

Detroit Vets Suffer Scandalous Housing

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GM STRIKERS SPURN TRUMAN'S DEMAND

The Answer To Truman Attack On GM Strike

By The Editors

This week has been a climactic one for the General Motors strike, for the labor movement as a whole. One important event has piled up on top of the other, necessitating new decisions on the part of the GM workers and their leaders.

First, President Truman came forward, as we had predicted from the first, with a proposal that the General Motors workers call off their strike and go back to work in the "public interest." In return, he would set up a Fact-Finding Commission which would study the case and render its opinion. Had the labor movement accepted this slippery strikebreaking formula, it would have found itself bound in a straitjacket of compulsory arbitration, despite the fake "voluntary" features of the Truman plan. Had the labor movement accepted Truman's formula it would have taken a long step down the road toward complete regimentation of the trade unions.

CIO Leadership Reacts Sharply

The official leadership of the CIO reacted admirably to Truman's brutal intervention in the GM strike. Philip Murray, CIO president, took to the radio and over a nationwide hook-up spoke brave and true words of defiance. He told how the big corporations had piled up fantastic profits. He related how the workers had suffered wage cuts since V-J Day, ranging from 23 to 50 per cent. He told about the official government reports which proved, black on white, that the corporation can raise wages 24 per cent and still make more than twice the profits they made before the war. He told how Congress had callously done nothing for the working man while it had rushed through tax laws, at breakneck speed, which will enable the plutocrats to extract additional billions from the U. S. Treasury. "To all this arrogance," Murray declared dramatically, "the Federal Administration yields in abject cowardice. Its rancor is confined to labor."

Words Not Matched By Actions

Murray concluded that the design of the Truman-proposed laws can only be "to weaken and ultimately to de-

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SWP Cables Demand To Legalize 'La Verite'

The first paper to appear in the French underground after the Nazis conquered France is having difficulty securing legalization from the de Gaulle regime. Throughout the occupation the publishers and distributors of this paper, La Verite, (Truth) were hounded by the Gestapo.

Many of them fell before firing squads. Others were tortured and transported to concentration camps.

Packinghouse Workers Favor Strike Action

By Leigh Ray

(Special to The Militant)

CHICAGO, Nov. 30. — 25,000 packinghouse workers here thronged to the polls today to vote strike and join the hundreds of thousands of other workers struggling throughout the country for decent wages. The United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, has been unable to make any progress in extended negotiations with the "Big 4" packers in the demand for a 25-cent an hour increase.

The Armour local made a gala event of the strike vote. Stewards lined up entire departments, and marched them to the union hall for the vote. Hundreds of banners were carried as they marched. "100% CIO for 25 Cent Raise!", "Down With Scabs," "Every Worker A Union Member." Evidence of solidarity among the marching workers was borne out in the vote, which was overwhelmingly for strike in all locals, and in some plants was 100 per cent!

Hornel, Morrell, Raft and a number of other independents have granted a 17 1/2 cent increase, with the additional 7 1/2 cent held in abeyance pending the union negotiations with Armour, Swift, Wilson and Cudahy. Meanwhile, strike strategy committees are being set up in each plant and the workers are set for an all out fight.

The Socialist Workers Party on December 3 cabled Charles de Gaulle, President of France, and Andre Malraux, his Minister of Information, demanding immediate removal of the legal obstacles now shackling publication of La Verite. The text of the cable follows:

The Socialist Workers Party learns with astonishment that La Verite, central organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, is refused authorization to appear as a fully legal newspaper.

La Verite was the first organ to be published in the underground in resistance to the Nazi invader. La Verite has been fighting all forms of fascism and oppression.

Refusal to grant this organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste full freedom of press appears to advanced workers in this country as unpardonable violation of democratic rights.

We urgently request you correct this injustice and grant full freedom to La Verite.

We propose to acquaint the entire labor movement of the United States with the conduct of your government in this important case.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party.

Canada Ford Strikers Vote Finish Fight

Windsor Local Rejects Gov't Arbitration

By Kay O'Brien

(Special to The Militant)

WINDSOR, Ont., Dec. 3.—After three months of picketing, during which the huge Ford Motor Company of Canada has remained completely shut down, the 10,000 striking Ford workers, members of Local 200, CIO United Automobile Workers, have given renewed evidence of their determination to FIGHT TO THE FINISH by voting to reject a proposal to return to work on the basis of government arbitration.

The arbitration proposal which came from Canadian Minister of Labor, Humphrey Mitchell, and which of course was accepted promptly by the company, called for the following:

The strike was to be ended, the men were to return to work and negotiations were to be resumed between the company and the union, with some Supreme Court Judge of Canada, as government arbitrator, sitting in on the negotiations. At the end of 10 days, if no agreement were reached, the whole matter would be referred to the government arbitrator, whose decision would be final and binding.

THOUGHT STRIKE ENDED

It was also proposed by Mitchell that an umpire go into the plant immediately on its reopening to handle the large list of grievances which had accumulated for some time before the strike started.

Buckling under the pressure of the government and the labor-hating press, all officers of Local 200, as well as the local negotiating and policy committee, had gone on record in favor of accepting Mitchell's treacherous arbitration proposal. The newspapers thought the strike was over. They thought the strike had been effectively sidetracked by this phony "compromise."

Under cover of the company's propaganda barrage, the proposal was presented to the local.

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SWP HITS 'FACT-FINDING' ACT; DEMANDS HEARING

The following telegram, denouncing the proposed "Labor Fact-Finding Boards Act," and requesting an appointment to testify against the bill before the House Committee on Labor, was sent December 6 by the Socialist Workers Party to Mary Norton, Chairman of the Committee.

The Socialist Workers Party denounces the "Labor Fact-Finding Boards Act," initiated by President Truman, and now before the Committee on Labor in the House of Representatives. This bill is directed against the rights and the interests of the American workers and their trade unions. It infringes on the right to strike and is deliberately calculated to stab in the back the American workers who are fighting for a 30 per cent wage increase to compensate for the increased cost of living and sharply reduced take-home pay. This bill can give aid and comfort only to the arrogant, defiant, power-drunk monopoly corporations like General Motors and U. S. Steel who are already emboldened by fat war profits and generous tax rebates guaranteeing continued super-profits.

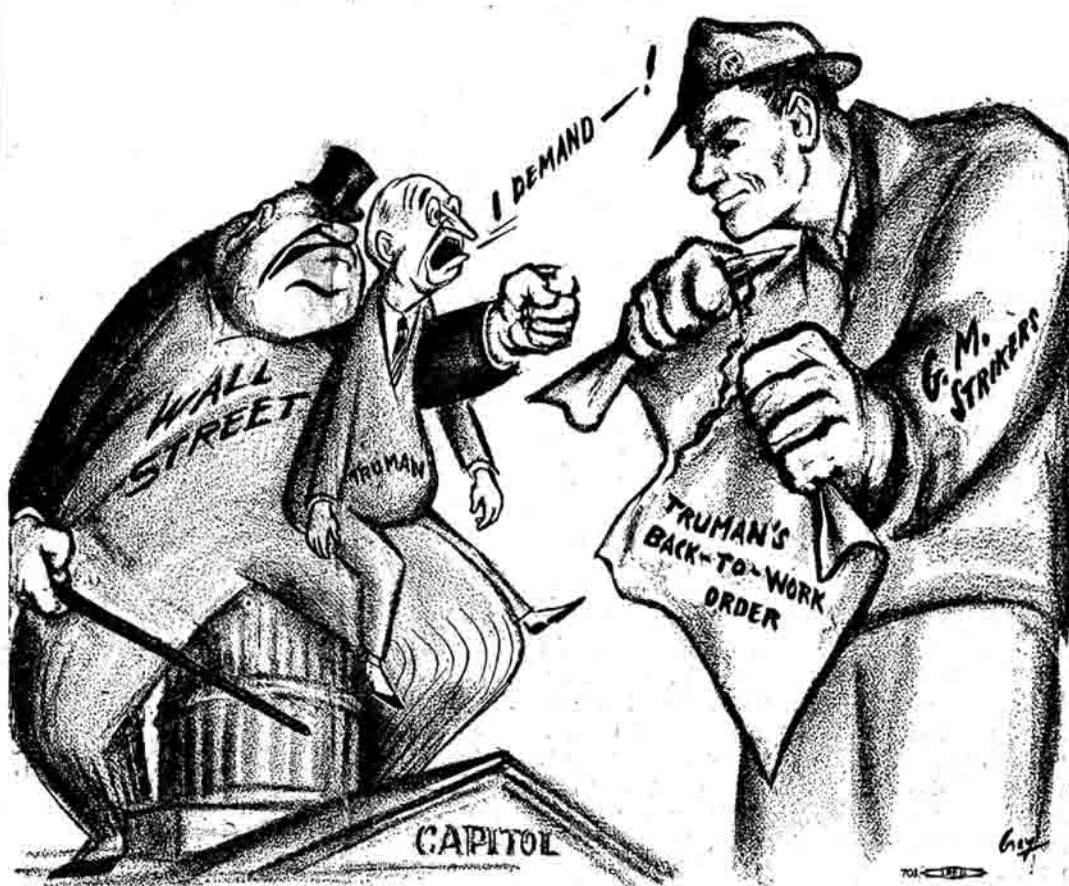
Instead of passing legislation that would compel the corporations to open the books to the trade unions, as demanded by the auto workers, which would prove that the corporations are able to pay the wages demanded, President Truman has proposed and Congress is in great haste acting upon legislation that would impose involuntary servitude on the workers. The provisions of the "Labor Fact-Finding Boards Act" are a direct attack on the democratic rights of the workers in this country, and are equally an attack on the rights of free speech and free press, since the proposed Act declares that "it shall be unlawful for any person to coerce, instigate, induce, conspire with, or encourage any person to interfere with or prevent such work or operations by lock-out, strike, or otherwise."

The Socialist Workers Party denounces this bill because it is a coldly calculated attack on labor and a blow at the democratic rights of the American people.

I have been designated to appear before the Committee on Labor in the House of Representatives to testify in behalf of the Socialist Workers Party. Please inform me when I may be heard by your Committee.

FARRELL DOBBS,
Representing the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Right Kind Of Answer



Truman Drops "Friend Of Labor" Mask; Forces Break With Unions

By Art Preis

President Truman's demonstrative strikebreaking intervention against the General Motors workers and his call for legislation to restrict the right to strike signalizes political developments of far-reaching implications for the labor movement.

Certain facts of vital significance are already made plain by Truman's virtual declaration of war against militant unionism, issued December 3.

