

MINERS WIN FIRST ROUND!

Russo-Japanese Treaty Suddenly "Impossible"

The press hailed the Russian denunciation of its neutrality treaty with Japan, ratified on April 24, 1941, and expiring in April, 1946, as if it were an unexpected event. But it was already evident by the decisions adopted by the Big Three at Yalta, that one of the agreements reached by the conferees was that Russia break with Japan. Imperialist diplomacy being what it is, there is no doubt in our mind that Japan was fully prepared to receive this news as were the foreign offices of the United States and Great Britain.

As a matter of fact, the Russian action was farcical. We shall see in a moment why.

For some years the conflicts between Japan and Russia in Asia had been increasing. Many border clashes had taken place between their respective armies. These battles led, to an armistice signed in September, 1939, which coincided with the Hitler-Stalin pact in Europe. The armistice was followed with a neutrality pact signed in April, 1941. It is obvious that the signing of the Russo-German pact and the Russo-Japanese pact were no mere incidents, but part of the new foreign policy of Stalin which directed the fate of Russia toward the Axis powers.

A "NEW DISCOVERY"

A few months after the signing of this treaty Germany invaded Russia. Four years after the invasion of Russia, Molotov discovered that since the signing of the Russo-Japanese pact "the situation has radically changed." Molotov added: "Germany attacked the Soviet Union and Japan is helping Germany in the war against the Soviet Union. In addition, Japan is at war against Great Britain and the United States who are allies of the Soviet Union. In such a situation the neutrality pact between Japan and the Soviet Union has lost its meaning and the prolongation of this pact is becoming impossible."

Why did it take Russia four years to discover that Japan's aid to the Axis and (Continued on page 4)



LEARNS JAPAN AIDS AXIS!

Little Steel Formula To Stand After "V-E"

By WALTER WEISS

The Little Steel formula is going to stand even after the war in Europe ends. Despite cutbacks, loss of overtime, and down-grading, the sacred formula is not to be touched. That is the gist of the recent report to President Roosevelt by four of his top lieutenants on the second anniversary (April 7) of the President's hold-the-line order, the order which has held nothing but wages.

A year ago a similar report was made and received Roosevelt's warmest praise. At that very time the Director of Economic Stabilization and the War Labor Board, two of the agencies which joined in the report, were supposed to be preparing to study the long and scholarly cases which numerous AFL and CIO unions had been presenting against the formula and against the cost-of-living index.

Yet these "judges" and Roosevelt himself, the supreme judge in such matters had already made up their minds, as the report and Roosevelt's reception of it showed.

LATER—ALWAYS LATER

But last year was election year, and many workers hoped that Roosevelt would give them a little something before November rolled around. CIO's Philip Murray told rebellious auto workers at their convention in September that the Little Steel formula would be broken "as sure as I am living." Even Chairman Davis of the War Labor Board dropped hints

of some kind of change, perhaps after victory in Europe.

The next story to be spread was that it wouldn't look right for Roosevelt to act just before an election—too much like a bribe to labor. Just wait until the election is over.

After the election three public members of the WLB offered to resign, but Roosevelt persuaded them to stay. A few days later they reported to him that the cost-of-living index deserved the "good reputation" that it had long enjoyed. In other words, labor leaders had wasted a whole year in proving the contrary.

To this blow several others were soon added. First, the then Economic Stabilizer Vinson clamped down even on "fringe" wage increases. Next, on February 22 of this year, the WLB reported that wage rates (under a brand-new interpretation of theirs) had actually risen ten per cent more than prices.

However, they still held out hope, though in vague language, for some change after Germany's defeat:

"As we move out of the wastage of total war back to peacetime—the Little Steel formula will have to give way to wage and price adjustments which definitely raise the general level of wages."

The New York Times pretended to be alarmed by this new promise. The so-called Daily Worker (Stalin's American mouthpiece) urged patience and a "constructive approach" (Continued on page 3)

WLB Holds Wage Line; OPA Holds Price Line—

So Feed Your Children Plenty of Eggs and Fresh Vegetables, Which Are Full of Vitamins.

Here's How OPA Holds the Line.

(The figures are OFFICIAL ones for New York City, taken from the New York Times of April 6, 1944, and April 5, 1945. Some prices are OPA ceilings, others were gathered by inspectors of the Department of Markets in various stores.)

COMPARE					
	1944 with 1945		1944 with 1945		
Snap Beans, per lb.	15-22c	21½c	White Potatoes, 5 lbs.	17-22c	26c
Beets, per bunch	6-12c	7½-13	Spinach, per lb.	10-15c	12c
Broccoli, per lb.	15-25c	15-25c	Tomatoes, per lb.	21-39c	27-39c
Cabbage, per lb.	4-6c	4-8½c	Turnips, per lb.	2-7c	3½-7½c
Celery, per bunch	8-15c	10-27c	Eggs, Large, Grade A, per doz.	43-52c	48-49c
Kale, per lb.	10c	9½-15c	Medium, Grade A, per doz.	38-45c	45-46c
Iceberg Lettuce, per head	12-15c	17c	Large, Grade B, per doz.	39-43c	44-46c
Peas, per lb.	14½-19c	21c			

Too bad that we can't live on cheap and plentiful foods, such as a few vitamin pills—or OPA boasts—or the no-strike pledge.

By MIKE STEVENS

Refusal by thousands of soft coal miners to accept an extension of the expired agreement has forced the mine owners to come to terms on a new wage agreement with the miners' union.

Despite the pleas of the union leadership, thousands of miners in hundreds of pits refused to work without a new agreement. This display of militancy by the miners convinced the owners that they had better come to terms. It was obvious to the owners that if such a large section of the soft coal miners refused a single month's extension of the agreement, even though it had been agreed to by the union leadership, then it was a certainty that in three weeks more every single soft-coal miner in the country would stop working.

As we go to press, the terms of the new agreement have not yet been made public. But there is no doubt that the average miner's pay will be increased at least \$1.30 a day if it is allowed by the WLB.

The War Labor Board will review the wage increases to see if they are "inflationary." Should the WLB stall around too long or tamper to any degree with the agreement, the miners can be expected to go on strike against the actions of this bosses' board.

The miners' determination to get a wage increase to meet their rising cost of living was displayed by the huge strike vote that they cast and the refusal by large numbers of them to per-

Advisors and Sponsors of Nazis Now Advise Allied Military Gov't

By MARY BELL

Two types of news items appearing this week on Germany are of vital interest to LABOR ACTION. The first type, which everyone has seen, read or turned away from out of sheer nausea, are the atrocity stories of Nazi enslavement and criminality. We have no doubt that many of them are true. We doubt that all of them are, since in the last war so many atrocity tales proved false. We do not doubt the Allied side has its atrocities, ranging from the "looting" by U. S. soldiers already described in the press to Russian maintenance of the infamous Nazi camp of Maidanek in Poland, and the enslavement of German labor.

Where the authors of crimes on the part of the Germans are revealed, it is always the SS troops, the Nazi Elite Guard, or some of the other specialists in brutality and murder that are involved. It has nowhere been demonstrated that the German people as a whole took part in or in many cases were even aware of these outrages. Even Nazi partisans, when paraded past some of the scenes of Nazi carnage, expressed disbelief. A burgomeister committed suicide after viewing one of the scenes.

But none of the stories traces the atrocities to their source. And herein lies the pertinence of the second type of news item.

WHO ARE THE CRIMINALS?

An Associated Press dispatch from Frankfurt-on-the-Main disclosed that Dr. Rudhard Duisberg, manager of Handels-Kammer, and W. C. Boehmert, "an official of the vast I. G. Farben enterprises," were cooperating with AMG in its reconstruction program.

The second item of this same type is a story by Pertinax in the New York Times of April 11, which tells of the "Locarno" spirit living among certain sets of British bankers. "The 'Locarno' bankers," he writes, "who provided short-term loans for Germany twenty years ago, have retained a hold on political circles and on the press. They loudly protested against the decision arrived at in the

Bretton Woods conference to do away with the Bank for International Settlements in Basle, whose assets had long been frozen in Germany." Britain, it must be remembered, will be in control of Germany's industrial heartland, the Ruhr.

The I. G. Farbenindustrie was the backbone of Hitler's support. This most powerful unit in the world-wide Nazi business network, through cartels and other firms, provided the money to equip and educate the Hitlerites. In return, the Nazis stamped out all the workers' and socialist organizations in Germany. Officials in such enterprises are now being used by the Allied Military Government to "advise" them in their "reconstruction" program! The real guilty are going unreconstructed!

