

On the burning question of strike, Quill made the position of the leadership very clear: "There is no question of strike," he said. "There will be no strike." He did not deem it necessary to explain the two-week ultimatum he delivered to the Mayor in December, about which fiasco the Mayor and Delaney—if they are running true to form—must still be snickering.

CIO President Murray, main speaker of the evening, almost wept with gratitude because the transit workers who had gone on spontaneous sit-downs to protest the ridiculously inadequate and discriminatory "increases" the Mayor had dished out to a handful of workers, had yielded to the exhortations of Quill and MacMahon and returned to work.

While the audience applauded the speakers generously and therefore presumably accepted their no-strike edict, the rank and file spirit that led to the sit-downs a few weeks ago has by no means been squelched.

When MacMahon eloquently enumerated all the injustices suffered by the transit workers since the subways came under city ownership—including discrimination against women and pay as low as \$22 a week—there was a cry from the audience: "What about the powerhouse?" Again when he related that workers have to get side work to piece out their pay, thus ruining their health with fourteen to sixteen hours of work per day, and then asked how much longer the subways can be the

safest railway system in the country under such conditions, someone called out: "Give 'em one more week!" From another part of the hall came the shout: "Powerhouse!"

Philip Murray undoubtedly heard these comments from the floor and besides had well in mind the sit-downs the men had pulled, for he kept underscoring his opposition to strikes. "Our policy is one of opposition to strikes," was his theme song, recurring again and again.

As a result of this no-strike policy—which has caused all labor in this country to take one defeat after another and will have even more disastrous results in the future—Murray did a clumsy job of sidestepping the issue of what the 32,000 transit workers are to do. These workers right now are taking what amounts to a 17 per cent wage cut since January 1, 1941. In his forty-minute speech Murray devoted altogether too much time to general labor conditions and not enough time to what the assembled workers had on their minds.

In fact, he got most excited about the black markets. Although workers hate black market profiteers and should fight against them, it can hardly be claimed that the plight of the New York City transit workers is primarily the result of black markets. However, Murray made no more useful suggestion for action on the subject of black markets than on the subject of the transit workers' demands for much-needed wage increases.

There he stood—the leader of five million organized workers—and the most he did was to plead with the "good citizens of the City of New York" to "help the transit workers." Yes, the "good citizens of democratic New York" should be "neighborly." They should be sorry for the wives and children of the transit workers—and tell all their friends about the wives and children of the transit workers who have to be fed and clothed.

Workers, of course, always want the sympathy of their communities and neighborliness is a very nice thing indeed—but is that why 20,000 workers were assembled in Madison Square Garden? For that—and to pass another resolution once more calling for arbitration called for so many times before—with no answer from City Hall?

Our Society Reporter-- On Love and Democracy

While the male members of their social set occupy strenuous office jobs at the naval and military stations within handy reach of New York City, so that the ladies won't be embarrassed for lack of partners at social events, the following heiresses are fairly comfortable in Italy, RAF bombings notwithstanding:

Natalie Mai Coe, a Standard Oil heiress, contracted a brilliant alliance when she wed one of Il Duce's bright young men, Commendatore Leonardo Vitetti, a shrewd diplomat and ardent fascist.

The former Lydia Bodrero Macy has the doubtful distinction of being the present wife of Prince Ranieri di San Faustina, who does an Italian counterpart of Lord Haw-Haw's radio work for the Germans. Silence envelops the former Sarah Jane Sanford, who married one of Mussolini's "It" boys, Mario Parisi, shortly before war broke out in Europe. When last heard from, Sarah Jane was living on the Isle of Capri in the famous home owned and lent to her by Mrs. Harrison Williams, watching the RAF bomb the living daylight out of the Italian mainland. Her brother, Laddie Sanford, the famous American polo player, is now a captain in the U.S. Army....

Some place, swallowed up from view in the Italian scene, is the former Margaret Roosevelt, a young and distant cousin of the late President Theodore Roosevelt. The daughter of Emlen Roosevelt, distinguished financier and yachtsman, she married another of Mussolini's henchmen, Lieut. Allesandro Pallavicini.

Even after Germany had invaded Poland, Margaret Randolph Trimble, daughter of one of Manhattan's haughtiest clans, married Count Giovanni Revedin, a smart operator in the fascist diplomatic service. Not to be outdone by the ladies, Gurnee Munn, Jr., scion of the elegant Munn and rich Wanamaker clan, was recently divorced from Dodina, daughter of Marchese and Marchesa Manfredi, tried and true exponents of Italian fascism, because after war broke out she refused to come back with her husband to join him "in his native land where decadent democracy still pursues its dynamic way."

These are only a few of the more spectacular social alliances between Mussolini's bright boys and America's rich girls.

Wages Below Maintenance

Propagandists who have been saying that workers are rolling in so much money that inflation is threatened were given a stiff jolt in two reports by the Department of Labor.

One disclosed that in mid-September it took earnings of \$30 to \$35 a week in nearly all large cities of the country for a family of four to live at a bare "maintenance level."

Such a "maintenance" budget, the department said, provides for modest housing, "an adequate diet at minimum cost," essential clothing, movies once a week, "no savings other than life insurance," and no automobile.

In the same month, the average earnings for all manufacturing workers, including those in higher paid war industries and including overtime pay, were only \$37.88 a week, or just a little above the maintenance level, the Department declared.

Scores of industries had average weekly pay of far less than that. Non-durable goods plants, which are mostly the non-defense fields, paid an average of only \$29.71 a week, or less than the rock-bottom maintenance figure.

In some of the industries, the average fell below \$20 a week. This was the case in some of the needle trades and cigar manufacturing, as well as service fields, such as hotels and general merchandising.

Other industries in which average earnings were listed as below the maintenance level are lumber and timber basic products, \$28.03 a week; furniture and finished lumber products, \$27.46; textiles and apparel, \$24.07; leather and leather products, \$25.82; retail trade, \$23.41; laundries, \$21.15; dyeing and cleaning, \$24.49.

(Reprinted from the Cincinnati Chronicle, AFL.)

Los Angeles CIO Fights Mexican-Baiting by Police

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 2.—Three Mexican youths, ages 17 to 19, received life sentences, nine other were given five years to life in San Quentin Prison, while five youths were sentenced to serve one year in the county jail. Their ages ranged from 17 to 20, with one boy 23. These severe sentences came as the result of the alleged gang slaying of Jose Diaz last August 2, at the Williams Ranch near a swimming hole in the Los Angeles River Bed.