1. For the first time in 13 years a President of the United States has dared to strip from his face the "friend of labor" mask and has openly aligned himself with Big Business against the American labor movement.

2. His action, as numerous capitalist press commentators have observed, has given the "green light" to the Congressional agents of Wall Street for an unrestrained legislative assault on labor's rights.

3. Truman's declaration means an intensification of the Big Business offensive against the

ment, decent wages and permanent security which the administration pledged for after the war have been exposed, as lies.

Organized labor, and particularly the industrial workers of the CIO, have been compelled to fight back with ever greater fury simply to retain the same level of take-home pay and restore

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GM Veterans Picket, Demand Compensation

By Evelyn Atwood

(Special to The Militant)

DETROIT, Dec. 7.—While 100 indignant veterans picketed the offices of the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission at Woodward and Manchester this afternoon, John W. Anderson, Chairman of the UAW-CIO City-Wide Veterans' Committee, heading a delegation of seven, presented to Chairman Dr. Robert M. Ashley and other top officers of the MUCC the demand for immediate payment to the veterans of unemployed benefits.

Some 14,000 Michigan war veterans, affected by the General Motors strike, are aroused because they have been given the runaround instead of the \$20-a-week benefits to which they are entitled under the GI Bill of Rights.

MASS MEETING

The demonstration today was called by a mass meeting last night of 1,000 veterans, at UAW-CIO Local 157 Hall, McGraw and 14th Street, at which the veterans voiced their deep resentment and demanded immediate action to end the present intolerable situation.

This mass meeting, under the chairmanship of John W. Anderson, of UAW Fleetwood Local 15, was addressed by R. J. Thomas, International President; Walter Reuther, International Vice-President in charge of General Motors.

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Strikebreaking "Request" To End Walkout Rejected

Delegates Call On CIO To Convene Immediate National Emergency Conference In Capitol

By Kay O'Brien

(Special to THE MILITANT)

DETROIT, Dec. 8.—Representatives of 225,000 striking GM workers, meeting here today at the National Delegates' Conference of the General Motors Department, CIO United Automobile Workers, unanimously and defiantly rejected both President Truman's strikebreaking demand that

the GM strikers return to work and the corporation's insulting counter-offer of a 13 1/2 cent an hour raise instead of the demanded 30 per cent increase.

Flint Strikers Urge Emergency CIO Conference

By Jerry Kirk

(Special to The Militant)

FLINT, Mich., Dec. 6.—The CIO. United Automobile Workers City-Wide Strike Committee of Flint, representing 40,000 striking General Motors workers here, today urged that the CIO convene an immediate national emergency conference in Washington to prepare for and mobilize a nation-wide fight on the economic and political fight against the Big Business-Government assault on the labor movement.

This proposal came in the form of a resolution to the GM delegates' conference in Detroit December 8. The Flint militants recommended that the GM conference request the calling of a CIO national emergency conference for the following purposes:

"1. To mobilize the American people against the anti-labor conspiracy in Congress.

"2. To lay the groundwork for the formation of a labor party.

"3. To mobilize a great mass march on Washington to halt the congressional offensive against labor."

ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE

This action of the four powerful GM locals here, Buick 599, Chevrolet 659, Fisher Body 581 and AC Spark Plug 651, has met with an immediate enthusiastic response from the rank and file. It is taken as an indication of

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However, while favoring the extension of the strike to UAW plants, the conference was persuaded by top UAW officials to limit the scope of the strike insofar as office and supervisory employees were concerned. A motion to permit the top negotiating committee to negotiate an agreement with the corporation on admitting the office force and supervision into the plants was finally passed, but only with the proviso that the company immediately start negotiating within the plants on plant grievances.

In his report to the conference on the progress of the strike and on the negotiations with the corporation, Walter Reuther, UAW vice-president and head of the General Motors Department, called for "more heat on GM." He pointed out that while all the auto plants of General Motors had been closed down

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GM Resolution On CIO Conference

WHEREAS: The City-Wide Strike Committee of Flint, Michigan, representing 40,000 GM workers, adopted on December 6 a recommendation to this GM Conference that we call on the national CIO to convene an immediate conference in Washington, D. C., for the purpose of mobilizing the American people against the anti-labor conspiracy that is now being hatched in Congress by the enemies of labor, and

WHEREAS: President Truman and his administration have lined up with General Motors and the other major corporate interests to break the General Motors strike and thus to defeat the just demands of the GM workers for a 30 per cent wage increase, as well as the just demands of the whole labor movement for a living wage, and

WHEREAS: President Truman's ultimatum to the auto and steel workers and his advocacy of anti-labor legislation, coupled with the furious campaign in Congress to rush through legislation designed to destroy the independence and integrity of the trade unions, has confronted the CIO with a deadly threat to its existence, and immediately menaces the General Motors strike, and

WHEREAS: The outcome of the GM strike will determine the outcome of the fight of all American labor for a decent standard of living, and

WHEREAS: This deadly threat to our strike, as well as to the independence of the labor movement can only be adequately met by a nation-wide mobilization and counter-offensive on the part of organized labor,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: That this GM Conference calls upon the leadership of the CIO to convene immediately in Washington, D. C., an emergency conference, with the broadest representation from every CIO local in the country. This conference shall have the duty of organizing labor's counter-offensive to the corporation-government assault upon organized labor. This conference can succeed in arousing the people to the danger and thus smash the anti-labor campaign now issuing forth from Congress.

The Truman Attack On GM Strike

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strey labor union organizations. It can be but the first step for even more savage legislative repression."

And Murray climaxed his militant speech by promising that "the CIO would mobilize its entire membership and the American people to defeat this specific measure and all similar attempts directed against labor." Brave words! Fighting words! MURRAY HAD BROKEN WITH THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION! Murray had issued to his organization the call to arms! That was the meaning of this important radio speech.

But the mobilization of labor by its leaders and the counter-offensive against Labor's enemies has not materialized. Murray has not implemented his speech. Alas, Murray's words are not matched by his actions.

Three Courses Open To CIO Leaders

There are only three courses that Murray and the other top leaders of the CIO have available to them after their open break with the Truman administration. First, Murray can turn to the Republicans, as John L. Lewis did in 1940. This course is excluded for the CIO because of the avowedly reactionary character and make-up of this outspoken agency of Big Capital.

Or, Murray and the CIO top leaders can take the lead in forming an independent labor party, or even a third party. But Murray and his lieutenants, today, lack the courage to embark on this road.

Therefore, Murray has no alternative but to turn back to the Truman administration and attempt to patch up the "disagreements" and to cook up some kind of rotten "compromise." Murray, to all appearances, hasn't broken with the Truman administration for keeps. Murray, to all appearances, is like the bride who after a tearful scene, packs up her grips and rushes home to mother. But she doesn't mean it. She is sitting expectantly waiting for the phone to ring. That is Murray today. He is anxiously waiting for the White House phone call. He is ready to make up.

That is why Murray is not making good on his promises that he gave to labor in his radio speech. That is why he has proposed no plan of action to mobilize the broad masses of labor and to arouse the American people to the meaning of the crisis. That is why he has proposed no steps to halt the arch-reactionary threat that is coming from the legislative halls of Congress.

The GM strike for a 30 per cent wage increase and with it the whole drive of labor for a decent standard of living is today menaced by Congress. These labor-hating scoundrels in Congress, now unleashed by Truman, propose to put the trade unions in irons. This threat must be met and defeated! There is no time to lose. Murray obviously hasn't the courage to give leadership at this critical moment.

GM Strikers Have An Answer

The Flint workers and the GM strikers have, however, already provided the answer as to what must be done. This mortal threat to labor can be stopped by a DISPLAY OF STRENGTH, by a DEMONSTRATION OF POWER. That is why the demand for the calling of an emergency CIO Conference in Washington, D. C. broadly representative of every CIO local in the country, hits the nail right on the head.

Such a conference will have the duty of taking all necessary steps to mobilize the people for a great counter-offensive. Such a conference, boldly conceived and militantly led, can stop the Congressional labor-haters cold in their tracks, and can lay the groundwork for the formation of labor's own political party. That is the way to meet this danger and overcome it. That is the way for labor to widen the breach that has developed between the CIO leaders and the Truman administration.

We see that the top officers of the CIO, instead of giving American labor the necessary lead to meet the threat from Congress, are instead holding themselves in readiness for a new "deal" with the Truman administration. This interpretation of the events is further buttressed by the sequence of events which has taken place inside the labor movement this past week.

Let us begin right from the beginning. Labor's fight for a 30 per cent wage increase, or the reduction of hours with no reduction in pay, or to put it in still another way, labor's fight to maintain its standard of living, began immediately with the ending of the war. The steel union, the auto union, the electrical union, the oil union, the AFL unions, all began negotiating for wage increases. But this fight did not take on a really serious character until the oil workers cut through the red tape, and went out on strike. The oil union, however, proved too weak to lead this immense battle and found its strike quickly squelched by Truman's government "seizure" of the oil pro-

perties under provisions of the Smith-Connally Act.

The fight for the 30 per cent increase reached the point of a labor crisis only when the GM workers began their remarkable series of negotiations with the General Motors corporation, negotiations that were conducted in the full glare of the Kleig lights and the public gaze, negotiations that were finally climaxed by the strike of 225,000 GM workers. What happened, in effect, was that the leadership of labor's fight for a decent standard of living was taken over by the GM strikers. And Walter Reuther, UAW-Vice-President in charge of the GM department, who directly led this remarkable series of negotiations, found himself catapulted again into the national limelight, and this time as the leader of the momentous wage battle of labor. Reuther's career, in a certain sense, has become bound up with a victory in the GM strike.

"Mysterious" Pittsburgh Conference

A minor aspect of Murray's radio speech, therefore, was the attempt on his part to regain the moral, the national leadership of labor's vital wage fight. Murray's speech was followed by the calling of a "mysterious" conference in Pittsburgh on the initiative of the Stalinist leadership of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and of Murray. This conference was attended by the UE leaders, Murray, Murray's personal lieutenants, as well as the leaders of the UAW, Thomas, Addes and Reuther, and the officials of the General Motors corporation. What was the purpose of this conference? It was to take the initiative out of the hands of Reuther, and through Thomas and Addes to put the initiative into the hands of Murray and the Stalinists. For what purpose? Very likely to try to cook up some "reasonable compromise" with the General Motors Corporation.

