

Wage Raises Remain the Fundamental Need --

BEWARE OF "INCENTIVE PAY"!

What is the Issue in "Grade Labelling"?

And What You Can Expect from OPA

By P. ROBAL

With an attack by both sides last week, the battle in the Office of Price Administration over grade labeling came to a head. More accurately, it raged over the head of Lou R. Maxon, representative of Heinz in OPA. On the one hand, Prentiss Brown, OPA administrator, gave Maxon very wide powers to review "all plans, orders, field instructions, questionnaires, enforcement regulations and similar materials originating in the national office which can in any way affect public opinion." In effect, this makes Maxon, who is officially only public relations director, second only to Brown

From the other side, OPA's Labor Policy Committee (which includes AFL, CIO and railway brotherhood representatives) voted to demand Maxon's dismissal from OPA. And at least four OPA administrators—Richard Gilbert, J. K. Gailbraith, Paul Porter, and Paul O'Leary—have submitted their resignations, to become effective if Maxon's new powers are not curbed.

Why is all this important? What is grade labeling, anyway, and how does it affect you and me?

Grade labeling is a part, and a very necessary part, of price control. If price ceilings are set on a pound of butter, or a yard of muslin, or a can of corn, part of those ceilings is knowing how much you will have to pay for those items. But a second part is knowing what those items are, and whether they remain the same. If six months ago you paid thirty-five cents a pound for butter and now you pay forty-seven cents, the price has gone up twelve cents. But if six months ago you paid thirty-five cents and now you pay forty-seven cents—AND meanwhile the fat content has been lowered and filler has been substituted—then the price has gone up, say, twenty-five cents.

Canned foods, the center of the fight, are now graded. They are ordered by grade, in wholesale transactions. The

Army, now the largest buyer, specifies what it wants by grade. Banks base their loans on grades. Then why the trouble?

The question is this: Will these grades be on the invoices, and the Army order, and the bills of lading, where only the companies and their representatives can see them? Or will they also be on the labels of the cans, where every woman who buys them can see them?

The interests principally opposed to having the cans labeled are the big canners. For they have spent millions of dollars in fixing trade names—Heinz, Del Monte, etc.—in the minds of the buying public, and if now they had to attach a grade to their trade name, its value would be lost. "Super-Wonderful Peaches, Ripe from Georgia Trees, with a Texture as Firm and Smooth as the Skin of a Beautiful Girl"—that might sell a lot of peaches. But not if it is followed by "(Grade C)."

The canners are opposed also because they have found trade names a useful device for side-stepping price ceilings. A ceiling was, for example, put on a certain brand of string beans, but it is a simple matter to make up six or eight new brands, put in the same beans (or some not as good; they're harder to get these days), and add a third to the price. Or add something and call it "New Enriched" or "Now with Vitamin D, the Sunshine Vitamin." A new spice, a new label, and presto—you can forget about price ceilings.

But this racket is due to end by an order, soon to go into effect, requiring universal grade labeling. Two OPA administrators, Gerber and Sorenson, recently testified before the House Agriculture Committee against the order.

And what is the present set-up in OPA? What can we expect from it?

Prentiss Brown is an old machine politician from

Michigan. When the voters rejected him in the last election, he was appointed to his job by Roosevelt. Clyde Herring, his personnel manager, is also an ex-senator, also rejected by the electorate, also appointed to a soft, well-paying job. These are the control boys, to set the line.

Under them comes first, Lou Maxon. Maxon is the owner and director of one of the largest of Detroit's advertising agencies. He has only three large accounts—Ford, Gillette Razor and H. J. Heinz Co.—so that approximately one-third of his income is dependent on one of the largest packers in the country. He has shown more than fifty-seven varieties of flangling to help his boss.

Gerber and Sorenson, mentioned above, are both officials of large canning corporations. Gerber is vice-president and advertising manager of Gerber Product Co. (of Michigan, home state of both Brown and Maxon), canners of Gerber's baby foods. Baby foods are exempt from rationing, and their sale, of course, has shot up by a tremendous amount.

These are the industry boys. Voter-rejected politicians and pickles and beans men from the Midwest—that's OPA today.

But the most anybody has suggested is that Maxon be allowed to resign. Nothing is said about Brown, who is responsible. And nothing is said about putting these birds in jail. The OPA has a clear policy, stated in Field Administrative Letter No. 3, Section 2B, that "no person engaged in or financially interested in the selling of commodities shall participate, as a board member, in board price or rationing activity involving that field in which he is interested." It is not a very stringent policy, and the least the Labor Policy Committee should do is to insist that it be enforced, and that those who have violated it be punished.

(Next week's LABOR ACTION will carry an article on OPA policy on meat.—Editor.)

It Is Only Another Scheme To Work Labor Harder Without a Real Wage Boost

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Donald Nelson's WPB Management Labor Council met last Saturday to discuss ways and means of establishing what the government and the employers are pleased to call "incentive pay." This is the old-fashioned "merit system" under a new high-sounding name. It is a piece-work, push-'em-up method of getting a lot more production for a little more money.

The "incentive pay" system is a form of rationalization. Rationalization is a nice term for getting higher production without installing new types of tools. Under rationalization, the intention is to get increased production irrespective of any improvement

Mine Union Official Quits WLB

By MIKE STEVENS

The United Mine Workers continued negotiations for the fourth week with the owners of the hard coal mines for the second week. No substantial progress is reported. However, although nothing new was reported from the negotiations during the past week, a number of developments having a direct bearing on the miners' wage struggle did take place.

I. Thomas Kennedy, secretary of the United Mine Workers, resigned from the War Labor Board. This was in line with the policy of the miners' negotiations, which was keynoted by John L. Lewis when he called upon all labor members of the WLB to resign from the board. Kennedy was the most outspoken labor member of the WLB in denunciation of the Little Steel formula when it was adopted in 1942. He then said that the decision "stymies collective bargaining" (Continued on page 2)

of the machines. Its central aim is to obtain greater production by an improvement in production methods, by a more advantageous division of work, by stricter control and especially by the introduction of piece-work production based on time and motion studies.

The question might be asked "What objections can be raised to improving methods of production?" The answer is none provided the "improvement" is one that simultaneously permits a real and substantial improvement in wages, hours and working conditions. Also, the "improvement" in production methods must be such that normal and correct functioning of the union is not interfered with.

The "incentive pay" scheme does not, will not, and cannot produce the result. What is the concrete proposal of the Roosevelt-Nelson War Production Board? They propose to give extra pay for increased output. Bonuses are to be paid for team work. The bonus will be paid to the plant, a department or perhaps units of a department, and not to individual production.

Under this system the responsibility for increasing production will (Continued on page 4)

More Merchants of Death: U. S. Steel Profits By Supplying Defective Plates for Ships

By JOHN BERNE

The scandal of the defective steel plates produced for the government by a subsidiary of that pillar of American capitalism, the United States Steel Corp., has been hushed up very quickly by the boss press—and advisedly so. For this latest exposure by the Truman Committee of the criminal practice of putting profits before lives condemns the profit system and reveals the fraudulent propaganda of its most ardent supporters.

The bare facts are as follows: At the Irvin plant of the Carnegie-Illinois Corp., a United States Steel subsidiary, the analyses of 28,000 to 36,000 tons of steel were discovered to have been faked to meet the specifications of war orders going to United States Navy and Maritime shipyards and to lend-lease consignments.

Anything like the full measure of the fraud and of the consequent damage will never be unearthed. Only a small part is known. For instance, on January 16 the tanker Schenectady broke up during its trial run on the West Coast. It was disclosed by the Truman Committee that the plate at the point where the tanker began to break was a product of the Homestead works of the same Carnegie-Illinois Corp. Here there are two plants of this company that pass off defective plates.

This is no isolated accident or in-

cident. It involves a policy—a criminal policy. George E. Dye, supervisor of inspection of the Irvin plant, stated before the Truman Committee that he was aware SINCE LAST JULY that the mill "was shipping badly laminated and piped plates to the United States Navy and United States Maritime shipyards" and that "defective steel was being supplied on United States Treasury lend-lease orders." Although Mr. Dye repeatedly called this to the attention of his superiors, nothing was done about it.

Now comes the diadem of the whole testimony, showing clearly that to supply defective steel was a policy, not a mistake. Mr. Dye said:

"In November, 1942, I referred this matter to W. F. McGarrity and was instructed to reject all the bad plates. Two days later John Connell told me that McGarrity 'GOT HIS EARS BEAT BACK' when he brought the subject up in an operating meeting and I WAS INSTRUCTED TO GO EASY ON REJECTIONS."

Michael A. Terella, a general foreman in the testing division, asserted that he had been instructed to fake tests. The supervisor of specifications testified that the company was thus enabled to avoid normal rejections running to about FIVE PER CENT OF TOTAL PRODUCTION.

What this means to the company in terms of money is that it did not

have to mark off as a loss plates which did not come up to specifications—in other words, A BETTER PROFIT SHEET.

For the sake of a better profit sheet, how many defective ships went to sea unable to withstand the strain of sea and battle? How many unsuspecting sailors, marines and soldiers have gone to the bottom because the United States Steel Corp. reaps profits on defective steel?

At this point it is altogether fitting and proper to page one Edward Rickenbacker, that "champion" of the soldiers in the foxholes. Why is he so strangely silent about this scandal? Why does he not get blue in the face over the United States Steel Corp. melting out almost certain death to some unaware sailors, marines and soldiers? He gets high blood pressure because workers have to take a day off now and then—when they get too knocked out to put one foot ahead of the other.

