

Murder at Gridley

One cold day in January the striking railroad workers of the Toledo, Peoria and Western Railroad in Gridley, Illinois, were picketing along the railroad tracks. An odd looking assortment of cars which proved to be an armored train came down the track. Hooting the company men running the train, the pickets threw rocks and stones against the steel plating.

The train stopped at a siding and four men, armed with guns, came out and approached a switch. As the strikers started toward the scabs, one scab shouted "Don't come any further," and fired a shot into the ground. Turning around the strikers fled and as they ran five were shot, two were killed and three seriously wounded. ALL WERE SHOT IN THE BACK OR SIDE.

Evidence showed some strikers had guns, but none had been fired. Should the strikers have carried guns? Well, before these murders were committed, one striker had been fired on and wounded. Another striker's shanty had been riddled with bullets, but luckily no one was hurt. One of the dead men, Irwin "Pants" Paschon, who leave behind a wife and tiny baby, had received an anonymous phone call the night before he was killed. "You're going to get what the picket shanty got!" Thus we see these killings were prepared well in advance.

Since 1926 when he took over the railroad George McNear has been fighting the Union. He has used terror and intimidation before. This time, his vicious anti-union attitude and armed terrors produced murder — planned murder.

The very worst thing about the murders is that all four of the killers who were paid \$375.00 per month for being company sluggers were ex-servicemen! They are being charged with murder, while McNear the real murder plotter is charged with nothing.

Some 38 of the pickets were also ex-servicemen, fighting for a few pennies more on the dollar. It is a shame that some veterans are accepting these bribes to shoot down workers. In that lies another part of the murderous story of killer George McNear.

If George McNear can afford to pay his hired killers \$375.00 per month for not producing a single cent of wealth then George McNear can afford to grant this tiny wage raise!!

Belatedly, the union leaders demanded the workers have the right to bear arms. The workers had already begun to arm themselves. This is a good start, even it is late. It is necessary to learn the big lesson of the murders at Gridley, Illinois: the only way to smash boss terror and murder is to ARM THE WORKERS NOW! not after the murders. Flying Squads and defense squads are required to defend workers by force of arms against boss terror. These Flying Squads and Defense Squads will be increasingly required as more bosses like George McNear use terror. Veterans among the workers can help train other workers in the use of arms. The bosses have declared War! We must use the instruments of War!

Workers will not forget killer George McNear! Nor will workers forget our honored dead. They gave their lives in labor's battle to live even under capitalist exploitation and terror.

Let us learn from these murders of our fellow workers that boss terror can be smashed before workers are killed again — by destroying this system of terror, this system of low wages, this system of murder — and by running the entire world of, by, and for the workers.

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Strikebreakers: The Army Wants You

As part of the Army's current recruiting drive in camps in the U.S., officers in mass meetings have pointed out to soldiers the low wages and rising unemployment in civilian life as contrasted to steady employment, "good" pay and "security" in enlisting for more military service. "The Army sells security," says the officer speaker. "You won't get a job when you return to civilian life."

A sign on the separation center of the Air Corps at Westover Field, Mass., states: "Since strikes, civilian jobs are scarce — the take-home pay with deductions for income tax, social security, union dues, blue cross etc., do not compare with Army salaries and huge retirement benefits." The anti-union bias and fear propaganda this constitutes is bad enough; but the approach that the army has more to offer than civilian employment shows the trend of the times.

Soldiers Bribed

This is an ugly example of how pitiful is the army's appeal to workers in uniform. For in order to make their approach effective they have to show that as rotten as the regimented life of the army is, it is better than being a worker in the present state of post-war production.

The army will unquestionably have to improve its relations with

UNO is U.S. Tool

The first big clash in the opening UNO London meeting arose between Britain and the Soviet Union over their conflicting interests in the Middle East, and threatened almost to bring an end to UNO entirely.

Vishinsky of the Soviet Union in a defense against Iran's (British-inspired) claim that the Soviet Union had interfered in Iran, had stated Britain was interfering in Greece to disturb world peace and saddle a reactionary regime onto the Greeks. Then the Soviet representatives denounced use of British troops in Indonesia, and called for votes to in-

vestigate British actions. Open conflict between the two powers has arisen since the Stalinists have begun to press against Britain's lifeline in the Mediterranean. Already it is clear that the Stalin regime has put pressure on Turkey to permit Russia passage through the Dardanelles, some control over Iranian oil, an interest in oil in other Middle East states, and a demand for a full Russian trustee control over former Italian-controlled Tripolitania. Britain rejected these demands as an effort to cross her life line to India, the crown jewel of Empire.

soldiers in order to raise the number of volunteers. It will have to become more of a bureaucracy, with a standard of living raised above that of the working population, so that this higher standard will attract those who cannot get along on the pitiful wage proffered in plant and shop.

During the war this process of raising the army above the level of the working population was begun; and it will be extended. Even killers have to be paid to kill. Militarism is growing in the U.S. with leaps and bounds. The permanent large army of millions necessitates social bribing with various economic inducements and advantages. All this will be paid for by workers in the form of blood and sweat

Behind this struggle over control in the Middle East and eastern Mediterranean are the now revealed terms of the Yalta conference: Russia was given three votes in the Assembly of UNO; was promised permanent possession of the Kurile Islands and southern Sakhalin Island; eastern boundary of Poland was agreed to; reparations from Germany were decided; the future of China agreed upon; an independent, Soviet-controlled outer Mongolian republic and rights in the Near East accepted; a new trusteeship provision for UNO was accepted, making UNO possible.