Ever since the trial started many weeks ago the newspapers carried the most exaggerated and prejudiced stories of the trial. The police department systematically raided the Mexican sections. It became unsafe for a Mexican boy to go out after dark for fear the police would pick him up. Once in the hands of the police he usually received a beating.

Because of the anti-Mexican campaign and the obvious race discrimination, the CIO and the Lawyers Guild formed a committee to defend the young Mexicans.

Immediately after the sentence was imposed a motion for a new trial was denied. A great file of clippings from thirty-six Los Angeles County newspapers and one national magazine were introduced by one of the attorneys for the defense, who argued that these had prejudiced the jury. The defense then entered notices of appeal.

The CIO has protested the police department's anti-Mexican campaign. It has protested the procedure at the trial and the distortions in the newspapers. Now it is up to the people of Los Angeles to protest these very severe sentences. Every union man should get behind the CIO in its fight in behalf of these Mexican boys. Race discrimination in any form always ends as an attack on labor.

Buy LA and NI In Cleveland:
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Press Action

"One hundred per cent for your paper. Keep up the good work," writes E. W. from San Pedro, Calif. And this sentiment is echoed by the thirty-five new subscribers who have begun to receive LABOR ACTION during the past two week period. Buffalo leads again! It's a good habit. And one which all LABOR ACTION agents should try to develop. The record follows:

- Buffalo _____ 14
- California _____ 8
- Brooklyn _____ 3
- Baltimore _____ 2
- Detroit _____ 2
- Ohio _____ 2
- Connecticut _____ 1
- New Jersey _____ 1
- New York City _____ 1
- Pittsburgh _____ 1
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The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Longshoreman Blasts Food Price Situation

Dear Editor:

There is plenty of meat for the swanky cafes and night clubs, but try and get a meal on the waterfront after 11 p.m. when you have worked ten hours and have to go back at 12 and must work through to 4 a.m. to finish the job.

I know because this happened to me and a hundred other longshoremen the other night. Then the prices—25 cents for a lousy little bowl of soup, 45 cents for a bowl of chili beans and some crackers. One fellow had to be content with a pickled egg for 35 cents.

Food or Profits was a headline in your paper. Now it's just damn little food and plenty of profit on what you can get. Something has just got to be done about this food situation.

B. R. (San Pedro, Cal.)

Wants Socialist Answer Explained

Dear Editor:

I have been reading your paper for some time. I find myself in substantial agreement with the views expressed in it.

There are several things, however, to which I never seem to find a clear-cut answer. LABOR ACTION devotes a considerable portion of its limited space to telling and retelling

the enormous profits being made by the capitalist big shots.

This is scarcely news to the men in the shipyard where I work and in the union that we belong to. Such particular information is received with a grimace and a shrug of the shoulders, for the most part. The truth of what you say in this regard is pretty generally known. What to do about it is the question, and how to do it would probably rank as a \$64 question also.

You see, the average guy doesn't like Hitler or fascism in any form but he thinks that the general direction of the war is against fascism and is necessary, particularly in view of the fact that we were attacked.

Now I am not so much interested in answering the questions for the average guy at this time.

I know that the pressure of events will make him see the truth in the long run. But there are fellows like myself and others I know of who understand what the war is about. Fellows who know that no government in the world is fighting fascism. But what is to do about it?

It is all very well to say: "Persuade your union to your point of view." A worker who sought to speak the truth about this war would hardly get his mouth set for the words before he'd be pounced on from a dozen sides.

What chance then has a REAL socialist got in a union today? It might be suggested that a real socialist would support your movement especially since he is in agreement with your position on the war. Well, it is my personal opinion that your necks are on the chopping block right now and while I know you will put up a gallant fight and I will advise you every step of the way, I

still, I can't see what substantial good is going to be accomplished except for the benefit of the record.

I am not the proper judge of my own courage any more than I am of my own ability, but I know men of like opinion with my own who would go to the point of death for their views, yet these men have no wish to be martyrs (?) for the sake of being martyrs alone. They wish the assurance of conviction that even if they are lost in the fight, that the fight itself is not lost. Not a sure thing, mind you, but just a reasonable chance.

It is in the light, then, of what I have just mentioned that I say that your facts and figures prove the oppressiveness of the capitalist system to working people and the enormous benefits of the privileged classes, but among the totals of profits made and wages cut, there is scant evidence of the probability of socialism emerging anywhere in the near future.

Do you suppose you could devote a column or two of your paper to explaining how socialism in our time can come about and why it will, if indeed, you believe it will?

Shipyard Worker,
San Francisco.

(That is exactly what we propose to do. We admit to a negligence in failing to emphasize constantly the socialist answer. However, we disagree with our reader that profit figures are valueless. Most workers do not see them, because as a rule they are tucked away in the financial pages of the newspapers. We mean to keep these figures before the workers at all times. And, one more thing, we are sure the fight WILL BE WON.)

"Democracy" In North Africa

Dear Editor:

Reports come from Allied headquarters in North Africa that General Giraud has freed twenty-seven communist deputies who had been under arrest since 1940. This is supposed to prove to the American people that democracy exists in North Africa.

The release of the twenty-seven communists was carried out only after a great deal of pressure on the part of President Roosevelt, who must throw a few crumbs to the people of the Allied Nations if he is to succeed in establishing complete authority in North Africa. Giraud has not yet seen his way clear to liberating the 5,500 other political prisoners, most of whom, it is reported, are Spanish Republicans. This is one more piece of evidence to prove that General Giraud is a true-to-form fascist—United Nations brand.

The American press which lauds Giraud as a fighter for democracy, offers the lame excuse that asylum cannot be found for released prisoners. Although the Mexican government has offered refuge for some of them, 5,500 freed political prisoners might prove too much dynamite for one country to hold. And what are the "crimes" of most of these prisoners? They fought against fascism and were originally interned by the French Vichy government. Dare we ask the British-American Commission on Political Prisoners—since France is now fighting on the side of "democracy"—are these prisoners not absolved of their crimes? The

The Basic Interests of Workers and Soldiers Are Identical

Unions Must Counteract Anti-Labor Propaganda in the Army

By JOHN BERNE

In army camps and among the armed forces abroad a steady, insidious propaganda goes on to create hostility of the soldier toward the worker. It goes so far that at times barracks walls are decorated with verses of questionable literary value and equally questionable origin, referring sarcastically to union rules, shop disputes and the six-day week.

The common interests of the soldier and the worker are basic and obvious. For the soldier is the worker drafted away from his job or the potential worker whose draft status placed him in uniform instead of overalls.

