

The Fighting Worker

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The World
Unite!

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Coal Miners Force Concessions Despite F. D. R. And J. Lewis

June 5, 1943—Despite all the militancy and firmness of the 540,000 striking miners, John L. Lewis—America's most capable sell-out artist—has done it again.

All the patriotic babblings of Mr. Roosevelt were unable to deter the miners from their avowed aim of getting \$2 a day more pay and "portal to portal" compensation. Not more than a few hundred of the half million workers actually scabbed. These few hundred were more than made up for by the walkouts of over 7,000 AFL miners in Illinois.

But, lacking their own rank and file controlled leadership, lacking an organized progressive movement within the mine workers union, the miners have no control over their pro-capitalist leadership. Cynically playing his own game, John L. Lewis has again called off the militant battle of a half million determined fighters. But it is not yet clear that he can hold the miners in line.

PARTIAL GAINS

There can be little doubt that the miners will receive a compromise offer better than that given any other group of workers in the country. The operators have already offered \$1 a week for portal to portal pay. Other concessions would bring that up to at least \$5 a week. If you include the promised sixth day of work at time and a half, then the concessions are fairly substantial.

But these gains are possible not because of Lewis and his "maneuvers," but simply because the miners have opposed, more militantly than any other group of workers, the Little Steel formula and the War Labor Board. Lewis couldn't possibly disregard the resentment in the ranks of the men under him, but he is doing his best towards channelizing that resentment into good safe bourgeois war channels.

In fact a compromise victory for the miners will leave the facade of the capitalist War "Labor" Board absolutely intact, and the Little STEAL formula with it. With all their hostility toward each other, both political and personal, Roosevelt and Lewis knew that the main danger was the 540,000 miners; and they each did their share in snuffing out the miners' militancy.

Hundreds of thousands of workers everywhere were ready to aid the miners, were looking to them for leadership in destroying once and for all the War Labor Board and its wage-cutting policies. Nothing could have stopped an upsurge as big as 1936-37, or bigger—nothing except betrayal by their supposed leadership, the Lewis bureaucracy.

Lewis was smart enough not to openly oppose the miners' demands; he is very sensitive to mass pressure. When the workers are up in arms he takes the lead, so as to retain control. But Lewis is the same old labor-faker. He supports capitalism, and he supports the capitalist war. In a pinch he will always help the capitalists smash the miners' struggles—as he has done so many times in the past.

MUST OUST LEWIS

The miners have shown at least three times before that they can fight Lewis. During the twenties and early thirties two movements under Alec Howatt and George Voyzey opposed Lewis on a national scale. A few months ago a most hopeful committee was organized in the anthracite fields, the tri-district committee of the "Wildcat" anthracite miners. Unfortunately Lewis was able to browbeat the committee into dissolving.

The present sell-outs, however, should be adequate proof that without such a rank and file group the men will always be at the mercy of Lewis and his class-collaboration policy.

Now is the time to organize a broad progressive movement to end the check-off, the Lewis bureaucracy (with its self-appointed district heads), and above all the class collaboration policy of the machine. Now is the time to prepare for a new struggle.

THIRD INT'L LIQUIDATED

Just after the Roosevelt-Churchill meeting, coinciding with Davis delivery of Roosevelt's secret message to Stalin, the Pravda announces the liquidation of the Third International. It calls upon its followers to give full support to the imperialist war.

This is a further step of capitulation to the Anglo-American imperialists in the war. Years ago, the R.W.L. stated that the Stalinist theory of socialism in one country would lead to social-patriotism and to the liquidation of internationalism. For this we were accused of the worst kind of slander. But here lies the stinking corpse of Stalin's Third International.

Stalin's Third International had nothing in common with the International of Lenin and Trotsky. That International was an organization of revolutionary Marxism; while Stalin's International has betrayed the class struggle just as did the Second (Socialist) International in the past.

Liquidation in itself is no crime. To liquidate through unification

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Soviet-Polish Break Hints At Coming Allied Struggles

Neither the Daily Worker nor the capitalist press dares to tell the truth about the break in diplomatic relations between the Polish government in Exile and the Soviet Union. The truth would throw a bomb crater into the United Nations a mile and a half wide. It would smash the idyllic dream of peace and harmony between the United Nations.

The Russo-Polish break is much more important than appears on the surface. It involves far more than just a squabble over a few hundred miles of Polish territory or the disposal of a few thousand Polish officers.

Facts in the Background

If the Allies or the Stalinists dared to tell the truth, they would have to admit the following:

1—That the American army of 11 million men, now being recruited, is being organized PRIMARILY to smash the Soviet Union and the coming workers' revolution in Europe—not the Nazis or the Japanese.

2—That the Allies are double-crossing the Soviet Union, just like Hitler double-crossed it in the past.

3—That just enough lend-lease material is being sent the Soviet Union to keep it from losing, but not enough to assure a victory. The allies are working for an exhaustion of the Soviets.