Thus the Yalta agreement in which concessions by the Soviet Union to American imperialism and vice versa were made is more important than the entire UNO con-

(Continued on Page 4)

Auto Workers: Take Over the Union

WORKERS, Members of the UAW:

THE BASIC PROBLEM FACING AUTO WORKERS

The basic problem confronting the Auto Workers and their long-delayed convention is not so much higher wages and shorter hours as the PRESERVATION OF THE UNION and its CONTROL BY THE RANK AND FILE. This is not to relegate the struggle for a living wage to the background, but life itself has shown that whatever wage increases are gained are almost immediately washed out by government-sponsored price increases, and that under the present UAW leadership no real strike action can be conducted to raise living standards.

At the same time there is general agreement between the government and the big auto corporations on one important thing: controlling and curbing strikes. Between Truman and auto manufacturers like Kaiser there is however an important difference with General Motors (dominated by DuPont and the House of Morgan) on how to deal with unions.

Truman wants to continue to make use of the labor misleaders, like Thomas and Reuther and even the Stalinists in order to control the rank and file through these men. GM wants to go to the next stage and not deal with unions on the old collective bargaining basis, but to clamp down more sharply. Thus there is a tactical split on labor policy in the very highest ranks of American capitalism. GM is looking ahead to a period where more

openly dictatorial measures to crush unions. Truman is holding off generally from the iron fist technique, although he does employ government seizure powers to prevent strikes from spreading, and from developing into wide-scale political mass action.

Struggle for Power in UAW and CIO

Within the UAW and the national CIO itself there is a vicious struggle for power going on between Thomas and Reuther, with the Stalinists playing their own role in accord with the switch of Moscow policy to non-support of the present Truman administration.

Murray and Thomas are two extremely conservative types of labor leaders who are moving steadily away from the leftward swing of the rank and file.

As Fortune magazine predicted in November 1943, "Slick Walter Reuther . . . knows how to put himself at the head of rank-and-file revolts in order to slow them up, perfectly exemplifies the type of middle-of-the-road labor leaders who will have their brief and stormy innings in the period between the collapse of the extreme conservative bureaucrats and the rise of a revolutionary leadership in the unions." Reuther tried to appear as more useful than Murray and Thomas and other CIO leaders.

Murray on his part is in a fight for his life and the entire life of the CIO. He saw the need for appearing to be more militant than the AF of L and to make a bid for being the official government sponsored labor union setup by proving to Truman and Morgan and other

sections of American capitalists that his CIO leadership could corral and control the workers better than any other. Murray wants a close tie to the government, wants the CIO to be labor representative to the UNO. He fears the newly strengthened AF of L which with John L. Lewis' District 50 will now go in for raiding the CIO in a big way.

Elimination of Frankenstein who was a virtual Stalinist stooge was completed after his loss of the Detroit mayoralty election and exposes of high-living in Miami and New York and Washington, when Addes withdrew his support. This has been interpreted by such writers as Jack Crellin of the Detroit Times as a clear sign that "it has brought a coalition between Addes and R. J. Thomas, UAW president. This merger is expected to effectively block any attempt Walter Reuther, UAW vice-president, may make for Thomas' job at the Atlantic City convention which opens March 23." A Stalinist may well get Frankenstein's vice-presidential post as the price Thomas has to pay for Addes' (Stalinist fellow-traveler) support.

Thus the rank and file auto workers will not be facing a united leadership at the Atlantic City convention. They may have an opportunity to weaken seriously and possibly eliminate whole sections of the present leadership. This cannot be consummated in its entirety at the convention, but only in strike action. However, serious inroads can be made.

The Failures of the Present UAW Leadership

The present Thomas-Reuther-Stalinist leadership of the UAW stands indicted for criminal actions

against the unity and living standards of the auto workers during both the war and postwar periods.

STRIKES — During the war this UAW misleadership forced the rank and file to accept the no-strike policy, to accept labor participation in the War Labor Board, to accept the "Little Steel" wage formula where-by wages were frozen for over three

years while living costs rose steadily.

This leadership refused to support strikes democratically voted (Kelsey Hayes and Motor Products are two outstanding examples) and openly sabotaged and broke strikes.

They mishandled the GM strike. Instead of waiting and coordinating

(Continued on Page 4)

Go Ahead and Jump, General

Winging his way in a plane over the Atlantic to become Chief of Staff, General Eisenhower said that if he didn't believe there was a chance for peace, he would have "jumped out of his plane in the middle of the Atlantic."

Geronimo! (As the paratroopers say when they leap into space)

Go ahead and jump, General.

There is a chance for peace, but not under a social system where war continues against the masses of Java, with the aid of your Army, American materials and strategic agreement with British imperialism. War in China continues even now. Economic war for domination of world markets continues inexorably between the huge, rival imperialists. Political war for spheres of influence in Iran, in Greece, in the Levant, in Palestine, in the Mediterranean, in Western Europe is intensified. Cut-throat competition continues over control of air transportation in the Atlantic and across the Pacific. High level competitive struggle for retention by America of Pacific islands as bases is carried forward. War preparations and production of more atomic bombs continues. Capitalism drives for war.

Go ahead and jump, General!

There is a chance for peace, General, but only in a workers' society. Where exploitation of man by man is abolished, where the economic and political causes of war are removed by abolishing private ownership of factories and equipment, where the workers control the world. The soldiers and workers in their strikes and demonstrations show the way to getting the chance for peace.

Go ahead and jump, General!

Company Security

PART II.

(Continued from last month)

Today company and worker pressure on these union leaders has posed the issue of labor bureaucrat or rank and file control over the union sharply. UAW leaders see in the company security proposal a swift and sure method of ferreting out militant workers moving towards strike action and towards smashing bureaucratic control of the union. It is a move to control from above any incipient strike action from below, to prevent large-scale strike action in the future, and accomplish the destruction of rank and file opposition to the UAW bureaucrats.