The rain of stories of Nazi crimes has one main purpose. It is to condition the people for the acceptance of the harshest possible peace terms—harsh for the German little people. The stories are all captioned, "Why We Can't Like the Germans," "We

Can't Permit a Soft Peace," etc. Thus are the crimes of a nation, sponsored by the German industrialists, made to appear the crimes of a nation. Thus are the American workers made ready to accept a hard peace, the levy of reparations, or de-industrialization—all of which will be paid for by their German working class brothers.

A glance backward at the occupation of Italy shows the design of Allied imperialism. After the Italian workers joyously threw out Mussolini, the AMG put into office an old fascist campaigner, Marshal Badoglio. They did not purge the guilty elements readily enough to suit the Italian masses. Fascist officials were left in power all over Italy. A genuine mandate of the people has never been taken.

The handwriting on the wall could be seen in 1918. With the necessary changes being made, a repetition of Allied behavior is seen today. Then, however, the German revolution produced soldiers' and workers' councils. The system of councils is based on the fundamentally democratic

principle of gradual election from the ranks up to the top of the state structure.

In the Germany of 1919 the revolution could have swept away all the representatives of the old powers. It could have nationalized industry, distributed the landed estates of the Junkers among the small peasants, liquidated the war criminals. Along with the latter, it would have gotten rid of a few hundred nationalistic agitators, including Adolf Hitler.

However, one of the first decrees of AMG of 1919 was to bar all soldiers' and workers' councils in the occupied Rhineland. By doing this, the Allies provided the current tools of the industrialists, the social democratic leaders, with the opportunity of dealing all the more ruthlessly with the revolutionary councils. Backed by the Allies, the social democrats crushed the German revolution, and hence paved the way for Hitler.

A NEW NAZI MOVEMENT?

The Nazis are not unaware that the Allies are as anxious as they to prevent a new attempt at a workers' revolution. Reports from many sources, including the British Secret Service indicate that the Nazis are forming underground cells, are infiltrating their lesser known but trustworthy members into strategic positions so that they may escape a purge and be able to deal with the Allies. There is no reason to believe from their behavior in present-day Italy, or now in Germany that the Allies will not sponsor and support these formations to prevent revolutionary upheavals.

A NEW HITLER?

The German workers were first victims of Nazism. The industrialists have been its sponsors. Only the German workers can cleanse Germany of Nazism. To take reparations, indemnities, and slave labor means to penalize again the first victims of fascism and to allow the real criminals, the Nazi big business men and their international collaborators, to go free to fight another day. This new enslavement of the German workers may give rise to a super-Hitler.



mit a month of negotiations after the agreement had expired.

Since the war began, leaders in many unions have permitted agreements to expire and then took months and in many cases more than a year, to complete negotiations for a new agreement. The miners reached an agreement in ten days after their old contract had expired. This should serve as a lesson and an inspiration to the workers in the other industries.

The coal owners, interested solely in their profits, came to an agreement with the United Mine Workers in order to make sure that the miners mine coal. If they hadn't come to an agreement, the miners would have continued and extended the strike to all the pits and coal mining would have stopped. Even the government's stepping in and "taking over" the mines doesn't help matters too much for them. The owners' profits continue but there is a lot of government red tape, and in addition the miners may get ideas of having the government really take over the mines. Bosses sometimes would rather have the government step in in order to prevent or stop a strike. But the mine owners are not too sure that if the government takes over, whether that would stop the miners from refusing to work.

The miners' preliminary victory exposes to the hilt all the governmental boards and procedures as run-around techniques of the capitalists and the Roosevelt Administration. If in an industry as large and intricate as mining, a wage agreement could be reached in ten days, then every other

(Continued on page 2)

Greet May Day - Workers Party - L.A. Anniversary!

Our call for greetings to the May Day issue of LABOR ACTION has only just reached the hands of our subscribers. We are not impatient. We expect them to respond to this gala occasion with the proper action.

For the benefit of those readers who might have missed our appeal in last week's LABOR ACTION, we will inform them what it is all about.

May Day, 1945, is not only the traditional workers and socialist holiday, which originated in the United States, but it is also the fifth anniversary of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION. As has been the custom in past years on May Day, friends and sympathizers purchase greetings in the paper. The double reason for celebration on our part should prompt our well wishers to send in many greetings to LABOR ACTION and the

Workers Party. Let your greeting represent your appreciation for the work that LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party are doing. Make it substantial by including a gift subscription for a friend. Deadline is April 23.

For the benefit of the Workers Party branches which should still be proceeding with the regular work of securing subscriptions, we want to report the efforts of our Missouri branch. Our correspondent writes:

"We have on hand an old subscriber list of six or eight years ago, including one of the *American Guardian* and one of the *Socialist Call*. From these sub lists we are mailing copies to each old sub. In the last month alone we have mailed 400 copies of LABOR ACTION. Enclosed is a letter in reply to our effort from Linn, Mo.

These three are old-time socialists, farmers by occupation, one having been secretary of the Socialist Party in his county."

For those branches with old sub lists we recommend this procedure. Many solid socialist readers should be discovered in this way.

OFF THE PRESS ON APRIL 27!!

LABOR ACTION GREETINGS AND ADS
For the Fifth Anniversary Issue
and
MAY DAY

We send you the following greetings:
Name Greeting: 50c..... 2 inch ad: \$4.00.....
½ inch ad: \$1.00..... 3 inch ad: 6.00.....
1 inch ad: 2.00..... 4 inch ad: 8.00.....

(Signed)

LABOR ACTION
114 W. 14th St.
New York 11, N. Y.

Enclosed find \$..... for May Day Greetings to LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party and \$..... for sub to LABOR ACTION. Send sub to:
Name
Address
Signed
Address

By David Coolidge

MASS ACTION:

ACTION NECESSARY FOR GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE

Workers should not be too jubilant over the announcement that President Roosevelt "orders Byrnes to study annual pay plan." An annual pay plan is already in effect: the Little Steel formula. This annual pay plan has the working class chained not only to its already low standard of living but has acted as a plan which actually lowers that standard of living.

With the high withholding tax, the steady increase in the cost of living, the scheme of manufacturers to eliminate low and medium priced clothing, the reduction in quality of goods while holding the price line, all of these reduce real wages and thereby lower the standard of living. To this must be added the plain and clear efforts of employers to reduce even the money wages by various methods of eliminating workers at relatively high hourly rates and replacing them with workers hired at a lower hourly rate.

We can be certain that any study which Vinson and all his "experts" produce will be based on the assumption that the annual wage must be at such level that capitalist "free enterprise" will be guaranteed a high per cent of profit. This means that the Roosevelt annual wage will be too low to sustain even the present standard of living.

STANDARD OF LIVING LEVEL

The problem before the working class today is to raise the standard of living to a higher level than ever realized before. The time has come now for labor to quit thinking in terms of holding what we have. This is the way too many labor leaders think and it has been especially true during the war.

Every advance indicated is pushed aside with the assertion, "we must win the war first." This despite the

fact that the capitalist employers have always taken the position, "we must arrange for our profits first." On this the position of R. J. Thomas is: "two wrongs don't make a right." Thomas graciously concedes to labor that the capitalists are wrong to push for profits first but adds that labor would also be wrong to demand and act for wage increases.

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION advocate a "guaranteed annual wage." But we don't stop there, we say what the wage should be. A guaranteed minimum annual wage for each worker of \$2,500 and \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families.

It doesn't make sense to talk about or demand an annual wage unless amounts are specified and the amounts should be high enough to raise the workers' standard of living. Workers think too much in terms of just getting by. That is precisely the size of any annual wage which Roosevelt might supply.

HOW AND BY WHOM

Any demand for an annual wage under capitalism must also be accompanied with thinking, by workers, on the question of how an annual wage can be guaranteed and by whom. We also have to think over what is the meaning of a guaranteed wage enforced by a capitalist government. The workers in Hitler's and Stalin's slave factories also have a guaranteed wage. They also have a guarantee that they will work every day. The Gestapo and the GPU will see to that.

Any guaranteed wage that will mean an elevation of our standard of living can only result from the organized and militant activity of the working class. Any guaranteed annual wage engineered by Roosevelt can be taken away by Roosevelt and

his capitalist confederates and would be an annual wage at the lowest possible level.