Rickenbacker called THAT sabotaging the soldier. But what the United States Steel Corp. is doing is just the "innocent" accumulation of profits—very much in line with what his own company is doing in high-jacking on air transportation rates.

And here is another hair-raising story directly affecting the soldiers in the foxholes—about which neither Rickenbacker nor any other labor-

hating exponent of "free enterprise" has had anything to say. It is the expose in the St. Louis Star-Times that the United States Cartridge Co. is passing through as good ammunition thousands of defective cartridges.

This company, one of the largest small-munitions manufacturers in the world, makes, on government order, tremendous quantities of cartridges and shells for machine guns and rifles. It is not hard to imagine the plight of a soldier in one of Rickenbacker's famous foxholes, supplied with a round of defective bullets—because the United States Cartridge Co. prefers its profits to his life.

Not long ago LABOR ACTION carried the story of the Anaconda Copper Co. passing off defective wire, undoubtedly resulting in many deaths on the battle fields. "Merchants of Death," LABOR ACTION calls these criminal profit-grubbers—of whom there are all too many. Another munitions manufacturer—whose name is not made public—with \$55,000,000 in war orders, was gaily passing off defective war materials until caught by the FBI. The Department of Justice is now prosecuting forty cases of such criminal fraud, involving \$180,000,000 of war orders.

In the cases of both the Carnegie-Illinois Corp. and the United States Cartridge Co., it was workers who

exposed the criminal fraud of the higher-ups—at the risk of losing their jobs! Isn't this the time for them to go a step further and demand:

"CONSCRIPT ALL WAR INDUSTRIES UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!"

When It Comes to Profits "Take-Home" Is Plenty Big

By EVERETT WESTON

The capitalist papers are still echoing the War Labor Board decision not to break the 15 per cent ceiling on wage increases with arguments of various degrees and kinds of phroness. One argument in particular, first given by a member of the board, has appeared repeatedly in editorials since. It is the "take-home" wage that is important, they say, not the wage per hour. This is, in a way, a good thing to learn.

Remember the depression, when Pegler and his friends spent half their columns ranting about the "criminal" pay rates of, for example, building unions. Then it was the hourly rate that was important. The fact that a bricklayer worked only a few hours a week was not worth mentioning. But in the depression that will follow this war, everything will be different. Now it is the "take-home" wage that counts.

Bosses' profits, of course, have always been figured on a "take-home" basis. Maybe when they begin to take this "equality of sacrifice" a bit more seriously, they will introduce time or piece rates for clipping coupons. But meanwhile they are surely taking home a good bit. If there is any bacon around, they have it.

Look at the list. What a bunch of war babies! Two transportation companies, two shipbuilding, one food, one airplane, one oil and one coal, three mining, two automobile and about a dozen miscellaneous tool and construction. From Twentieth Century-Fox or Distillers Corp.—Seagram's, two of the giants of Amer-

ican industry, to small firms you never heard of. From the East Coast to the West Coast. But one thing they have in common.

There is no Little Steel formula on profits. Except for a few cases with unusual accounting practices, these figures are for 1942 as compared with 1941. They are the companies' own figures, as reported in the New York Times, and all are after all profits—normal, excess or what-have-you? As regular readers of LABOR ACTION know, the profits of industry in 1941 were not puny. If the com-

panies did no more than maintain those profits, reasonable people would consider them sufficiently patriotic. But the increase anywhere from double to ten times the 15 per cent MAXIMUM for workers.

As Karl Marx said, there are always classes in capitalist society. They are the workers, who actually make the stuff the factories put out. They earn a lot in hours, or in abuse. And there are the bosses, who arrange the wars to use up the good the factories make. They earn a lot in money.

Ehrlich-Alter Protest Hounds Stalinists, So--

Browder Manufactures a Few Lies

By PHILIP WARNER

The murder of Henryk Ehrlich and Victor Alter, the two Jewish-Polish socialist leaders, by the Stalin government has resulted in such an outburst of indignation in labor and liberal circles in this country that the local Stalinist party has had to attempt a counter-attack. And the leading blow in this counter-attack has been an advertisement in the New York daily press of a speech made by Earl Browder on April 1. Browder begins by admitting that "We do not know the evidence upon which a Soviet court condemned Ehrlich and Alter," but proceeds to

ignore this telling admission by constructing a fantastic fairy tale.

Ehrlich and Alter, Browder tells us, were working as agents of certain forces in America which were trying to overthrow the Stalin regime. Therefore, they were killed.

They worked, he says, in collusion with one N. Chanin, who is the moving spirit behind the "conspiracies" to overthrow the Stalin government and who provided funds for that purpose. Associated with Chanin in this "conspiracy" are Abe Cahan and David Dubinsky (who, as all faithful Daily Worker readers know, already bears the historic responsibility for

having single-handed caused... the fall of Kharikov).

To anyone in radical and labor circles who is familiar with these names there is something unpeakably comic about these Browder charges. N. Chanin is a mildewed political fossil of extreme right social-democratic persuasion. One can readily imagine him organizing a Workmen's Circle banquet or a testimonial dinner for a "friend"—but a conspiracy to overthrow a government? Now, really! And how did Chanin do this? Did the septuagenarian Abe Cahan smuggle the money across the border in

copies of the Jewish Daily Forward? Or did the money come from the funds for Soviet relief which David Dubinsky has relieved upon his union's membership—without, incidentally, getting their consent to send funds to Stalin!

All this is in the realm of political psychopathology. Even if Chanin and Cahan were interested in practical steps to overthrow the Stalin regime, as opposed to writing articles in the Forward's Sunday supplement, they have no practical means of doing so. (Unless the members of Joe Curran's N.M.U.—the only Americans who (Continued on page 3)

Company	"Earned" in		Per Cent Increase
	Recent Period	Same Period Year Before	
Delaware & Hudson Co.	\$6,592,364	\$4,336,480	52.0
Farmelee Transportation Co.	1,252,077	145,606	759.9
Ogden Corp.	552,095	276,978	99.3
Cramp Shipbuilding Co.	693,824	110,719	625.6
Distillers Corp.-Seagram's, Ltd.	8,993,363	5,672,048	42.7
Golden State Co.	1,082,662	721,479	50.1
Goulds Pumps, Inc.	340,864	218,267	56.1
Lock Joint Pipe Co.	1,380,493	709,060	94.7
Sivyer Steel Casting Co.	935,694	473,857	97.4
Wesson Oil & Snowdrift Co.	1,431,667	1,070,262	32.5
Gisholt Machine Co.	2,063,560	1,586,990	30.0
Packard Motor Car Co.	4,726,237	2,061,323	129.2
Northwestern Electric Co.	1,075,146	504,051	34.3
United Cigar-Whelan Stores Corp.	676,992	400,636	168.3
Bath Iron Works Corp.	3,742,982	1,396,593	168.0
Butte Copper & Zinc Co.	169,568	-1,676*	
Graham-Paige Motors Corp.	1,635,249	690,536	136.8
Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp.	10,600,000†	4,921,926	115.3
Franklin County Coal Corp.	60,792	-135,389*	
Giddings & Lewis Machine Tool Co.	1,608,926	659,629	62.1
Los Angeles Shipbuilding & Drydock	523,505	256,551	104.1
Wellman Engineering Co.	426,996	319,407	33.7

*The second figure is a net loss. †Estimated.

News and Views from the Labor Front

Lundeberg Resigns from United Seamen's Service

By C. T. WOLFE

Charging that ninety cents out of every dollar donated to the United Seamen's Service (USS), a sort of USO for the merchant seamen, was spent on "administration" and only ten cents was left for the merchant seamen, Harry Lundeberg, secretary of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific and president of the Seafarers International Union, AFL, has resigned from the USS.

In an open letter to Admiral Land of the War Shipping Administration accompanying his resignation, Lundeberg pointed out that the SUP and SIU membership only endorsed the USS on the understanding it would specifically provide the merchant seamen with the following:

- 1. Rest-homes for American merchant seamen who were victims of action at sea, and
2. Centers in foreign ports where the needs of these seamen could be taken care of while awaiting repatriation to American soil, after being torpedoed or bombed.

The letter further points out that these are only WARTIME needs. "Our experience with organizations established ostensibly to serve the merchant seamen in the past," says Lundeberg, "has not been too happy,

as we have found that many of these organizations have degenerated into providing soft jobs for professional social workers, and have added little to providing actual aid to merchant seamen."

The Lundeberg letter recounts the experience of seamen in Russia: "We have been informed by members of our organization who had returned from the hazardous duty of conveying supplies to Murmansk through the North Sea and who had landed in Murmansk from lifeboats that at times there were as many as 400 to 500 American seamen foraging for whatever food they could find for themselves and even resorting to seagulls for food and glad to get them; with their hands and feet frozen and suffering from exposure and shock, and no facilities at all there to take care of them although other nationalities had provided facilities for their merchant seamen beached there, while American merchant seamen were left to shift for themselves."

However, the experience of seamen since the establishment of the USS has been that in a few ports such as Glasgow, Gourock and Liverpool, where hotels were established

for the American seamen, the USS—operating on money donated by the seamen themselves—collected from these torpedoed and stranded men four shillings for bed and breakfast, two shillings sixpence for meals, and even collected payment for a cup of coffee or tea.

Lundeberg also made the following financial charges: "At the time the USS was launched, the financial objective was set out to be the raising of \$2,000,000—and that our union seamen were more than willing to assume their share of the financing of such rest homes and centers in foreign ports is borne out by the fact that when the USS was started last fall the membership of our organization went on record to access themselves one full day's pay. Further, I personally appealed to the convention of the California State Federation of Labor, representing 600,000 AFL workers in California, for funds for the USS, and at our request the AFL in convention at Toronto, representing 6,000,000 workers in the United States, went on record endorsing the USS, and requesting its affiliated organizations to contribute funds to that organization.