With this guarantee of control over actions of union members the boss is in an ideal position not only to halt strike action but also to destroy the union. Union members can be kicked out at the bosses' will and the union strangled between the hoary hands of the big corporations and the union misleaders. However, there is a fly in the ointment:

The auto industry is so highly organized, so speeded up and so swiftly geared to improved production methods that each time the industrial leaders think they have stabilized class relations on the basis of class relations, they find that the workers under pressure of the higher organization of the plant internally and the rising cost of living externally generated by the imperialist war for the world, have been forced to take action to raise wages.

Strikes are not ordered, planned and accomplished merely because of desires of individuals but because economic and political conditions drive the workers to take strike action to defend their standard of living against the boss and the boss government. Militant leaders arise constantly to head this basic struggle for workers' survival.

Meaning Of Company Security

In essence all national capitalist class and state proposals for curbing labor — fact-finding, no strike policy, compulsory arbitration, legal delay mechanisms, strikebreaking by troops, jailing of union members, management committees — are all designed to increase production and profits and to eliminate strikes.

Against company security, workers are countering with their own independent demands for union security — union shop, maintenance of membership, closed shop.

To smash the union-busting proposal of fining workers individually, of permitting the boss and UAW leaders to put the finger on militants and thereby throttle strike action and throw out rank and file opposition, workers know it is necessary to fight against the system of fines, to reassert the basic right of workers to take strike action against a sea of troubles, to reassert the fundamental solidarity of all workers against the employer and to forbid the firing of individual workers for strike actions. Any worker the boss desires to fire for strike action ought to be carefully treasured, guarded and retained by his fellow workers. Against the new type of blacklist of militant workers, let us raise the demand that determination of firing shall go through the union grievance machinery of the Stewards and Shop Committees and not through the union misleaders. Atomisation of workers and forcing them to confront the boss and the boss state not as a united mass but as individuals is the essence of the Fascist control of labor (the infamous labor "front").

Since as a general policy company security against strikes is the aim of the national capitalist class and its state, the workers' struggle to be successful has to rise to the level of

a national class struggle.

Truman Shackles Strikes

Truman's fact-finding boards which halt, delay, shackle and destroy strike action have to be fought. Compulsory arbitration has to be exposed as a deadly enemy of all labor organization. Use of the army in strikebreaking and of Truman's war powers to seize plants and thereby halt strikes has to be opposed bitterly.

To accelerate the entire process of showing the uselessness of the boss in production and of the growing pressure of the workers on control of hiring and firing, of speed of the production line, of regulation of wages and hours — of workers' control of production as part of workers' rule of the country — publish the secret profit records of corporations!

Bookkeeping devices for concealing profits, cheating stockholders, misrepresenting capital stock, have to be laid bare.

Salaries of executives should be known to the workers.

Participation and non-participation of stockholders in direction of the company should be published. (GM has declared its stockholders do not run the corporation. Who does?) Real financial rulers of the company and relation of directors to large banking houses should be revealed.

Increased speedup and the degree of increase in productivity as compared to the static position of real wages (take home pay) should be exposed. Relation of static wage level to rising mass of profits can be established by exposure of extent of profits. Demand for sliding scale of wages can be proved by publication of corporation financial records.

Lockouts, intimidation, labor-spying, funds for anti-labor goons and gunmen, bribing of police and judges, should be made public.

Management's "Right" To Manage

Company security as a policy is a national capitalist class and national capitalist state declaration of war against workers' demands for a greater share of the product of labor. Against this capitalist declaration of war, workers are taking strike action today and will find the means of taking broader, national strike and national political action tomorrow.

As the GM big shots have recognized, the basic issues in the auto strike are who is to manage and control production, who is to rule job conditions, hiring and firing and who is to control profits? In this most highly geared and organized section of American capitalism, the basic issue of modern production — control by bosses and bosses government or control by workers under a workers' government — is coming more and more to the fore.

Workers have every right and obligation to show that there is no democracy in industry. That the big bosses are complete economic dictators, that the so-called management "right" to manage is based not on election or control by the enormous mass of workers but on appropriation by the tiny minority of bosses of the fruits of labor of this enormous mass. Industrial dictatorship, boss terrorism against labor, use of vast production of the U.S. to further U.S. class economic and political domination of U.S. workers and those of many other countries are the real meaning of company security proposals.

Read the Fighting Worker Supplements.

Pity the Poor Boss Greatest Profits in History

The "greatest profits in history in 1946" that will be earned by industry now that excess profits taxes are reduced, says the OPA in its statement filed with the Senate Small Business Committee. The statement was OPA's attempt to prove that business has profited immensely from OPA policies — a fact which every worker who has been a victim of profiteering and high prices knows from bitter experience. To show the extent of profit increases OPA compares profits in 1944 with average profits of 1936 to 1939, good peacetime years. Look at these retailers' profits increases:

Hardware retailers 464%; small furniture stores 185%; variety chain stores 339%; men's apparel stores 398%; department and specialty stores 1,324%; chain grocery stores 152%; music stores 210%; automobile dealers 210%.

Wholesalers' profits increased: hardware wholesalers 179%; dry goods 639%.

But all these took a back seat to the manufacturers' increases:

All manufacturing 450%; textile and leather 730%; transportation equipment 650%; metals and products 590%; building materials 270%; chemicals 230%; food, beverages and tobacco 200%.

Says OPA, "Generally speaking all kinds and sizes of business have during price control years made greater profits than at any period in history. The profitable business of the war period will be carried over into the postwar period. With reduced excess profits taxes, industry should earn the greatest profits in history in 1946."

Meanwhile, throughout the entire war period wages were controlled and remained frozen under the "Little Steel" (Steal) formula. Even OPA says that profits were so large that the only word that can describe them is "fantastic."