4—That Allied technicians and "political" observers, just like Axis observers in the past, are trying to prepare forces within the Soviet Union for the restoration of capitalism within Russia.

5—That Russia is fighting the Anglo-American encircling policy and attempting to keep the door to Europe open.

Poland is Front Door to U.S.S.R.

Therein lies the importance of Poland. The United Nations are preparing for the invasion of Europe. When their armies reach the continental shores the question will arise as to who will control, who will police, what territory. America and Britain, behind the scenes, are having violent arguments on this score. But both are substantially united against the Soviet Union.

When Allied armies finally get to Poland—possibly together with the Red Army—the Anglo-American bloc is anxious that the territory be governed by the reactionary, counter-revolutionary Sikorski government. SUCH a Poland would be a dagger aimed directly at the heart of the Workers State. It would be a jumping off point for the Allies, just as for German Imperialism, in the past, to invade Russia and come to the aid of the counter-revolution being prepared within the Soviet state.

Naturally with Stalinism recognizing the Sikorski government, there would be no hitch to this first part of the plan—a "safe" counter-revolutionary government in Poland. Britain therefore is quite willing to concede to Stalin a "promise" of a small part of Polish territory, just as Hitler conceded some of it in 1939 and 1940. British Imperialism operates on the theory that four fifths of a loaf is better than none.

Stalinism Planning its Own Stooze Gov't

But Stalinism, as nationalistic and as reactionary as it is, is realistic enough to understand (although it hides it from the masses) that their present allies, like their former ones, are getting ready for an attack on the Soviet Union. They readily understood the British "Statesman and Nation" when it stated that a dominant section of the British bourgeoisie is fearful of further Red Army victories. They readily understand the mystery of "lend-lease" where Britain receives four times the materials that Russia gets, although she is not one tenth as much in actual battle.

Stalinism, therefore, is preparing for the coming double-cross by the United Nations, although denying it to the working class, just as she prepared for the double-

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Beware of Allied Counter-Revolution in Europe

The fall of Tunis and Bizerte marks another turning point in the imperialist war. Not necessarily because of the military importance of these North African cities—although their fall clears the Mediterranean for Allied shipping; and not necessarily either because the ouster of the Axis from North Africa has put Spain and Italy on the spot by completing a three-quarter ring around Europe.

These things are important, very important as military accomplishments. But the fall of North Africa has even greater significance from the social point of view.

The bourgeois writer M. W. Fodor has reported that in Warsaw in 1939 "the Polish government and the commander in chief of the Polish army left Warsaw during the night of September 5th. Warsaw was left to be surrendered as an open city, BUT THE WORKERS ORGANIZATIONS DECIDED TO FIGHT."

For three years this simple story has been censored out of the news. Now it develops, however, that as early as the fifth day of the war, Workers Organizations set up their own dual government and heroically defended Warsaw.

Working Class Fights Enemies On All Fronts

The press reports—but only fleetingly—that Jewish workers in Polish ghettos have fought back for a month against a Nazi attempt to exterminate them. Martial Law must be declared in parts of France to quiet the opposition to forced labor. The Partisans in Yugoslavia are now

joined by similar groups elsewhere in the Balkans.

This whole seething battle is confused, semi-leaderless, and to a large extent without clearly defined aims. The DeGaulist movements, the Mikhailovich movements and all the other bourgeois underground movements are rotten affairs aimed only at preserving Capitalism throughout Europe. But the workers who are fighting the battles of these bourgeoisies—no longer under the tight discipline of large armies, but now only in the loose organization of guerrilla warfare—fight out of a sincere hostility to Fascism.

The fall of Tunis and Bizerte had meaning to the oppressed workers of Europe because the military defeat of the Germans, Italians and the Axis-minded puppet governments of Europe facilitates, gives courage to their revolutionary strivings.

Further defeats for the Axis will deepen the growing Revolution. Defeat facilitates Revolution—the great maxim of Lenin is thus proven correct again. With the fall of Tunisia "disorders" of an unprecedented nature broke out in Europe. Some of it seeped through the censorship. Most of it will be known only after the working class is successful. Further defeats will bring bigger "disorders."

Allies Save Forces and Food for Counter Revolution

The impending Revolution in Europe, however, has one important drawback. So far the Anglo-American imperialists are relatively fresh; their troops have seen little action, and their economy

is not yet at the breaking point. The large Anglo-American forces and food supplies can and will be used by Churchill and Roosevelt for counter-revolution. These gentlemen want a revolt in Europe, but NOT A SOCIAL REVOLUTION. That is why there are so many broadcasts warning the French and the Dutch to be "cautious," to hold up their revolt. The Allies have learned something from the last war. At that time it was impossible to send the main troops of France, England, America and Germany into Russia to head the October Revolution. They had to rely on secondary troops of the Czechs and others, because their own troops were close to revolution themselves.

This time the Allies are waiting patiently. They do not want to exhaust themselves. They want fresh troops—disciplined ones.