"In the month of December, 1942, I was in Washington, D. C., and received a report from our repre-

sentative to the effect that in his opinion the USS was going beyond the purposes for which it had been originated. I was called into a meeting by Captain Macauley of the War Shipping Administration (WSA); present were Douglas P. Falconer and Marshall Dimmock of the WSA and various representatives of the seamen's unions. I then learned that the United Seamen's Service had established a staff of 154 people in the port of New York alone on the payroll, with salaries ranging from \$6,000, \$8,000 up to \$15,000 yearly, without the approval of the executive board and without information as to their qualifications. Further, that of every dollar collected for the merchant seamen, ninety cents was being spent on 'ADMINISTRATION' and only ten cents was left for the merchant seamen.

"It was further developed at this meeting that it is now the intention of whoever is 'guiding' the USS, to make it a PERMANENT ORGANIZATION to continue AFTER THE WAR! That several 'clubs' had been started in U.S. PORTS, also HOTELES for merchant seamen were to be opened in U.S. PORTS. This meant broadening the scope of the organization to such an extent as to

completely alter the character of the project, and in order to finance this expansion, it was estimated that the sum of \$7,000,000 would have to be raised from the general public for the USS instead of the original \$2,000,000.

Instructed to Resign

"Upon my return from Washington, I reported the facts relative to the trend the USS was taking to our membership.

"This project was thoroughly discussed by the membership in EVERY port (emphasis mine—C.T.W.) and aboard ships for well over a month, and the following action was officially taken by the membership, consisting of merchant seamen manning ships carrying supplies to every port in the world."

"I was instructed to resign and, on their behalf, withdraw my name from any official capacity in the United Seamen's Service."

These statements were made BEFORE the Stalinist NMU and the executive director of the USS, Douglas Falconer, issued a statement categorically denying the charges and stating that "for some personal reason he (Lundeberg) is now trying to sabotage an effort that has the support and approval of his membership (SUP-SIU)."

The Stalinist NMU paper, Pilot, continues with slanderous charges of sabotage by Lundeberg of the USS in a story of the Falconer blast: "Falconer denied that the SUP members are opposed to the USS clubs." This Stalinist-USS lie flies in the face of the SUP membership vote which asked Lundeberg to resign from the USS. They did not answer the \$15,000 salary charge and the fact that ninety cents out of every dollar goes for administration. The SUP reasons for asking their secretary to resign from the USS were essentially:

"We do not want another seamen's 'charity outfit.' If the seamen need 'charity' they can go to the existing organizations which have been established for that purpose. We do not want the general public at this time to be called upon in our name to support another 'charity' outfit. Due to the 'Statement of Policy' signed between Admiral Land on behalf of the government and the seamen's unions guaranteeing their collective bargaining agreements for the duration of the war, the merchant seamen are able to take care of their own 'hotel' bills, 'entertainment' bills, etc., and do not, or certainly should not, require 'charity.'"

"Our membership is definitely in favor of establishing rest homes for torpedoed seamen, but we feel in order that these rest homes may function for the benefit of the SEAMEN and not for a 'job-trust' that they should be put under the control and management of the United States Public Health Service, an old established institution that has proved itself many times over, and which has a qualified staff to administer such a program."

These statements were made in the SUP paper, West Coast Sailor. Every means of exploiting the plight of the merchant seamen will be utilized (his dangerous living conditions while at sea, etc.) to get the public to pitch in a few pennies. The only answer to such appeals is the facts stated above and the demand of the seamen not for charity, but for increased pay through collective bargaining.

UAW Hudson Local Backs Miners' Fight--Demands Premium Pay Restoration

DETROIT—The end of the Little Steel formula, the restoration of premium pay for Saturday, Sunday and holiday work, an increase in wages of \$2.00 per day and support to the miners were unanimously demanded at a general assembly meeting of Hudson Local 154, UAW.

These proposals were presented to the membership by a meeting of the chief stewards and committeemen in all the plants of the Hudson Motors Co. in Detroit. These demands were in direct support of a similar decision made previously by Murray Local 2.

The union demanded that Roosevelt's decree suspending premium pay be withdrawn in view of the revocation by Congress of the \$25,000 salary limitation. The Hudson local at no time prior to Roosevelt's decree voluntarily agreed to surrender premium pay and was receiving such pay up to the very day of Roosevelt's action.

When these demands were reported out to the membership, they were greeted with enthusiastic applause. One of the speakers stated that these demands must be fought for, even if it meant a strike. He received a tremendous ovation.

Briggs Local Backs Mine Demands

DETROIT—At a meeting of Briggs Local 212 of the UAW in Detroit, Emil Mazey, president of the local, announced that the stewards' council of the local had unanimously voted support to the demand of the United Mine Workers for a \$2.00-a-day increase in wages. All other locals, the CIO international officers and executive board members were asked to take similar action.

Mazey pointed out that the result of the miners fight would be a big factor in determining the fate of coming wage negotiations in the steel and auto shops.

Brewster Local Votes 50¢ Assessment To Push Progressive Union Program

LONG ISLAND CITY—Brewster Local 365, UAW-CIO, has again served notice that it intends to remain in the forefront of militant unions.

Some months ago this local announced its Bushkill program, which called for the rescinding of the no-strike pledge, the formation of a farmer-labor party, the immediate launching of an organizing drive and an educational program to bring back the spirit of Flint and General Motors.

At its last regular meeting the local concretized part of the Bushkill program by voting a special fifty-cent-a-month assessment to be used for organizing the unorganized, for political action, and for an intensive educational program.

The spirit of the Brewster members in voting this assessment is particularly significant in view of the fact that UAW locals throughout the country voted down the international executive board's proposal for a fifty-cent increase in dues. The international had given up time and a half and double time for Saturday and Sunday work; had agreed to the no-strike pledge; had cut the organ-

ized staff; and had practically eliminated the educational department. UAW members therefore reasoned: an organization that wasn't going anywhere, except backward, didn't need more money to help it get there.

The international wanted to use the money for a "post-war dislocations" fund. The Brewster Local is going to use the money NOW. And that's why the membership agreed!

It also agreed that the Harbor plant of Local 365 be permitted to join the Pennsylvania CIO Council and that its chief function there be to agitate for an Independent Labor Party.

At this same membership meeting, Local 365 also went on record by resolution in support of the demands of the mine workers.

The few individuals who opposed the Bushkill program also opposed the local's solidarity with the miners. That was to be expected. However, as with the Bushkill program, the resolution was passed unanimously, because the members realized that right now the mine workers are carrying the ball for all labor.

Mine Union - -

(Continued from page 1)

and restricts it to the employers' interpretation of this formula."

2. Dr. John R. Steelman, head of the U.S. Conciliation Service, returned to the negotiations from Washington, where he had been in conference with President Roosevelt and Secretary of Labor Perkins.

He insisted that negotiations continue, and that he was sure progress could be made. This was in answer to the mine owners, who want to toss the whole business to the WLB. Steelman's insistence on continuing negotiations means that Roosevelt has already given him instructions to yield a bit to the union.

Roosevelt's reasons for this arrangement are many. If the owners, the union and Steelman come

out of the negotiations with an agreement that gives the miners a number of concessions plus a guarantee to investigate the cost of living in the mining communities with a possibility of more changes later—but at the same time does not disturb the Little Steel formula—the WLB will find it difficult to reject this agreement. Also, under this arrangement, Lewis, Kennedy and their committee do not have to appear before the WLB. They will then be able to say that the miners have negotiated and are going home.

On the other hand, if Roosevelt does not follow the procedure he has apparently adopted, the case would go to the WLB, creating a situation full of political dynamite. There are doubts if the union would appear before the WLB, which both Lewis and Kennedy have insisted has outlived its usefulness and even question its authority. Roosevelt would then really be in a spot because the truth of the matter is this: the WLB never was of any use to labor, and workers all over the country are waiting for the miners, or any other union, to crack its authority so that they can let loose with a real barrage of wage demands.

In Chicago: You can now get LABOR ACTION, The New International and Henry Judd's pamphlet, "India in Revolt," at CESHINSKI'S BOOKSTORE 2720 Division Avenue.

Local 9 Stewards Demand Election

SAN PEDRO — Resentment against the Pollard dictatorship over CIO Shipyard Workers Local 9 last week flared up in a stormy shop stewards' meeting at the Los Angeles Shipbuilding & Drydock Yard in San Pedro.

At three preceding stewards' meetings, Walter S. Pollard, administrative director appointed by the General Executive Board, had failed to appear despite requests for his presence. Although he seems to find ample time to confer with company officials, the director could not attend the stewards' meeting to answer the questions of the stewards.

One of the chief questions to be answered was the reason for the indefinite postponement of the election of shop stewards in the LA Shipyard, scheduled by Pollard to take place last January.

Since Local 9 lost its autonomy, stewards are appointed by Pollard, who can make or break them at will. The demoralizing effect of this situation is leading toward a weakening of the steward system in the LA Yard.

At last week's meeting, with Pollard at last present, several stewards denounced the cancellation of the promised election and vigorously criticized the conduct of union affairs by Pollard.

The administrative director vehemently attacked the speakers and declared that the workers of LA Ship are not capable of electing "proper" shop stewards. He stated that he called off the election because when he learned which men were likely to be elected he was "frightened."