Vet Gripes About Surplus Property

PRIORITY IN SURPLUS PROPERTY GOES TO BIG BUSINESS

January 10, 1946

Dear Editor:

Those who think veterans are receiving priority for war materials should take a look at the former Studebaker plant in Chicago.

First priority for surplus property is given not to veterans but to the big company that purchases the factory building. Western Electric by buying the building for a knock-down price is given priority on purchase of all the best machinery on the premises.

Second priority goes not to veterans but into a national pool run by the government where big business men with sufficient money to bribe bureaucrats in the surplus property department can get their hands on war materials.

Third priority goes to the small businessman and veteran. All the worst materials and machinery are left them. Even then it is difficult for them to obtain small quantities of material since the job lots of material are not split up in many cases.

Nothing like giving us suckers from overseas an even break in buying, is there? It strikes me that there are indeed few vets who can afford to buy a whole plant in order to get first priority on some grade A materials. Right now I'm p — ed off about the whole rotten business and want to inform you that this is a pretty dirty deal.

—Chicago Veteran.

Exploiter and Exploited

THE LIES HAVE IT . . . A wit has suggested giving a die detector test to all generals testifying in the Pearl Harbor hearings. So many lies and deceptions have occurred that the top-ranking military men have succeeded in proving irrefutably only that they have never been introduced to the vulgar truth.

HOW TO RAISE WAGES . . . BUT QUICK . . . When corporation profits fall compared to wartime profits, the big capitalists get tax refunds. We demand that when there is no work, workers get tax refunds. In fact we are for having all workers' taxes paid in the war years returned to workers. The way to increase almost every workers' wage 20% right now is to demand the elimination of the income tax on workers. In addition we consider that workers are entitled to unemployment compensation during strikes — that unemployment compensation to be the union scale for the job, not the present measly rates. (CORRECTION . . . last month's issue which stated capitalists should have profits taxed is in error. We are for taxation of capital and its expropriation and placing it under the control of the workers).

"WHAT LABOR GOVERNMENT" IS RIGHT When Lady Astor, American-born, British Minister of Parliament for 25 years, landed in the U.S., she was asked about the Labor Government. "What Labor Government?" she replied, "Why England is still full of lords and ladies." And so it is. This rock-ribbed conservative leader of the infamous Cliveden Set which promoted the policy of appeasement of Fascism that led to Munich, is right about the Labor Party. Here is the Labor Party in action — it has not eliminated the lords and ladies. It has not eliminated capitalism. It continues imperialist policy. It shoots down Javanese revolutionists, pits Jew against Arab. It throttles Greece. It prohibits strikes in England. It is a capitalist government, for the capitalist class has never, not for one solitary moment, been altered or moved from political and economic and military control of the government.

ISN'T DEMOCRACY WONDERFUL??? . . . "The world exists for the few, not for the many." (Disraeli). Old Dizzy was nobody's fool, being one of the cleverest imperialists of his time. He should see how times have changed. Nowadays it is fashionable for the capitalist politicians to speak of the century of the "common man."

WHAT MEANS THIS STRIKE? . . . Yon Cassius hath a lean and hungry look. Such men are dangerous — Shakespeare.

HOW TIMES HAVE CHANGED . . . Printers in Washington once worked a 84-hour week that paid \$9. Under those conditions, 131 years ago on January 7, 19 printers got together and organized the world's oldest labor union in continuous existence, the Columbia Typographical Union. Today a union printer in Washington works a 35 to 37½ hour week that pays a minimum of \$53.55 (\$1.53 an hour). How unions have made times change!

CHILD LABOR GROWS . . . AND INJURIES TOO . . . The number of children from 14 through 17 years of age employed throughout the U.S. increased from 1 million in March 1940 to nearly 3 million in April 1945, according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimate. During the summer vacation period approximately 5 million minors were employed.

Both legal and illegal employment of minors has resulted in an enormous rise in the number of industrial injuries to boys and girls who tend to have a higher accident-frequency rate than older workers because of inexperience, adventurousness, immature judgment and less responsibility. The number of industrial injuries to minors under 18 years of age increased from 1940 to 1943 by 562 percent. Many of these industries result from illegal employment of minors in hazardous occupations. The great increase in accidents to minors is one important factor in explaining the greatly increased industrial accident-frequency rates prevailing during the war period.

WE PUT THE FINGER ON . . . Of 47,959 compensation cases for industrial injury cases closed in 1944 (these statistics are always a year behind since it takes a long time to get, hands, fingers or thumbs), 21,362 or 44.6% involved injuries to arms, hands, fingers or thumbs. Other injuries are bad enough, but injuries to arms, hands, fingers or thumbs are particularly incapacitating and hideous. And most of these injuries were to fingers or thumbs, considered among the very worst kinds of industrial injuries. Machinery is expensive, but labor is cheap — thinks the boss. WE PUT THE FINGER ON the bosses who do not provide safety devices for their workers. We do not call for an eye for an eye or a finger for a finger, but we do demand that ADEQUATE SAFETY DEVICES BE INSTALLED to protect workers' bodies.

Buddy Can You Spare 19½c per?

A Treasury report released last June 25 for the year 1943 — the last year for which relevant facts and figures are available — shows that G.M. paid its president, Wilson for his service for that year a total of \$459,041.38.

This vast sum is more than \$7,000 greater than the combined salaries which the United States last year paid its president, vice-president, all the members of the president's cabinet, the chief justice, the eight associate justices of the supreme court, the speaker of the House of Representatives and Gen. Eisenhower.

President Wilson's compensation for 1943 was at the average rate of \$8,827.71 a week, in comparison with the \$44.80 average weekly earnings of the G.M. employees on the basis of a standard 40-hour week and the \$58.40 which, on a similar basis, they have demanded.