In the thinking of labor about an annual wage we must also begin thinking of WORKERS' CONTROL OF PRODUCTION. There are far too many tricks in capitalist bookkeeping and far too many tricks in capitalist politics and lawmaking for us to put any confidence whatsoever in their intentions about an annual wage.

WHAT IS WORKERS' CONTROL?

If workers have some effective say in control of production we will have access to the financial, sales and production records. Also we will have some say about what is produced. We will know production costs, including "labor cost." This will eliminate capitalist employer shenanigans about "high labor cost" and expose all the accounting mumbo-jumbo in the "system of free enterprise." If we know these things we will know something about selling price and the working class will not be milked as it is today in the capitalist "open market."

There is really something very sinister about this Roosevelt annual wage business. First he bobs up with the National Service Act. This is a slave code for American labor with savage criminal penalties for violation. After they get us chained to the factories, Roosevelt bobs up again with Balm of Gilead; the annual wage. First the government rounds up labor for the capitalist factories. Then they say to the capitalist employers: "now that you have labor, you must make some concessions. Mr. Byrnes will work with you on this." I suppose this is what Murray and R. J. Thomas would call "equality of sacrifice."

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Progressives Win in Ford Local 400

DETROIT—New officers of U.A.W. Local 400, Ford Highland Park, were installed at a general membership meeting on Sunday, April 8th. The four top officers, John G. Carney, president; Walter Mizerowski, vice-president; Clarence Mason, recording secretary; and Richard McIntyre, financial secretary, were elected in the runoffs by a majority of two to one. The incumbent, Herbert V. Hindmarsh, Communist Party follower, whose most important accomplishment during his term of office was, in his own words, "strict adherence to the no-strike pledge," was roundly turned down by the voters, running only fifth in the primaries.

Any issues involved in the election campaign were completely confused by the multitude of candidates aspiring to office. Nine people ran for president alone; and there were at least four functioning factions taking part—one headed by Carney, one by John J. Johnson, runner-up for president; one by Carl Bolton, who placed third; and one headed by Hindmarsh.

CANDIDATES AND PLATFORMS

An examination of the platforms and programs of the first three groups reveals that they consist chiefly of ordinary trade union demands with which everyone must agree. Carney, for example promises "renegotiation of the vacation pay schedule to call for forty-eight hours vacation pay instead of forty, drafting of an agreement which will clarify seniority provisions, publication of the minutes of the executive board meetings, and, above all, clean, decent, honest and intelligent unionism."

Johnson, who does not disagree with these, includes "reorganization of local union newspaper, reconstruction of the educational department, a more efficient plant representative set-up," etc.

The literature issued by the Bolton group included a number of these same demands. In addition, the latter promised to fight for certain GENERAL policies in the UAW which go farther toward solving labor's fun-

damental problems than the others. For example: "We must have a guaranteed annual wage to fight against model changes and seasonal layoffs, against any and all forms of labor draft, break the Little Steel formula, break the WLB by removing UAW members from it." The significance

of these points was completely lost, however, because they were sandwiched in, hit and miss, among a conglomeration of twenty-nine proposals giving equal weight to "Break the WLB," an important political question, and "Send packages to all our members in the armed services."

The basic fault of all the factions in Local 400 is that none of them has a clear-cut program for winning all their fine demands from the most anti-union company in the auto industry, whose union-busting campaign is backed up by a whole set-up of government agencies. The various groupings in the local are based, not on differences in policies, but on differences among personalities. It is this fact which causes the average rank and file member of Local 400 to throw up his hands in despair and cry "Too much politics in the union!" What he calls "politics" is only the most petty maneuvering for office on the basis of getting this individual into office rather than that individual. Real politics consists of putting a group into office because it stands for and will fight for certain policies as opposed to another group which will fight for opposing policies.

UE Local 107 Against "Pledge"

PHILADELPHIA—By a vote of two to one, the membership of Local 107, UE Westinghouse local of Lestey, Pa., supported the move of the Textile Workers Union in rescinding the no-strike pledge.

The union meeting was a stormy one. The Communists came to the meeting well prepared with written speeches, but it helped them very little. The more they shrieked and waved the flag the more the membership told them to sit down. Boos and catcalls punctuated their super-patriotic and slanderous speeches. The Textile Workers Union and the United Mine Workers of America, whose militant struggles have made them the object of Communist venom, came in for their share of vilification by these misleaders of labor.

One Stalinist-Communist made a

heart-rending speech about the boys over there and how we should not take one bullet or gun away from them by even rescinding the no-strike pledge. But he thinks the membership forgot that less than two months ago this individual supported a general strike of the Greek workers for Stalinist purposes, that took up the attention of many British divisions plus airplanes and tanks and bullets. At that time, instead of "worrying about our boys," this Communist ran around handing out EAM buttons. Now he appears before the union members waving the flag and shedding tears about "our boys," about which he'll very soon change his mind should the Kremlin issue another order.

The following is the text of the resolution passed:

WHEREAS the Executive Committee of the Textile Workers Union has decided to rescind the no-strike pledge and restore to the members and to their union the weapons they need to win their demands, and

WHEREAS the demands made by the union are obviously just and reasonable in the light of the abnormally low wage rates as compared to the fabulously high profits in the industry, and

WHEREAS the textile workers have patiently waited for more than a year for the government agencies to make a decision and still have received no definite award and,

WHEREAS it is the duty of all union men to support their fellow workers in such a cause; therefore be it

RESOLVED that Local 107, UERMWA-CIO in the best traditions of the CIO declares its solidarity with the textile workers by congratulating the Executive Committee of the Textile Workers Union on the forthright and courageous stand they have taken and by pledging its full support to the Textile Workers Union and be it further

RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent to the Delaware County Industrial Union Council, the UE District Council and the National Office of the UE urging them to take similar action and that copies be sent to the Executive Committee and all TWU locals in the area informing them of the action we have taken.

Today, more than ever, there is need for principled politics in Local 400. The Ford Motor Co. is engaged in a bitter offensive against the union and is gradually attempting to reinstitute its old régime of terror and speed-up. Committeemen are tied down to their jobs, deprived of the right to handle grievances, suspended and fired on the slightest pretext.

The grievance procedure has been turned into a mockery by the management, which openly and avowedly violates the contract and tells union representatives to "write a grievance if you don't like it." Seniority, the last remaining right of the workers, is handled completely by the company.

A bold, militant and aggressive leadership is needed. This can be provided only by a group which is organized around a program whose aim is to fight in the shop, in the local, and in the international for the real interests of the workers. A group is needed which will strive to unshackle labor's hands, to free it from the shackles of the no-strike pledge, the War Labor Board, the Little Steel formula and Roosevelt's threat of a labor draft.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

A Reader Makes A Correction

Dear Editor: Several weeks ago LABOR ACTION carried a series of articles on "Germany and the Hard Peace" which I thought treated the question from some interesting angles. The author evidently tried to treat the matter in simple terms. But I think that in doing so, some of his formulations were loose, especially those which referred to Russia.

Obviously the thought which the author intended to convey was that Allied imperialism helped to strangle the post-war revolution in Germany and organized the intervention against the Russian Revolution. I'm sure he didn't expect the Allies to help the Workers' Republic, or the German socialist workers and that he merely meant to show how present Allied policies pursue the same counter-revolutionary aims.

The reference to Russia turning into a dictatorship of the capitalist class, fascism a more violent form of this rule—a naked open dictatorship, in contrast to the more subtle means of rule under Capitalist Democracy. What Stalin did was to transform the democratic workers' state—called scientifically the dictatorship of the proletariat—into a totalitarian nightmare under the rule of a new class power, the bureaucracy.

Interest in Housewives

Dear Susan Green: I sent a cartoon to express my idea and hope you find the opportunity to use it in LABOR ACTION.

Your articles cover so many things I wanted to write, but I find it very difficult to express my views on paper in writing. It is much more simple to draw.

I enjoy your write-ups, and was sorry they were dropped during your illness. Personally, we should have more for the housewife as they seem to be the most backward of the lot, and I would feel let down if we didn't work to better the situation. After all, they read too, and L. A. could show more interest in the "unorganized housewife" and show they (L. A.) are not only interested in the shop.

Here in Chicago I had some personal experience with black markets, although I am not at liberty to report it. It is disgusting how they work hand-in-hand with rationing. This sort of thing takes me back to my history of the Boston Tea Party and its black markets. It created a business all its own and much more.