Thus Pollard revealed his real contempt for the thousands of members of Local 9 who work at LA Ship when he said they were "not capable" of electing their own stewards. And he was "frightened" when he saw that the men were prepared to weed out those stewards who are inclined to bend over backward seeking excuses for the

company; especially those who want to "get along with the company" at the expense of the grievances and working conditions of the union membership. In short, Pollard doesn't want an election until he is sure that the "right" men will be elected.

As a further step in the struggle to preserve the shop steward system, petitions are now being circulated throughout the yard calling for the promised election without delay. The petitions are being signed enthusiastically, for the men know that the basis of a really functioning shop steward system is the democratic election and recall of their immediate representatives.

And the men know that they need fighting representatives, for the company grows bolder every day. The workers are plagued with rules and regulations, a new one every day. The penalty for ignoring these rules, arbitrarily proclaimed by the company, is a lay-off. This penalty is made possible only by job-freezing, for in the

past if the company tried to "discipline" a worker with a lay-off, the man was likely to get another job and not come back.

Now again the company seems ready to try to force through the ten-hour day. "Graveyard" on new work has been reduced to production welders and a handful of men on sub-assembly, a logical first step toward demanding two ten-hour shifts.

Although the company's move to install the ten-hour day in the machine shop was dropped, the rumor nevertheless persists, apparently stimulated by management representatives, who seem to be following the "smuggling" tactics used when the staggered week was put over on the men.

Against the threat of the ten-hour day, the possible abolition of time and a half for the sixth day or hours over eight, the rising cost of living, plus the host of other problems arising every day, the workers can't prepare to fight in only one way. Building their union into a strong, pro-

gressive and live organization subject to the will of the majority, and democratic to the core. This is the only defense against the growing attack of the bosses and the government against labor.

Black and White

"One of the Seattle machinists' locals has gone ahead and interpreted its constitution and ritual were the words 'white' and 'Caucasian' are used in reference to membership qualifications to mean white characters, not white skins. On the other hand, the huge and important aeronautical union, which has a closed shop agreement with Boeing, refused to admit Negroes to membership but does sell to a limited number of Negroes permits to work at Boeing as long as they pay \$3.50 a month to the union for the privilege of working.... Union members pay \$1.50 a month for job security and other union advantages."—Letter to the New Republic.

Sperry Workers in Sitdown

BROOKLYN — Workers of Sperry Gyroscope Co., members of Local 450, UE-CIO, on April 1 confronted the corporation officials with a sit-down strike that spread from plant to plant. It was no April fool's joke.

The strike began when the second shift at the Bush Terminal plant in Brooklyn, fed up with the company's stalling on contract negotiations, spontaneously quit their machines at 6:30 in the morning and gathered in the cafeteria to hold a protest meeting.

The strike spread swiftly to the first shift, which came in at 8:00 a.m. and to the main and Nassau County plants of the company.

Thus rudely disturbed in their

contemplation of endless streams of profits, and realizing that the "joke," if any, was on them, the company officials hurriedly called for help in getting the strikers back on the job. Army and Navy officials responded with pleas to the workers, but these were of no avail. Instead, the workers paraded around the shop chanting "We want a contract."

Finally, at 1:30 in the afternoon, union officials appeared with a telegram from the War Labor Board ordering the strikers back to work and promising them prompt settlement of their grievances if they went back to their machines. By 3:30 all departments had agreed to the advice of

the union leaders and were back on the job. Though the WLB likes to insist that it will not act under pressure, the fact of the matter is that it does act a little more swiftly when such pressure is applied. Similarly, the decisions of the WLB, which on the whole have been anti-labor, are likely to be conditioned by the seriousness displayed by the union and the workers in it. Sperry workers will have to keep a close watch on the WLB to see to it that they get the kind of decision THEY want. And they can take a lesson in this from the workers at Brewster, who made it clear throughout they meant BUSINESS—and wound up with a substantial victory in reclassifications and evaluations.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Likes Paper, Sends In Three Subs

Dear Sirs: I am an employee of the Motor Co. here in Detroit. I read one of your papers at the shop and like it very much. I showed it to several of my friends and they too liked it. So I am writing this to have you put us on your mailing list. Enclosed please find money order for \$1.80 for three one-year subscriptions for the three of us.

M. E. S. (Detroit.)

"M" Doesn't Stand For Democracy

Dear Editor: On Tuesday, March 23, at the Sun Shipbuilding & Drydock Co., a great celebration was taking place. The ceremonial launchings of three tankers for the Maritime Commission and the official presentation of the Maritime "M" for the workers who built these ships.

Of course, a representative of the workers of Sun Ship was needed to accept the "M" officially, so that it would look "democratic." Who was appointed to accept the "M"? None other than the infamous John Albany, secretary of the notorious Sun Ship Employees Association (SSEA),

company union which has robbed the workers of thousands of dollars in under-par wages and injured many others through lack of safety.

This man, who has probably never put a real day's work in at Sun Ship, was selected by the company without consent of the rank and file. The company did not announce beforehand that Albany was going to accept the Maritime "M" on behalf of the workers as they no doubt feared that the good union men who have been active organizing the plant for the CIO would create a disturbance during the ceremony.

This John Albany, who professes to be a shining example of democracy, is reported to have said: "We don't want any Jews in here."

This is the democracy we have today. Thousands of men work and sweat, get maimed and killed, gassed and even turned into flaming human torches for about \$50 a week, of which between ten and fifteen dollars is taken away for taxes. On the other hand, we have the labor-hater Pew, who doesn't work like we do. He doesn't go down and strike an arc in a gas-infested tank; he doesn't use a torch all day; he doesn't deafen himself with a chipping hammer; he doesn't swing a maul; yet his "wages" are probably more for one hour than we make all week. Yes, this is the democracy we have.

Why? What allows one man to exploit thousands for huge profits and

then make fools of them by choosing a traitorous rat to represent them? What allows one man to be a political dictator as well as an economic one in Pennsylvania? The answer is in one word: socialism. How can we achieve socialism? First, through a united front of all workers—a Workers Party. Second, to guard our gains from being swept away by the capitalist encroachments. Third, ever organizing, and ever demanding more of our rights.

Incidentally, other "prominent" guests at the ceremony were:

J. N. Pew—Sun Oil magnate and boss of Pennsylvania Republican politicians.

Admiral Land—of the Maritime Commission, who advocated shooting union organizers in one of his recent speeches.

Senator Davis—Republican senator of Pennsylvania, spokesman for the steel interests.

Governor Martin—who was supported financially by John G. Pew, president of Sun Ship, to the tune of \$80,000 in his campaign funds.

Senator Guffey—New Deal senator who felt perfectly at home in this anti-labor gathering.

All we needed was Congressman Wolfenden, Pew's personal representative in Washington, and Eddie Rickenbacker, to make it look like a regular convention of labor-haters.

Wide Awake Worker (Phila.)

On Dan Tobin—And Labor Party

Dear Editor: Dan Tobin, president of the International Teamsters' Union, recently charged in his union's publication that the Democratic Party has betrayed labor.

That is not news to the readers of LABOR ACTION, for every week this paper has carried details of the dirty deals that the so-called New Deal has dealt labor. What is news is that one of the labor bureaucrats who helped in the betrayals is willing to admit something of what is going on.

Tobin points out that working-men's votes directed and substantially influenced by the trade union movement were responsible for the victories that the Democrats have won in the last ten years. And these self-same democrats, Tobin complains, are now busy crucifying labor. Unless they cut it out, Tobin declares, they will lose both the support of labor and their dominance in the government at the next election.

He concludes with the statement that the Republicans are still in league with labor-hating capitalists (are there any other kind?) and, therefore, offer no help either. The answer to Tobin's troubles is as obvious as anything could be. The Democrats, whom labor has support-

ed, are crucifying the working class, if the Democrats antagonize labor, then the Republicans, who are worse, will win. A pretty picture.

If Mr. Tobin ever did think of a genuine Labor Party, really looking out for the interests of the working class and its unions, the thought must have been very painful to him. For he is the type of labor "leader" who is known as a labor lieutenant of capitalism, which is to say that his brand of labor leadership consists of compromising continually with the bosses in their favor. Since 1932, Tobin has been on the National Committee of the Democratic Party, in charge of getting workers' votes. He is such a good friend of FDR that at Tobin's request the government launched its persecution of the militant leader of Teamsters Local 544.

Tobin, like most bureaucrats, is no dope, however. Although he is rarely interested in militant union action, he must preserve his union and the union movement, or lose his soft job. Therefore, it is entirely possible that he and other labor tops may take the steps to put labor politics on an independent basis.

The rank and file union member must turn to an Independent Labor Party for different reasons, however. He has no soft job to lose; his job is hard enough in any event. The rank and file needs a Labor Party to protect his union and represent

his interests if he is to have food, a roof over his head, and clothes on his back. That is why union militants must push their hesitant leaders to break away from the boss parties and must also act on their own. Every clear-sighted unionist must introduce a resolution in his local calling for a labor party and must call for the formation of a legislative or political committee in his local to get that Labor Party going.

Gerry McDermott (Cleveland.)

LABOR ACTION Announces a Series of Lectures on the War By MAX SHACHTMAN FRIDAYS AT 8:15 P.M. April 16—Why the War Came. April 30—Fascism and Democracy in the war. May 14—United States in the war. May 28—Russia in the war. June 11—Socialism or the Third World War? Place—Labor Temple, 14th St. and 2nd Ave., New York Admission—25 cents per lecture. Combination Ticket for All Five - - - One Dollar

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

ARMED RESISTANCE IN WARSAW GHETTO

The plight of the Jewish workers of Poland is even more terrible and more inhuman than that of other European workers. The Nazis not only persecute them because they are workers, but also because they are Jews. In spite of this horrible situation the Polish Jewish socialists carry on their fight; they continue the publication of their underground press; they establish illegal groups and keep the socialist alive.