Wilson's pay was \$52.54 an hour (that's for each hour of the week, not just 40). It was more than 87 cents a minute.

And this does not include all the additional income Wilson receives from his stock in G.M., his bonus, his expense account, his income from other sources where he has stock and directorship.

Labor Party is Boss Agent

For years the Trotskyists have been lying to their membership about a Labor Party. Both Cannon and Schachtman constantly say "we only support a Labor Party in order to expose it, in order to show its weakness to its membership and thereby prove that Labor needs a Revolutionary Marxian Party."

If you read the Trotsky press regularly, however, this lie is completely exposed. A recent Schachtman headline on a Labor Party article said: "Labor needs its own Party to Win."

This one headline is full of a dozen political errors. In the first place Labor does not NEED a Labor Party. A Labor Party is an instrument of the capitalist class, a reformist instrument it is true, but an instrument of capitalism nonetheless.

Secondly Labor does not need a Labor Party to WIN. As a matter of fact a Labor Party is one of the pitfalls on the road to victory. It imposes upon the working class the same trade union fakers organized as a political machine, who sell us out daily in our economic struggles. Anyone with an iota of sense knows that Lewis, Murray, Green, and the Stalinists are not for destroying capitalism, that they merely want to patch it up behind left-wing capitalist politicians such as Wallace.

A Labor Party is designed precisely in order to DEFEAT Labor, to stop it from moving to the Revolutionary Marxian Organization.

But Schachtman (and Cannon, too, has similar headlines) slurs over such things. He is going along with the left labor skates and the Stalinists in lying to the working class about what a Labor Party can and can not do.

The working class must fight the Labor Party, and its present embryo PAC. It must fight Labor Partyism with the same vigor that we once fought its sister, Popular Frontism. Both are attempts at establishing left bourgeois democratic governments. Both are stopgaps to confuse, divide and demoralize the working class.

Yes, Labor needs its own Party to win. But its own Party can only be a Revolutionary Marxian Party, with its program for the overthrow of capitalism. There is no shortcut to this, no "get-rich-quick" panacea.

Program for Action

1. WORKERS REVOLUTION IN U.S. AND ALL OTHER CAPITALIST STATES to destroy private ownership of the means of production.

2. FOR A WORKERS STATE IN U.S. and FOR A WORLD WORKERS STATE, based on armed workers power.

3. FOR A POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION to arm the workers, smash the Stalinist bureaucracy, and reestablish Soviets. For the defense of the Soviet Union despite and against Stalinism.

4. REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY IN U.S. For a World Revolutionary Workers Party, including the Soviet Union. For a New Fourth (Communist) International.

5. RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL COLONIES. For full and complete independence for the Philippines, Porto Rico, Hawaii and all islands and areas dominated by American imperialism.

6. MINORITIES — Full political and economic equality — right to vote, voice and organization, and equal pay for equal work — for Negroes, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, Jews and other minorities. Against Jim-Crowism, anti-semitism, exclusion laws directed against oriental peoples.

7. LABOR PARTY — Against a Labor Party or P.A.C. or other varieties of Popular Frontism, which can be only a political machine for the labor misleaders, Murray, Hillman, Lewis, Green, to mobilize American workers to support the capitalist government, as in England.

8. FASCISM — Oppose all efforts of capitalist political groups to impose on the workers open, military dictatorship of finance capital by use of demoralized small capitalists, the unemployed, and misled veterans.

9. SOLDIERS—End conscription now. Recall all U.S. occupation and other armed forces from abroad. Liquidate the armed forces of American imperialism. Fraternize with workers in the U.S. and abroad.

10. FOR THE RIGHT TO STRIKE, including slowdown, sitdown, full stoppage and workers seizure of all production units. Against government strikebreaking, against the no-strike or Company Security policy. Spread the strikes. Organize Workers Councils. For Workers Flying or Defense Squads to defend against police, company and government terror. Arm the workers!

11. DEMOCRACY IN THE UNIONS. Shop Stewards to run the unions under rank and file control.

12. 30 HOUR WEEK — 5 HOUR DAY with a sliding scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.

13. UNEMPLOYED — Trade Union wages for the unemployed.

Strikes Show How Workers Can Win

February 14, 1946 — The working class, like Popeye, doesn't know its own strength. Otherwise it would rise up in one solid mass and destroy once and for all this monstrous system of wars, starvation, depression and moral misery.

But the present strike wave is again proving just how American capitalism, precisely because it is so integrated, is vulnerable to any real concerted and united drive by the American proletariat.

Sixteen thousand workers in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and New York were able to paralyze cities with a total population of over twelve million. Thirty-five hundred tugboat workers in New York, laboring under miserable wage conditions of 67c to 72c per hour, forced Mayor O'Dwyer to completely shut down all business in the biggest city in the world after only eight days of strike. Despite all the billions of dollars of wealth that funnel out of Wall Street's spires, this city of finance moguls was completely helpless in the face of the unity of only 3,500 workers.

The working class did not have to settle the present strikes for what in effect amounts to both a wage cut and a price steal. Their unity and determination could have forced far greater concessions from the bourgeoisie. Unfortunately, the labor fakers — Murray, Reuther and the rotten Stalinist clique — sold the strikes out before they began. The workers were further confused by the phoney figures put out by the government and the fact-finding boards which boosts the prices for the bosses and refuses the wage demands of the workers.

It is quite apparent that the steel, auto, and electric strikes will be settled for an average raise of 18½c per hour. According to Phil Murray, President of the CIO and of its Steelworkers affiliate, this will amount to a cut of \$7 a week in the average steelworker's pay envelope, since the work week has been cut from 48 to 40 hours per week. The 16c raise for Packinghouse will have the same effect.