Needs of Masses Everywhere Weld Workingclass Unity

Will they succeed in this strategy of counter-revolution? The coming two years or so will tell. But Hanson Baldwin, a reporter for the New York Times, already gives some enlightening details. "American ground forces," he says, "are not yet in the same league with the Germans." It lacks leadership. "A subsidiary problem... is the American soldier's attitude toward the war; he is not mentally tough or sufficiently determined; part of his heart is in it, BUT ONLY PART."

This from a leading bourgeois writer!

Another writer from Australia notes that American soldiers there

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Eight Foundry Workers Arrested

United Front Defense

Chicago, June 5, 1943—The case of the 8 Foundry workers arrested on May 11th was continued to June 28th pending the outcome of a Labor Board hearing for an election at their plant.

The eight workers who are members of an independent union, are Carl Vince, Coy Cooper, James Herring, Tom Brown, Harry Garrison, McKinley Becton, William Taylor and Horace Lowery, all employed at the Central Pattern and Foundry Company.

On May 10th and 11th a committee of workers in this plant attempted to talk to the owner, Frank Battles, about an important grievance. On both occasions the boss played hide and seek. When they finally did get a glimpse of him he just refused to talk. The result was a short spontaneous work stoppage.

WORKERS CHARGED WITH "DISORDERLY CONDUCT" BUT LABELLED AS "SABOTEURS"

The Company, however, called in the infamous Lt. Barnes of the Labor Detail, who works with the Association of Commerce, and the police just picked up eight workers at random and arrested them.

The job of the Company and of the police was made much simpler by the role of the Stalinist-controlled Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers CIO. This organization, which represents absolutely no one in the plant, nevertheless signed a back-door contract there more than a month ago and has been helping the police and the boss ever since. As a result of their support of the war, the Stalinist slogan in this plant is "we'll get you a raise AFTER the war." Meanwhile the boss initiated a 50% speed-up attempt.

When the eight workers came before Judge Caplan the following morning he condemned them and particularly the President of their Union, Benny Banks, as saboteurs. At the request of the M.M. & S.W. attorney Ben Meyers, the Judge lifted the bail from \$2,400 to \$19,000.

BROAD UNITED FRONT COMMITTEE ALL SET

A Foundry Workers Defense Committee has been organized to defend these boys. On the Committee are Union representatives of the mine workers, retail clerks, aluminum workers, domestic workers, auto workers, and both the Workers Defense League and the Labor Defense Congress.

An attempt by the Socialist Workers Defense League to run the whole show was squelched by representatives of District 50 and other trade unionists who insisted on and finally obtained a broad united front which is open to all interested labor organizations.

The Foundry Workers case may become vastly important if they are arraigned on a conspiracy charge. This case would be ideal for the Illinois capitalists as a cover-up for the anti-Union legislation now pending in Springfield and Washington. The workers are in an independent Union; the Stalinist leadership of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers is yelling for their heads; and the boss, police, and States Attorney can all keep their "labor record" clean by just saying that they prosecuted the men at the "request of labor," i.e. the Stalinists.

The Foundry Workers Defense Committee fortunately is already organized and will be all set to defend the men no matter where it leads, whether the State decides to make the small frame-up into a big one, or to continue on the same charges.

SOVIET-POLISH BREAK

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cross by Hitler. Russia intends evidently to establish its own Polish government-in-exile—inside the Soviet Union and pro-Soviet in its sympathies. She also will recognize the Partisans in Yugoslavia, who are fighting the Allied-dominated "government in-Exile." In the near future we may expect further signs of this rift, other Stalinist "dual" governments being set up in Moscow against the counter-revolutionary governments in exile in London and Washington.

Against the ring of steel and diplomacy being forged by the Allies against the Soviet Union, the Stalinists are forging their own ring. This is a precursor of the coming struggles between the erstwhile "allies."

C.P. Line of Social-Patriotism Aids Counter-Revolution. Soviets Need Mass Action to Exist!

The tragedy of the whole thing is the pathetic role of Stalinism. In 1939 and 1940, it will be recalled, Stalinism spoke of the "peaceful" aspirations of German Imperialism; it worked together with the German invaders in Norway; its main blow was directed against the "Anglo-American imperialists," but it whitewashed the Nazi imperialists.

The attack by Hitler against the Soviet Union came almost as a complete surprise to the rank and file Stalinists. By its hiding of the truth, by its nationalistic power politics, and by its anti-revolutionary role, Stalinism made easier the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

Instead of exposing the whole plot against Russia, Stalinism continues to peddle social-patriotism, support of Roosevelt and Churchill, support of Allied Imperialism against Axis Imperialism. By playing that role, by deluding the masses, it is giving immeasurable aid to the future invasion of the Soviets and to the counter-revolution within Russia.

The Defense of the Soviet Union is a major part of the struggle for World proletarian revolution. It is a link in the same chain as the struggle to overthrow American capitalism here at home. But it can not be achieved by any false lip service to Allied Imperialism.