In addition to all the oppression from the Nazis these Jewish socialists have also had to suffer at the hands of Stalinism, which has just murdered their two outstanding leaders. Stalin knew that Alter and Ehrlich were forces with which he had to reckon; therefore, in this tragic way, Stalin himself pays tribute to the spirit and underground faith of the Polish Jewish socialists.

An attempt to resist by arms German efforts to liquidate the remnants of the Warsaw ghetto resulted in the killing of scores of Nazis and several hundred Jews in January, according to words received through underground channels by the Jewish Labor Committee. Among the killed were several well known members of the Jewish Socialist Bund. The situation of the Jews slaughtered in the ghettos of Poland is nearly

hopeless, and armed resistance, in spite of this, is further proof of the heroic spirit of socialists who, when facing death, at least make sure that some Nazis share their fate.

"Poland Fights" has just published statistics about the biggest Nazi concentration camp in Poland: Oswiecim. The records reveal that during two and a half years the total number of prisoners confined in this camp was 85,840. The total number of prisoners in the camp at the middle of 1942 was 23,080. It becomes evident that, after deduction of the 5,000 persons transferred to other camps or prisons, or released, over 57,000 have perished in this death camp. The average daily mortality has been about 250. Ten per cent die of old age or serious illness, the rest die of beatings and exhaustion. In addition, the Nazis carry out frequent mass executions of prisoners.

The Nazis use three methods of killing the prisoners: 1, shooting; 2, air-bubble torture; 3, gassing. The first two methods are applied to prisoners sentenced to death; the third method is applied to those who are not able to work and to the prisoners sent to the camp for execution. Many carloads of Russian war prisoners and Jews have suffered death by gas in this notorious camp.

GERMAN STALINISTS FOR "NATIONAL FRONT"

The German Stalinists now in Mexico have just published a manifesto supposedly adopted at a secret conference in the Rhineland, but, in fact, fabricated in Moscow. This amazing document is worth some comment. Participants in the "National Conference for Peace," which supposedly adopted the manifesto, are said to have been a Catholic priest, a major of the army, representatives of the small shop keepers, communists, socialists and Catholic workers as well as representatives of a "Nazi opposition."

This composition of the phony conference indicates the new line which has been adopted for Germany. It is a kind of super popular front which includes everything from Stalinists to fascists, provided they are against Hitler and for an end to the war. The whole spirit of the manifesto is one of German nationalists who have been cheated by Hitler into thinking that winning the war would be easy. It stresses the weaknesses of the German war effort and says that Hitler does not tell the truth to the German people. By this it is rather clearly implied that if the military situation would have been better, everything would have been fine. Furthermore, there is clearly to be found an attempt to get into contact, not only with reactionary army officers, but even with disgruntled Nazis. An appeal is made not only to former members of Hitler's Storm Troops, but even to actual members of the Nazi organization to join with the Stalinists

against Hitler.

There is, of course, also an appeal to factory owners and capitalists to join forces with the CP. As a positive program for a future Germany, there is above all a demand that all the restriction which the war economy has made on the freedom of the employer must be annulled; there are to be "constitutional guarantees" for private property. For the workers, they ask for no more than an "onest wage," eight hours a day, and the right to vacations.

The manifesto ends with an appeal: "All honorable officers and soldiers, who are imbued with a really national spirit, must come together to re-establish in unity with the German people law and order in Germany."

Stalin is trying, as some of his latest speeches indicated, to put out feelers toward some Nazi circles. He is trying to find a possible basis for collaboration with parts of the Nazi apparatus. In any case he wants to make it clear that he is against any revolutionary attempt on the part of the worker. This manifesto of his German stooges is a clear indication of these intentions. Stalin's intervention in Germany, as well as in the rest of Europe, will not, and cannot, have a revolutionary character. It will, on the contrary, only unite the "honorable officers and disgruntled SA men" against the German workers, and, failing that, seek to misdirect the German workers under the leadership of Stalin's stooges.

Europaean.

Browder Lies --

(Continued from page 1)
reach Russia—have suddenly formed a pact with the Jewish Daily Forward!

But why speculate any further on this madness? Suppose it is all accepted as the Gospel truth. Suppose it is true that Dubinsky caused the fall of Khar'kov. Suppose it is accepted with a straight face that Chanan is practicing with a revolver to get Stalin. What relation does all this bear to Ehrlich and Alter?

Obviously none! Browder (having just admitted that he doesn't know "the evidence upon which a Soviet court condemned Ehrlich and Alter") attempts to connect two utterly unrelated "facts"—the alleged conspiracy of Chanan and Jesse James Caham and the alleged plot of Ehrlich-Alter. How did they communicate? What evidence is there that they communicated?

But more, Browder writes: "Evidently Ehrlich and Alter took the teachings of their paymasters (sic) at their face value, and tried to put them into action." (How does Browder know, if the "evidence" of the "trial" is, at his own admission, unavailable?) "But everyone," he writes, "who goes into the Soviet Union for the purpose of destroying the Soviet government is in grave danger of being himself destroyed. That is what happened to Ehrlich and Alter, in company with a few million Nazis..."

Each word a lie, and some two. Ehrlich and Alter did not "go" to the Soviet government. They were arrested by the GPU when Hitler and Stalin jointly carved up Poland, and when Alter-Ehrlich were organizing workers' resistance to Hitler even after the Polish government had fled. They were FORCED to come to Stalinland. They did not go in company with a "few million Nazis" because at the time they were kidnapped by the GPU, Stalin was in league with those very same Nazis. And as a matter of fact, even after they had been in Stalin's jails for months,

they sent an appeal to their Polish comrades to support Stalin's war effort against Hitler. And, what is more, how did they receive the "funds" which N. Chanan was supposed to have sent them in Russia, if most of their time in that country was spent in GPU jails?

And, finally, if all this be true, why has it been left to the fourth-rate stooge, Browder, to announce these "sensational" discoveries? Why were they not announced by the Stalin government at the time they announced the death of Ehrlich-Alter?

We venture to suggest that the reason is that all of this is merely a concoction out of Browder's sewer imagination. Desperate to stem the growing tide of criticism against Stalin's judicial murder, desperate to prevent the growing disillusionment with Stalin's dictatorship which has resulted from this murder, Browder resorts to any and all fabrications to stem the tide. But the very frenzy of his desperation reveals the falseness of his case.

Strike at Chrysler

DETROIT — Two hundred janitors and maintenance workers at the Highland Park plant of the Chrysler Motors Co. went on strike on Tuesday, March 16, demanding the end of discriminatory practices against Negroes. The strike lasted until Monday, March 23, at which time they returned to work on the advice of Mr. James McClendon, president of the Detroit branch of the NAACP, who advised them to adjust their demands through what he termed the "proper channels."

The strike began in protest against the assigning of colored women, many of whom were qualified through regular training courses to handle defense production jobs, to the most menial tasks. These Negro women were to mop floors with heavy mops (some weighing ten pounds or more), and to clean out waste chips from the machines. Segregated toilets and rest rooms were assigned to the Negro women.

A History of Poverty and Oppression

Puerto Rico: The India of the United States

By V. SEGUNDO

From all you usually see in the American newspapers, you would never know that the United States has an official empire, as distinguished from the financial one in South America and the East. But in the past few weeks the unhappy island of Puerto Rico has been in headlines everywhere.

The people are starving, they say. Tugwell is their savior, or Tugwell is the cause of it all. It is because of the war. We must help them, or they have already bled us for too much. And so on.

Actually, if the people of Puerto Rico are starving (and they are), it is not for the first time. And it is not merely because of the war: they have been starving for many decades now. The causes are more fundamental. They go back to the day the island was occupied by American troops, and beyond. They are worth examining in some detail.

"We have not come to make war upon the people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed, but, on the contrary, to bring protection, not only to yourselves but to your property, to promote your prosperity, and to bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government."

So reads the proclamation of General Nelson A. Miles, who landed American troops in Puerto Rico in 1898 to take over the island. In the whole history of imperialism, it would be difficult to find a statement more flatly false.

The history of Puerto Rico had not been a happy one. It was settled by the Spaniards in 1508, and

in 1511 came the first of a long series of revolts. The native Indians were driven with typical cruelty to work in gold mines and died in great numbers under the lash. Father Bartolome de las Casas, who has a reputation as a "protector and militant exponent of the rights of the Indians," possibly helped at times to lessen the viciousness of the gresping cabaleros. But it was at his suggestion in 1513, when most of the native population already had been killed, that the first of the Negro slaves were brought to the island.

This set the tone of the almost four centuries of Spanish rule. Most of the problems that now confront the island had their counterpart in Spanish Puerto Rico, but American rule has done nothing but aggravate them. In 1897, the year before American occupation, the island was granted autonomy, which, even if it was mainly nominal, was a step toward such independence as the rest of Spanish America enjoyed.

Ruin Native Economy

One of the first acts of the American military governor was to substitute American money for Puerto Rican, at a devaluated exchange rate. This proved to be a disaster to native agriculture equal to the hurricane the same year. Between the two, coffee, then the main crop of the island, was wiped out in a few months. According to the WPA American Guide Series volume on Puerto Rico: "Losing their properties, the planters were forced to migrate to the towns and cities. The coffee workers followed them and were forced to squat on the outskirts of urban communities, giving rise to

malodorous slums still in existence. The ruin of the industry, which afforded work to more than half the population, was only a single dramatic instance of the ruin that devaluation of the local currency brought about."