However if enough mud is thrown some of it sticks. Likewise, if enough filthy propaganda is spread around, some of it takes root. This is what the Nazi-fascist movements and all reactionary demagogues bank on.

Grinding Anti-Labor Axe

Some of this lying campaign against labor is, undoubtedly, out-and-out German propaganda engi-

neered through American channels. However, a good deal of it—unknown to the public—is the smelly product of American fascist-minded interests and groups. Publicly the anti-labor axe is ground in the newspaper columns of the Peglers and Sokolskys, and through the winning radio voices of the Kaltenborns.

Behind these anti-labor publicists are high-standing members of the National Association of Manufacturers—those slick articles who are capitalizing on the war to worsen labor's standards of wages, hours and working conditions. These war profiteers, these merchants of death, sitting on their bulging money bags, wave a flag with one hand and point a revolver at labor's head with the other. What has the soldier to gain if the revolver is allowed to go off at labor's head?

Will the soldier returning home be better off if the relentless broadside Congress has opened against the forty-hour week succeeds? Bills to

extend the work week to forty-eight, fifty-four, sixty hours come thick and fast from politicians anxious to serve the war profiteering class. The pretext for the attack on the work week is "war necessity."

Workers are actually putting in fifty to sixty hours a week—however WITH OVERTIME. The bosses itch to lengthen the work week and to pocket overtime pay as their own profits. The industrial magnates, some of whose war profits reach to 2,420 per cent above peace profits, wish to climb to ever more lofty heights.

What Will the Soldier Get?

Not even a wooden nickel would be added to the soldier's pay by lengthening hours and cutting out overtime. And how would the longer work week affect the returning soldier seeking his old job or a brand new one? To ask the question is to answer it. The few post-war jobs will be fewer if the work week is longer. Don't for a moment think the labor-haters want the longer work

week only for the duration. THEY WANT TO ABOLISH THE FORTY-HOUR WEEK AD INFINITUM.

The minds of both workers and soldiers should be thinking along the lines of making more jobs by shortening the post-war work to thirty hours or even less. That is a sensible way of making more jobs for more people. What chance will there be for such a necessary post-war measure if the bosses are permitted to knock out the forty-hour week now?

Will it help the returning soldier if overtime is abolished as a "war measure" and thus wages are lowered? Today, when it is labor's market, so to speak—and even with all the much-tooted-about overtime pay—the average wage in the manufacturing industries is \$39. More accurately, it is what is left in the pay envelope of the \$39 after withholding taxes and war bond pledges.

Is this too much for a worker and his family, plagued by war prices, goods shortages, black mar-

ket manipulations, income and consumer taxes? Are the harassed workers—16,000,000 of whom get less than \$16 a week—the beneficiaries of the war? Or are the industrialists who as a class averaged 200 per cent more profits in the war year 1942 than in the peace year 1939?

Labor Fights Reaction

If labor does not defend wages and overtime now, what will happen in the employer market of the post-war period? Will the returning soldier, lucky enough to get a job, receive a decent wage if the worker in the factory does not fight for decent wages right now?

Another bit of anti-labor legislation the conniving bosses are anxious to get on the books is an anti-strike law. This would be the most vicious blow of all. Soldiers who went from the factory to the front know that workers do not strike as a lark. STRIKES ARE THE ONLY LANGUAGE WORKERS CAN MAKE THE 2,420 PER CENTERS UNDER-

STAND. The no-strike pledge for the duration has been of great benefit—TO THE BOSSES. Even the labor leaders who sold out labor's interests by giving the shameful pledge are now forced to admit that collective bargaining has virtually collapsed—because without the threat of strike the bosses are not eager to "collectively bargain."

How would the soldier like to come home to a post-war chaos of unemployment, low wages, long hours—with the hands of the workers legally tied by anti-strike legislation? With such legislation on the books, the rapacious bosses would have the legal right to drown in blood every attempt by workers to better unbearable conditions. And don't forget, the soldier will then be the worker or the unemployed worker.

Need more be said to prove that every militant action taken by the workers in the factories is for their brothers under arms as well as for themselves? Who else but the workers can fight reaction at home? The trouble is that the workers—hog-tied by their false leaders to a policy of kow-towing to the ruling class—have not been militant enough. The soldier of today, who was the worker of yesterday and is the would-be worker of tomorrow, must necessarily stand fast with labor.

A Fascist Move

As a matter of fact, the danger of anti-labor propaganda influencing the soldier who went from the fac-

tory to the army, is very slight. The worker-soldier understands that being a soldier does not change his allegiance to his fellow workers. If his union is keeping in touch with him—as it should be doing—he should be plenty wised up on the origin and intent of anti-labor propaganda.

It is the youngsters in the army, without trade union experience, who may to some extent be taken in by anti-labor propaganda—the unseasoned youths, knowing "from nothing" ready for anything. These boys must not be allowed to become victims of reactionary ideology.

For this is not merely a question of preserving labor's wages, hours and working conditions—important as that is. It is not merely a question of keeping labor in a better situation to tackle the problems of post-war crisis and unemployment—important as that also is. It is a question of frustrating a fascist move, designed to reach its fruition in the post-war period. That is exactly what the attempt to drive a wedge between worker and soldier is.

The fascist-minded capitalists want the returning soldier to have a feeling of envy and hatred toward the worker who remains in the factory and who may perhaps have a post-war job. Out of the armed forces of

the last war, the most reactionary industrial bourgeois got their reactionary American Legion. Today they would like nothing better than that every unemployed soldier be a possible recruit for an American equivalent of Hitler's Storm Troopers—for use against labor and its organizations when capitalist interests demand it.

Yes, these rulers by dint of industrial power—who, like Anacon-da, not only turn an "honest penny" for war profits, but plenty of dishonest "pennies" by selling the army defective material—these scoundrels want to dupe soldiers into doing a bloody clean-up job on labor—Hitler-Mussolini style—when the time comes. Mighty units of American big business belonging to the same international cartels as I. G. Farbenindustrie and its ilk, see how Nazism has benefited German big business. Why should they not try an American brand of the same product?

And they will—UNLESS WORKERS AND THE MEN UNDER ARMS ARE WISE TO THEIR TRICKS AND NIP THEM IN THE BUD. Organized labor must keep in closest touch with workers in the camps and at the front—and must also undertake the ideological task of winning to labor's side the untutored youngsters in the armed forces.