My greatest desire would be to organize the housewife, and then revolt against these things, which are being forced down our necks, and demand the milk of the land. I hope you follow my meaning. Keep up the good work. Sincerely, G.

Cleveland Foundries Impor. Jamaicans

Dear Editor: What great lengths big companies will go to, to keep down wage rates

Several Cleveland foundries have pooled the cost of bringing over 200 Jamaicans here all the way from their home islands, set up quarters for them, etc. in order to fill the need for foundry workers.

These workers are up here on temporary ninety-day passes; they get paid the prevailing rates; arrangements have been made for their recreation; all in all, everything seems to be okay so far as the conditions of the Jamaicans are concerned. They are free to go where they please, and can go home any time they want to.

The point is that the foundry owners, of course, could get enough workers right here if they were willing to pay decent wages; they would rather pay a little more money temporarily than to raise the permanent wage level even a little bit.

L. Campbell, Cleveland, O.

Post Card "Battle" Urged on Local 9

Developments of interest to Local 9 members of the UMSWA are the recent unfavorable decisions on the 11.6 repair differential layoffs and transfers now taking place in the local yards.

The new rejection of the 11.6 (pork the form of "unfavorable comment" by the Army, Navy, Maritime Commission, and the War Shipping Administration at a hearing in Washington on March 12, 1945.

These government agencies took the attitude that it was "unfair" for the union to attempt to extend the repair differential to Southern California.

That it is manifestly "unfair" to discriminate against the repair workers of Southern California on the matter of a repair differential, when all the yards throughout the rest of the state are getting one, apparently never entered the heads of these government worthies.

This question is still pending before the Shipbuilding Commission.

Meanwhile to place pressure upon that equally "sympathetic" government agency, the local 11.6 Committee has proposed, in a report to the membership, that each and every shipyard worker who doesn't like the way things are going immediately mail a post card to his senator or congressman. And if this worker is particularly militant, well, he will go the whole hog—write to both!

After three years of stalling by the WLB and every other agency, the local leadership proposes that we get the 11.6 repair differential by dropping a post card in a well selected mail box! Verily, verily, faith CAN move mountains.

Every worker in the repair yard knows that these tactics, post cards, dependence upon government boards, letters to our favorite newspaper columnist, etc., are just so much wind in empty spaces unless they are linked up to some militant and determined activity of the repair workers themselves. A mass meeting of thousands of workers would help to accomplish this effect. A petition in the yard with thousands of signatures upon it circulated by the shop stew-

ards, would create a favorable environment in which sentiment and feeling in the repair yards would be linked with other methods of securing the 11.6.

Then, when the unions representatives go before the government boards they could show these gentlemen something in black and white, something they can understand. Our representatives will say, "These thousands of repair workers demand the 11.6 repair differential."

CAMPAIGN OF LAYOFFS

The shipyard companies have begun the inevitable drive against the union in this area. Anticipating the post war crisis and the struggle of labor for its rights and decent standard of living, they have started a campaign of layoffs, which through some strange coincidence seems aimed right at the heads of the union militants.

Layoffs, which are supposed to take place on the basis of seniority have been and will be utilized by the com-

pany to get rid of the best union men in the yards.

A strict adherence to seniority must be insisted upon by the union. The local has already taken a few excellent steps by circulating the handbill informing the membership of their rights under the seniority clause in the contract.

Labor Action, which has never flinched from speaking the truth, long ago predicted the danger of an economic crisis following the hysterical boom of war production. The campaign promise of Roosevelt of 60,000,000 jobs, is apparently to be just another politician's promise.

What labor needs now, and will need in the coming crisis, is some politics of its own, a militant, fighting and aggressive Labor Party, based on the Trade Unions, which can convert some of Roosevelt's campaign promises, which he has no intention of fulfilling, into a workers' reality.

ATTENTION, BUFFALO READERS

CELEBRATE MAY DAY

Date: April 29
Time 7:30 P. M.

Place: LABOR ACTION HALL
639 Main Street (2nd Floor)

MUSIC AND REFRESHMENTS
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Miners' Victory--

(Continued from page 1)

union should be able to settle in as short a period after agreements expire. The miners have proved that when workers decide to FIGHT for their demands, despite all propaganda and baloney by the government and boss press, they can not only win but win in short order.

The government realizes all this and knows its effect on the rest of the workers. The problem the Roosevelt Administration faces is how to prevent the miners from winning and at the same time keep the miners at work. Secretary Ickes "seized" 235 soft coal mines immediately before the owners and the union had reached agreement on a new con-

tract. Just what Roosevelt is planning is difficult to tell. But, whatever it is, it will be an attempt to wreck the miners' victory in order to show the rest of the workers in the United States that militancy and independence from the Administration does not pay.

Any move by the Roosevelt Administration and its boss-packed boards at this time against the miners will really be directed against the entire labor movement. Solidarity with the miners by the local unions in every other industry will not only aid the miners in preserving their new won gains, but will check any further inroads against the unions in this country by the bosses and their Administration.

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A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR

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MARY BELL, Ass't Editor

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From the PROGRAM of the WORKERS PARTY

For the defense of all democratic rights! Against wartime dictatorship measures! Abolish wage-freezing and job-freezing!

Restore full and unrestricted collective bargaining rights of the unions! Repeal the no-strike pledge! Repeal the Smith-Connally anti-strike law!

Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the plutocratic three per cent of the population who own ninety-six per cent of the national wealth!

A one hundred per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital! Immediate renegotiation of all war contracts to cut the fabulous profits to this level!

Government planning to guarantee the highest national production and income, a year-around job and a minimum annual wage to all, and a rising standard of living!

Conscript all war industries! Nationalize the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems. No handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership!

For a two hundred and fifty billion dollar five year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization!

For a guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families, made possible by a planned rise in the total national income and a thirty-hour maximum work-week.

All discrimination against Negroes, Jews or other minorities in the armed forces or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!

Communist Leaders of #1227 Expel UE Union Defenders

The New York Local 1227 of the UERMWA last week expelled six members from its union and thus caused them to lose their jobs at Matam Corporation which had a closed shop contract with the UE. These six members, together with eight others who were fined and suspended, were charged with instituting a slowdown in the grinding department.

This action is a vicious violation of all trade union principles and traditions. Only this local and this union could have dared to try it. For Philip Murray down to an informed rank and filer in the CIO, all know that the UE—lock stock and barrel—is Communist property.

The shop grievance committee, no less, suspended the fourteen workers. The Stalinist Communist version of a grievance committee, is a committee that takes care of the boss' grievances. The function of a Stalinist trade union is to defend the poor harassed bosses against "slow workers."

These expulsions are surrounded by suspicious circumstances. At the local membership meeting, it was also reported that a slowdown had been threatened at another plant. There was no discussion and no one stated a case for the expelled members. As reported in the New York Sun, the slowdown is only "alleged." The union statement says the trial committee "concluded that an organized

interruption of production had taken place." The victimized workers had obviously confessed to nothing but the trial committee "concluded . . ."

The drop in production began during negotiations for a new union contract. The company rate for the grinders was low. Knowing the Stalinists in Local 1227, it is more than likely that they were ready to accept the low rate offered by the company. As a result the grinders, in an organized or spontaneous fashion allowed production to drop as a way of informing the union and company that they were dissatisfied with the low rates.

But the Communist porkchoppers saw an opportunity to, terrorize any opposition to their sell-out policies. Listen to the trial committee's report, "People like John L. Lewis with their strike threats and production stoppages stab our brothers and sisters in the armed forces in the back." Familiar Stalinist venom isn't it?

And from Harold Simon, the local president, ". . . our members will not be drawn into any . . . slowdowns or stoppages such as are being promoted by John L. Lewis." Or more exactly, the Stalinist-Communists are getting hysterical about the hundreds of thousands of miners, auto and ship workers who have the understanding and courage to struggle in defense of labor's standard of living.

Some UE members, faced with frozen wages and zooming prices might follow the example of the miners. That's why the six workers were kicked out of their jobs and out of the union. This is a vicious warning to all the militants in the UE.

It is worth noting that in Matam Corporation, the Stalinists had instituted their prize baby-incentive pay. As previously pointed out in LABOR ACTION incentive pay is only a new name for the piecework system. It works on the principle that workers should be paid according to how well they compete with each other in sweating for the boss, rather than on a necessary standard of living for labor. Incentive pay makes the bosses shout in sheer joy. Just as surely, the United Auto Workers rejected the incentive pay two years ago.