The first task of the American working class is to expose the aims of its own bourgeoisie, to analyze what is coming so the masses may know the truth.

The Soviet Union must be defended first of all against its Axis invaders and its present "allies." But it must be defended also against the Stalinist bureaucracy and its nationalist program which makes all this double crossing possible.

Is The Prodigal Son Homeward Bound?

Lewis Seeks New Union Center

Why is John L. Lewis steering the United Mine Workers back into the A.F. of L. The question weighs on the minds of people who are looking for some "secret" and diabolical motive on the part of Lewis.

But the matter doesn't really revolve around personalities. As the Chicago Daily News points out "the real answer to the Lewis reversal of attitude is to be found in the development of a definite split throughout the whole labor movement. Disappointment of many, if not a majority, of the rank and file with the economic results of New Deal and war agencies such as Social Security, the War Labor Board and OPA, is driving many labor leaders back to 'straight trade unionism'."

The bourgeois paper of Secretary of Navy Knox has hit the nail on the head in this analysis. The pressure of the rank and file on the leadership of labor is intense. They are dissatisfied, and are slowly breaking from the New Deal. Col. Knox hopes they will now go Republican.

Lewis, too, is subject to this pressure. He notes the wildcat anthracite strike of a few months ago; the present growing strike wave. More than any other labor faker he recognizes that unless

the officialdom of Labor gets at the head of this movement, it will go beyond them into some independent CLASS STRUGGLE channels. The FIGHTING WORKER has consistently pointed to this as the dominant driving force in Lewis' strategy.

"Left" Anti-F.D.R. Safety Valve Visioned

Lewis is anxious to build a class-collaboration center to scoop up this resentment of the masses into safe bourgeois channels. He is anxious to smash a 4th term for FDR, and to stop a Green-Murray-Roosevelt anti-Lewis bloc. The CIO, with the Stalinists so powerful within it, obviously is not the medium at the moment, although dozens of Unions are waiting to jump the CIO policy. In fact, even within the CIO a vicious fight between Walter Reuther and George Addes in the auto workers is spreading to every other International, with Reuther attempting to play a "left" reformist role.

Within the AFL, however, there is enough anti-Roosevelt sentiment for Lewis to be able to get some sort of center. Of course, Hutchenson, Woll, Frey, Tobin and others are basically very reactionary. Lewis knows that. He knows too that as the sentiment

of the masses shifts further to the left he will have to discard some of these "friends" and get a greater "left" cover—such as the Trotskyites, Socialists, etc. But at the moment the paths of Lewis and these other gentry coincide.

Will the AFL take Lewis back? Possibly. It is not yet certain. Lewis has some strong bargaining power—700,000 members and District 50. But Roosevelt may yet smash this move; he has already warned the AFL against taking Lewis back and it is rumored that he will denounce the ALF publicly if the Miners are reinstated.

Either way, however, Lewis is building up to his "center." If the AFL accepts him, he will then have a dominant position within the largest federation of labor and will be in a key position relative both to the AFL and CIO—at one fell blow. If the AFL officials refuse him entry, then Lewis will probably issue a call for a "Committee of Unity" or some other such center that is anti-New Deal and will attempt to appear "left."

Against both the New Deal trade Union centers (Murray, Green, the C.P.), and the anti-New Deal centers (Lewis, Hutchenson, Woll and others) the militant workers must organize their own rank and file Shop Steward center on a class struggle program.

Beware of Counter Revolution

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are deeply concerned and worried over the lack of food back home for their families.

"Saving" the troops thus may have the opposite effect from that desired. The millions of inactive American troops, under poor leadership and without real social ideals, may not respond to the call to counter-revolution.

Inevitable set-backs, loss of manpower, growing dictatorship at home, mass resentment and strikes against the high cost of living, may upset this whole Imperialist plan.

In addition there is the power of the Red Army. Despite Stalinism, despite the liquidation of the Comintern, this giant Army will yet defend the proletarian Revolution within Europe. Unlike the Imperialist armies it does have social ideals. No amount of Stalinist propaganda can erase within a few months the beliefs of a life-time in the world solidarity of labor. At the moment Stalinism has a strong hold on the Army; but the impending revolts in Europe will shake Stalinism too, to its very roots.

Tunis and Bizerte have opened a new chapter in the Imperialist War. With proper leadership, with a new world party of Marxism, the masses may make it the last chapter.

Stalintern Is Dead

For A New Communist Fourth International!

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on the basis of revolutionary Marxism is progressive. To "liquidate" because of exploiters' terror and continue in another form in illegal underground work is sometimes necessary. The liquidation of the First International resulted from its weakness and internal strife and defeat, but with correct class policies a new beginning was possible.

On the other hand, the Trotskyite liquidation into the Second International in the past was a betrayal of Marxist principles. The Stalinist argument today that internationalism is outlived is a stab in the back of the world proletariat.