Very likely, Murray and the Stalinists tried to shift negotiations from Detroit and to resume them right then and there in Pittsburgh. Listen to this statement of Reuther, part of his report to the union on the Pittsburgh Conference:

"In line with the established policy of the General Motors Department, of not negotiating wage or other issues in the current dispute without the presence of the Top Negotiating Committee, our discussions in Pittsburgh were limited to the resumption of negotiations."

In the past, Reuther never hesitated in negotiating with GM accompanied only by several of his paid organ-

izers. Today, surrounded by hostile associates in the union movement, he insists that he cannot negotiate without the presence of the 9-man Negotiating Committee, elected by the GM union representatives from all over the country.

Thus the negotiations were brought back to Detroit and thus any attempt to make a deal over the heads of the rank and file was frustrated.

Treachorous Role Of Stalinists

It is an open secret that Murray and the Stalinists as well as R. J. Thomas and Addes are hostile to the union demands in the GM negotiations that the corporation "open its books," as well as to Reuther's insistence that there be no increase in prices as a consequence of the wage increase. There exists a strong suspicion among many of the militants that both Murray and the Stalinists as well as a section of the UAW top leadership are looking for an easy "out" in this strike. They are getting scared by the big tough fight that looms ahead.

This suspicion of the militants has grown into fierce resentment against the Stalinists. The reasons for this are as follows: The Stalinists in the UAW are going through a lot of cheap gestures designed to prove to the GM workers that they are really very militant. They are trying to make the auto workers forget their strikebreaking work of the past period, their sell-outs, their advocacy of the no-strike pledge, Bridges' campaign for a postwar no-strike pledge, their support of Roosevelt's labor draft scheme, etc. Yet, the Stalinist-controlled UE, all this time, has its members CONTINUE TO WORK IN GM PLANTS UNDER ITS JURISDICTION. This is a scandal that must be dragged out into the light of day and given the widest publicity. The GM conference has now called upon the national leadership of the UE to declare a strike at the GM plants under its jurisdiction. The Stalinist leadership can no longer evade the issue. Why aren't the GM plants organized by the UE shut down? Let the Stalinists answer!

The GM workers today have the enormous job of forcing this extension of their strike: of being vigilant against all attempts to put over any rotten "compromise" on their wage demands and in arousing the labor movement to the necessity for a national counter-offensive to halt the Congressional conspiracy against labor. The tasks are enormous, but the labor movement of today has enormous power. Once its power is brought into play, it will prove invincible.

GM Ranks Spurn Strikebreaking Order From Truman To End Their Just Battle

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for two and a half weeks, production was continuing in the GM appliance plants employing 30,000 CIO electrical workers.

When John W. Anderson, of Fleetwood Local 15 and secretary of the Detroit city-wide strike committee, presented a resolution asking the UERMW to strike all GM plants under their jurisdiction, cries of "support" went up from all sides of the conference hall.

Anderson's resolution pointed out that the CIO electrical workers were likewise negotiating with GM for a wage increase, and that pressure on the resolution would be greatly strengthened if those plants were shut down. "Thus," the resolution stated, "a quicker victory would be assured for the mutual benefit of all GM workers, both in the UAW and in the UERMW."

The resolution carried unanimously.

Ray Tucker, chairman of the bargaining committee of Flint Fisher Body Local 581, introduced the resolution calling for a National CIO Emergency Conference in Washington, which also passed unanimously. This resolution, similar to one passed by the city-wide strike committee in Flint on December 6, stated that President Truman and his administration have lined up with General Motors and other major corporate interests to break the strike.

Referring to Truman's advocacy of anti-labor legislation and campaign in Congress to rush through such legislation, the resolution proposed an "emergency conference with every CIO local in the country. This conference shall have the duty of organizing labor's counter-

ter-offensive to the corporation-government assault upon organized labor."

The only sharp debate reported among the 200 GM local delegates arose over the question of foremen and office workers. At the opening of the afternoon session, UAW President R. J. Thomas made the proposal to permit these salaried employees of GM to cross the picket lines and return to work. Thomas stated that the refusal to admit the office force and supervision was the union's "weakness" in getting the company to negotiate. He called on Maurice Sugar, UAW attorney, to explain "legal aspects" of the question.

Sugar waved the threat of an injunction before the delegates and advised them that "you've not only got to know how to fight but you've got to be smart." The attorney's concept of a "smart" strike was to concede to the company the right to divide the workers into separate groups and categories and to limit the scope of the strike to production workers only.

Militants from various locals took the floor to protest against any move to weaken their strike and reduce its effectiveness. John DeVito, a recently returned navy veteran, from Cleveland Fisher Body Local 45, warned that office workers and supervisory employees have always been used in the past to break strikes, and it would happen here too, thus leading to violence. He pointed out that the union had had injunctions before and knew how to fight them. DeVito advised the top committee that it had "better get its ear to the ground" before it took any move which would weaken the morale of the strike.

STRONG OPPOSITION

Others who spoke in opposition to admitting office workers and foremen into the plants included Bob Carter, president of Flint AC Spark Plug Local 651, and Ed Gurske, of Amalgamated Local 216, Southgate, Cal., elected from his region to represent the West Coast on the nine-man top negotiating committee. Gurske also spoke on the importance of maintaining the morale of the pickets to win a strike. As soon as the office force and supervision were allowed to go back, rumors would spread as to the kind of work they were doing, leading to violence and permitting police to move in. The reason, Gurske said, that there has been no bloodshed up to now is that salaried workers have not been let through.

Even George Addes, UAW secretary-treasurer, who spoke at great length repeating arguments made by Thomas and Sugar, could not convince the delegates that they should make this concession to the company, although he pleaded that "negotiations depended on it."

Finally, Tex Owens, president of Flint Chevrolet Local 659, asked whether it was understood that any such agreement would be made contingent on the company's immediately starting negotiations within the plants on plant grievances. Corbin, chairman of the top negotiating committee, assured the delegates that this was so, and the motion to permit such an agreement was finally passed by a 60 per cent hand vote.

While the top union officials were persuading the conference to accede to the company's demands on "legal" picketing, Detroit auto workers were giving their answer to the strike-busting tactics of the corporation.

Led by Ford Local 600, a cavalcade of one thousand cars filled with picket reinforcements from other auto plants in the city sped to four GM plants and reinforced the picket lines.

The cavalcade then reassembled, and the thousand cars formed a mobile picket line around the huge General Motors office building, where they tied

up traffic for blocks. From the GM Building, the cavalcade moved on to picket City Hall in the same fashion.

The 200 delegates to the GM Delegates' Conference also were given the report of the National Citizens' Committee which had met earlier in the week to study a transcript of the negotiation proceedings between the company and the union in the weeks prior to the strike.

This broad committee of sociologists, business men, representatives of church groups, consumers' leagues, the NAACP, YWCA, research organizations, and other public bodies, stated that it would be a contribution to public understanding of the dispute if the transcript were published.

It backed the union's stand that the corporation's ability to pay a wage increase be made a basis for negotiations, and stated that "no convincing evidence has been submitted by the Corporation to show that the Union's wage proposal cannot be met."

Walkout Staged At Westinghouse

By H. Newel

Special To The Militant
PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 27.—Some 7,500 workers, the entire personnel of the huge Westinghouse Electric Co. in suburban Philadelphia, staged a two-hour work stoppage today.

The stoppage was called to prepare for an NLRB strike vote on December 13, as a result of the deadlock between Westinghouse and Local 107, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO. Negotiating for a new contract, the union has demanded a basic increase of \$2 a day. The company has issued a provocative counter-proposal calling for revision of seniority provisions, two-cent an hour reductions in basic wage rates for

incentive workers, and other revisions which would make the union ineffectual.

Westinghouse, one of the war profits-swollen corporations, is pursuing the consistent Big Business policy of union-busting. Local 107, one of the leading CIO unions here, is well aware of the looming struggle.

James Price, Business Manager of the local, pointed out at the union meeting that company proposals were unacceptable, and the union must prepare to fight for its demands. The machinery for strike committees, soup kitchens, picket squads, etc. has already been set up. Motions for a special strike fund and to authorize union officers to act on the forthcoming strike vote, passed unanimously.

Canada Ford Strikers Vote Fight To Finish; Spurn Trap Of Phony Government Arbitration

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membership for approval on November 29, at a big mass meeting in the Windsor arena. By this time the men had been on strike 12 weeks!

MEMBERSHIP RESISTS

George Addes, secretary-treasurer of UAW-CIO, George Burt, UAW regional director, and Roy England, President of Local 200, all urged acceptance of the arbitration proposal. They argued that it was "the best we can get" and that "we'll get something worse a month from now."

Nevertheless, in the face of this heavy pressure, the membership in a secret ballot VOTED DOWN the proposal by 52 per cent. Of the active members on the picket line, the vote was probably about 99 per cent for rejection.

The rank and file revolt was led mainly by a militant group of stewards who have been the real leaders of this strike, and who were joined in their fight by Assistant Regional Director Tom McLean. McLean received an ovation when he told the meeting: "You'll be a bunch of damn fools if you accept this proposal. Stick it out and you'll get what you want." When it was reported that the steward's body of Local 200 had previously gone on record opposing the arbitration scheme, "you'd have thought the roof was going to blow off," as one of the men expressed it.

The Windsor Ford workers' arbitration was rejected, and they

went out on strike early in September, closing down the power house as well as the rest of the plant.

Chief among the strike demands are a closed-shop contract, the check-off system, a guaranteed annual wage, and two weeks' vacation pay. So solid has been the strike, so strong the support given by the rest of the labor movement, so great the backing received from small business men and other middle-class elements in Windsor, that city police were powerless to break up the picket lines.

MEET POLICE THREAT

Early in November a large contingent of Royal Canadian Mounted Police and Ontario Provincial Police were rushed to Windsor for the purpose of herding the men back to work. On November 5, before the "outside" police could begin their strikebreaking activities, the workers of Windsor, led by Local 200, met this threat of violence against the strike, by organizing a huge blockade of thousands of trucks, cars and busses around the plant.

DETERMINE TO FIGHT

After more than a year of fruitless negotiations with Ford, the union came to the conclusion that only an all-out fight on the picket lines would win their demands. A last-minute offer of further government ar-

bitration was rejected, and they

went out on strike early in September, closing down the power house as well as the rest of the plant.

Chief among the strike demands are a closed-shop contract, the check-off system, a guaranteed annual wage, and two weeks' vacation pay. So solid has been the strike, so strong the support given by the rest of the labor movement, so great the backing received from small business men and other middle-class elements in Windsor, that city police were powerless to break up the picket lines.