The expulsions in Matam are a remarkable example to all workers of what Stalinism really means. To the boss' spies, stool-pigeons, and speed-up men have now been added the Stalinist flunkies. But just as their proposed permanent no-strike pledge was immediately rejected by large sections of the CIO, so too this flagrant attack on guiltless trade unionists must arouse the whole labor movement. These enthusiastic stooges for the bosses must be called to a halt, and driven out of the leadership of organized American labor.

WORLD POLITICS

By REVA CRAINE

A Matter of Interpretation

World War II was started ostensibly to keep Poland free. That is, England declared war on Germany because the latter, together with Russia (Russia's participation is now conveniently forgotten) had violated Poland's territorial integrity, which the British were pledged to defend.

Many things have happened since then. Old friendships have been broken, new alliances have been formed. Poland was conquered, "liberated" reconquered and divided up again. But the British, loyal allies, stick to the guarantee made to Poland. Never let it be said that the British rulers have reneged on a promise.

The London Poles, whose government is still recognized by Downing Street, demanded that, since Britain had guaranteed to defend Poland's borders, this promise be made good now that Russia has encroached upon them. They forgot, only one small detail which is brought to their attention by a recently issued "White Paper." The British government points out in the "White Paper" that what was really meant on August 25, 1939, when the Anglo-Polish pact was signed, was that England would defend Poland from Germany, not Russia.

Although the treaty clearly states "against aggression by a European power," the "White Paper" explained that "by the expression 'a European power' employed in the agreement it is understood Germany." Just a small matter of interpretation, all of which leaves His Majesty's government with a clear conscience.

Hate Propaganda

In order to carry out their designs against the German people, the Allies, through the press and other propaganda means, have carried on a continuous campaign against the German people to prove that all of them are "mad dogs," "beasts" and worse. This campaign is directed primarily at the people back home for the purpose of making them swallow the drastic measures which will be taken against the German people. Most vicious, of course, has been the propaganda of the Stalinist press, since it is their contention that all Germans, including all the workers, are Nazis. This campaign has fooled many people, but it certainly has not fooled the Nazis themselves, who know quite well what the German people think of fascism.

What better way to disprove this anti-German, not anti-Nazi, propaganda than by reading what the Nazis in their confidential reports have to say! The following excerpts are taken from a confidential report dated November 20, 1944, sent by the Security Service in Mannheim to the Gestapo headquarters in Strassbourg. (Reprinted from the International Federation of Transport Workers Bulletin.)

"It should not be overlooked that in many circles, especially among practicing members of the two church denominations and among evacuated women incapable of appreciating the necessity of the fight, the Fuehrer is looked on as nothing less than the cause of all the trouble. For these citizens the Fuehrer is responsible both for the outbreak of the war and its disastrous outcome."

The report goes on to state that the people have lost confidence in the Nazi leaders, Goebbels, Ley, Goering, Himmler and Ribbentrop. And further: "It is recognized what the party has done in many places in the way of social and political work and how many honorary party officials devote their leisure time to the service of the community. Also deep respect is felt for the all-powerful party whose power is constantly increased. But this respect is based on fear rather than esteem." (Our emphasis.)

"There are both soldiers and workers, and especially evacuated women and war widows, who have had more than enough of the war and would rather see it end today than tomorrow. But such despondency is at present still in a minority."

Foreign Workers In Germany

Another revealing document is one issued by the Labor Front (Hitler's organization which organized the slave labor) which states that the army high command on May 20, 1944, had addressed a circular to all military service points stating:

"The Fuehrer has received repeated complaints which show that soldiers assigned to the duty of supervising prisoners of war with a view to increasing their labor output, have not cooperated sufficiently or have counteracted measures taken by factory managements in order to increase productivity or sheltered the prisoners. All concerned are enjoined once more to make it their first duty to apply themselves everywhere to achieving a higher output of the war prisoners and to cooperate and participate actively in this. Whoever in the future offends against this principle or is negligent in respect of it will be severely dealt with."

Here, out of the mouth of the Nazi officials, comes proof that the elementary class solidarity which they have sought to destroy by their race-hate doctrines, and in which they are being upped today by the Allied imperialists, cannot be wiped out by decree. German soldiers, at the direct threat of severe punishment, are protecting and sheltering their class brothers who have been taken prisoners.

In a Berlin Factory

A Swedish worker, returning from Berlin, relates in the "Svenska Morgenbladet" of February 1: "The Germans are not National-Socialists. I worked in an enterprise employing 300 workers, among whom there were three National-Socialists; all the others were anti-National-Socialists. We call ourselves PG, but that does not mean 'party member' but 'enemy of the party' (Parteigegner). The National-Socialist bosses are hated and despised by the population, which cannot rebel because the power of the Gestapo and SS is terrible. If anybody raised a finger it would mean that thousands would be murdered in cold blood. Today the German people consider themselves the nation worst treated by the National-Socialist criminals. On the trains and trams one hears more often than before openly expressed displeasure at the régime."

CIO and WLB

Were it not that the matter is so serious to millions of American workers, the conduct of the CIO and the AFL officials in relation to the WLB would be really funny. Actually it is a grim joke. The AFL doesn't say much; it merely denounces the Board's policies and the wage freeze. The CIO officials, however, do not stop at that point. They go on to argue publicly the fact that they are confused and have no policy.

After sharply condemning the WLB for destroying labor's standard of living, holding up wage increases, justifying sub-standard wages, aiding profiteers and big business, the CIO Executive Board refuses to do anything that will upset a body that does labor nothing but harm. It refuses to get off the Board and rejects the UAW proposal to do so.

George Addes, Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW, introduced a new wrinkle in the fight over the WLB. Addes writes:

"If there must be resignations—and we believe there should be—let them come not from labor but from those public members of the board who have failed in their duty and responsibility to the nation."

Get it? Labor, which gets one betrayal after another from the WLB should not resign; the public members should. Addes may be fooling himself, but not many more people.

The WLB is President Roosevelt's creation. He picked its public members for the purpose of carrying out his policies. His policies are summed up in the Wage Freeze. The WLB merely carries out its duty to the "Commander-in-Chief." It holds wages down.

When Addes speaks of "responsibility to the nation," he is using a meaningless generality. What part of the nation, the capitalists or the workers? The WLB has shown its responsibilities to big business

which is earning the greatest profits in history. But the labor members of the Board have not shown their responsibilities to labor. They stay on an anti-labor Board, when the path for labor is indicated—

Get off the War Labor Board.

Fay-Bove Case

Joseph S. Fay (vice-president of the AFL International Union of Operating Engineers, and James Bove, vice-president of the AFL Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers International, have been convicted and sentenced for racketeering from 7½ to 15 years by the Supreme Court of New York.

We hold no brief whatever for these two parasites who used the labor movement to enrich themselves. The pity of it all is that Fay and Bove should be removed from their lucrative union posts by police action and a court decision. Fay and Bove should have been thrown out on their ears long ago by their rank and file. LABOR ACTION is against court interference with union affairs.

In this case the two labor racketeers got caught for shakedowns outside the union proper. They could have been found just as guilty for union dereliction.

One of the reasons why Fay and Bove held on to their posts is that the AFL Executive Council did not boot them out, even after it adopted resolutions against racketeering. Only a few years ago, at an AFL convention, Fay assaulted Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU, when the latter introduced a resolution against racketeering. To the shame of the convention, it passed the incident by without taking action against Fay.

Fay and Bove are out now, but it would have been a thousand times better if they had been ousted by the ranks of the union.

UAW Local 365 Wins Election At General Bronze Company

NEW YORK—Local 365—UAW-CIO (the Brewster Local) has just won an NLRB election at the General Bronze plant in Long Island City by a vote of 869 to 713.

Local 365 is the union the Navy tried to put out of existence about a year ago because of its record of active defense of its members, its pioneering opposition to the no-strike pledge, and its general progressive and active policies. The Navy caused all contracts to be withdrawn from the Brewster company, thereby throwing thousands of the local's members out of work.

365 PERSECUTIONS

Later a charge was trumped up against the president of the local, Tom de Lorenzo, on flimsy grounds, and he was convicted. He appealed his case, and the union movement rallied behind him. When his appeal was delayed, it became clear that local 365 would continue to function as a fighting local in spite of this type of pressure. So his draft board put de Lorenzo in IA. He is due to be inducted on April 11. But local 365 continues to grow.