The Stalinists will say that this "liquidation" is just to "fool" the capitalists, and that an illegal international organization, with "front" organizations, will continue. To be sure, they will continue with other forms, but it will be the murderous GPU running an underground skeleton structure.

The Third International of Stalinism could not be used yesterday or today or tomorrow as an instrument of the working class and revolution. It could only play a counter-revolutionary role—as the Social-Democratic structure so ably

carried through in every crisis. We do not mourn its liquidation. Rather, it will clear the air. The fight against their murderous gang and treacherous support of imperialism only changes form.

This liquidation will now be a talking point by Roosevelt and Churchill to line up the Catholics, Italy, reactionaries and some Fascists who claimed their main fight was against the Third International and its policy of "world revolution."

History will record that upon the eve of the turning point in the second imperialist war; when social revolutions are maturing in Europe and Asia, when the rule of the exploiters is in a most critical stage, these so-called followers of Lenin organizationally liquidated their international.

Against this current The INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION and other revolutionary Marxist groups and individuals will weld together the INTERNATIONAL RED FRONT AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR AND FOR THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

Long Live the Communist (Fourth) International.

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Big Industrialists War Effort Exposed

Warner Swasey Workers Fight Back

The workers of Warner & Swasey, a machine tool production plant in Cleveland, Ohio, have found themselves the victims of the vicious collaboration between the union bureaucrats of the International Machinists of America and the officials of the Warner & Swasey Company. They have attended union meetings, presented their grievances to their shop stewards, voiced their disapproval of their general shop conditions, and used every other "legal" method they could think of, all to no avail.

As a direct result of such treatment a group of workers in the shop, in desperation, formed the Progressive Wing of the International Machinists Local 1253. The role of this Progressive Wing is to save the union for the workers in the shop and to get rid of the company controlled bureaucrats that have placed themselves as protectors of the company, and to eliminate the undemocratic practices of the I.M.A. bureaucracy.

The Progressive Wing decided to issue a leaflet in the shop pointing out the role of these union bureaucrats and their vicious role as guardians of the company and also to expose the enormous profits that the Warner and Swasey Company made and tried very cleverly to conceal. When the leaflets were distributed and these union bureaucrats found that they were being exposed, they got the aid of the District Lodge which sent down its President, Thomas Demore, and along with him their protective GOON SQUAD to threaten and generally terrorize these workers who were distributing.

But it is good to report that their efforts were in vain because the leaflets were well distributed and well liked by the workers in the shop. It was effective enough to make the President of the Warner & Swasey Company fly back from Florida, whereas for months the union had been begging him to come and negotiate a contract for the next working period. It was effective enough to make the union bureaucrats call three special meetings to present very minimum demands to the company.

PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM

The workers were so much in agreement with it (the leaflet) that three wildcat walk-out and sitdowns in various departments in the plant occurred, scaring the pants off of the company and Mr. Fearing, the business agent of the union, who told the workers to go back to work and that the International Machinists did not authorize such actions of the workers.

The company has even gone so far as to give petty raises to such people as they suspect are members of the Progressive Wing and even given other job advancements. Seeing the results of the bulletin,

the Progressive Wing has decided to issue a second Bulletin presenting its program which is as follows: No discrimination because of race or sex, equal pay for equal work, equal representation of all groups in the shop on grievance and negotiating committees, bring the unions out of the halls into the shop, democratic elections in the shop of all local officers and committeemen, recall of all local officers, stewards, committeemen and women and all committees by majority recall vote-democratically held in the shop, reinstatement of all fired workers who were discharged because of activities for the union or the interest of the employees, stop the firing of workers for their militant trade union and working class activities.

These demands and a further exposé of the developments in the shop shall be called to the attention of the workers of Warner & Swasey and will probably stimulate the workers of the shop with a greater desire to build a bigger and better Progressive Wing of the International Machinists of America and really have a militant fighting union working in the interests of the employees of Warner & Swasey.

FIGHT DISCRIMINATION

The workers were further convinced of the unity between the company and Union bureaucrats by the recent firing of a militant woman worker. She has appeared actively on the floor of the union meetings fighting for equal representation of all groups in the shop on negotiating committees, equal pay for equal work, and against discrimination because of sex or race. When the bureaucratic tactics of the union president Harry Thompson failed and the phony company-controlled existing shop committee saw that she was gaining the confidence of the

The press, the radio and the speakers platform have for long now assaulted the workers and their families with arguments on the great need of equality of sacrifice on the part of all classes in order to win the capitalists' war. This great spilling of ink and thunderous chatter have pictured the pa(y)triotic industrialist and manufacturer as working hard and sacrificing much in the so-called war effort. It has also created the impression that the workers, in and out of the unions, are either

workers of the union and even winning over the more progressive elements of their own shop committee, they with the help of the big shot bureaucrats or pie card artists of the District Lodge, headed by Mr. Tom Demore & company, black balled her out of the union on a phony trumped up charge.