Early in November a large contingent of Royal Canadian Mounted Police and Ontario Provincial Police were rushed to Windsor for the purpose of herding the men back to work. On November 5, before the "outside" police could begin their strikebreaking activities, the workers of Windsor, led by Local 200, met this threat of violence against the strike, by organizing a huge blockade of thousands of trucks, cars and busses around the plant.

The mass picket lines of Ford strikers, in addition, were reinforced by 8,000 members of Amalgamated Local 195, UAW-CIO, consisting of Chrysler, GM and other workers, who walked out in a SYMPATHY STRIKE. Moreover, the whole labor movement of Canada, AFL as well as CIO, rallied in superb fashion to the support of the Ford strike. Funds began pour-

ing in to the strike treasury of the Ford local. In the most critical days, there was even the threat of a general strike. The Canadian labor movement said, in effect, to the government and the labor-hating corporations: "Hands off the Ford Strike!"

This magnificent demonstration of union strength and solidarity forestalled attempts to end the strike through violence. The "outside" police remained in their barracks for a few days, then silently left the city, without the fanfare which had heralded their arrival. Local 195 remained out in sympathy for four weeks, and only today returned to work feeling their strike had served its purpose and that they could now best aid the Ford strikers by returning to their jobs and making larger financial contributions to the cause of the Ford strikers.

SOLID AS EVER

The men on the picket lines report that their strike is as strong and solid as ever, with financial aid continuing to pour in from all over Canada. The local has maintained from the outset of the strike a 24-hour-a-day strike kitchen. Pickets putting in a full week of picket duty receive food vouchers of \$5 per week for man and wife, and \$2 for each child in the family. During the strike, all paid officers of Local 200 have been turning their pay-checks over to the union treasury and have taken only the same strike benefits as the rest of the mem-

bership. It was reported that regional officers are likewise contributing a large portion of their pay to the strike fund.

All this has contributed greatly to the morale of the strike, and the rank and file on the picket lines have responded with a high degree of militancy. They are fully aware of the grave issues at stake. They have shown that they cannot be intimidated by the threat of violence from "outside" police, nor tricked by fraudulent schemes of government arbitration.

As one picket expressed it: "We haven't picketed for 12 weeks only to gamble our strike on an arbitrator's decision. We'll make our own union security."

At strike headquarters across the street from the main gate, pickets expressed as much concern for the GM strike as for their own. Several were wearing the familiar blue and white buttons bearing the slogan "30 Per Cent or Fight" which they had obtained while picketing at Chevrolet Gear and Axle a few days before.

In a sense, Ford strikers now regard themselves as the spearhead in the fight of the Canadian-American labor movement, which has now spread out to encompass 225,000 GM workers.

"With the GM strike just getting under way," said one of the stewards, "we couldn't accept government arbitration and quit the fight now. We'd be letting down the whole union." This is the spirit of labor solidarity and victory.



"We Stand United Against Slavery" (S. L. Avery), reads one of the signs carried by pickets before a Chicago plant of Montgomery Ward & Co. The one week demonstration strike conducted by the CIO Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees ended on December 1 and resulted in forcing labor-hating Sewell L. Avery to raise minimum hourly rates from 45 to 60 cents an hour. ACME PHOTO

THE MILITANT

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

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Wheeler Attacks The Soviet Union

By Joseph Hansen

The November 27 speech of Senator Burton K. Wheeler expresses the fear of an important section of the American capitalist class before the stormy world-wide revolutionary wave they are certain will follow in the wake of the Second World War.

"Something terrible is happening to America and to the world," confessed this spokesman of the former "isolationists." "The best-laid plans of vanquished and victor have gone awry . . . The whole world is getting out of hand . . . We confront the greatest crisis in human history."

CRISIS WORLD-WIDE

This crisis is not only world wide, but it is developing with extreme rapidity, Wheeler observed. "No one dreamed the inevitable consequences of this war would so swiftly mature . . . the terrifying fact is that the most enthusiastic, optimistic opponents of American neutrality are frightened out of their wits by what they see. It now turns out that if the consequences of the last war bred disaster, this war has bred monsters of catastrophic proportions which have broken their leash and are now at large."

Wheeler represents that wing of the capitalist class who feared that war with Germany would crush Nazism as a bulwark against the Soviet Union and the European socialist revolution. These capitalists wanted to concentrate on the Far East and Australia, seizing the fabulously rich heritage of the decayed European colonial powers and subjecting China to Wall Street's domination. They wanted to block the expansion of Japanese imperialism in this arena. At present they are the most rabid and bloodthirsty of imperialists, particularly in connection with the Soviet Union.

Pursuing this political line in his speech, Wheeler ridiculed the propaganda of the majority section of the American capitalists that the United Nations Organization is an instrument of peace. "The United Nations has already, or very nearly already blown, to say the least," he remarked. "As I see this legislation, it leads us inevitably down the road to the annihilation of an atomic war."

This imperialist politician who voted both for the Second World War and for the United Nations Organization underlines the fact that "there is no peace." He quotes extensively from the capitalist press to show that he is not alone in this view. He notes that even such a loud-mouthed "interventionist" and supporter of the war as columnist Dorothy Thompson now declares, "There is no peace."

He thus confirms, months later, the famous V-J Day headline of "The Militant," "There is no peace!"

In his four-hour speech Wheeler reviewed the world situation. He quoted from columnist David Lawrence to show what is happening in Germany: "Very soon if American news photographers do an honest job, as there is every reason to believe they will, the American people will soon see movies of starving German men, women, and children which will rival in their horror the pictures of Buchenwald concentration camps. But these will be pictures of torture inflicted by reason of an allied policy of in-

Cuban Trotskyists Demand Expropriation Of Nation's Railroads

Thirty-two people were killed and hundreds wounded in the most tragic railroad catastrophe that Cuba has suffered, says the August issue of *Revolution Proletaria* (Proletarian Revolution), organ of the Cuban Trotskyists. The rapacity of imperialist companies was the underlying cause of the tragedy. These companies have been able to increase their incomes fabulously. They have overburdened the railroads but have not employed any more workmen than during normal times.

"This collective murder," states *Revolution Proletaria*, "has been the unique and exclusive product of the criminal negligence of the railway company. It was due to the condition of the roadbeds and rolling stock, which have been extremely over-worked without allowing time for maintenance and repairs."

The Cuban Trotskyists demand key industries beginning with the railroads, be nationalized without compensation and placed under the control of the workers.

They demand workers' control because without it, they say, nationalization would merely serve the corrupt government bureaucracy. But workers' control will assure technical efficiency, safety and economy of operation.



WHEELER

difference, or misguided revenge, or plain blundering."

In China, where U. S. imperialism is intervening in the civil war in behalf of dictator Chiang Kai-shek under the excuse of disarming the Japanese, Wheeler revealed that "there are more than 1,000,000 Japanese still under arms."

"In French Indo-China," continued Wheeler, "where Annamite natives are in open revolt against the return of French colonial rule by the imposition of force, the instruments . . . have come from American lend-lease stock piles."

"In Indonesia . . . our kindly and peace-loving British allies are massacring civilians with American-owned armaments and guns." With similar caustic remarks, Wheeler commented on other areas where violence has flared since the "conclusion" of the Second World War.

SOVIET UNION MAIN TARGET

But the principal target of this imperialist spokesman was the Soviet Union. He very adroitly left out the role of Wall Street in the antagonism between world imperialism and the degenerated workers' state, singling out Britain to receive the blame attaching to Anglo-American blows against the USSR!

"Now we are faced with a rivalry between British and Russian imperialism that has its roots deep in the distant past. This bitter rivalry between Great Britain and Russia has torn the world in two. This rivalry has destroyed all semblance of the old balances of power and leaves the small nations of the world cringing as puppets, satellites, and slaves under the towering shadow of the two mightiest political, economic, ideological, and military powers the world has ever seen."

Wheeler, however, spends little time criticizing Great Britain. He launches into a savage attack on the Soviet Union, seizing as his peg the many terrible crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy. For instance, he says nothing of the many perfidious actions of British imperialism, but he places in the Congressional Record, a long list of the treaties which Stalin has broken and violated.

What really disturbs this political representative of American imperialism is clear in the following passage: "By some awful mistake, Russia is being left in possession of the greater proportion of the agricultural, economic, and industrial resources of both continents (Asia and Europe)."

Wheeler then gets down to the gist of his speech: "We are told that to stand for a principle now means war . . . I cannot believe it means war . . . I will not believe that Russia wants war or dares to go to war against the United States."

PREPARING GROUND

With these words Wheeler prepares the ground for the war which he envisages against the Soviet Union: "We must quit appealing Russia and let her know once and for all we did not fight this war to let her enslave the people of Europe. She agreed to our high principles in her hour of distress. She must abide by them now."

Wheeler's sinister declarations about war with the Soviet Union were received with sympathy by his fellow Senators although they did not vote for the amendment he proposed to United Nations Organization procedure.

Wheeler undoubtedly expressed the real sentiments of the overwhelming majority of these representatives of the capitalist class. It is only considerations of diplomacy which prevented them from admitting this agreement.

U. S. Imperialism Tries To Crush Movement For Philippine Freedom

By Charles Carsten

"The Philippines today are a powder keg," reports an October 29 dispatch to the N. Y. Times. "The Hukbalahaps (People's Anti-Japanese Army) and other 'unrecognized guerrillas' roam the land with rifles on their shoulders and ideas for government in their heads and with hatred of the landed aristocracy in their hearts."

A secret U. S. Army intelligence report, made public during the trial of General Yamashita, declares that the Hukbalahaps "policy is definitely Communist and . . . its plans include the establishment of a Communist government in the Philippines after the war, on the early Russian model."

Wall Street fears the movement for freedom in the Philippines and hopes to crush it. The U. S. Army asserts that the Hukbalahap is "a semi-political and semi-bandit organization." This is the language the imperialists always use to slander any movement that hopes to better conditions for the masses.

SAME SLANDER

It is the same slander used by the Dutch and British against the Indonesians and Indo-Chinese who are fighting for freedom from the yoke of imperialism. When the Allied powers tried to crush the Soviet Union after the October Revolution they slandered the Bolsheviks as "bandits." Churchill labelled the Greek people as "brigands" last year when they defended themselves from Allied bayonets.

Who are the Hukbalahaps? They constitute a vast organization. Estimates of Hukbalahap's membership range as high as 100,000. Most of them are armed. High army officers commanded their fight against the Japanese. Nonetheless, after General Douglas MacArthur "liberated" the Philippines, he immediately launched war on the Hukbalahaps.