But that doesn't exhaust the picture. Actually the hourly labor costs of the employer have been cut 8% since the end of the war. A worker working for \$1 per hour received \$52 a week for a 48 hour week — the last eight hours being paid for at time and a half. The average HOURLY rate of pay spread over 48 hours was thus \$1.08. If he now received \$1.18 it amounts to only a 10c per hour raise. But if he now works only 40 hours his wages are cut to \$47.20 per week, almost \$5.00 less than previously.

With all the technological improvements brought about by the war and all the new labor saving devices the actual labor costs to employers will be lower this year than in 1940. A thousand dollars of wages will bring more goods to the capitalist now than twelve hundred dollars did in 1940, despite the rise in wages.

Furthermore, by the end of the year the 17% wage increase will be completely obliterated by the rise in prices. According to Kiplinger's news letter, an authoritative bourgeois source, the previous estimate of how much prices will rise this year was 5%. But this estimate must now be revised upward to as much as 15%, according to latest reports. And the actual inflationary spiral will probably be much higher.

You can check this development more closely by investigating the pending steal of the steel magnets. According to the Chicago Sun the government-permitted rise in steel prices this year will increase corporation income by some 435 million dollars. The American Iron and Steel Institute estimates that it will be 275 millions. But the total cost of the 18½c wage increase will be only 185 million dollars. Thus the Steel Industry gains somewhere between 90 and 250 million dollars by granting the raise. When you add the greatly lowered taxes for the big corporations this year, and the new labor-saving devices, you get a graphic picture of the gigantic swindle of big business. It has used the wage question as a club to gain much greater profits.

The role of Phil Murray in the present strike was simple. He went along with the capitalists in this robbery. This labor lieutenant of capital had counselled labor during the war not to ask for wage increases but to concentrate on getting prices lowered. In fact the CIO organized all kinds of snooping committees and worked together with the OPA to see to it that Johnny Jones the corner butcher didn't charge an extra penny on hamburgers. Of course this campaign failed miserably, as Murray knew it would, because under capitalism you can't effect a real price control.

Now, however, Uncle Phil is taking an opposite tack. Today he tells the CIO officials to keep its fingers out of the price question — just concentrate on getting a raise. But Murray is keeping quiet about the real meaning of the wage increase. It is a completely worthless increase so long as prices and taxes are going to eat it up. It is certainly significant that Murray doesn't ask for a "sliding scale of wages" — for automatic raises in pay as prices go up. No, Mr. Murray is a good stooge for Wall Street. He is going along with the biggest steal in American industrial history.

But if Murray's role is simple the role of Walter Reuther, head of the General Motors strike committee is somewhat more complicated. He pulled the GM workers out fully three months before he should have. For weeks he raged that he was against a fact-finding committee and that he demanded that the company open its books. He informed all and sundry that he wouldn't accept a raise if it meant a boost in prices.

In three short months, good old Walter has forgotten everything he ever said. He not only agreed to a fact-finding committee, but he accepts the decision of this phoney board for a 19½c raise — even after General Motors turned it down. He has forgotten all about having the company open its books or about stopping inflation. Murray told this naive reformist to keep his mouth shut and Walter is one of the boys.

General Motors — as we go to press — has offered 18½c. "Intransigent" Walter Reuther who has already forgotten about the 30% demand, has stated that he won't agree to anything less than 19½c. Time will tell whether he will concede on this penny just as he has conceded on everything else.

The words "eighteen and a half cents raise" sound very good to the average worker who hasn't bothered to figure out the future. In the first flush of strike settlement he will look upon this as a victory. But the next few months will prove to him that this is an illusion, that the same-no-strike fakers who sold him out during the war by refusing to permit him to strike, have sold him out now by their class-collaboration policy and their secret collusion with Wall Street.

New struggles of the working class, particularly its unemployed and veteran sections, will come to the fore next year. But for that a new leadership is necessary. Workers everywhere must organize progressive groups in every trade union to fight the top labor skates, to organize around a militant program that puts no faith whatsoever in the capitalist state.

The 18½c raise is only a stopgap and an illusion.

The working class needs a Revolutionary Marxian leadership to expose the long-term implications of the present strike wave and to guide it against the snares and pitfalls of the reformists and centrists of all stripes.

International News

Bulletin of the Provisional International Contact Commission

The International News is open to discussion on **The Road to the Fourth (Communist) International**, as part of the preparation for a future international conference of revolutionary groups.

4,000 words is set as the tentative limits of material for such a discussion.

Revolutionary groups in Europe have already indicated their desire to participate in this discussion.

MARCH — 1946

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AUTO WORKERS

(Continued from Page 1)

the GM strike with steel, electrical, telephone and meatpacking, for his own private political maneuvering purposes, Reuther called the strike at the wrong time. Production was low, GM had declared a virtual lock-out and had precipitated the strike in order to make it appear it was the union which was halting reconversion. Actually, had Reuther waited, GM would have been forced to halt production because of lack of glass and parts and steel. The Reuther "strategy" of calling out one plant at a time broke any possibility of a solid front of auto workers, and left the GM workers virtually helpless.

2 — COMPANY SECURITY AGAINST STRIKES is a continuation of the no-strike policy of wartime into peacetime. The CIO nationally is moving towards making this guarantee against strikes for the duration of the contract.

Murray had promised in 1944 to Belle Isle workers a continuation of the "peaceful production relations between capital and labor" after the war. UAW leaders and the auto magnets are collaborating to throw militant workers out of the union, weaken the unions and put them at the complete mercy of the corporations. This is an attempt to force workers to face the corporation not as a collective mass but as individuals. This atomization of the workers is the essence of the fascist destruction of workers' unions and establishment of the Fascist Labor Front. A bitter fight has broken out between the rank and file and the International Union officials over the no-strike (company security) pledge in peacetime, with UAW leaders ramming these no-strike contracts down the throats of the Auto Workers.