Several weeks later she was transferred out of the department in which she worked to plant No. 3 known as the "Siberia" of Warner and Swasey. The workers seeing this persecution, formed the Progressive Group, one of its aims being to get her back into the union. But even further steps were then taken by the company to get rid of her altogether. She went to see her soldier husband and was gone a week, when she got back she was fired. This was a pure case of discrimination because it was a policy of the company to allow women workers who had husbands in the armed services to get leaves of absence to see them; but they fired this worker because they knew that she was no friend of theirs and she was exposing their lackeys, the union Bureaucrats of local 1253 of the International Machinists of America. One of the fights that the Progressive Wing is carrying on at present is to get this woman replaced on her job and reinstated in the union.

Inflation Scare

The Bosses and their local newspapers have been telling the workers that inflation is the Devil and must be guarded against. Every time the underpaid workers ask for a two cent raise the local office boys of the Office of Price Administration are brought out to shout "No!" They tell the workers that such raises will turn the Devil of inflation loose and we have all got to be saved from that.

Of course the workers are crying for raises on the grounds that living costs have skyrocketed but the Office of Price Administration says they will take care of that; if prices are too high they will roll them back and also will not permit any raises in consumers goods prices.

The way the promises of the OPA have worked out is quite

different than the public was led to believe. In Cleveland, for instance, in the campaign to "roll back" prices the OPA listed its ceiling meat price list and Lo! and Behold! all but three of over two hundred meat prices were from two to seven percent higher than prices already being gouged out of the customer. The same kind of price "roll back" was done in many other foods than meat. If this is stopping inflation then the OPA is the biggest black market of them all.

The only answer to the OPA and the rest of the Roosevelt War Deal program of planned scarcity is to build real shop unions under democratic control and answer the war deal with such action by the working class as will put a stop to this double exploitation and price gouging.

unwilling, or refusing, to make the sacrifices necessary if the bosses in this country are to win their imperialist venture for markets and colonies.

This picturization of the employers as lily-white angels and the workers as imps of Satan is thoroughly exposed upon examination of the record. This record shows that to the employers this war is just the same as all other capitalist wars—a smoke screen behind which the working class is doubly exploited to create ever greater profits for the bosses out of the wholesale spilling of the workers blood; and the sacrifice to profits of many of the necessities and all of the luxuries of life.

ALL FOR "SACRIFICE"

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that the whole camp of the Social Reformists are echoing the demands of the big and little capitalists on the point of "equality of sacrifice." The Socialist Party and the Communist Party press have shamelessly printed this demand time after time and the C. P. has accompanied this with diatribes against "absenteeism" and frantic cries for speed-up and more production. The centrist press has committed the same crime in a less open manner by demanding that the bosses fore-go all profits so the workers will then operate the war plants on a subsistence-wage basis in order that a willingness for equality of sacrifice could be shown.

The true picture of increased workers exploitation and enormous profit-taking, going on beneath the cloak of "equality of sacrifice," is shown by the examination of the 1942 financial reports of two Cleveland, Ohio war plants. One of these plants, The Thompson Products, Inc., has as its president, Mr. F. C. Crawford, who was recently elected national president of the National Association of Manufacturers. The other is The Warner & Swasey Company, Manufacturer of Machine Tools for the war. We will deal with the record of the Thompson Products first.

In their 1942 annual report Thompson Products admit taking in over eighty million dollars for their products and services. Out of this over twenty-six and two thirds millions went for materials; close to a million for depreciation; over thirty-nine and two-thirds millions for wages and salaries; over five and a half millions for rent and other expenses; over eleven and a half millions for all taxes (excess profits, real estate, income, old age security, sales tax, excise tax, etc.); they reinvested slightly less than two millions in the business (this is profit); and paid out five hundred seventy-seven thousand five hundred and sixty dollars in cash dividends to stockholders (profit).

THOMPSON PRODUCTS PROFITEERING

On the face of it, therefore, it appears that the company made slightly under two and a half million dollars clear for 1942. But let us look further into the matter. At the beginning of 1942 Thompson Products owed the banks five and a quarter million dollars. In 1942, out of profits, but hidden in the five and a half million item for rents and other expenses, the company paid off two million one hundred thousand dollars. We go deeper into this matter of profits. Also in the same item for rents, etc., the company paid out two million one hundred forty thousand dollars to the government for rent of government owned new plants. If the company desires to buy these plants after the war we are informed that some, if not all, of this rent money will apply on the purchase price. If this is true then the amount so allowed is clear profit if the company buys the plants.

There is another matter which the company does not list but which is common to most industrial concerns. It is the big tax refund to be made to the companies after the war. This amounts to about ten per cent of federal income taxes and excess profit taxes paid by some of the big companies. We believe that about a million of such money is due the Thompson Products after the war as a refund of 1942 taxes.

The company boasts in its report that it has done this enormous business although the company is worth less than ten million dollars.