Good Neighborliness of Bosses Pays

U. S. Ambassador to Bolivia Cooperates to Continue Labor Peonage in Mines

By R. CRANE

In the January 4 LABOR ACTION we reported the revolt of 60,000 tin miners who had gone on strike to obtain the enactment of a labor code which would grant them the elementary right of collective bargaining, establish minimum wage rates and guarantee regular payment of wages. The Bolivian government answered with a declaration of martial law and accused the miners of participating in a pro-Nazi plot to overthrow the regime. To date seventeen workers have been killed by soldiers, scores of others have been wounded, and the leaders of the strike are in jail. The strike has been broken.

But the story does not end here.

"Hemispheric Unity"

This one event richly illustrates what the Good Neighbor policy is. The prattle about "hemispheric unity" boils down to the solidarity of the financial interests of the United States and the Bolivian mine owners and other capitalists of Latin America. This solidarity is cemented by the State Department through its ambassadors.

Soon after the strike began, Ernesto Galarza of the Labor Division of the Pan American Union, wrote a letter to Under Secretary Welles of the State Department, protesting the activities of U.S. Ambassador Boal, who had intervened to prevent the passage of the labor code.

Both Secretary Hull and Welles have issued denials of such intervention, and Hull even stated that Ambassador Boal was instructed to avoid making any statements which could be construed as an attempt to influence Bolivian legislation, but merely to inquire of the Bolivian President how the passage of the labor code and the raising of wages would affect the cost of strategic materials, namely, tin, which the United States buys in huge quantities.

It has now been made known that the U.S. Ambassador held a long conversation with the Bolivian President in which he tried to induce him to veto the labor code should it be passed by Congress. The President of Bolivia, however,

pointed out that such a veto would lead to strikes and protests and that it wasn't a good idea. He said that the code was provisional and could be suspended in any given instance. Ambassador Boal was not satisfied and asked that the President make some of the provisions of the code effective by decree, but here the President said that labor would not be satisfied since presidential decrees do not have much status in Bolivia and could easily be disregarded by the mine owners.

Boal's Suggestion

At this point Boal made another suggestion. There is a provision in the contracts made by the Board of Economic Warfare (the agency which buys much of the vital war materials needed by the United States) which calls for better wages and better working conditions. The contracts provide that the BEW pay all or half of the added labor costs. Boal proposed that the purposes of the Bolivian labor code be achieved through the labor clauses in the BEW contracts.

While labor would be temporarily satisfied, the advantage would really fall to the mine owners, who were opposed to the labor code, not so much because of its immediate effect of raising wages (since their profits were guaranteed by United States contracts), but were thinking ahead to after the war, when it might be very difficult for them to reduce wages again. By applying the Boal formula the problem of wages after the war would be solved.

Boal cabled Washington that the mine operators would have to ask for increased prices from Metals Reserve (an RFC subsidiary) if the labor code were enacted. The truth of the matter is that Metals Reserve had already given the Bolivian mine owners an increase in price and it was on the basis of this increase that the Bolivian Confederation of Labor had asked for increases in wages.

Among other things which Boal cited in his telegram were the inconvenience collective bargaining would impose upon the mine owners, and the fact that the regular payment of wages would increase

bookkeeping costs! Better that a man should starve than hire a bookkeeper! Boal explained that he also objected to regular payment of wages because it would induce the miners to quit their jobs. "They are now paid tardily deliberately in order to maintain them on the job and to give them a stake in their next month's pay."

Peonage has been the method by which the mine operators have been securing sufficient workers to run their mines. At fiesta time, when many of the Indians get drunk, advantage is taken of them to sign them up for work in the mines. By withholding wages, the miners are constantly in credit to the company and kept on the job. This condition is attested to by Boal himself.

The Facts—and Mr. Hull

The State Department has denied that Boal was instructed to intervene in the labor legislation of Bolivia. The telegram sent to him by Secretary Hull, however, reads:

"It is, however, considered desirable that you discreetly express to the (Bolivian) President or other appropriate authorities your government's hope and confidence that no steps will be taken which might result in the creation of situations which would inhibit the full performance of contracts made in good faith by both parties. You may refer to the fact that agencies of this government have entered into important contracts for the purchase of various strategic materials, particularly tin, tungsten, antimony and rubber. It is, of course, patent that the uninterrupted flow of these items is essential to the optimum prosecution of the war. It is consequently hoped that no action will be taken which might jeopardize hemispheric security. Discreet reference can be made to Resolution IV of the Rio meeting on the production of strategic materials."

Resolution IV recommended that the countries of the hemisphere "eliminate or minimize administrative formalities and regulations and restrictions which impede the production and free flow of basic and strategic materials."

Time for a Labor Party - -

(Continued from page 1)

an Independent Labor Party will not cure all the ills that beset labor. For that a workers' government is needed. But, sitting in Congress as representatives of the working people, workers and working class farmers elected on an Independent Labor Party ticket could use the tribunal afforded them as congressmen to blast to hell such anti-labor frauds as the Hobbs bill. THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY WOULD SOON KNOW THAT IT IS NOT RACKETEERING THE POLL-TAX CONGRESSMEN ARE CONCERNED ABOUT.

For what is the poll-tax, if not a colossal racket depriving millions of citizens of the right to vote? What are the cost-plus war contracts of big business but a form of racketeering? What are the farm bloc antics in Congress, if not racketeering by big business farmers to get bigger pickings, while squeezing out the little fellow?

Half-Way Measures Inadequate

Independent Labor Party candidates elected to Congress would give out with the real McCoy. (We are speaking of a genuine Independent Labor Party which has no connections with the boss class.) They would be accountable only to the working people. They would be successful only to the extent that they furthered the class interests of the working people.

Nor could an Independent Labor Party merely fight a defensive battle to maintain the status quo. In

reality there is no status quo—but only progress or reaction. We would have to give an Independent Labor Party a program of militant working class demands covering the gamut of questions that press for solution. And, once we have realized our political and economic strength, we would then proceed beyond the tasks of the Labor Party to the next step: vanquishing the fundamental iniquity of class exploitation at the point of production by wresting from the capitalists the factories and the mills which properly belong to labor.

The CIO has revealed that it has a legislative program, to be followed by each of its locals. It consists in organizing local committees "for purposes of basic contact with our representatives in Congress." These CIO committees are furthermore to "operate jointly with AFL and railroad brotherhood locals, farm organizations, church and community organizations." And "the views of these groups must be brought to Congress by joint committees of these various organizations, by joint rallies or demonstrations and delegations to congressmen."

All these plans are excellent. Such pressure on capitalist politicians has always been and still is a necessary supplement to militant working class action. But it is only a supplement to the main line of independent political action—FOR WHICH THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE.