The five plants of the General Bronze Company employ 2100 workers. The victory of local 365 in winning the NLRB election there is a tribute to the fighting spirit of its members, who refused to let their

union be wiped out. As they got jobs in other shops after being laid off at Brewster, they carried with them the same kind of militancy they had maintained all through the long Brewster fight. When Brewster shut down, the local had members in no other companies; with the General Bronze victory, local 365 is the bargaining agent for the workers of six different companies!

At General Bronze a shopmen's local of the AFL's Structural Iron Workers has had a closed shop contract for over seven years. But the AFL local had followed a do-nothing policy for the last few years, and had failed to give the shop the simple rights of electing shop stewards, negotiating committees, etc. While their contract provided a fairly good wage scale, it was good only on paper, for the appointed stewards and the lackadaisical business agents had permitted the company to keep most of the workers in lower job classifications.

TRIUMPH AT GENERAL BRONZE

Local 365's trump card in fighting the AFL local was the fact that about six hundred former Brewster workers remembered that their union had fought for and gained higher job classifications for more than half of the men in Brewster. They not only remembered; they told other workers in the General Bronze plant about it!

Wage Freeze for V-E Too--

(Continued from page 1)

(no strikes, that means) on the workers. The shift to consumer products after V-E Day would, said this sheet, "knock out the last false argument of those who cry inflation" (Daily Worker, February 24).

Messrs. Davis, Bowles, Taylor and Jones seem to pay no attention to the Daily Worker and just as little to "responsible" labor leaders like Philip Murray and William Green. According to them, the bogeyman of inflation is more threatening than ever. They now report to the President as follows:

"Because of continuing requirements for war, the supplies of many civilian goods are scarce, and will get even scarcer, until well after V-E Day. This tightness of supply, taken together with the further increase of excess purchasing power, may well result in greater difficulties than any we have yet experienced in preventing inflation."

They warn that the American people have huge savings, that they "have saved close to 25 per cent of their income after taxes."

So—to keep prices down, wages must be kept down. If workers lose their jobs by cutbacks or don't work overtime any more, that's fine. It will help to keep prices down. They can live on those "huge" savings they are supposed to have. That is the plan of the President and his administrators.

To be sure, there is a promise of high wages—later on. This will only be achieved, however, by high labor productivity. That means incentive plans and other speed-up methods, which the WLB has always encouraged. Evidently they don't consider that the present productivity of labor is high enough.

Don't think for a moment that this is the whole Roosevelt program. It

was revealed more fully a week earlier in a report by James F. Byrnes before he yielded his job as Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion (often called the Assistant Presidency) to Fred Vinson.

Byrnes' report, except as it called for a labor draft in both war and civilian production after Germany's defeat, received little publicity.

Byrnes, too, warned of inflation and actual shortages of labor. Therefore, he said, wage controls must be kept, taxes must not be lowered, bond purchases must continue to be pushed.

He admitted that there might temporarily be local areas of unemployment, where the temptation to give relief by public workers would be great. His answer to this temptation: FDR'S PROGRAM

"One thing is clear. We should not be stampeded into large public works programs."

That is the program of Roosevelt, Byrnes, the whole Roosevelt Administration (and, of course, the capitalist class, which they represent) for the workers.

How about prices? They are also

to be "held in check." At the same time, the OPA will "establish prices on newly manufactured goods so as to facilitate reconversion."

That means that manufacturers must make "fair" profits—and all of you know what THAT means. You also know how prices and profits have been held in the past!

Another little point. While taxes must stay up, there must be a "tax structure designed to help business." Steps should be taken at once to speed up depreciation allowances (as deductions from taxes) and to allow quick refunds on corporation excess profits taxes.

Latest reports indicate that Congress and the Treasury are already at work on these little tax matters. And labor leaders, loyally supporting the new labor-management peace charter they recently signed, are supporting these tax grabs.

Roosevelt, however, doesn't feel that it would be safe to rely too much on the labor tops to keep the rank and file in check, either in the immediate future or later. That's why he keeps repeating his demands for some kind of slave labor law.

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A & P Tea Co.: The Story of a Food Trust

By M. Howard

The Justice Department has finally caught up with the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company of New York, and charged them with violation of the anti-trust laws. It has filed suit against the A & P, 11 of its affiliates, 16 of its officers, and its press agent.

It seems the A & P isn't the great friend of the housewife most housewives have always thought it was. The Justice Department has been investigating for quite some time, and has piled up enough evidence to make the trial, which opens April 16, look like a long, drawn-out affair.

We don't know who thought up the clever schemes that A & P uses to cheat the buying public and competing stores, but someone has worked out a plan that seems to be foolproof. It goes something like this:

THE PROFITEERING SCHEMES

1. A & P, by getting options on entire crops of fruits, vegetables, etc., buying whole shipments of produce before it gets to the competitive market, buying up whole export quotas of things like coffee from South American countries, and secretly owning or controlling produce growers' and shippers' cooperatives, gains control of vast sections of the wholesale produce markets. They can then set wholesale market prices, as well as control the quantity of available produce in these fields. As a result of practices like this, the Justice Department says, A & P today IS the coffee industry.

2. A & P, by virtue of the fact that it buys such vast quantities from manufacturers, canners and processors, forces those concerns to maintain two price levels—one for A & P and another for A & P competitors. The competitors' price level is, of course, higher, and A & P steers another march by forcing the producers to give it secret rebates as well.

3. When an A & P competitor in a given neighborhood begins selling an item below A & P prices, A & P gets in touch with the manufacturer or processor concerned, most of whose stuff is bought by A & P, and tells him either to correct the misbehaving competitor, or A & P will stop buying from him. The manufacturer or processor, of course, turns on the competitor, threatening either to raise his price or withhold goods from him. Back in the neighborhood store, miraculously, the price of the item concerned goes up—usually to above A & P prices.

4. Sometimes A & P just gets in touch with the competitors themselves, and threatens them. It might sound like just polite asking, but when A & P asks, for some strange reason, anyone who is underselling jumps.

5. Whenever the spirit moves it, A & P starts selling below cost, which it can easily afford in any particular district, upping prices in other districts if necessary. A & P does this whenever they want to open up in a new neighborhood, or when competition in a given neighborhood gets too strong. The effect of this underselling is to drive competitors, other chains or small independent grocers, into the gutter financially. A & P sometimes boosts its business from ten per cent to thirty per cent of all retail sales in a neighborhood by tricks like this.

There are other practices mentioned in the Justice Department charges, but these are enough for a good idea of how A & P operates. Effects of their antics are wonderful to behold. For instance, by manipulating the coffee market, A & P caused New York wholesale market coffee prices to rise from 5 1/2 cents per pound in August, 1940, to 13 3/4 cents per pound in October, 1941.

PROSPECT FOR HOUSEWIVES

This is the story of how A & P grew from a concern operating 585 stores, with sales of \$31,000,000 in 1914, to a giant trust with 6,400 stores (most of which are supermarkets) and sales of \$1,378,866,000 in 1941. And if you think they've been sitting still since 1941, you underestimate A & P.

It has taken the Justice Department a long time to catch up with A & P, and it would be safe to say that they won't suffer too greatly now that it has. The trial may drag out for a year or two, and by then A & P will have thought of some safe way of pretending that it isn't a trust at all.

Meanwhile the housewife is the sufferer. She has to pay for her food what A & P wants her to pay... even though she may never buy from A & P! Under socialism this couldn't happen. Under socialism, plenty of food for all would be available at no more than the cost to grow and process it. No gigantic trust could monopolize food-stuffs or dictate prices at the expense of the people who need the food. Workers' committees would control such trusts; profiteering would be out.

What Goes on Here?

From the London Tribune: "Front-line correspondents report that posters have been put up everywhere in British and American occupied territories of Germany announcing that fifty-two different Nazi organizations are to be disbanded. This figure does not, however, include ALL Nazi organizations. Some of them are not to be dissolved but ordered to their stations and barracks to await further orders. Among the latter figure the Hitler Youth, the Nazi police, and the S. S."

The explanation is easy. The German workers might "get out of control" and the most efficient force to use against them are the people who have had their heel on the workers' necks all these years. Sure!—Midwest Labor World.