This was sufficient to ruin the native economy, and force most of the plantation owners into bankruptcy. Their holdings were snatched up at bargain prices by American interests, which still hold them.

The second important step in the bestowal of "the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government" came two years later. In 1901 Puerto Rico was included within the United States tariff wall, which virtually excluded trade with other countries. Before occupation, only 10 per cent of Puerto Rican trade had been with the United States; now the figure is 90 per cent. Coastwise shipping laws were made applicable to the island; all freight between it and the United States had to be carried in American bottoms

—the most expensive in the world.

Everyone gained by this. American companies gained a new market for their goods. American investors gained a fine return from the new sugar companies. American steamship companies gained a better than reasonable profit from their monopoly in the new trade. And the Puerto Ricans gained starvation. They have had it, with an occasional respite, ever since.

Sugar Displaces Coffee

We quote again from the WPA guide book: "Sugar soon displaced coffee as Puerto Rico's dominant industry, its fortune linked with the

mainland's tariff. Plantation factories making mascajavado sugar on individual estates gave way to modern sugar centrals where cane from thousands of acres could be ground. Family properties merged into corporations. By 1900 the twenty-two centrals and 249 individual sugar haciendas reported in 1899 had been merged in 41 highly modernized sugar centrals. The growth of the sugar industry to a considerable degree shifted agricultural economy from that of direct consumption crops to commercial crops for export. Development of the tobacco and citrus fruit industries followed the same lines, but coffee... was not protected by the tariff and sank to an unimportant place."

What drama is hidden behind those figures! That one sentence in particular, "family properties merged into corporations," sums up in a not too expressive manner the American appropriation of Puerto Rican property. It shows a delicacy of feeling in the anonymous writer that should give him a fine career in journalism.

This quotation also brings up one of the major problems in Puerto Rico today—the fact that only commercial crops are raised. The island, at once among the most populous and most fertile spots on earth, is forced by the greedy appetites of absentee owners to import almost all the food it consumes. But a full analysis of this problem must be deferred until the next article.

The First World War brought to the people of Puerto Rico a measure of relative prosperity, based principally on the large increase in the demand for sugar. This has not

been repeated in this war, for reasons we will examine later. When peace came in 1918, the price of sugar fell from twenty-three to three cents. The economic structure of the island, flimsily built to make quick profits for American stockholders, completely collapsed. The people were thrown into the depths of poverty and misery, and responded with sporadic rebellion.

Various attempts were made to placate them. In 1919 the first minimum wage law was passed. It is worth examining this in some detail, for it shows more clearly than any description could the level of existence of the workers. In the first place, it applied only to industry and commerce, and thus excluded most of the workers on the island, those in agriculture. It was less unlawful to pay women under 18 less than \$4.00 a week and women over 18 less than \$6.00 a week. After a long fight in the courts, this was declared unconstitutional in 1924. Revived in 1937, it was again attacked. This time the court ruled it constitutional, but not applicable to home work.

Throughout the island, according to the WPA guide book, there were "plantation strikes, in many cases accompanied by cane-field fires, intimidation, riot and even murder." In 1920 came the election of Santiago Iglesias, the first socialist senator. In 1922 the Nationalist Party was founded by Pedro Albizu Campos, who with his associates was later put in the federal penitentiary at Atlanta for "conspiring to overthrow the United States government in Puerto Rico."

(To be continued)

Last in a Series of Articles: "WHAT IS A WORKERS GOVERNMENT?"

Stalin Government Is Not a Workers' Government

By SUSAN GREEN

In 1936 that famous New Constitution—which Stalin and all his domestic and international underlings hailed as "the most democratic in the world"—in effect abolished the Soviets and occupational groups—had been established by the 1917 Revolution as the agencies through which the workers could rule. The New Constitution formally did away with elections on a working class and industrial basis—and again made elections a free-for-all, as in capitalist countries.

However, the New Constitution of 1936, in essence was the death certificate of the Soviets, was only another stepping stone of the counter-revolutionary advance begun by the Stalinist bureaucracy many years before—and continued today as a despotic, cruel and greedy dictatorship.

Long before 1936 the Soviets had become rubber stamps of the bureaucrats. Elections were a mockery since only Stalin's stooges could be candidates. All opposition or criticism was ruthlessly suppressed. All the old revolutionary Bolsheviks were exiled, imprisoned and finally assassinated with or without witch-hunt frame-up "trials." Militant workers were herded into concentration camps by the tens of thousands. In its labor-camps the secret police tortured millions of workers and peasants.

By methods surpassing the nightmares of medieval barbarism, Stalin and his bureaucratic henchmen wiped out the revolutionary vanguard of the workers, terrorized the masses into submission, ended the functioning of the Soviets and established a dictatorial regime.

THE BUREAUCRACY BECOMES RUSSIA'S RULING CLASS

On the economic side of life, this reactionary transformation of the government meant that nationalized industry became the collective property of the bureaucracy—for the government owned the industries. With government and industry in their control, the bureaucracy became the new ruling class.

Every vestige of workers' control of industry—which the 1917 Revolution had instituted after ousting the capitalists—is ended. An oligarchy of bureaucrats has arisen whose function it is to rule the workers as its industrial slaves. The passport system prevails and workers cannot change jobs. When there is rationing, the industrial manager is rationing the custodial manager of the worker's ration cards and thus of his very life. When workers' living quarters are connected with the factory, this becomes another weapon the bureaucrat holds over the worker's head. WHO DOES NOT OBEY SHALL NEITHER EAT NOR LIVE IN A HOUSE!

There is more truth than poetry in this. For if a worker is black-listed for one reason or another, he finds himself an industrial outlaw, because the Stalin bureaucratic state which fired him is the only industrial em-

ployer. Instead of workers' control of industry—which is part and parcel of a workers' government—the Russian workers under Stalin labor in industrial prisons.

Nor do the Russian trade unions—still so called—in any way help alleviate the workers' slavery. On the contrary, the unions are simply additional oppressive agencies of the Stalin state. What the slave-driving managers leave undone, the union officials try to do. These officials owe their jobs directly to Stalin and his lieutenants. They are no more than Stalin's hand and file responsible to him.

As agents of the dictatorial state, the unions see to it that the workers fulfill their "norms" of production—"norms" unfairly and artificially set by the privileged aristocracy of labor known as the Stakhanovists and deeply hated by rank and file workers. Piecework pay—that sweat-shop practice that the workers of most capitalist countries have fought and ended—is today the basic pay system in Russia.

Under "a workers' government that leads the masses toward socialism, the unions would be interested in protecting the daily interests of the workers in harmony and coordination with the socialist plans for increasing mass production and mass consumption. Under Stalin, the Russian unions have become another battle front in his war against the workers.

SOCIAL CAUSES OF STALIN'S BETRAYAL

What impelled Stalin and his bureaucrats on their bloody, unscrupulous counter-revolutionary path? Always there are social causes behind villainy in places of government. As Trotsky put it, the Stalin regime "had become totalitarian in character several years before this word arrived from Germany."

Because of the economic backwardness of Russia and its extreme economic collapse following the long years of war and revolution, the "good life" was not in sight for the

180,000,000 Russian people for many years. But self-seeking careerists saw that the "good life" was available to them, AT THE EXPENSE OF THE 180,000,000 PEOPLE. That is why the few set out to put the many under a new yoke of slavery. That is why the workers' Soviets were emasculated and workers' control of industry so short-lived. That is why Stalin and his bureaucrats rooted out every possibility of mass expression and mass advancement.

This clique of bureaucrats were given their opportunity to make their counter-revolution and establish themselves as the new ruling class by the failure of the workers in the more advanced European countries to accomplish their own socialist revolution. Instead, reaction set in throughout Europe. Stalin's cohorts took advantage of the disappointment of the Russian people and of their deadly tiredness after years of war, revolution, famine and struggle.

From the vantage point of their control of government and industry, the class of bureaucrats divert to themselves great chunks of the national income. This favored upper crust of major and minor rulers, specialists, etc., and their families—constituting in all perhaps FIFTY-SEVEN PER CENT of the entire population—take for themselves as much as is distributed among the entire remaining eighty-five per cent. The industrial specialist, for example, GETS FROM EIGHTY TO A HUNDRED TIMES AS MUCH AS AN ORDINARY WORKER. This is the measure of social inequalities under Stalin.

A workers' government would not permit the development of such inequalities. A worker's wage would be the norm of compensation for government officials, industrial managers, specialists. Not that a workers' government would make poverty the social level for all—as the enemies of socialism claim. On the contrary, a workers' govern-

ment would plan production to raise the level of ALL TOGETHER. No Cleopatra could bathe in milk while children went hungry.

STALIN'S ARMY AND TROTSKY'S RED ARMY

The present war has centered a great deal of attention on the Russian army—to call it the Red Army is as false as to call the Stalin government a workers' government. All the class inequalities of the Russian life are duplicated in the army. The hierarchy of the army—abolished by the Revolution—has been re-established and commensurate economic and social privileges have been granted them. There is as wide a gulf between the soldier and the officer as between the worker and the industrial manager.

Furthermore, the purpose of the Russian army today is as different from that of the Red Army as blackest night is from day. In 1918 the objectives of the Red Army were stated as follows: "With the transfer of power to the toiling and exploited masses there has arisen the necessity to create a new army which shall be the bulwark of the Soviet power... and will serve as a support for the coming socialist revolutions in Europe."