For the representatives in Congress are NOT OUR representatives. They are candidates of the Demo-

cratic and Republican Parties which are boss parties, and they are therefore boss politicians.

Everything considered, the decision of the CIO, AFL and railroad brotherhoods to form a "common legislative front" along the lines more fully explained in the CIO statement quoted above, is only a half-measure. The intensity of the reactionary forces today demands all-out progressive action from labor. Labor's political interests can be defended and furthered in an out of Congress only by a political instrument wielding the solid economic strength of the unions—an Independent Labor Party, free of all boss ties, and with its own working class program.

Let the unions use pressure on capitalist politicians, yes. Let them gain the support of communities in rallies and demonstrations, yes. But the basic political perspective of the working people must be a nationally organized Independent Labor Party!

Buy Labor Action In Detroit at:

Carl's Book Store, Clairmont and Woodward.
Book Store, Baltimore and Cass.

In Buffalo:

Main and Huron, next to Gamler's.
Main and Mohawk.

Cliques Argue for the Spoils In the Hunting Grounds of Europe

By EUROFACUS

While in public United Nations representatives are seemingly in full accord, behind the curtains things are far from running smoothly. As a matter of fact a real fight is going on between the main Allied powers and their smaller satellites as to who is going to dominate Europe. That is to say, they are battling over the spoils of the future while Hitler still holds his prey in an iron grip.

The veil of censorship is lifted only on occasion and no more than occasional glimpses can be caught, but nevertheless some distinct lines are emerging.

While in the first years of the war all the governments in exile stood behind England, since it was only through English backing that they could hope to regain some power, this has changed to a large extent. Two factors are primarily involved. 1. The recent Russian successes have made it clear that Russian influence in Europe will have much weight, and 2. American imperialism has taken an active part in European affairs.

East European Dispute

The first is best illustrated by recent developments with regard to Poland and Czechoslovakia. Both governments in exile agreed some time ago to a sort of post-war federation of these two countries. England backed this idea, since it saw this federation as a barrier against any Russian desires on Western Europe.

While many circles in England think along lines of a complete destruction of Germany, others want to keep a semi-independent if somewhat amputated German state. They too, however, want a powerful buffer against any revival of expansionist tendencies in a post-war Germany. To this tendency such an Eastern federation looked like a very desirable solution.

While Benes and Sikorski seemed to agree for quite a while, the situation has changed recently. Benes became afraid of the Russians. He was given to understand that Stalin would look with much displeasure on such a federation...and since then has become very quiet about the whole idea. In fact, Czechs and Poles are now quarreling about the small but industrially very important region of Teschen, formerly belonging to Czechoslovakia, which the Poles occupied after Munich.

In Yugoslavia the pro-Russian and pro-Allied elements are fighting an

open war among themselves. But in many other Balkan countries Stalin's emissaries are already laying the groundwork for a future Russian penetration. While Stalin has been clamoring for a second front in Western Europe, he is much less enthusiastic on the prospect of a second front on the Balkans. For this reason England and America are considering the possibility of pushing the war into Europe from the Balkans. The Russians, although they officially disclaim any territorial interest in Europe—are quite obviously preparing the ground for swallowing a very important part of Europe. According to recent informative articles in the New York Times (January 19-20) they are putting forward as minimum demands: Finnish Karelia to be neutralized, and Russia to take over the Baltic States, the Eastern part of Poland, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina from Rumania—in addition to the Danube delta and the Black Sea ports of Bulgaria.

American Plans

As to the second: insofar as the United States is concerned, there existed, until the occupation of North Africa, a certain tendency in the War Department to put aside all political questions with regard to Europe. Post-war planning was considered a crack-pot occupation for college professors. Since North Africa this has changed. Military leaders are now discussing their strategy not only in military but in political terms as well.

The differences with England become more acute, not only with respect to North Africa but also with respect to Europe. While the English still tend to play with the idea of different power blocs in Europe, with England holding the balance of power, America is thinking in terms of a total integration of the whole of Europe into the American orbit. Therefore, while the English are still inclined to back this or that emigre group or government, the U.S. has recently shown, in the opinion of this writer, a very definite tendency to disregard and discourage these would-be governments.

The Belgians, the Italian republicans, the different central European groups have all protested strongly against the tendency of the State Department to push them aside. American intervention in Europe is evidently to be based on some native apparatus which would give an appearance of legitimacy to its domination over Europe. That is the

reason why the State Department has recently laid so much stress on relations with certain Catholic circles, not only in Italy and Spain, but also in Austria and—according to some reports—even in Germany (Bruning). Many differences with the British arise in this connection and these differences are bound to be much sharper when a real European front is established.

Cliques Vie for Power

Among the different refugee governments and groups, on the other hand, the struggle for power is also raging. Even the New York Times correspondent, writing about the feuds of the different governments in exile which are already fighting about future frontiers, characterized the hotel in which they live as "Quisling Court." The situation in a way resembles what is going on in the different government cliques now holding power in German-dominated Europe. It is only the strong hand of Germany which keeps the Rumanian and Hungarians, for example, from fighting each other instead of fighting as members of the Axis against Russia.

Very much the same situation will occur after an Allied invasion of Europe. Croatian and Yugoslav ruling cliques are fighting one another, as are the Hungarian and Rumanian groups in London. The Polish clique has put forward its ambition for parts of Germany—specifically Eastern Prussia and Danzig, West Prussia to the Oder and a great deal of

Silesia east of Breslau. Benes has stated, in the name of the Czechs, that they want to keep the Sudetenland and are opposed to any independence of the Slovaks.

It is impossible in one article to give more than a very rough idea of the mad rush for power being waged inside the Allied camp. For example, we did not mention at all the social implications which always underlie all calculations. If all these tendencies are united it is with one aim: to fight against any attempt of the masses to take their destiny into their own hands. It is clear that, apart from the fact that the Yugoslavian partisans are obviously playing into Russia hands now, it is because they represent the more active part of the Yugoslavian oppressed—those who are opposed to any revival of the domination of the landlords—that accounts for the opposition of the British and American authorities to this movement.

Power blocs of the future are being formed now. They sit daily at the conference table, playing with the lives of the European people. But what if the masses whose destiny they wish to decide, show an independence of will and activity. There are other forces in Europe than disgruntled fascists and "democratic" Quislings. The workers of Europe will have a say in these matters. The only alternative to a Stalinist or Anglo-American dominated Europe is a socialist federation of the people of Europe.

Important Notice!

Beginning in the March 1 issue of LABOR ACTION we will run a series of educational articles by Susan Green on the subject of "A Workers Government."