A typical company security clause which opens practically every UAW contract, reads:

"The Union will not cause or permit its members to cause, nor will any member of the union take part in any sit-down, stay-in or slow-down in any plant of the Corporation, or any curtailment or restriction or interference with production . . . The Corporation reserves the right to discipline any employee taking part in any violation of this section of the agreement. The Union agrees that it will not oppose the discharge or discipline of anyone who instigates, leads, or induces another employee to take part in any unauthorized strike."

To ensure local unions live up to these sellout company security agreements, the International Union is sending out representatives to check on any violations of the agreements. Thus the corporation gets rid of fighting workers and the union leaders get rid of a militant rank and file opposition. Both union misleader and the corporation thereby hope to prevent strikes. Their hopes are illusory, as we shall prove.

Militant workers in entire local unions are opposing these no-strike contracts. Resolutions against the no-strike policy point out that:

Under the Company Security agreements, workers participating in a strike could be fired by the company, or fined \$3 and \$5 a day by the company;

The International's officials have signed agreements by which workers will receive a piece-work bonus only if they refrain from striking during the life of the contract — which chains the workers to the bosses' handout of a few pennies a year;

No-strike policy and this piece-work profit-sharing scheme were decided by the International's officials WITHOUT CONSULTING THE MEMBERSHIP.

The resolutions go on to show that the company security clauses should be condemned, that no negotiations should be held on such no-strike plans, including the piece-

work schemes, that delegates to the Union convention vote against company security proposals, that this entire system of no-strike proposals by International Union officials weakens the workers' struggle for a 30% increase and weakens the union.

3—30% INCREASE IS DEAD. It was never seriously meant by Reuther. Truman's announcement of a general price rise as his policy for getting reconversion going in 1946 is an enormous concession to big business, as was the carry-back provision of the excess profits tax law. It effectively washed out any wage increase, though it permits Truman to pose as a champion of wage "increases." The entire strike of workers in GM was defensive because they had already lost their wartime take-home pay when hours were reduced, and were struggling to recoup this loss.

4—FACT-FINDING. Though they bitterly denounced government fact-finding boards, Reuther and Thomas and Murray too accepted the Truman boards once they were set up, and jumped at the board's offer of 18½¢ an hour in GM, an offer which GM had flatly refused to concede. This is another sign that Reuther never really meant the 30% wage demand.

5 — VETERANS. The veterans clause in most contracts negotiated by the International Union officials gives veterans super-seniority. We believe this scheme to divide worker and veteran should be eliminated and the workers' solidarity against the boss re-established on a basis fair to all sections of the workers.

Perspective

The present UAW leadership has proved it cannot win any demands for us. It has shown that it compromises with the corporations to guarantee a continuation of the no-strike policy in peacetime. The orientation of the entire national CIO is towards becoming the government-recognized national labor body. It is subservient to the capitalist government which is the principle strikebreaking agency. In the struggle between the AF of L and CIO for domination of the American labor movement, the UAW leaders are not at all interested primarily in gaining the legitimate demands of the Auto Workers. By their bureaucratic and high-handed conduct during the war and postwar periods they have shown a complete contempt for union democracy. They are guilty of incompetence, treachery and open collaboration with the corporations and the government against the rank and file auto workers.

Workers realize that the auto industry is so organized that the entire industry can be brought to a halt by striking one key part, such as glass, or wheel, or fiber. They know that the task now is to build up our fighting and militant cadres for the coming battle to tie up auto when production begins to zoom.

Workers are beginning to see that the government which is in control of prices, which backs the corporations with fact-finding boards and the weapon of plant seizure, is the chief enemy. It is the government which intervenes repeatedly on the side of the big corporations. Workers know that the Truman admin-

UNO is U. S. Tool

(Continued from Page 1)

ference. Yalta was the real "peace" conference in which the division of the spoils of war was made.

However, though the Yalta agreement constituted a considerable concession of territory and spheres of influence to the Soviet Union, in return the U.S. government was able to get approval of imperialist aggrandizement (land-grabbing) in the Pacific with the trusteeship clause, and control over all of Japan, parts of Italy, Austria and Germany. Her control of other areas in the world went unchallenged. UNO is the principal political expression of American diplomatic advances against the Soviet Union. UNO constitutes in large measure an attempt by the U.S. government to force acceptance of their revision of power on a world scale onto the Soviet Union and other smaller governments. This is more than the mere stamp of approval on the enormous expansion of American imperialism in the war period. It represents the bringing of political pressure into areas in which military influence had already penetrated. This is the consolidation of control, an attempt to legalize imperialist control by an agreement of the major and minor powers — all based on recognition of America's pre-eminence.

In this relationship, Britain remains dependent on the U. S. Where the League of Nations was a British dominated political sounding board and propaganda device, UNO will be a U.S. political vehicle. Thus the entire British and Soviet struggle is not a basic struggle in the

sense of who holds the power on a world scale. The real conflict is between the U.S. and the Soviet Union with Britain being used to do the dirty work for the American imperialists — a kind of advance agent. The Soviet Union leaders recognize the menace of American use of UNO and have weakened it before its birth by refusing to support the International Bank proposed by American imperialism, and by retaining the veto.

Britain's old Munich policy of using Germany against the Soviet Union is dead, but the U.S. is well on its way to creating a western bloc of nations in Europe to balance against the overwhelming Russian penetration and control in Eastern Europe. Britain is a ready partner in this venture. At some times this is now being called the U.S. of Europe. But its political essence is the same: counterbalance Soviet power in the east by a bloc of capitalist states in the west. In this process, the Stalinist regime and Stalinist parties throughout Europe are functioning as accomplices by agreeing with the imperialists on the preservation of capitalism in Europe and of channeling the revolutionary mass action of the workers of Europe into harmless parliamentary expression.