If we do a little simple arithmetic we find that the company admits two items of profit totaling two million four hundred forty-one thousand, six hundred seventy-seven dollars (dividends and reinvestment). This amounts to about twenty-five percent profit on their investment.

If the tax refund, debt retirement, and rent purchase items are in the budget as we believe, then we see that the company has made somewhere in the neighborhood of sixty-five or seventy per cent profit on their investment in one year. This from the company headed by Mr. Crawford who cries against the workers getting more than a fifteen percent wage increase in the face of a twenty-two percent local rise in living costs. Mr. Crawford, incidentally, was paid close to one hundred thousand dollars in 1942. It would take a worker in Mr. Crawford's plant 40 years to earn that much.

WARNER & SWASEY PROFITEERING

Let us take another case of profiteering by those who cry "equality of sacrifice" and who are now fighting the workers in their

(Cont. next page)

Public Transit Ownership

For years the workers of Cleveland have been told that the cure for many of their troubles was public ownership of the streetcar system and certain other public utilities. The workers didn't think much of the matter either way, when the city ups and buys the Cleveland Railway Company lock, stock and barrel.

Of course it begins to smell kind of bad when it is learned that the lawyers had received a fee of \$750,000 for convincing the stock holders they should sell to the city, and another \$750,000 for convincing the city fathers they should buy the outfit.

But then what is a little penny-ante game like that between friends, the politicians and the lawyers? What if they did grab three quarter of a million from the seller and another three quarter of a million from the buyer? That is chicken feed compared to the pork that was divided among these friends some years ago when they "helped" in the merger of a dozen competing local car lines. If the Van Sweringen brothers and the now defunct Union trust bank and other bankers could milk over seventy-five millions out of the railway company in the last twenty years why is it wrong to grab a million and a half of the same kind of dough now? Nothing to it. But it did smell kind of over ripe.

PORK BARREL

It is a common bit of knowledge that the railway company has been the official pork barrel for the city councilmen of both parties for many years now and all the public utilities have found it very nice and comfortable to let it be so.

A few years ago the Cleveland Railway Company had a capital structure of \$42,500,000. Four million of this was in six percent mortgage bonds. However, when a survey of the old Cleveland Railway Company was made a few years ago it was learned that the property was worth only \$17,500,000. It was found that it would cost a like sum, minus depreciation, to replace the company. The survey further pointed out that in stark reality the company didn't even have that much. They only had \$15,500,000 since during the 12 or thirteen years of the depression the little Friends of the Railway company, the city councilmen, had permitted the company to dip into the maintenance and replacement fund in order to pay the interest on the mortgage bonds. The bondholders mustn't be deprived of their dividends, you know, not even in the hardest of times, while people are kicked off the relief rolls by the same politicians who wouldn't let a few little laws governing the railway company stand in the way of such dividends.

The history of how the Van Sweringens got their greedy mitts into the pork barrel to the tune of many millions is common knowledge by now and it did build the Cleveland Terminal Tower, etc. (Of course the public doesn't own that). But the whole smelly story had reduced a capital structure of \$42,500,000 to a real value of only \$15,500,000 by the time the city decided to take that white elephant off the poor suffering bankers hands and saddle it onto the car riding public in two ways—one, through the fare box and second, through the tax duplicate.

HOW IT WORKS

So the little friends of big business, the City Councilmen, and their Mayor and his cabinet, sold, at a fair interest rate of course, \$17,500,000 worth of bonds to the bankers and bought out the railway company stockholders at \$5.00 a share at a time when the stock was selling in the open market at between \$15.00 and \$23.00 a share.

Since the purchase of the Railway Company by the city there had piled up in the treasury a profit on the company's operations of more than ten million dollars. (Can't give the workers a raise though.) Now it would seem that the city would pay off about ten million dollars of its debt to the bankers and thus reduce the city's interest payments to these needy gentlemen and pass these savings on to the public in the form of decent transportation, lower fares and higher wages for the workers. But no, they don't. You see the city councilmen are still the little friends of big business and the bankers and they will howl for Franklin Roosevelt to send troops in here to make the workers run the dirty worn out equipment for low wages while the bankers continue to clip their coupons and call the workers traitors and friends of Hitler.

Industrialists' War Profiteering

(Continued from Page 1)

plants for demanding wage increases from the extremely low levels paid by the company. This is the Warner and Swasey Company engaged in war production of big machine tools (lathes, etc.). This company has also issued a financial report for 1942.

The Warner and Swasey Co. did a little under fifty-two million dollars worth of business in 1942. Out of this they paid only about fourteen and a half million dollars in wages and salaries. This amounts to one dollar for wages out of each three dollars and seventy cents of income compared with one dollar for wages out of each two dollars and fifteen cents income for Thompson Products which proves that, even though Thompson products employees are badly underpaid that those of Warner and Swasey are much more so. The Company cannot argue that their other costs are higher than other plants because their own reports would not bear this out.