Readers of LABOR ACTION know that the program of the Workers Party calls for a Workers Government.

Is a Workers Government a labor government, such as existed for a time in England? No, it is not. Well, what is it? Why is it necessary? What will the workers be able to accomplish through their own Workers Government?

These and other aspects of the question will be explained. Be sure to read every one of these enlightening articles.

This notice is published early enough for you to get your subscription in—if you are not already a subscriber.

Editorials

Some Points on Shoe Rationing

Now shoes have been rationed—three pairs for each person per year.

Sounds fair enough—especially when you read that Mr. Byrnes has ordered manufacturers not to put too much leather into expensive shoes but to make enough of the cheaper and moderately priced types. So everything is just fine—if you don't get curious about that word "enough."

But how about the person who can afford to pay only \$3.00 for a pair of shoes and the one who can pay \$10 or \$12 or \$20? And the one who can afford only one pair, and the one who can afford the three? Are they affected in the same way by the shoe rationing order? Obviously not.

A better shoe lasts longer, stays trimmer, keeps rain out even when it is old. Not so a cheap shoe. Here again is the same inequality between the haves and the have-nots. Rationing—though altogether desirable and called for by the conditions of war—alone does not fix up that inequality.

As a matter of fact the person who pays \$12 for a pair of shoes may even get by with two pairs a year—and hoard one pair against tighter shortages in the future. While the person paying \$3.00 and unable to afford more than one, or at best, two pairs a year, will be hard put to it to make his shoes last out the year.

Finally, for the rich, there is always the black market—which will doubtless flourish in shoes as in all rationed goods. It will drain off a large supply of leather from the poor citizens who haven't the admission price to the black market.

Some small measure of fairness can be approximated if rationing is accompanied by lower prices, higher wages and the absolute suppression of black markets.

These are all tasks for the working people to accomplish through their own unions and committees.

Hero--and Anti-Labor Heel

Eddie Rickenbacker clings to his class interests as tenaciously as he clung to his life on the raft in the Pacific.

The attempts of so many labor leaders to save him as a national hero by making it appear that poor, innocent Rick has been influenced by the bad men in the National Association of Manufacturers, are laughable. For Rickenbacker is himself a boss—part and parcel of the class hostile to labor—the very stuff of which the NAM is made.

As a captain of industry, Rickenbacker made an anti-labor record as black as any. As automobile manufacturer and head of the company bearing his name, he intimidated his workers. He hated unions as ardently as all of big business does. He blacklisted men

who had the courage to join a union. He used labor spies and thugs. He fought wage increases as obstinately as he fought death in the Pacific. This unsavory record was sufficient recommendation for General Motors to acquire him as executive officer in its Cadillac division and later in its airplane ventures.

Today the national hero distinguishes himself as one of a particularly reactionary tribe of capitalists—those who seek to drive a wedge between the worker and the soldier. By Rickenbacker's statement that if workers would change places with the men in the foxholes, production would go up—and in all his soldier versus worker propaganda since his return—he has allied himself with the loud-mouthed advocates of "national unity" who, in their never-ending war against labor, now use the tactic of dividing the workers in the army and the workers in the factories.

It is not production Rickenbacker is concerned about. Otherwise, he would have put his fellow capitalists over the fire. For they held up production on a major scale for the sake of profit—and what is more, they still do.

Let no worker or soldier be deceived by such heroes OF and FOR the boss class as Rickenbacker. No soldier-worker is stupid enough to want his brothers in the factories to be placed on the level of the soldier in the foxhole. He himself hopes to be a worker in a factory after the war. The workers in overalls who are fighting against the Rickenbacker designs to put labor under the yoke of slavery are keeping the banner of labor progress flying for themselves and for their brothers in uniform.

Rickenbacker is responsible for this gem: "High school kids should not think in terms of college these days. Their job is to win the war and they can do it without a college education."

Be it remembered that the militarization of youth and scorn of education are some of the things we are supposed to hate the Nazis for.

If you give it time enough, capitalism adopts the same methods no matter what the country.

Verdict Expected Soon On Trotsky Murderer

Judge Rivera Vasquez is expected, within the next two weeks, to announce his verdict on the case of Frank Jason. Jason is the Stalinist assassin (Jacques Mornard) who murdered the great revolutionary leader, Leon Trotsky, in August, 1940.

Under Mexican law there is no trial by jury. The defense and the prosecution make their arguments before a judge.

The prosecution, which charges that Jason acted as a Soviet agent, has asked that Jason be sentenced to twenty-three years in jail—twenty years for premeditated murder, two years for assault with weapons, and one year for illegally bearing arms. There is no capital punishment in Mexico.

LABOR ACTION will soon carry a list of the KNOWN murders perpetrated by the Stalinist GPU. This will be especially interesting not only in connection with Trotsky's murder, but in connection with the murder of Carlo Tresca, Italian anarchist, in which a good deal of the evidence points directly to the Stalinist assassination machine.

Roosevelt Work Week Order Covers Up WLB Wage Chisel

(Continued from page 1)

It appears as though labor is being given something—a bulkier pay envelope.

The contrary is, however, true. Labor has been working the 48 or 60-hour week. The cost of living has risen to the point where labor must undergo a cut in its standard of living, or force wage increases in keeping with the rise in prices.

Specifically, that means labor has to break the Little Steel formula. And executive order or no executive order on the 48-hour week, that continues to be the issue. Roosevelt issued his order at a time when labor fury against the Little Steel formula is mounting to its highest pitch. He did so in order that he might decapitate the movement, confuse it, rout it.

He no doubt had in mind the mine workers who, through Lewis, have made it plain that they intend to bargain for a \$2.00 a day increase and that they won't be intimidated by a restrictive formula. And when the miners bargain, they mean business!

Roosevelt is trying to head off the miners' wage demands. If he can do that he might succeed in breaking the back of the entire union upsurge. Whatever labor as a whole may think of Lewis and the United Mine Workers, it knows that the UMW gets what other unions hesitate to ask for. Labor remembers that Lewis won a dollar a day increase for the anthracite miners against the combined opposition of the government and the mine owners.

With union after union aroused, with union after union swinging into action behind the demands made by Murray and other union leaders that wages must go up, Roosevelt is obviously concerned with the effect of a UMW wage victory. There would be no holding back the tempers and militancy of the union rank and file

—no matter how supine or servile any given union leadership may be.

This, then, is the point to be noted and reiterated: the government has, in effect, spat in the face of the labor movement by declaring its intention to hold onto and enforce the Little Steel formula. The straightjacket is to be tightened around the living standards of the working class.