Still No Action on Alcoa After

57 Years of Complete Monopoly

By V. P. JENSEN

A decision has been handed down in the Circuit Court of Appeals that liberals are greeting with such joy and flagwaving as has not been seen since the good old days when the New Deal was in its heyday and twenty-six letters hardly sufficed for all the alphabetical agencies being formed. This is the last resort decision of the Circuit Court holding that the Aluminum Company of America (ALCOA) is a monopoly within the definition of the Sherman Anti-trust Act.

The Aluminum Company of America was formed in 1888. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed in 1890. From 1890 to 1940, the company had a 100 per cent monopoly of all aluminum. In 1945, the courts—quick like a flash—recognize ALCOA as a monopoly and a violator of the Sherman Act. And the liberals come down from the pedestal, where for forty-five years they have been sitting like Patience upon a monument, to greet this decision and to say that here at last is the straw that can break the back not only of ALCOA but of all the monopolies.

LAWSUITS AGAINST ALCOA

To be sure, the court recommends no action against ALCOA now, but—and this is the BUT that the liberals are going overboard for—it points to the anti-monopolistic provisions of the Surplus Property Act and puts ALCOA on notice that if

government-owned aluminum plants are sold in such a way as to leave ALCOA in command of the industry, the company's dissolution may be ordered. Final action on the Department of Justice motion to dissolve the corporation was postponed until after the war and the disposal of government-owned plants.

Some of the more radical liberals will admit, if you press them to the wall, that court action under the anti-trust laws has not been singularly successful in breaking up monopoly. Even this latest decision comes only after a twelve-year hard-fought, expensive court battle, during which time ALCOA has strengthened its monopolistic position immeasurably. Previous to this last court action, court decisions have actually helped ALCOA's monopoly.

The first court decision on the aluminum monopoly was made by William Howard Taft, sitting as a federal judge in Cleveland in 1892. Taft upheld the Mellons, who were suing a rival for patent infringement. This decision was worth \$100 million to the Mellons. With competition eliminated, aluminum prices shot up from 50 to 80 cents a pound. These profits made it possible for Mellon to corner almost the entire supply of bauxite, the raw material for aluminum, in the United States and a considerable part of the world. In 1907, the Mellon outfit changed its name from the modest title of Pittsburgh Reduction Co. to the more fitting and dig-

nified Aluminum Company of America.

ALCOA ENRICHED

In the early 1900's, ALCOA entered into cartel agreements with a Canadian company (a Mellon subsidiary) and Aluminum A. G. of Germany, whereby the Canadian company agreed not to sell in Central Europe and the German company agreed not to enter the American market.

In 1912, a federal judge declared ALCOA "a substantial monopoly," ordered its cartel agreements nullified and an end to price discrimination. ALCOA did not turn a hair, agreeing to the decision, knowing that it was meaningless because almost all the bauxite was in its hands and that no competitors could challenge it. World War I doubled the price of aluminum and Mellon's heart was even lighter than his precious metal; nor did the subsequent Republican regimes, of which he was a supporter and beneficiary, do anything to make it heavier with their heavy protective tariffs.

A threatened Department of Justice investigation in 1924 ended nine months later in a whitewash for ALCOA and a Senate motion for an investigation of the whitewash was defeated after vigorous debate. ALCOA flourished. Its cartel agreements were legally dissolved but strangely enough no foreign competitors entered the American field. It was mak-

ing a clear profit of eleven cents a pound.

During the thirties, when magnesium, a metal much lighter than aluminum, became commercial and threatened aluminum, ALCOA entered into cartel agreements with I. G. Farben of Germany, which placed prices of magnesium at one-third higher than aluminum.

LEGALISTIC BATTLING

In 1933, the government entered its present suit against ALCOA, where it has been kicking around feebly in a legalistic morass of decisions, indecisions and reversals until this final decision. (At one point, a Federal Judge McCaffey actually ruled that ALCOA was not a monopoly. Justice is indeed blind.)

And now this last decision. What is its meaning and significance? As I mentioned before, the hailers of the decision will admit that court action is snail-like in pace and usually meaningless in action. But this decision, they say, is significant because it gives the government a wedge to break up existing monopoly, by using the weapons of the new plants that they have built.

Just what is actually to be expected from the government on this score can best be seen by an examination of the activities of ALCOA and its friends in the government during the present war.

(Continued Next Week)

How GM Profits Gave Aid to Duponts

By HILDY JENSEN

UAW workers of the General Motors divisions will be happy to know that they have done their little bit for E. I. du Pont de Nemours, Inc. Du Pont, in its annual financial report, has given the world the reassuring information that in 1944 it was able to issue dividends to its underfed stockholders to the tune of \$80,870,106, as compared to a measly \$69,706,819 paid out last year.

It was the increase in General Motors dividends, which rose from twenty million dollars last year to thirty million this year that helped keep the wolf away from the du Pont stockholders' doors. Du Pont is the largest single stockholder in GM and controls the corporation about which the Federal Trade Commission says, [it] "has and continues to earn more money for its owners than any manufacturing corporation."

Remember that these are not total profits, but simply the dividends paid out to stockholders—which means that profits, even after taxes are deducted, are simply tremendous. In the four years before the war, GM was averaging 185 million dollars in profits after taxes were deducted. In the first year of the war it made almost fifty cents profit on every dollar invested! In 1943, net profits, after all taxes were deducted, were \$408,468,793, while for only NINE MONTHS of 1944 profits had risen to \$422,223,409.

If one is not too dazzled to look past this golden mountain of profits, it can easily be seen that it is not the work of E. Wilson, president of General Motors Corp., did but the increased productivity of hard-working UAW members in GM plants that is responsible for increased profits.

In 1942, at the same time that he

was bitterly fighting the UAW requests for a \$1.00 a day pay raise, Wilson got a \$50,000 annual pay raise, to say nothing of a \$100,000 bonus. Since then the bonus has risen. Wilson doesn't have to worry about his post-war future, either. The current tax law provides that his corporation shall be guaranteed its pre-war profits (\$185 million) for at least two years after the war, if they don't make it in the normal course of events, the difference will be made up on "the excess profits taxes" by GM. A man ought to be able to squeeze a little bonus out of that.

In GM shops, as in all auto plants, UAW workers are suffering under anti-union blows of the corporations, which are taking advantage of the labor leaders' no-strike pledge, to speed up work and undermine the union shop steward system and other union gains. Wage and other griev-

ances are lost in the bureaucratic maze of WLB proceedings. The WLB labors and labors and brings forth mouse-like decisions while the corporations proceed gaily with their anti-union drive, all the while raking in those lovely golden shekels.

Remember that old refrain about "Equality of Sacrifice," under whose soothing strains the auto workers were persuaded to accept the no-strike pledge? Don't hear much about that these days, particularly when corporation-profit and dividend figures are published. Figures don't lie.

When UAW members read the profit figures of GM or any other big corporation, it ought surely to inspire them to redouble their efforts to get rid of the shackling no-strike pledge and get off the WLB, before the arrogant, profit-bloated corporations succeed in smashing their hard-won union gains and privileges.

Russo-Jap Pact --

(Continued from page 1)

war against the Allies made the Russo-Japanese pact impossible?

The Communist Daily Worker shouts gleefully that Japan is "our common enemy." Until yesterday, virtually, The Daily Worker was cheerful about its references to Japan. As a representative of Russian opinion, it could not very well violate the diplomatic code. Now the American Stalinists are happy; they do not have to answer embarrassing questions.

But the question still remains: Why did Stalin wait until now? There are two reasons for it. The military situation has improved considerably for the Allies and especially for Russia. She does not fear an attack in the Far East now as greatly as she did before. American and British arms are stronger than ever and in case of any eventuality in the Far East, Russia can really count on the joint effort of the Big Three.

POWER POLITICS BEHIND BREAK

We believe, however, that there is a more important reason for the break than military. It lies in the field of politics and diplomacy. Until recently the political and diplomatic relations between the Allies (namely, Great Britain, the United States and

Russia) were insecure. The demands of each were not clearly known. They were still in the stage of feeling each other out, of preliminary horse-trading. That was the essence of the Moscow and Teheran conferences. The great powers made known to each other their interests and demands.

At Yalta, in the Crimea, a general settlement of these demands was made. It is now known, at least in part, what the pay-off is. Stalin got a big share in Eastern Europe (the Baltic States, Poland, etc.). In return he made commitments about the war against Japan. The details are not known, but it is not important.