Warner and Swasey are a little more open in the admission of their profits than some other plants. They show in their report one million five hundred forty seven thousand dollars federal tax refund of 1942 taxes; they show two million dollars set aside in a reserve fund for post war pro-

tection; there is also an item amounting to one million two hundred, ninety one thousand, eight hundred and twenty dollars cash dividend to stock holders; then there is the item of six hundred sixty-nine thousand twenty eight dollars and forty cents added to the value of the business.

All of the above listed items are clear profit and total the enormous sum of five million five hundred seven thousand eight hundred forty eight dollars and forty cents clear profit on an investment of about nine million dollars or close to sixty percent profit on the investment.

LIVING STANDARDS LOWER

Over a period of the last two years the carmen here have received small raises from time to time totaling about twenty percent. But with a local general increase of more than twenty-two percent in the cost of living and the enormous increase in taxes to pay, these men and their families find themselves in a far worse condition than they were two years ago with lower dollar wages.

As an example of what the Cleveland workers are up against and how misleading flat percentage

figures can be, we publish here a table showing what the situation is in dollars and cents;

In last two years living costs up 22.9%—wages up for carmen 20%.

COST OF LIVING		
1941	1943	Increase
Rent\$35.00	Rent\$40.25	15.00%
Food 60.00	Food 79.50	32.50%
Clothing 30.00	Clothing 38.46	28.20%
Light, Fuel etc. 7.00	Light, Fuel etc. 7.86	12.30%
Miscellaneous .. 15.00	Miscellaneous .. 16.96	13.10%
Total\$147.00	Total\$183.03	Average 22.90%

The figures on price increases are from the government for the years above specified; our table is very conservative on the food item expenditures for an average workers family, and the highest percentage rate of increase is in that item.

If we take a carman who was earning \$150.00 a month two years ago and who has received a twenty percent raise since then and study the above table we find that a worker two years ago on the old wage could meet his expenses as of that time and have a three dollar a month balance. But with his raise and the increased living costs he cannot maintain the same living standard without going into debt \$3.03 a month on his present \$180.00 a month.

The above does not take into consideration an average \$100.00 income tax which this worker did not have to pay before, nor the increased donations for Red Cross and other items, nor money for War Bonds. If we take these items into consideration we can readily see that the workers are far worse off today in spite of their small pay raises than they were a year or two years ago.

But while the workers have been forced into a lowered standard of living the Companies have increased both their earnings and their clear profits enormously.

We can now readily see that the carmen's strike was long overdue. The workers had to take steps to protect themselves.

MEANY WEAKENS

During the strike the carmen's leader, Mr. Meany, weakened under the attacks of the city officials and the Newspapers, and got the men back to work on a promise of continued negotiations for their demands. To date the men have received absolutely nothing and only a promise of a three and a half cent an hour raise. Mr. Meany, in the meantime, has betrayed his fellow workers by publicly pledging the employees to "no strikes for the duration." By the time this article is in print the men will have held a secret vote on whether to accept the offered three and a half cent raise or not.

and privileges for the labor fakers, but means speed-up, lower living standards and vilification and betrayal for the workers.

It is high time that the workers saw through these tricks of the bosses and their agents in labor's ranks and organized on an independent basis in a national Shop Steward movement to kick the fakers out and repudiate the betrayals foisted upon them and thus force the bosses to grant the wage increases and better conditions so essential to the welfare of the fifty-four million American workers and the sixty million who are dependent upon them.

This will be a major step of the workers in destroying Fascism abroad and the inevitable development of Fascism at home, if Capitalism is permitted to live.

If the Transit System workers are to win any of their demands for which they struck, and new demands which will certainly arise in the future they will have to repudiate all their International and Local Union officials and take over the control of their union through a democratically elected rank and file Stewards Committee. They will have to publish and distribute to the car riders and the general public their own side of the story since they have learned that they can get nothing but misrepresentation and abuse from any of the local boss-controlled newspapers.

NEED OWN COMMITTEES

If the men do not take matters into their own hands they will find themselves even more securely bound in the harness put on them by the labor fakers and pie card artists who have long saddled themselves on the union. They will not get their time and one half for the sixth consecutive day of work; they will not get their double time for all over twelve hours of a single shift; there will be no double time pay for the seventh consecutive work day or pay for idle time while waiting for their runs, etc.

The issues in the strike did not, fortunately, involve only the platform men but also the maintenance workers, etc. This was a healthy sign and shows the consciousness of the men on the need for unity of all on a system-wide basis.

The general public stuck with the employees pretty well during the strike in spite of the fact that the crooked and betraying union officials accepted the refusal of the boss-controlled papers to present the workers side of the dispute and did not use the enormous reserves of the union to publish the workers story to the public.

The men are back at work but very dissatisfied with the situation and unless substantial grants are given these men soon we will hear from the carmen again and this time, we hope, free from the traitors' noose of bureaucratic and treacherous leadership that has betrayed them.

PAMPHLETS

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