No amount of pious assurances that prices will be kept in tow are worth the breath with which they are uttered. PRICES HAVE ALREADY RISEN! PRICES ABOVE THE LITTLE STEEL FORMULA! WELL, ACCORDING TO THE STATEMENT OF PRENTISS BROWN, new OPA head, WILL CONTINUE TO RISE. AND, WITH OR WITHOUT A STATEMENT BY BROWN, EVERY WORKER KNOWS THAT PRICES WILL RISE ON THE EXPERIENCE OF THE LAST YEAR. OF PRICE-FIXING—BECAUSE THE PRICE-FIXERS KEEP A PROTECTIVE EYE ON PROFITS.

The executive order and the WLB packing house decree have made it clear, if it wasn't before, that conferences with Roosevelt and behind the scenes lobbying will net labor nothing.

It is now time for the unions to make the banner headlines—to crowd the front pages of the newspapers with the unanimous declaration that labor means to get wage increases. And the way to do it is to announce in the name of the CIO, AFL, railroad brotherhoods, UMW and independent unions that labor repudiates the no-strike pledge!

Murray, Green and Lewis can issue their communique jointly or separately. But if that communique reads "WE RESCIND THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE" there isn't a decree on earth that can save the iniquitous Little Steel chisel from the overdue death it deserves.

Sparks in the News

By Everett Weston

"A 10-cent-an-hour raise in normal times means that \$4.00 more worth of goods can be bought on Saturday night. But supposing that prices meanwhile rise high enough to absorb that \$4.00—then what has been the use of the long arguments before a government agency to win that 10 cents an hour? None!—OWI pamphlet, "Your War and Your Wages."

Besides, it cuts down your boss's profit, and he is probably getting only about twice as much as last year!

—LA—
Braniff Airways, Inc., announces a 1942 profit, after taxes, of \$946,089, compared with a NET LOSS of \$84,212 in 1941.

—LA—
"Evidence at the FEPC railroad hearings would have proved:
"1. That in the struggle of white railroad workers to get the jobs of Negro firemen, 17 Negro firemen have been killed.
"2. That Negroes are excluded

from eight railroad brotherhoods by their constitutions or rituals.
"3. That Negro firemen will be completely eliminated from American railroads in a year or two.
"4. That the Railway Labor Act ... does not give representation or protection to the Negro firemen."
—Workers Defense League Bulletin.

—LA—
"WAR WORK IN PRISONS IN NEW JERSEY HAILED
"Maverick Hopes State Program Will Be Model for All U.S."
—Headline in New York Times

—LA—
"According to confidential figures ... based on German insurance statistics smuggled out of the Reich, as well as expert estimates (in London) more than 4,000,000 Nazi soldiers are now believed to have been killed, captured or permanently crippled so far in this war."
—New York Times.
This is from an English source and therefore, if anything, an overesti-

mate. But compare it with the Russian estimate of last November (reported then in this column). According to a statement of P. N. Pospeloff, editor of Pravda, the Nazi losses were 10,000,000, before the present Russian counter-offensive, and in the Battle of Russia alone. Moral: don't take any of these figures too seriously.

—LA—
"The masses of the workers will never completely understand the reasons that lead to the outbreak of a war. They do, however, understand immediately and fully that in its prolongation their economic position requires a drastic change.... After all the grand promises made to the workers—according to the urgency of the situation—it is to be hoped that the post-war reconstruction period will bring with it a more equitable and higher social justice."
—Milan Corriere della Sera, quoted in the New York Times.

—LA—
"It is perhaps necessary to note that this is not an underground paper, but the fascist-supervised press getting jittery."
—LA—
"There have been a good many symptoms recently of growing American skepticism about the blessing of participation in the United Nations war effort. Most of these symptoms have come in the form of labor troubles."
—Atlantic Monthly.

A partial list of countries enjoying large and important strikes includes, besides Bolivia, Mexico, Uruguay, Jamaica. Also Canada.

—LA—
"Judge Miles W. Lewis signed an order in (the Jacksonville, Fla.) Circuit Court directing the Moore Pipe & Sprinkler Co. (of that city) to cancel its closed shop contract with a steamfitters and plumbers local (AFL). The jurist acted on the grounds that the agreement at issue was contrary to public policy, interfering with the war effort.... Judge Lewis's ruling will be appealed to the Supreme Court by the AFL."
—New York Times.

Jim Crow Rules - -

(Continued from page 1)

Chicago, Washington, Los Angeles and numerous other cities: refusal of the companies to employ Negroes as conductors and motormen and in the better jobs in the public utilities, etc.

Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Bureau assigns the heavy, arduous jobs to Negro women; the lighter tasks to white women. And, of course, the sweeping job is exclusively the task of Negro women.

Railroads: General discrimination (previously reported in LABOR ACTION).

In the Sunny South

In the South, extreme discrimination continues. Where Negroes are given jobs, they receive the very poorest; or else do the same jobs as white workers at considerably less pay.

In Tennessee, for instance, the powder plant at Millington, near Memphis, the shell loading plant at Milan, the Fisher Body Aircraft plant and the Army Depot employ thousands of Negroes now. The wage differential between Negro and white workers, however, for both skilled and unskilled labor, is great. Doing the same work or more than the white workers, they receive less money.

Moreover, the fact that these are war industries having government contracts has not for one moment stopped this discrimination against Negroes. The Administration knows how to keep peace with the Southern Bourbons while at the same time making verbal or minor concessions to the Negroes.

In Alabama, Negroes are flagrantly discriminated against in industry—in the shipyards, army airports, etc. In the shipyards, the Negroes are not even promised up-grading. Again, either the Negroes are not given the skilled jobs; or where they are, they must work at less pay. Thus, the Black Dispatch (Oklahoma City) cites many such instances in regard to boiler makers, electricians, welders and riveters, painters, caulkers, sheet metal workers, burners, lay-out crews, etc. Innumerable additional citations could be given for other trades.

Therefore, what the Negroes see in all this is the same old Jim Crow. The attitude that prevails toward the Negro in the South is summed up in the statement of the director of vocational training in Georgia, explaining why Negroes are not even given a training program: "The need for these men as workers has not been established. It would be a waste of public money to train them."

Can Smash Jim Crow

Thus, the pattern of Jim Crow remains. It is the mold that must be destroyed, and a new pattern created. Again, the answer lies in the drawing together of white and black workers in mutual understanding and effort against the Jim Crow ruling class and exploiters. In the recognition of the special status and problem of the Negroes as a race, as well as in seeing the working class problem common to both white and black workers, it to be found the key to effective struggle against Jim Crow.