LEADERS ARRESTED

The U. S. Army arrested two leaders of the Huks, Casto Alvarado and Louis Taruc, MacArthur's subordinates disarmed them home after Manila's capture. While the disarmed men were passing through the town of Malolos, which was in American hands, they were attacked by followers of a former Japanese collaborator named Macalang who is now collaborating with the Americans. More than 100 Huks were killed.

Filipinos "blame the Americans for the massacre," Louis Taruc told correspondents, because "they know American military police were there."

United States troops arrested Macalang but held him only three days. Later he was made mayor of Malolos.

American officials hate and fear the Hukbalahaps because their program calls for the breaking up of the widespread feudal farming system inherited from the Spanish dons.

Under this system the tenants and landlords share the proceeds of the crop on a fifty-fifty basis. But the tenant must pay half the expenses, which include hiring the help necessary for planting and harvesting. The tenant must furnish the tools and work-

animals. He finishes the year, according to N. Y. Times correspondent Robert Trumbull, "with 150 to 200 pesos in the clear for feeding his family and his carabao (water buffalo) and for maintaining his house and tools."

Through loans to be repaid at harvest time in rice when the price is low, landlords force tenants to repay as much as five times the amount borrowed. The landlords hold this rice until the price soars.

During the war many landlords moved to Manila, virtually abandoning their farms. The tenants continued to work the land. Now the landlords are demanding the 50 per cent they didn't receive during the war. They want to eject tenants who don't pay.

But the tenants refuse to give the land back to the landlords. And "they are in the saddle," says Trumbull, "because they have physical possession of the farms. They are armed and they simply refuse to be ejected."

Adding to the hardship and discontent in the country is the rising cost of living. Black markets are flourishing. Items essential to everyday living are more costly than they were even six months ago. Meat has risen from the prewar price of 70 centavos a kilo to five pesos, an increase of more than 700 per cent.

The U. S. Army is trying to crush the Hukbalahap organization because, officers say, "it owes no allegiance to the United States, the Philippine Commonwealth or Japan, and has constituted a problem not only to the Japanese but to loyal guerrilla organizations."

By "loyal guerrillas" the Army means those collaborating with United States imperialism against the anti-American Filipinos.

This organization which Army officers slanderously label as "semi-bandit" is struggling for some of the things Roosevelt proclaimed as Washington's aims in the Second World War. "This group," says the intelligence report, "declared for freedom of speech, press and assembly."

Although the Hukbalahap is the largest and most powerful organization of Filipinos who are fighting against imperialist rule, other similar groups likewise retain their arms. PW correspondent, David Boguslav, states that all guerrillas including the Huks may number as many as 600,000 and cannot be less than 200,000.

"They would form a powerful core in any possible revolutionary movement," he declared. In addition to these armed forces, thousands of soldiers in the Philippine army are struggling to maintain a bare existence. Their pay of 18 pesos monthly "is just about enough for a meager cigarette ration," said Boguslav. These terribly oppressed men will be a powerful ally of the revolutionary movement.

British R.C.P. Defends Colonial Freedom Fighters

The Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International, in a letter to Clement Attlee, Prime Minister of the British Government, protested against imperialist attacks on the Indo-Chinese and Javanese people.

The text of the letter carried in the November, 1945 issue of the *Socialist Appeal*, organ of the British Trotskyists, follows:

The news that British troops are being used in Java and Indo-China against the nationalist movements is a matter of grave concern for the working class and the socialist movement in this country. The reports in the *Daily Herald* go to show that the British military authorities are openly collaborating with the Japanese authorities in putting down the revolution of the popular masses.

DISCREDITS GOVERNMENT

The true interests of the British working class demand that we support the Indonesian peoples in their struggle against Dutch and French imperialism. The policy of your Government, in intervening on the side of the oppressors is entirely contrary to the interests of the working class. It serves to discredit the Labor Government in the eyes of the oppressed peoples of the world. Such a policy can only succeed in creating a gulf of mistrust and a wall of hostility between the mass of the oppressed colonial people and the working class movement of this country.

We believe that the overwhelming majority of the workers and middle class people who voted Labor into power, oppose the reactionary imperialist policy now being pursued by your Government and we are voicing the desire of all class conscious workers in demanding that immediate steps be taken by your Government to stop this imperialist intervention, to withdraw all British troops from Indonesia and thus allow the native peoples to freely choose their own form of government.

Yours truly,
Jock Haston
For the Political Bureau, R.C.P.

Trotskyists Fight Spanish Fascism

The sixth issue of *Lucha de Clases* (Class Struggle), organ of the Internationalist Communists, Spanish section of the Fourth International, arrived recently. This Trotskyist paper is published in France. The following are extracts from an interesting article on the condition of the workers in fascist Spain.

"The hate all the working people have for Franco and his regime," states *Lucha de Clases*, "is the political expression of a whole series of factors. First among these are the abominable living conditions in which the laboring masses find themselves in our country. Unemployment is constantly increasing. Wages have hardly risen at all in nine years, but the cost of living is three times what it was in 1936."

"The small farmers have been ruined to the profit of the landlords and the banks. Workers are obliged to labor an exhausting ten-hour day in order to obtain a miserable living. Hunger and misery exist everywhere in Spain."

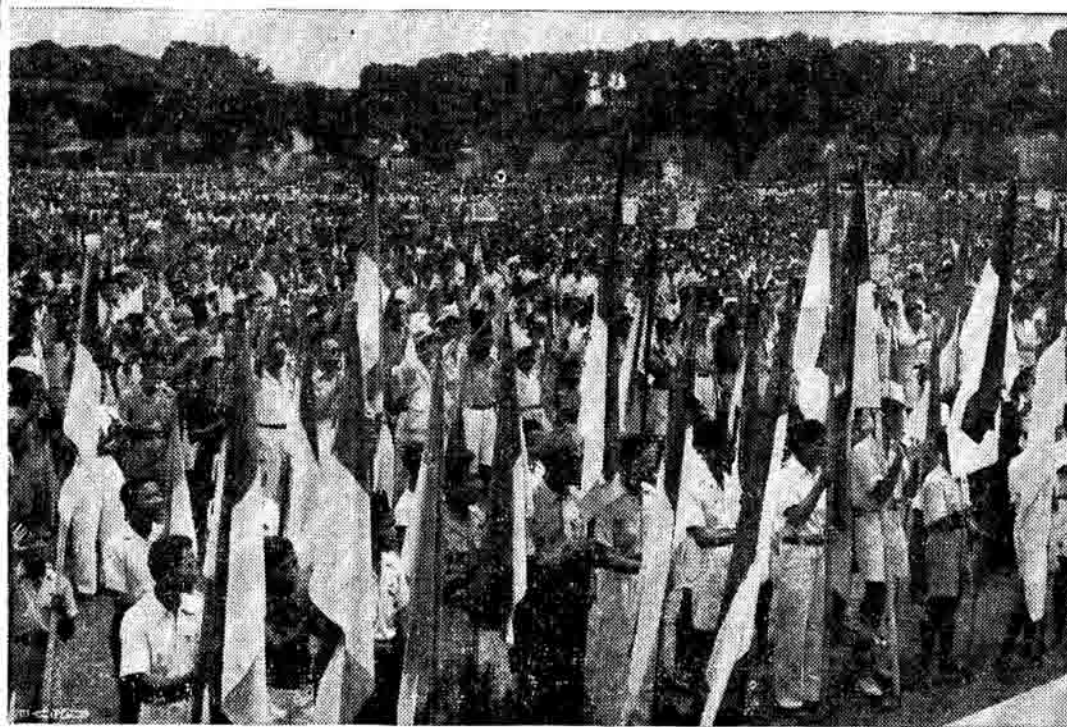
CAPITALISM RESPONSIBLE

"Every conscious worker knows that this list of 'kindnesses' was not invented by Franco and the Falange, nor by the Army of playboys and vagabonds, nor by the Civil Guard, but that they are inherent in the capitalist system. They know that Franco and his regime maintain and strengthen the capitalist system through a terror unsurpassed in the history of Spain."

"The workers will begin their struggle against Franco; but without stopping in the middle of the road, they will continue it with all their force until they destroy the economic system that gave birth to him—capitalism."

"Certainly, the fall of Franco, in and of itself, will not resolve the economic evils that weigh on the Spanish people, evils made worse by the Falange bureaucracy. In the face of the confusion, ruin and wasteful mis-

Fighters For Freedom Of Indonesia



A vast crowd, massed behind the colors of the Republic of Indonesia, attends a youth meeting in Java. Most of these young people are armed with nothing but sharpened bamboo poles. Only a few carry rifles with which to defend themselves against the assault of American-made bombers, American-made tanks, and American-made artillery.

Far East Colonial Prize Sought By Wall Street

Despite mounting resentment of troops overseas and the people at home, U. S. imperialism is moving deeper into the Far East. Wall Street's objectives are clear. The war profiteers want a firm grip on the fabulously rich colonial areas. They want to strangle

the aspirations of the colonial masses for freedom from imperialist rule.

Wall Street's method of obtaining these objectives is brute military force, the support of native puppet governments, and aid to French and British colonial despots.

"The American part in China's undeclared civil war appears almost certain to increase rather than taper off in the future," declared Gordon Walker, staff correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*. Walker's December 5 report is authoritative, for it not only passed the military censorship but it originated at Chinese Nationalist Army Headquarters.

Walker reveals precisely how the U. S. Army supports Dictator Chiang Kai-shek against the Stalinist-headed armies of Yen-

ing absorbed into the Nationalist forces." George Weller of the N. Y. Post reported November 28. There are about 600,000 such troops. "When China gets around to court-martialing its renegade generals and pro-Jap army officers," remarks Weller, "they will all be wearing Allied campaign ribbons as they step into the prisoners' dock."

U. S. ROLE IN INDO-CHINA

Wall Street's role in Indo-China is as reactionary as it is in China. A Batavia dispatch to the N. Y. PM declared "Travelers arriving by air from Singapore today reported that eight Victory ships docked at Saigon, Indo-China, Friday and each

unloaded 2,000 French troops equipped with American arms."

"The vessels are reported to have left the U. S. A. originally to take American troops home from Europe. Before reaching the embarkation ports, the ships were turned over to the British under a charter and then ordered to Marseille where they picked up 16,000 French troops for Indo-China."

According to the report, "this was the first contingent of a movement which will ultimately take 60,000 French troops to Indo-China."

The ability of French imperialism to stamp out the independence movement of the Indo-Chinese people is thus again shown to hinge in large degree on aid from Wall Street.