ASIATIC INTERESTS

Russia is, in addition, an Asiatic power with substantial interests in the Far East. Stalin's imperialist drive includes a share of control of the oldest continent. He will not stand by idly while the United States and Great Britain settle the fate of the colonial nations. He is going to participate in that division.

The whole development in the Far East is the result of the change in the war situation and the prospects of an Allied victory in Europe and the Far East. The Russian denunciation of the Japanese pact has nothing whatever to do with honor, humanity, democracy, or peace. It is but another example of power politics in its crassest form. Surprise? Hardly, it merely indicated that the Big Three reached agreement and made their trade.

NEW YORK FORUM:

ALBERT GATES

Editor, Labor Action

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"The Ordeal" Depicts Slavery of Russian Workers

By SUSAN GREEN

The war stories on the market are legion. Some are good, some bad. All, however, contribute to the record of the toil and trouble, of the sorrow and sacrifice, of the destruction and death that capitalism has visited upon humanity for the second time in a quarter of a century.

"The Ordeal," by Arkady Perventsev, is another such story. It relates how, under German bombardment, a whole aircraft factory was moved from a Ukrainian town to the safety of the Urals; there to continue the production of planes. Undoubtedly such feats of individual and collective achievement are unprecedented in history.

However, not only in Russia but in China, England, the United States,

and also in Germany and Japan, are people doing superhuman things—unfortunately in the prosecution of annihilative imperialist war. So it is not from this point of view that "The Ordeal" merits special attention by LABOR ACTION. And certainly not from the point of view of its being a literary masterpiece, for it is a rather mediocre piece of work.

Rather it merits our attention because it is a story about Russia today and as such tells us something about the kind of society that flourishes under Stalin. LABOR ACTION has time and again produced proof that the Stalin regime has reduced the working people of Russia to a down-trodden mass exploited to maintain a new class of bureaucrats in a style to which they have never been accus-

tomed. "The Ordeal" is another piece of evidence of the correctness of LABOR ACTION's conclusion.

In this tale THE people are the factory directors, engineers, heads of departments and the generals, lieutenants and such. The workers are vaguely indicated in the background—something like Negroes singing in Hollywood versions of "gentle" life in our own South.

The hero is Bogdan Dubenko, chief engineer of the factory. We know from the story exactly how he and his social layer live. He has a modern apartment, a car, a chauffeur. His wife has a maid and a fur coat. His table is supplied with plenty of food and drink, including wines and the national standby, vodka.

We learn also that the heads of de-

partments and the aristocracy of labor, the Stakhanovists, inhabit a little white colony of brand-new bungalows, bright with flower pots and gardens. And we learn also of their agonies when German bombs fall among them.

But not a word does Mr. Perventsev see fit to give his reader about the conditions under which the mass of factory workers live, except the hint that they may be living in "bar-racks of some sort." No doubt the less said about that the better. The reader sees the common people mainly as an indiscriminate mass of refugees, clogging the roads and impeding the progress of "their betters," who ride in cars with their own chauffeurs.

And in the factory itself, what is

the position of the workers and what is the attitude of the bureaucrats toward them? When the Germans have attacked Kiev and Sevastopol, Factory Director Shevkopyas and Chief Engineer Dubenko hold a conference. They talk of calling meetings immediately in all the shops. "There'll be increased working hours, OF COURSE," says Shevkopyas. So the factory boss and his first mate decide about working hours, OF COURSE. The meetings are simply a formality to ram decisions down the workers' throats.

In contrast with this way of "explaining" the necessities of the war to the workers is the description of a meeting of the town intelligentsia—writers, painters, actors, scientists, doctors and teachers. Dubenko speaks

to them. "He senses the perturbation of his audience," who "listen eagerly but understand nothing." This causes Dubenko great chagrin and he therefore cannot enjoy the "long entertainment program" given for the benefit of the town intelligentsia—while the German guns roar in the distance. Long hours for the workers; long entertainment for "their betters."

If there is one single socialist thought expressed in the book, this reviewer failed to see it. Dubenko's father, an old man who has presumably been through the October Revolution, holds not a socialist but a fatalistic view of war. "There've always been wars," he says. "And wars always mean tears..." The "enlightened" factory director, Shevkopyas, attributes the cause of war not

to imperialist conflicts but to "The German! The scum!"

And what of the October Revolution and of Lenin, its leader? Oh, yes, Lenin. To be sure, why, he has become one of Russia's many national heroes, all of whose greatness is embodied in Superman Stalin, who "took over the burden of Alexander Nevsky, of Peter the Great, the responsibilities of Kutuzov, Dmitry Donskoi and Pozharsky" and "the cares of Suvarov, the achievements of Minin, the steadfastness of Bagra-tion, and the great work of Lenin."

To a thoughtful reader of this book only one conclusion can be drawn: Such a tale could not be written about a country where the workers are the dominant class with industrial and political freedom.

White Collar Workers Need Organization

By Ray Mantler

A handy technique of capitalism is "divide and rule." This method has proved effective in keeping eighty-seven per cent of the seven million clerical, technical and professional workers in private industry out of unions. The white-collar worker is made to feel that his status is superior to that of the industrial worker. Money and wages are vulgar, unimportant matters, and one doesn't discuss them. Whereas the industrial worker can face the problem of fighting for a better wage squarely, the office worker, because of his relation to production, and the propaganda that is consciously handed to him, is greatly handicapped.

Employers have taken complete advantage of this state of disorganization of the white collar worker. A survey in American Business reported that among 287 firms requiring their employees to work overtime, 139 paid for the extra work with supper money and no extra compensation. In the same survey it was revealed that 96 firms considered it unnecessary to give either supper money or any allowance for overtime!

During the lean years, many of the office workers had to put in long hours whenever there was a busy day on Wall Street. They expected to get some sort of bonus for it. Instead they got the "Scotch Week," one week's vacation without pay every month.

WHITE COLLAR EXPENSES

Appearance is a very important factor in white collar work. The office worker is expected to look neat and cheerful, and that means that in spite of his small salary he cannot skimp on clothes. Lewis Merrill, president of the United Office & Professional Workers of America, in a statement before a Senate sub-committee, said: "A rise in food costs of 41.2 per cent between 1941 and 1943 means that hundreds of thousands of white collar workers are skimping on food, going without lunches, etc. A rise of 27.9 per cent in clothing costs does not mean that the salaried worker merely goes without additional clothing. Because personal appearance is usually a condition of employment, rising clothing costs and other costs affecting personal appearance are met by the sacrifice of food requirements, medical care, leisure time activities, etc."

This means that health must suffer. Large numbers of white collar workers are underweight and have physical defects. Dr. Corey McCord made a survey for the Retail Credit Co. of Atlanta, Ga., of one thousand male clerks. Only 26.4 per cent of them were found to be within ten pounds of the standard weight. Over 58 per cent had visual defects, and a large number were wearing glasses not properly fitted. There was a high incidence of defective hearing and defective teeth. Cardiovascular disease was noted in 36.1 per cent of the clerks.

THE SQUEEZE OF WHITE COLLARS

Thus the workers are squeezed between low salaries, high living costs and the need to keep up appearances. Since they stretch their earnings to the furthest possible limit, they are terrified of unemployment. Most of them don't have a penny put away against a rainy day. They were badly hit by the depression of the thirties.

In New York City clerical and professional employees made up 25 per cent of all males unemployed and 49 per cent of all females unemployed, according to an unemployment census.

It is obvious from all of the above that the main reason for the plight of the white collar workers is their lack of organization. Organization of these workers and a program of struggle would make possible an immediate improvement of their situation.

Missouri Tenants Fight Sale of Homes

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(WDL)—Leading a delegation from the Delco Homes Project in southeast Missouri to the national capital to ask Congress for relief from eviction ordered by the Farm Security Administration, H. L. Mitchell, president of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, appealed for legislation to prevent sale of the homes and to continue government operation of the project, where 580 white and Negro families have lived in amity and mutual helpfulness.

The trip to Washington was authorized at the last meeting of the union's general executive council in Memphis, Tenn. The project was erected by the government in 1939 to house evicted sharecroppers who had been dumped out on the highways. With the experiment ended by Congressional order, the FSA has been advertising sale of the 580 houses in its ten farm labor community projects.

FSA has been under constant pressure by planters to liquidate such community projects. The chief complaint is that the tenants are inclined to organize and "make trouble"—that is, ask for a better living out of their labor than they used to get as sharecroppers living in glassless, unpainted, chicken-house-like shacks scattered far and wide and living in constant fear.