WDL Wins New Trial for Popoff

The New York State Court of Appeals has just ordered a new trial for Christ Popoff, trade unionist and fighter for labor's rights, who is now serving a sentence of fifteen to twenty-five years in Attica Prison for alleged attempt at arson.

Popoff was originally charged with being an enemy of society because he had once been arrested for speaking at a Sacco and Vanzetti defense meeting. It is believed that he is being framed at present because of his struggle in behalf of labor. The Workers Defense League, which has handled the repeated appeals in this case for the past two years and has just won the reversal of the decision of the Appellate Division, which had affirmed the conviction of Popoff, expects the new trial to be held either in February or March.

The Workers Defense League has just been successful in winning another battle in the union field. It has won freedom for Carl Gilmore, AFL teamster, of Binghamton, N. Y., who was sentenced to from five to ten years for allegedly punching a strikebreaker once. Through the recently organized efforts of the WDL, Gilmore was paroled after serving two years of his sentence.

The Workers Defense League has appealed for funds to continue its good work in behalf of Popoff and other labor militants. Send all funds to the Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

YOUTH:

Capitalist Society Offers Them What?

By R. Fahan

Total warfare affects the totality of human existence. There is nothing in our present social experience which is not corrupted and debased as a result of this total war. Some effects are obvious enough: millions die on battlefields; other millions starve behind the battlefields. But there are effects that are less immediately glaring but which in the long run can prove just as harmful.

We speak of such things as the psychological effects of the war on the young, the generations of tomorrow: those who are still in their childhood and those who are ready to enter mature life, only to find themselves on a one-way street to the battlefield. Of all the horrors of this war (and how easy it is to forget them, to gloss over them), is there one more horrible than the report from England that some children there who experienced the air blitz must now be taught to SMILE again?

Here in America one can see a gradual loosening of moral standards, an increase of psychopathic excesses, a development of what is politely known as "juvenile delinquency" among the nation's youth. Reports from many states indicate an increased amount of so-called sex crimes. New York City is set agog by reports of the inability of teachers to maintain discipline in their classrooms, in which youngsters have even gone so far as to beat teachers. Boston reports a large number of teen-age girls seeking illicit relations with soldiers as a means of getting some excitement.

It is very easy to get upon one's high horse of morality—provided you have it—and righteousness denounce those involved in such affairs. But doing that achieves nothing except add heat where light is needed.

INCIDENTS ARE SOCIAL IN ORIGIN

It is our opinion that most of these incidents are social in origin, that is, they are individual, psychological maladjustments which often lead to serious eruptions and which are caused, directly or indirectly, by the corrosive effects of a decadent and iniquitous society on its human victims. Often, as in the case of the sex crimes, it may be difficult to see immediately the social origin of the act. But a moment's thought should indicate that the mental and emotional disturbances which lead to sex crimes—unless they are the direct products of physical diseases, such as syphilis, in which case they require not prison but medical treatment—are often the result of the inability of the individual to adjust himself to the society in which he lives.

But the social origin can be seen much more clearly in another example of the loosening of moral standards: the increase in "juvenile delinquency." Take the case of the Boston girls. Who can deny that when they seek the company of soldiers from nearby camps that they are thereby trying to meet somehow the tragic fact that tomorrow millions of their would-be husbands will be rotting in graves all over the world? They feel the sense of desperation, of urgency, almost as much as the soldier before he enters battle; they, too, in their pathetically distorted way desire to taste a little bit of the pleasures of life, even if it be only in some shabby room with a soldier met a few hours ago. And they, too, just as their temporary companions, are paying the terrible price of imperialist warfare and the social system producing it.

Or, take the outbreak of violence in the New York schools. One does not approve the hooliganism perpetrated by some of these youngsters against their teachers, but it is necessary to understand why they act as they do. They are the victims of a society which has no place for them other than the battlefield; they see no future; they are emotionally disturbed by the tremendous and conflicting social pressures which are exerted on them; they are not allowed to live a normal and peaceful adolescence. If, then, they erupt in violent ways, is it enough merely to get righteously indignant?

Or, most obvious of all, take the case of Harlem youth. Born into poverty and discrimination, doomed under our present social setting to die in poverty and discrimination, doomed even to give their lives for an army which Jim Crows them into the very grave—is it any wonder that criminal tendencies sometimes develop among Negro youth? (And that is purposely exaggerated in extent and degree by the capitalist press.) Is it any wonder that some of them—the Bigger Thomases—are trapped by society into doing things they would never dream of doing if they were given half a chance?

CAPITALIST SOCIETY CAN OFFER NOTHING

Yes, the moral standards of our society, such as they are, are loosening; values become suspect and cynicism and violence uppermost. Little wonder. Capitalist society has nothing to offer these people; when they degenerate into criminals or delinquents they are merely aping in their personal behavior the social patterns of capitalism.

To build a society where children do not have to be TAUGHT to smile, where young people can find happiness in full, secure and peaceful living is the aim of socialists. The more we see of what present-day society does to people the more convinced we become of the necessity for building a new one. It is, after all, in these "little things" of which we have briefly written in this column that capitalism most graphically illustrates its rottenness.

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

Against Both Imperialist War Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory of the Third Camp of Socialism!

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship-measures!
- \$1.00-an-hour minimum pay! Time and a half for overtime; double time for Sunday and holiday work.
- Wage increases to meet rising costs. No wage or job freezing! Equal pay for equal work!
- For a greater share of the increasing national income. For a higher standard of living!
- No sales tax on consumer goods! No tax on wages! Against forced savings!
- For control of price fixing and rationing by committees of working class organizations, housewives and farmers' organizations. Freeze rents and consumer goods prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living.
- No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
- Maintain and increase all government social services!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

- A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three percent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces.
- The right of soldiers to vote in all elections.
- The right of all youth, male or female, to vote at the age of eighteen. Old enough to fight; old enough to work; old enough to vote!
- For adequate dependency allowances paid by the government with NO deductions from the soldier's pay.

SMASH JIM CROW!

- Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!
- For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes!

BE PREPARED!

- For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!
- For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
- For Peace Through Socialism! For the independence of all colonies!
- For a World Socialist Federation! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism!

BUFFALO MASS MEETING

"Negroes, Jobs and Democracy"

SPEAKER:
DAVID COOLIDGE
Labor Editor of LABOR ACTION

MEMORIAL CENTER
155 CEDAR STREET

Friday, February 19, at 8:00 p.m.
Auspices: Buffalo Workingmen's Welfare Committee
Lackawana Workingmen's Welfare Committee

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