Likewise in Indonesia, U. S. imperialism is acting as the arsenal for the British and Dutch despots in putting down the uprising of the Javanese people. United Press on December 4 reported a "reliable source" in Washington (obviously someone high in the Truman Administration) that the "U. S. A. is equally responsible with the British for overall strategy in Indonesia."

What this strategy looks like in practice can be judged from the following atrocity: On December 6, a British plane dropped 1,000 leaflets over the city of Bandung, which has a population of about 167,000. These leaflets warned the civilians to evacuate the city immediately. Precisely six minutes later the British began bombing the city, selecting as their target the headquarters of the Indonesian Independence movement.

U. S. imperialism has apparently decided to move in still deeper in Indonesia. The Navy is already establishing headquarters in Java, according to the December 7 N. Y. Times. In addition an American general is "expected to arrive soon in Southeast Asia."

Walker revealed however: "Looking at the problem realistically, some 50,000 marines together with the United States Seventh Fleet, are at present doing very little to demobilize and repatriate the Japanese here."

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Paris Trotskyists Back Indo-Chinese

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

PARIS, France, Nov. 27.—More than 1,000 workers rallied at a mass meeting here last Saturday to protest the brutal imperialist slaughter of the Indo-Chinese people. The gathering was called by the Parti Communiste Inter-

nationaliste, French section of the Fourth International.

Comrade Beaufre keynoted the rally with a dynamic speech that was enthusiastically received. "The Indo-Chinese nationalists," he declared, "sent us a letter thanking us for our unconditional support. They even enclosed a financial contribution to help us in our work. We want them to know, however, it is we who owe them thanks for their heroic fight against combined French and British imperialism."

The meeting was opened by Comrade Schwartz, Trotskyist candidate in Isere in the recent general elections. He pointed out that only the Trotskyists defend the interests of the working class without reformist or class-collaborationist illusions.

Comrade Demaziere, General Secretary of the PCI, sharply criticized the heads of the Stalinist and Socialist parties. He charged them with "capitulating" to the capitalists. "We ask the members of these parties, as well as trade unionists, to fight for the program presented by the CGT (General Federation

of Trade Unions) for the immediate activation of the Constituent Assembly."

Comrade Beaufre emphasized the fact that in France only the Trotskyists consistently oppose the capitalists and defend the workers and colonial peoples. "In the United States likewise," he pointed out, "only the Trotskyists follow this same militant policy. The Socialist Workers Party, for instance, sent a message of protest to de Gaulle, demanding immediate withdrawal of all imperialist troops from Indo-China."

Referring to the Australian longshoremen who "refused to load armaments on ships bound for Indonesia," Comrade Beaufre asked, "And we French workers, who are so proud of our revolutionary tradition, shouldn't we do the same?"

In spite of the handicap of semi-legal conditions forced on the Trotskyists by the de Gaulle regime, the attendance at the meeting exceeded all expectations, thus testifying to the growing popularity of Trotskyism in France.



Milwaukee
Protest The Massacre of The Colonial Peoples!
Hear
Charles Jackson
Author of "The Negro Struggle"
Monday Dec. 17, 8 p.m.
Socialist Workers Party
424 E. Wells St., Room 215

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Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

—Leon Trotsky

Build Labor Party!

The break between Truman and the trade union leaders poses sharply the question: "What next for labor in the political field?"

The CIO United Automobile Workers statement against Truman's strikebreaking scheme speaks of rallying "our full political power to block such legislation."

To what "political power" are the UAW leaders referring? Is it the CIO Political Action Committee which was so successful in mobilizing the votes of the American workers to elect the very politicians who are now stabbing labor in the back?

Is it the PAC which expended labor's resources and energies in support of this very administration now promoting anti-labor legislation?

It's as clear as day that Truman is the legitimate offspring of labor's political surrender to the Democratic Party. This surrender has never been profitable to labor. It served to disarm labor in advance and leave it politically impotent.

Where are all those "friends of labor," from the President on down, for whom the CIO campaigned so vigorously? Everyone, including Truman, stands openly on the side of Big Business howling against labor.

If all the energy and money and resources that went into the election of these capitalist politicians had been used to really build labor's independent political power, to really build a labor party, we could then truly speak today of rallying "our full political power."

Many precious years have been wasted with this policy of company-unionism in politics. The American workers have paid a heavy price for their political submission to Big Business and its parties.

There has been and can be only one way in which "our full political power" can be mobilized and directed effectively in labor's interests: The immediate independent organization of the workers on the political field as they are so effectively organized now on the economic field!

In every local union and in every central labor body, in every gathering of workers' organizations, the militant trade unionists must raise a mighty clamor: "Build The Labor Party NOW!"

What Price Glory?

We were told we went to war for glory—the glory of the flag, the nation, the American people. We were spreading the "American Ideal"—democracy, liberty, equality, four freedoms—throughout the world.

While millions of American workers in uniform wallowed in the stink, mud, noise, blast, blood and death of battle, the voice of the capitalist politician and propagandist spread unctuously over the land. Over the blind, the maimed and the forever silent, the priests of Wall Street intoned: "Everlasting Glory!"

And at home, the workers on the production lines drained away their energies, their very lives, in grinding toil, driven long hours by remorseless speed-up to feed a never-ending stream of supplies and instruments of death to the workers in uniform. "Heroes of Production," they were called, "sharing the glory" with the boys "over there."

The workers had to pay a big price for this "glory" during the war. They were stripped of some of their most elementary democratic rights, the right to change their jobs, the right to take any job they pleased, the right to strike. Staggering taxes were levied on their wages to pay for this trillion-dollar war. Their food and clothing was rationed, diverted to the black market, dribbled out from under the counters at fantastic prices. Their wages were frozen by government decree.

And now—now—comes the pay-off, the dividends on this "glory" the American people have won through the agony of the millions who were dragged into uniform to fight and die, and the toil, sweat, tears and sacrifice of those who remained at home.

Over the whole world, like a blight, flies triumphant the flag of Wall Street. The masters of the American people have become the masters of the world. Millions of American troops, in Europe, Asia, Africa, the Islands of the Pacific and the Islands of the North seas

and oceans, tread the soils of conquered lands and rule for the glory of American imperialism by the might of arms.

Hand-picked puppet rulers, the scum of reaction, their regimes held aloft on the tips of American bayonets, lord it over the peoples. Like vultures and scavengers picking among the ruins and the dead, the agents and emissaries of American Big Business have alighted everywhere on the despoiled earth. Amidst the starvation and misery, they prepare to establish their way-stations, to which the tribute of the continents will come, and from which the spoils of the globe will be dispatched to the voracious, insatiable Wall Street monster at home.

And those who have returned from the struggle for "glory"? The unfit, the hurt, the sick are jammed away in cramped, crowded hospitals, dirty and smelly, without decent medical care. The fit—the lucky ones—are tramping the streets looking for jobs, being insulted with offers of wages and conditions no self-respecting worker would take unless he were starving—or they are reentering the plants in the very midst of a hurricane of wage-slashing, down-grading, and intolerable abuses.

Their "glory"? Their glory, like that of the workers who sacrificed to the breaking point during the war, is to walk on the picket lines today demanding a living wage, decent working conditions, union security from the American Big Business plutocracy—that plutocracy which has emerged from the war the wealthiest and mightiest power ever known, which is moving to realize world aims that Hitler merely dreamed about and which is now ruthlessly attempting to consolidate its reign—the vaunted era of Pax Americana.

And for this glory of Wall Street, its predatory global ambitions, its towering profits and privilege, the workers in uniform and on the production lines must now pay—and pay—and pay. A savage administration and Congress turn on them like ravening wolves to break their strikes for just demands, to threaten and intimidate with anti-labor bills, to undermine their unions, to smash their democratic rights.

Abroad, the "glory" of America is the fear and loathing of the conquered millions and enslaved colonies. At home, it is the beating down of living standards, unemployment, repression of liberties.

And surveying the terrible fruits of the imperialist war, the colorful rind stripped off the rotten core, millions upon millions are beginning to cry: "WHAT PRICE THIS GLORY OF AMERICAN MIGHT AND WORLD DOMINATION NOW?"

Withdraw The Troops

The Atlantic Charter declared that Washington's aims in the Second World War were to bring freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of religion and freedom of speech to the oppressed peoples of the world.

Among the "enemies" blocking the accomplishment of these aims, according to Wall Street's spokesmen, was Japan. The flower of American youth were thrown on the battlefields to defeat this opponent.

Yet today United States Marines, reports the capitalist press, are standing guard on railroads in northern China shoulder to shoulder with "Japanese soldiers of the same kind they were fighting against on Okinawa only five months ago." They are standing guard against the Chinese people who want to get rid of the hated dictator Chiang Kai-shek.

Wall Street is deploying the Marines against a new "enemy." This "enemy" is the very people most desirous of securing the Four Freedoms!

Not only in China, but throughout the Far East, American imperialism is bolstering brutal despotic regimes. American imperialism is supplying the decrepit old colonial powers with unlimited arms to enable them to retain their enslavement of hundreds of millions of people.

American-made arms are mowing down the heroic colonial fighters whose only "crime" is determination to win freedom and independence for their native land.

A few short weeks following V-J Day were sufficient to expose Wall Street's real predatory war aims.

What the profit-bloated American capitalists want out of the Second World War is spheres of influence, markets, super-profits—in brief, a vast colonial empire and domination of the entire globe.

That is why Wall Street is strengthening all the dictatorial rulers under its control in the Far East.

That is why Wall Street is utilizing all means, including the imperialist troops of the late Japanese "enemy" to crush the colonial masses.

Far from bringing democracy and freedom to the Far East, the Wall Street rulers are setting up a despotism which does not differ in essence from anything contemplated by German or Japanese imperialism.