Today the Russian army is nothing but the military appendage of a powerful dictatorship. It invades Finland or takes over Poland, and the dictatorship sees its interests best served. Stalin is as hostile to socialist revolution as to free the working people as all the other imperialist belligerents on both sides.

Because the Russian soldier fights bravely is no reason for sprinkling holy water over the Stalin regime and its army. All over the world soldiers are fighting bravely—alas, for very reactionary regimes and for very unworthy causes.

A workers' army under a workers' government would, naturally, fight Hitler's invasion of their land—even as the Red Army under Trotsky fought invasion by the capitalist armies of the world. But with this vastly important difference: It would at the same time—as did the Red Army under Trotsky—call upon the workers and soldiers of all countries

to stop serving their capitalist masters at home and on the battlefields—and unite as brothers to make a socialist world.

WORKERS PARTY RESOLUTION DESCRIBED NEW RULING CLASS

A great deal more could be written to prove that the Stalin government is not a workers' government, but the regime of a new ruling class of bureaucrats owning nationalized industry through what you might call their ownership of the government. However, the basic points made in this article are all-sufficient proof.

The WORKERS PARTY has long ago designated the Stalinist bureaucracy as the new ruling class—exploiting as a mass does every ruling class. LABOR ACTION wholeheartedly endorses the Workers Party in this position. Daily comes corroboration of its correctness.

For example, Walter Graebner, reporter for Time magazine and in the main an admirer of the Stalin regime, writes in his new book, "Round Trip to Russia": "The bureaucrats... compose a social class which is every bit as distinct from the masses as the English nobility is from the cockneys."

The workers of the world must face the fact that the Russian revolution has had a setback. With the next revolutionary wave, the Russian masses will have to overthrow their new class of usurpers—as the workers in other countries will have to overthrow their capitalist classes.

Stalin betrayed the Russian Revolution. The myth of "socialism in one country" stands exposed as lying propaganda.

What we must remember is that the Russian workers by their revolution showed that workers can set up their own government, can run the industries, can plan national production. The Stalinist betrayal of the Revolution must engrave on our minds the lesson that the way to lasting international socialism is through international revolutionary solidarity. The workers of the world must unite!

New York Workers Attention!

THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN EUROPE

WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF A LECTURE BY

MAX SHACHTMAN

SUNDAY, APRIL 11, AT 8:00 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA—Irving Place and 15th Street

AUSPICES: WORKERS PARTY,
LOCAL NEW YORK

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 CENTS

Editorials

They Said It!

Last week the Truman Committee was busy condemning John L. Lewis for declaring that the no-strike agreement was "not necessarily" binding on the United Mine Workers Union. It huffed and it puffed. It assailed Lewis and reminded him of his duties as a citizen. And then the giveaway slipped out:

"Government must recognize that when it tells labor not to exercise during wartime its right to strike, it is depriving labor of its chief weapon with which to force management to be fair to labor."

The only thing wrong with the above statement is that the government DOES recognize the fact. That's why it pressured the labor leaders into the agreement. It is LABOR that has to do a little more recognizing—and rescinding!

The Truman Committee is absolutely right: the no-strike agreement, which was never approved by the rank and file of the unions, deprives "labor" of its chief weapon with which to force management to be fair to labor."

We think we could state the case a little more simply and cogently. But for the moment the Truman description will do. Gentlemen, the prosecution rests!

It Can Be Done!

The only encouraging aspect of the food situation is that a housewives' boycott works.

When point values on prunes and raisins were so fantastic, these sweets remained on the store shelves to entice the little worms. The result is that prunes and raisins are now on the point-free list.

During the first week of meat rationing, many meat-hungry housewives held onto their ration coupons. Point values are too high. The result was that the butchers—on their own—started a competitive war for the housewives' trade by cutting point values.

The OPA, to be sure, shook its warning finger at the merchants. They claimed that they were within the law because of the section permitting the lowering of point values to move "any foods in imminent danger of spoilage." The OPA declared that this may be so but the dealer must apply to his local OPA for permission to cut point values, and furthermore if point values are cut, prices must also be cut to twenty-five per cent below ceilings. This latter, of course, is very funny, because there are only imaginary ceilings.

But the fact to be borne in mind is that all this commotion was created because the housewife did not buy, considering the point values on certain meats too high—aside from their prices. Here is an illus-

tration of the tremendous power of the housewives.

Why not organize this power to use it collectively? Why not unite in neighborhood housewives' committees to use intelligently the power of the housewife as consumer to meet the whole messy food situation—which is daily getting worse?

Vegetables have doubled in price in a few weeks. The cost of milk is going up still further. The new ceilings on meats, effective April 15, are at such figures that the average working class family must consider meat a luxury. The Office of War Information states that prices in New York City are up TEN TO THIRTY-FIVE PER CENT ABOVE CEILINGS!

Congress passes the Bankhead bill which—if the President's veto is not sustained—will automatically boost the cost of living. The small protection that the consumer gets from quality labeling on canned foods is in danger of being abolished.

* Power politics continue their ramifications in Washington and may take price control—such as it is—out of the hands of the OPA and put it into the hands of the President's new food administrator, Davis—who is closely connected with the Department of Agriculture—which is honey-combed with representatives of the powerful big farm corporations behind the Bankhead bill, always pressing for higher prices.

Yes, indeed. The only encouraging aspect of the food situation is that a housewives' boycott works.

To working class housewives, LABOR ACTION says: **Organize your power as consumers and use it to protect your vital interests. Nobody else will!**

Anti-Labor Brass

For sheer anti-labor brass and brazenness, the Board of Education in New York City took last week's cake. Some time ago the Board decided to set up a special Adult Education Department with its own director. A series of difficult examinations was held over the last year. Of 100 candidates, only one was considered fit by the Board of Superintendents and the Board of Examiners. That one was Mark Starr, educational director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. But Mark Starr didn't get the appointment. The Board of Education, composed of business men and bankers, rejected Starr because of his "long record as a labor protagonist."

We are tempted to say a few words about Mark Starr himself—particularly his shameful repudiation of "radicalism" as youthful folly, and his generally tepid politics. Certain it is that he is no radical now.

His rejection is merely another sign of emboldened reaction. And it is as necessary to scotch the plans of reaction on this issue as on any other. His rejection is a scandal that cannot be ignored.

Sub Drive Hits Its Stride

MARCH 28-APRIL 3—FOURTH WEEK

New York	18
Los Angeles	15
Buffalo	13
Detroit	12
Chicago	11
Akron	4
National Office	3
Philadelphia	1
Cleveland	1

TOTAL FOR WEEK 78
GRAND TOTAL 206

This week our drive began, for the first time, to take on the aspect of a major offensive! Los Angeles and Detroit came through with a bang, Chicago increased its returns, and Buffalo and New York held up in fine shape. Returns from the rest of the country are still lagging.

NOW our weekly score-board can be read with genuine pleasure. But it is not enough that this week's pace be maintained. We have to MAKE UP for the first three weeks that it took to get into our stride. From a sample of NEXT weeks returns, from Los Angeles, we look forward to a magnificent showing all the way down the line. Our big effort must be made RIGHT NOW!

Orders for leaflets to aid in the Sub Drive have been received from Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit and Philadelphia. We hope to get results from this leaflet—results in the form of subs from the factories and workers' districts where the great majority of our subscribers should be.

Detroit suggests that a "home town" return address on the printed leaflet makes it more effective. Their leaflets are being printed this way; and the same can be done for other cities, without extra charge. Detroit

also contributes the following useful idea: "We have undertaken another little campaign among L.A. subscribers in this locality. We sent all of them a letter asking that they attempt to get subs to L.A. from their friends and offering them a six-month sub to the New International if they return five twenty-five-cent subs to us. We enclosed five sub blanks and also sent them a back issue of the N.I. as a sample of the prize." This is what we call getting down to business.

Incidentally, we are beginning to get subscribers in Flint, Mich., which is included in the Detroit quota.

LABOR ACTION	6 mos.: 25c
	1 yr.: 50c
New International	6 mos.: \$1.00
	1 yr.: \$1.50
LABOR ACTION and	
New International	6 mos.: \$1.00
	1 yr.: \$1.75

LABOR ACTION 114 West 14th St., New York City

Enclosed find \$..... for which please enter my subscription to

- LABOR ACTION for 1 yr.
- 6 mos.
- The New International for 1 yr.
- 6 mos.
- LABOR ACTION and N.I. for 1 yr.
- 6 mos.

Name.....
Address.....
City.....

GIRAUD:

Allied Whitewash Is Strictly Ersatz

By R. Fahon

Like a running sore with chronic discharges, a new twist of events in the North African political situation is brought to public attention every few weeks. Apparently, the "realpolitik" diplomacy which began with the deal with Admiral Darlan and has not yet ended—the policy which is the pride and joy of Secretary of State Cordell Hull—has not been as satisfactory as its sponsors desired. It is therefore necessary for them to add anticlimactic epilogues with the hope of adding a little democratic luster to the reactionary show. Such an epilogue is the recent speech of General Giraud, which "adhered" to the Atlantic Charter and promised an end to the Nuremberg anti-Semitic laws which have existed, and still exist, in North Africa.

Despite the pseudo-idealistic prattle of the jelly-spined liberals, who try not to understand what they know very well: that an imperialist war can ONLY be fought by imperialist methods, and who therefore bewail the "treachery" of the Darlanian deals (they are always being "betrayed"—are they not?—these political Uriah Heeps), it is clear, from the point of view of the Allied bloc, that the Darlan and Giraud deals were militarily successful. They aided considerably in the conquest of French Morocco and Algeria.