Not only were these agreements between Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill at Yalta, February, 1945, secret, but also they showed the complete lack of democracy in the UNO structure itself. All the lovely phrases about freedom and democracy in the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms were violated and sit upon. The secret agreements re-

moved the decisions of the politicians from popular knowledge and control. The big powers were given veto powers in order to keep any smaller powers from having any influence on the important decisions of UNO.

Fortunately there is no real unity between American and British imperialism. This is shown for example by the dispute over Argentina which arose several days ago when the U.S. blue book denounced the Argentine regime as Fascist, after having demanded its admittance into UNO last April on the grounds that it had ceased being Fascist. Thus the U.S. is in the ludicrous position of openly attacking for fascist actions throughout the entire war the very same Argentine government which it had proclaimed was such good material for UNO. Why? The real answer is that this is a continuation of political warfare against Britain which has large investments in Argentina, and is an attempt to weaken Britain and place her in an even more dependent relationship to the U.S. Similarly, the U.S. has penetrated other formerly closed British investment areas, such as India, and through the 4 billion dollar loan (not yet approved fully) is attempting to break up the sterling bloc in world trade.

By its inability to get beyond the procedure stage, retention of unlimited sovereignty by participating states, veto powers of the big three, denial of a place to world labor — UNO shows its subservience to American imperialism's interests and that it is an enemy of the exploited masses of labor.

istration has a 1948 election coming up and that it will attempt to keep production from going through the usual cycle of "boom and bust" until well after that election. Hence follows continued government controls and intervention in strikes, and more and more collisions between labor and government directly.

As Fortune magazine, the government, the corporations and Thomas-Reuther-Addes know, the next series of strikes in Auto will make the GM strike look like a tea party, and will make even the big auto strikes of 1936-37 look like small time stuff. All these groups are united in their efforts to curb the auto workers rank and file. All these groups recognize that a whole leftward swing of American labor is growing steadily and that in the coming wave of strikes a left-wing leadership may be able to rise and push out the conservative leaders like Murray and Thomas. Reuther has made his bid to be recognized as being to the left of Murray and Thomas. But he has failed to dissociate himself from the government and the corporations. He too is a stooge.

Build the Left Wing

At this convention we have the duty of bringing together around a program of strike action when the times are favorable those left-wing delegates who are for constructing a left-wing caucus in the UAW convention to do battle with Thomas, Addes and Reuther. From this we can build a national progressive group in the UAW to burrow in deep among the rank and file, build their cadres, widen their influence and establish a regular organ of exposure of boss, government and their stooges — the UAW leaders. There are many leaders among the rank and file, good, sound union men with years of training who can lead this struggle.

We know this convention is packed with machine delegates and that the odds against the rank and file

making its voice heard are great. Do not be dismayed. The immense size of the Union, the wonderful fighting spirit of its membership, the desperate pro-boss and pro-government reliance of the International Union officials — all indicate that with bold policy, careful preparation and immediate organization of a Left-Wing around these fighting slogans you can oust these misleaders from the UAW and preserve and strengthen the Union in the tremendously significant strike struggles and political mass struggles of tomorrow that will shake the entire foundation of the auto empires. Let us organize and fight for:

1. DEMOCRACY IN THE UNION. Against delaying of conventions as was done with this one. For yearly conventions. For democratic, Shop Steward leadership of the Union under rank and file control.

2. A NEW INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP. Vote to oust Thomas, Reuther, Addes and their machine. All officials' salaries to be no higher than the prevailing rate. We are for amending the constitution to require all officers of the Union, Local or International to hold office not more than two years in a row, after which such officers should take a year off and return to the shop. This is to prevent the growth of a permanent bureaucracy and utilize leadership from the rank and file.

3. FOR THE RIGHT TO STRIKE. Eliminate the Company Security and profit-sharing clause from contracts. Against ousting militants and "wildcat" strikers. The right to take strike action is to be returned to the Local Union, and is not to be throttled by the International Union officials. We are for amending the constitution to require the International Union to support Local Union strikes. In future strike struggles, we are for spreading the strikes not only vertically but also horizontally to whole areas, as was

done in Stamford, Conn. Spread Stamford!

4. FOR A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES and against tying auto worker to a static agreement in the face of the rising cost of living. For the 30 hour week and 5 hour day with 48 hour pay. Double time for overtime.

5. ELIMINATE SUPER-SENIORITY FOR VETERANS. No discrimination against Negroes and women.

6. NO DUES INCREASE. For Local Union control of its own dues. End the checkoff. We demand a full accounting of the use of dues, such accounting to be made by a rank and file investigating committee. For example, how was \$138,000 spent in one year for auditing, \$432,000 for editorial, \$58,000 by Frankenstein in Washington?

7. NO SUPPORT TO THE TRUMAN GOVERNMENT or to the DEMOCRATIC or REPUBLICAN PARTIES. For a Workers' Council Government and Workers Control of Production for Use.

8. NO SUPPORT TO THE CIO'S POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE. It is a capitalist agency, not a workers' instrument. No support to any kind of "Labor" Party proposals. As in England, a P.A.C. or "Labor" Party can be only a political instrument of the labor misleaders like Murray, Thomas, Hillman and others, all of whom are open supporters of the capitalist government, all of whom are opposed to rank and file rule of the unions.

9. FOR THE BUILDING OF A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY to lead the workers in the struggle to destroy capitalism and establish a workers' government.

Fraternally,

Central Committee,
Revolutionary Workers League USA, Affiliated to the International Contact Commission for a Fourth International.

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