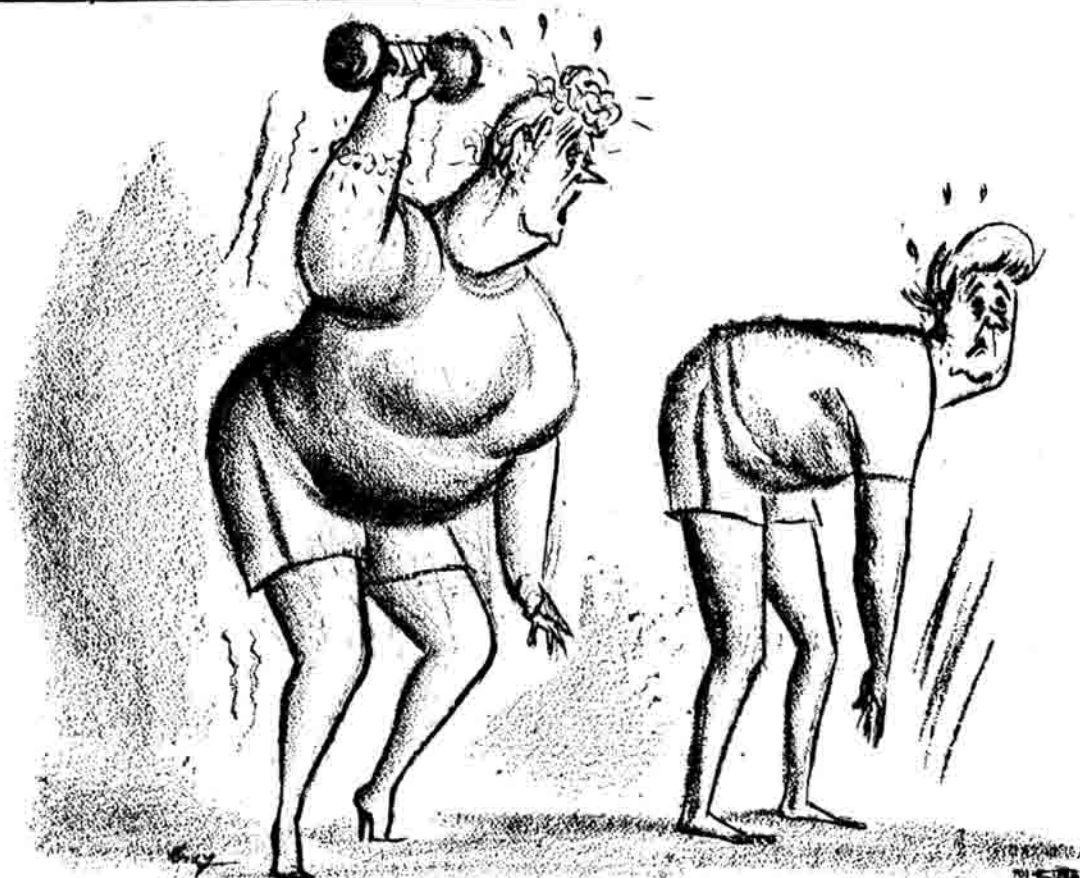
The reality of the Atlantic Charter is visible in the blood-soaked soil of the colonial lands.

The colonial masses face the same enemy as the American working people—monopoly capitalism. American labor thus has everything to gain from uniting forces with the colonial peoples against this vicious foe.

Let labor express solidarity with its heroic colonial allies.

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!



My husband says we must be prepared for a knocked-out dragged-down fight against the unions—and here I am all out of condition!

Workers' BOOKSHELF

VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT, by Karl Marx; 128 pp., 25 cents. Available through Pioneer Publishers.

Whenever workers demand a wage increase the boss press, led by Wall Street's N. Y. Times, sets up a howl. They oppose wage increases not—heaven forbid!—because they are for the employers and against the workers. Higher wages, they say, bring higher prices which will cancel out the wage raises. So, "give up the fight for higher wages," is the friendly advice so generously given to the workers by Wall Street's newspapers.

This line of argument is not new. It was presented as long ago as 1865 by a member of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association (First International). No less than a member of the leading body of the international working class was misled by his ignorance of economics, into advocating an end to strikes and even to trade unions!

ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES

Karl Marx answered these arguments and explained the fundamental principles of economics in a famous address to the Council of the First International. This address is printed in a pamphlet, *Value, Price and Profit*. Marx showed that the capitalist cannot raise prices any time he chooses, but must conform to the condition of the market. If he charges too high a price one of two things will happen. Either the consumer will not buy, or if the demand is so great that the capitalist can charge a high price and get a high profit, then other capitalists will enter the field, increase the supply and cut the price.

When workers get a wage increase they naturally will buy more and better food and cloth-

ing, of which the majority never have enough. So the prices of these articles will rise. But that is not the end of it.

Higher prices attract more competitors, who cut the price back to and sometimes even lower than it was originally. Thus a wage increase does result in the workers actually getting more of the necessities of life at the expense of the profits of the capitalists. And this is the real reason why the capitalist press opposes higher wages.

PRODUCTS OF LABOR

Marx goes on to explain the real nature of prices and profits. All commodities—that is, all things that are bought, sold and exchanged—are exchanged in a certain proportion to each other. This is their exchange-value or (expressed in money) their price. A bushel of wheat, for example is worth certain amounts of shoes, sugar, coal, etc. What determines the amount of this exchange-value?

There is one thing, Marx points out, which is common to all commodities; they are all the product of labor. Nothing which has not been worked on has any exchange value or price. Air, for example, although very useful, has no exchange value. Commodities are exchanged in proportion to the amount of labor which goes into them. This explains why American automobiles are cheaper than French, even though American workers are paid more than French workers. A certain number of American workers produce more autos in a day or a week than the same number of French workers. Thus less labor goes into each American auto.

If all things are sold at their value, how does the capitalist

make a profit? This is also clearly explained. Labor-power, Marx points out, is also a commodity, for it is sold by the workers to the employer. The price of this commodity is called wages. Like the prices of all other commodities, wages are determined by the amount of labor necessary to produce labor-power, that is, the amount of labor necessary to maintain the worker and his family. The amount of labor that goes into the production of food, shelter and clothing for the worker and his family determines the wages of labor. Thus, if the average daily cost of the necessities of life is \$5, that will be the average wage. But the worker produces more than \$5 in one day. With modern productive equipment it takes but two or three hours labor to produce what a worker's family consumes. But the worker labors not three hours—he labors eight hours. The produce of the extra five hours' labor goes to the employer. That is his profit.

What the worker sells is a day's labor power. In return for a day's sustenance—which takes three hours to produce—he agrees to give a day's labor—eight hours work. And he cannot do otherwise; if he does not agree he and his family will starve.

Marx describes the results of this wage-slavery—the constant struggle between the workers and the bosses over wages and hours of labor, the constant rise in productivity of labor, which increases the power of capital over labor. Finally, Marx points out the only permanent solution—abolition of wage slavery and the construction of a socialist society.

Reviewed by
S. Ryan

Congressmen At Work

Anthropologists make expeditions to central Australia to study primitive religions. But if they want to study capitalist gods and the strange cult which worships them, they should make an expedition to Wall Street's Congress.

Wall Street's Congressmen, like most savages, are bothered by certain devils and demons. Representative Clare Hoffman of Michigan, for instance, rears up on his hind legs every time he hears of union men and pickets:

"Mr. Speaker, you better be frightened. I am. You will be, too, if you do a little thinking. Then we all, once we have thought the situation through, may be able to reach the inevitable conclusion that, while we may not all hang together—if we do not all stick together—we may all be hanged. I am, as did France, to civil strife . . ."

"If 150,000 General Motors employees go out on strike and they, with perhaps a half million or more others—automobile dealers, salesmen, mechanics—those dependent upon the automobile business for their livelihood—all lose their pay checks; if the demands of the CIO steelworkers are not met and the production of steel is cut off and a million or more others go unpaid for a week or two, someone—in fact, several million someones besides myself—may be hungry, either through lack of checks or a scarcity of food."

That mouthful of abracadabra is intended to stop any strike caused by starvation wages!

HOFFMAN BRISTLES

The hair bristled straight up on Hoffman's back as he described the "Satanic" hordes: "Sidney Hillman with his Political Action Committee, Phil Murray, R. J. Thomas, Walter and Victor Reuther, and Richard Frankenstein, with their UAW-CIO in effect over the years have been telling employees who have been receiving higher wages, under better working conditions, and for shorter hours than any group of employees anywhere in the whole world, that the men who gave them employment were greedy, selfish, arbitrary, unfair, unpatriotic, and inhuman profiteers."

Hoffman, tool of the auto interests considers this heresy, sacrilege and blasphemy. To him the rich profiteers are nothing less than benevolent spirits, household gods protecting hearth

and home. Sometimes he gets down on his belly and crawls before these gods:

"Under our system of government, the barefoot boy, with little more than his cheek of tan, has had and now has the opportunity to reach the White House . . . Henry Ford and others have demonstrated that here it is possible to acquire millions, to do it honestly, pay a fair wage, give the public more for its dollar."

The mysterious might of these divine beings who keep him in Congress inspires Hoffman to hosannahs and hallelujahs: "I wonder what will happen if the employers go on strike, for instance, Henry Ford I, and Henry Ford II, each of whom has more money than he can possibly use, having no reason to work, so far as I know except a desire to carry on the business which they have founded and to provide jobs for their employees, autos and farm machinery for their customers. Ford does not need to work. Ford II, III, IV, and so on down the line, do not need to work. They have more money than they can spend. So why should they fight and why should they quarrel and why should they be worried in an effort to keep open the factories which Thomas and Reuther are determined to close if they cannot rule?"

Why the Ford dynasty should rule, the devout Hoffman leaves a holy mystery.

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

The Housing Crisis Mounts

Congressmen have heard a rumor that veterans who can't find homes threaten to march on the capital. This has made them a little nervous, but they haven't become worried enough to take any action that would solve the terrific housing shortage.

They are "studying" the situation and considering bills for the appropriation of money to make emergency housing units available to settle. All tentative plans fall far short of the need.

According to William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, "at least 6,000,000 veterans' families will need housing within the year."

Representative Wright Patman of Texas hypocritically talks about the housing crisis but offers no real solution. "It should be a source of shame and disgrace to this nation," he said, "that we could permit such treatment of men who so recently fought for us on every battlefield of the world."

There is little chance that the housing situation will be improved unless something drastic is done to spur Congress into action. The most optimistic authorities say that not more than 430,000 homes will be built in 1946. This will leave a shortage of at least 1,700,000 homes even according to Representative Patman.

Not only is there an acute scarcity of homes, but the prices of homes are soaring to unprecedented levels. "Unscrupulous speculators are piling profit on profit at the expense of the home-seeker," said Patman. There has been an average increase of 50 per cent in the price of homes during the war. And for those in the low-cost field, homes that veterans might be able to buy, the increase has been 100 per cent.

The housing crisis did not arise overnight as Congressmen are attempting to make it appear. Experts long ago warned that the shortage was becoming acute. But Congress did nothing about it.

Congressmen are more responsive to the voice of Washington representatives of financial and real estate interests. These lobbies insist that the ceiling on rents be lifted before they build. They demand that price restrictions on new homes be removed.