However, the military asset of the deal with Darlan-Giraud incurred certain political liabilities. For one thing, there was a considerable outcry back home from those deluded folks who thought that this was a crusade for the purest democratic ideals and found themselves marching side by side with a crew of fascist cut-throats and anti-Semitic vermin, as filthy as any of the Hitler progeny, even though these particular fascists bore French names. Nogues, the colonial oppressor and strike-breaker and outspoken Nazi admirer; Boisson, the fanatical Anglophobe and Nazi friend; Peyrouton, the collaborator of Laval, Petain and Hitler; and the promulgator of the Nuremberg anti-Semitic laws of Vichy; Giraud, the anti-republican militarist—it was this gang of political blackguards who were now included among the "champions of the Four Freedoms," together with America.

APPLYING AN ERSATZ WHITEWASH

Many folks back home were disturbed, to put it mildly. But even more important, the reports from underground France indicated what was to the Allies a catastrophic demoralization among the Frenchmen who had been most active in opposing Hitler. The Allies therefore went to work to have a coating of democratic whitewash applied to the Giraud administration. The whitewash, however—as can be seen from Giraud's speech—is obviously of ersatz material and has been purchased on the black market.

Giraud came out for the Atlantic Charter. Well, that needn't detain us, since this charter is as broad, vague and mysterious as the sea for which it is named, and can and does mean all things to all men.

But when it came to the question of the anti-Semitic regulations under which the Algerian Jews suffered, there it was that Giraud showed that he retained all of his old reactionary ideas and prejudices. He promised the abrogation of the Vichy anti-Jewish laws, though thus far there has been no sign of the execution of the promise or of the extent to which it will be lived up to. But in the same speech he "abrogated" (incidentally, where is his franchise from the people in either cosmopolitan France or North Africa to promise or abrogate anything?) the Gambetta-Cremieux decree of 1870, under which the Jews were granted equal rights as citizens.

Jews may apply for citizenship individually (sort of a yellow-dog contract) but do not possess it automatically as a group. As even the conservative American Jewish Congress has been forced to point out, "The abrogation does not restore the Jews to their position under the Third Republic but relegates them to their position under the laws of Napoleon III."

What is at least as significant in evaluating the Giraud regime—for such, by virtue of the buttress of American bayonets, it has become—is the fact that the same gang of corrupt, reactionary and anti-Semitic fascists remain in power, including Nogues and Peyrouton. One can well imagine the zealotism with which Peyrouton, the man who brought about anti-Semitism to France at the behest of Hitler, will proceed to abolish it in North Africa!

A PATTERN FOR THE POST-WAR WORLD

Strange are the ways of this war? Strange only for those who fail to see that the Giraud deal—as well as the flirtations with the Spanish murderer, Franco, and the Italian murderer-buffoon, Mussolini—sets the pattern for the post-war world which the Allies plan to establish. It is to be a conservative world, a world in which all the outmoded tyrants will return to power once more, in which any reactionary or near-fascist or actual fascist who is willing to make a deal with the Allies will suddenly blossom forth as a "democratic hero."

LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Published Weekly by the

LABOR ACTION PUBLISHING COMPANY
114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.
(3rd Floor)

Vol. 7, No. 15

April 12, 1943

Editor: Emanuel Garrett

Subscription Rate: 60 Cents a Year,
75 Cents for Canada, New York and Foreign

Re-entered as second-class matter May 24, 1940,
at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 3, 1879.

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!
- Conscrip 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!

Beware of "Incentive Pay" --

(Continued from page 1)

rest primarily on the workers, whether the bonus is paid for plant, department or unit production. Virtually no responsibility will rest on management or the government bureaus. They will not have to improve in efficiency. The same old skulduggery that has been so prevalent in the past can continue. The same incompetence in the allocation of materials, the same mix-ups in the matter of priorities can prevail as before. The same inefficiency on the part of management may intrude as now to retard production. But despite these conditions and despite the important fact that labor has no control whatsoever over this situation, the workers will be expected to drive production to the highest limits—or find themselves without the additional wages they have been led to expect.

The "incentive pay" proposal is the revival of an old scheme to get labor to work harder, faster and longer hours. The worker will get a little more money in his pay envelope, but this increased pay will not be a real wage increase and will not be commensurate with the increase in production and profits.

The individual bonus system is vicious enough, but this group bonus system is worse. Under the individual system a worker was paid a little increase for what he did himself. But under the system proposed by the WPB the bonus must be earned by a group—plant, department or unit.

This means, first, individual striving within the unit to raise production. A "fast" man (who might be a company stooge) would set the pace. All others would have to follow or incur the disfavor of fellow workers, because the pay would depend on the production of the group. Then the various units or departments would be hurled into competition with each other. Management or its stooges would attempt to develop unit, plant or departmental "pride."

No matter why the looked-for increase in wages failed to materialize, management would always be in position to say that the failure to receive a bigger bonus was due to the absence of team work on the part of the workers involved.

Why the Scheme?

How does it happen that the bosses and the government are willing to take a chance on this "incentive pay" scheme. The primary reason is that both industry and government know that a pay rise must be granted. They know that the Little Steel formula is finished. They have heard the organized and constant grumbling from labor. They have heard the demands of the miners. They know that the UMWA cannot be waved aside like a Stalinist-dominated United Radio Workers, a Murray-dominated United Steel Workers, or a Thomas-led UAW.

But they know too that despite the weasel words of Murray, Thomas or the Stalinists, the rank and file of the CIO are not in a mood to continue blindly following these leaders. And so, in an attempt to bottle up the dissatisfaction of the masses of labor, they come out with their "incentive pay" scheme.

But how is it that the government and the bosses can agree to a step which they claim will raise wages? All of them—Roosevelt, Byrnes, Nelson and the employers—have sworn by all that is holy that wages must be "stabilized" in order to ward off INFLATION. Now a very simple question must be asked. If granting the miners a \$2.00-a-day increase in wages, or the railroad workers a 30 per cent increase, or the aircraft workers a substantial increase in daily pay will cause inflation, why is it that giving these workers an opportunity to earn the same increase by way of the "incentive pay" scheme will not result in inflation?

The government, in explaining inflation, has said that there is more money than there are consumers' goods. In relation to what is called inflation, this means that workers have money to spend for the things they want, but that the goods are not present in sufficient quantities. The price of the goods goes up and we have to pay more than we did before. Therefore the value of the dollar is less than before and we can not buy as much meat, bread and potatoes as before.

Right now the scarcity of consumers' goods is at least in part due to war production. Factories which formerly made radios and electric irons are now making blinks. Canaries and shoe factories are producing for the armed forces. This means reduced production for civilian use. Therefore, since the goods aren't in the stores, the government wants to restrict the amount of money the worker gets in wages.

But again we ask: if there is a danger of something called inflation being brought about by raising wages, why are the bosses and the government willing to grant a pay rise in any manner whatsoever? The Little Steel formula said that wages would be stabilized as of September 15, 1942, except in such cases where a rise was necessary to correct inequalities. But the WPB announces that the "incentive pay" plan will be tried out in a few aircraft plants and if successful "would be extended to the entire aircraft industry and to all war production."

WPB officials estimate that their "incentive pay" plan will increase production "at least ten per cent." What labor will want to know of course is what wage increase will result from a ten per cent increase in production?

There is some question as to whether the WLB will agree with the WPB on the incentive wage. The WLB may decide that the incentive wage is a breach of the Little Steel

formula. Of course, it is if the incentive wage really produces higher wages for labor. This is true, despite the nonsense talked by some WLB members about incentive wage proposals being "anti-inflationary" because they may mean lower unit cost of production. This is certainly a brazen reversal of position.

The government, as we have pointed out, formerly took the position that inflation, and therefore higher prices, would result from an increase in wages at a time when there was a scarcity of consumers' goods. This was drummed into everyone's head.

Now we are told that wage increases through incentive pay "can be construed as anti-inflationary rather than the reverse." And why? Because such a step may mean "lower unit cost of production." But what has lowering the unit cost of production to do with the fact that the worker has more money in his pocket available for consumers' goods which are not available? Under these conditions, won't there be inflation even though the unit cost of production has been reduced? (We do not here enter into a discussion of the relation of wages to the so-called cost of production.)

Its Real Meaning

The whole barefaced scheme would add up to nonsense except for one important and significant fact. And that is the fact of the clear intention of the employers and their representatives in the government to intensify the exploitation of labor. This can be the only meaning of the talk about "more goods per dollar invested in labor." You pay out a little more in wages, work them harder, faster and longer and you get profits all out of proportion to the slight increase in wages.

Whatever their motives, we know enough about the whole business to be against this incentive pay scheme. It means trouble for labor and for the unions. It can only benefit the bosses.

Labor knows a simpler scheme: more money per hour and more money per day. Higher straight wages based on the forty-hour week. Time and a half and double time for over forty hours. Straight wages to meet the rising cost of living and to improve the standard of living. None of the bonus hokus-pokus!

The UMWA is correct. The Murray Body Local is correct. They demand a \$2.00-a-day increase for the present working day. That's simple. Every worker can understand it and every boss can understand it. You don't have to be a mathematician to find out what your pay is at the end of the week. And above all, when you get a \$2.00 boost you know exactly what your envelope is going to contain at the end of the week.

There is only one sensible course for labor: keep the heat on their leaders, make them come across, force them to fight for the interests of the men and women who elect them to office and who pay their ten and twenty thousand dollar yearly salaries!