The Real Estate Lobby at Work

"One of the most powerful of the lobbies that now infests the capital is the real estate lobby," wrote Marquis W. Childs in the N. Y. Post, November 19. "It is made up of two wings, the National Assn. of Real Estate Boards and the National Assn. of Home Builders. They are fighting rent control on new housing construction and price controls on new homes."

Congressmen, fearing the demands of Big Business more than the protests of unorganized veterans, demagogically speak about the housing shortage. While they "study" measures to correct the situation, hundreds of thousands of veterans are homeless.

From every section of the country come reports of the need for dwellings. Los Angeles places its current demand for additional homes at 100,000. Mayor Kelly says that Chicago needs 50,000 additional homes. Every city is faced with a similar situation.

Veterans in New York are so desperately in need of homes that they are willing to live in the thoroughly hated barracks surrounding the city. The city plans to remodel these flimsy buildings into miserable apartments. And officials have the gall to demand that veterans pay rent for living in barracks!

Big Business has demonstrated its unwillingness to build the homes that are needed. They will only build if they are guaranteed fabulous profits. The only solution is immediate passage of legislation for large-scale, low rent, government built, owned and operated housing projects.

Workers Have Bought GM At Least 50 Times

By Jeff Thorne

General Motors workers, on strike to maintain a bare living wage, have bought and paid for the entire corporation at least 50 times on the basis of original investment, several times even at present inflated valuation. No wonder the corporation refuses to open the books even for stockholders to investigate this world's most profitable corporation!

Just since the 1937 sit-down strikes, GM's net profits have totaled \$2.5 billions, far above its \$2 billions valuation. And GM expects to do even better beginning in 1946 than in the last 8½ years.

These facts can be gleaned with difficulty from GM annual reports, Moody's Industrials Index and other business reports, but a real labor union investigation could reveal scandals probably without parallel.

There is no evidence that as much as \$40,000,000 new or outside money was ever invested in GM. It just grew out of the sweat of the workers, by paying them only part of the value they produced, until today GM is valued over \$2,182,000,000. From \$40 millions (it was probably much less) to \$2 billions is a growth of 50 times or 5,000 per cent, almost entirely since 1917 when the du Ponts took over the corporation.

Most of the profits, of course, went to stockholders in dividends. But over and above the dividends and fancy salaries and bonuses and depreciation allowances and taxes and what-not, over \$1 billion of profits have been kept in the business since 1908.

GM fuses no end about its taxes. But the taxes are high because the profit is so terrific. GM could save taxes by paying higher wages.

It may be said the stockholders were deprived of the surplus profits retained in the business. But first that billion had to be extracted from labor. Only labor produces anything.

What about the stockholders' rights? One GM share, now \$10 par value and selling at \$75, represents an original investment of far less than 40 cents. It pays \$2 to \$4 a year dividends or 500 to 1,000 per cent—all sweated out of the workers. And most of these shares belong to the billionaire du Ponts, 50-odd executives, a few banks and to other millionaires who have to have occasional wars to find new places for investments.

Meanwhile half of GM workers are laid off and the rest are forced to fight on picket lines—not for a raise but only to maintain a meager standard of living.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Soldiers Cheer Striking Workers

Editor:
A couple of days ago we were distributing The Militant on a corner close to the Hyatt Plant in Harrison, N. J. The pickets in front of the plant were marching in file with their placards raised high. There was a meeting of the union to be held shortly and the workers were either just arriving or standing around before going into the meeting. Besides this group, the Crucible Steel Local was to have a meeting about a block away. This made quite a crowd of workers along the street, and what with the pickets marching, and my comrade and me distributing The Militant, and the workers milling around, there was quite a little activity.

Now the Pennsy (Pennsylvania R.R.) runs on an elevated track right by the plant. And just at this time along came a troop train from New York loaded with GI's who had debarked from Europe and were on the way to separation centers. As the train passed the plant the GI's threw open the windows and gave a tremendous cheer, as only the GI's on their way home can, and waved to the pickets. The pickets waved their placards back, and an answering yell rose up from the workers across the street near the hall.

The striking workers got a great kick out of this event and I wish that all G. M. strikers could have witnessed it. And the next best they can do is to read about it in The Militant which is why I am writing this.
R. Kirk
Newark, N. J.

Only One Solution For The World

Editor:
On V-J Day we were told the war was over! Millions of war-weary people celebrated. It was indeed a happy day! Weren't we going to usher in a new world of peace, abundance and of course, democracy? Weren't we to be free from fear and want?

Today, while Congress argues over whether to contribute to UNRRA, and how much, millions of people throughout the world face the prospect of disease and starvation during the coming winter.

Throughout the capitalist world there has been one crisis after another, before, during and after the war. Depressions, fascism, and war are the results of this decayed society.

Stalinist Russia, which emerges as the second most powerful nation, has taken its place in the field of power politics. It has led the masses to one defeat after another. Stalin's policy of non-intervention in Spain led to Franco; in Germany, to Hitler; and in China, to Chiang Kai-shek. His theory of "Socialism in one country" has led to his betrayal of humanity.

Are we free from the fear of "another" war? Hardly! The smoke of this war has scarcely begun to clear, when the long-smouldering hatred of the exploited colonial people against their oppressors has burst forth. The imperialists in their zeal for profits have wasted no time in their attempt to suppress the rebellion.

Already the United Nations Organization is beginning to fall apart. Like the old bankrupt League of Nations the UNO will

fall—only quicker! There is already talk about a Western Bloc between France and England, against the Soviet Union. De Gaulle threatens to resign because the Stalinists demand an important cabinet post. He fears that he would offend England and the U. S. if he yielded to such a demand. The Anglo-American powers refuse to set up an international trustee - ship over Italian colonies, for this would invite the Soviet Union to exert an influence over an area in which England feels she should monopolize. The U. S. refuses to allow the Soviet Union to have an equal voice in the affairs of Japan. In the Balkans the situation is reversed. Here the Soviet Union is dominant. The Balkans, before the war, was in the "sphere of influence" of England and France.

With the end of the war and the advent of the atomic bomb, differences between the big powers were accentuated. Their mutual distrust became more evident. Therefore the U. S. announced its intentions to keep the atomic bomb secret, and it continues production of this terrible weapon in order to get a head start over its "peace loving allies." The USSR extends its totalitarian system as far west as Germany. Its main purpose is to create a buffer between itself and the Western powers. By following such a course of action it had antagonized the masses and created hatred of the Soviet Union.

The English government by its imperialist policy in Palestine, India, Hong-Kong, Indonesia, etc. and by calling out troops to break the dock-workers' strike, is showing that it is going to continue the Tory policy. Its policy in Greece is no more democratic than the Soviet Union's policy in the Balkans or American policy in the Philippines and Korea.

There is only one solution: The United Socialist States of the World!

J. F.
New York.

Tacoma Workers Face Unemployment

Editor:
This week I went out looking for work and I found a vivid change in conditions. Tacoma is awful close to real unemployment. The significant thing is not layoffs so much as the fact that "we are not hiring now and are getting ready to lay off our help."

I have noticed the lack of the usual congested crowds of pre-Christmas in the past few years in the downtown department stores. Each week, I have seen a slow gradual increase in the number of people at the State Unemployment Insurance office.

I hit the shipyards, steel, machine shops and not even a sign of a job. There are no tool and die shops here at all, so I am perforce compelled to leave my trade.

H. C.
Tacoma, Wash.

Flint Strikers Get The Militant

Editor:
This morning, at six o'clock in the cold, gray dawn of Flint, Michigan, we went out to distribute The Militant to the striking UAW workers at all the GM plants in that area.

This was one of the greatest

experiences I have had in my life—to see these militant workers in action on the picket line. The men were very glad to see us and the comments we heard most of all were: "Oh, yes, The Militant! Give us one here, girls. Now we've got something GOOD to read!"

Many men asked for extra copies so that they could give one or two to a buddy.

We went to all the strike kitchens of the different locals and all the union halls. And in these places, too The Militant was taken gladly. It was a sight to see when we looked back as we were leaving the different halls—the men were reading the paper—some sitting, some standing up, and some reading while they ate the food that had been prepared by volunteers in the strike kitchens.

The best part of it all is that the men really know our paper and what it stands for.

The militant spirit of the UAW men was evident everywhere we went, and we know that they will fight to the bitter end to win this strike.

This experience is also a commentary on the fine union work that has been done here by our own Flint comrades.

Solidarity Forever with the striking, fighting UAW men!
Ruth Franklin
Flint, Mich.

Marxism And The Negro: A Letter To Charles Jackson

Dear Comrade Jackson:
I am very much interested in political parties and organizations and their program for reaching the Negro. The recent election and the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party contact with the Negro in Harlem, proves beyond a doubt that the SWP does not know the Negro and his conditions or his way of thinking.

To begin with, to form an organization or run a candidate you should first introduce to the people what socialism is: its history, its leaders, its activities and its objectives. You received such little support at the polls because most of the voters never heard of socialism or of Trotsky, or do not understand what the class struggle is, or what capitalism is, or whether it is good or bad.

If you will survey Harlem you will find that most of the people there have had little education or political knowledge. I have talked with them. Only one out of a hundred has ever heard of Karl Marx or of Lenin, and very few have ever read their books.

This does not mean that all the Negroes lack this knowledge. The educated Negro of Harlem knows and understands these things and is willing to take action when he finds the proper organization and is led by qualified leaders. The weak point is that this group is in the minority and lacks power and influence over the masses who don't yet understand.

The Negro must be taught what capitalism is, in action; the class struggle in action; the history of socialism.

Until that is done it will be useless as well as senseless to put socialist candidates up for office and ask the Negro for his vote.

To begin with the Negroes in Harlem need: 1.—Official organization of all Negroes on an educational, cultural, political and

international plane. 2.—Adult study classes in economics and political science. 3.—Courageous and intelligent leaders.

The Negro is gradually waking up and is learning to use his vote carefully where it will do the most good. If you want the Negro vote you must teach the Negro what your party is and what it stands for: its history, its record and its future plans.

You must be willing to fight for Negro rights day in and day out, without an objection or excuses.

These plans on any problem must be presented by representatives of the Negro race if they concern the Negro people.

If the Socialist Workers Party is willing to agree to this and prove it is out for justice and fair play at all times regardless of creed or color, I can see no reason why you cannot get sufficient support from the Negroes in Harlem to build a strong organization.

E. B.
New York.

Poet Inspired By Labor Unity

Editor:
Would you care to publish this description of LABOR in The Militant? (It appears elsewhere on this page—Ed.) I wrote it some time ago, as one of a number in the "coming era of the common man" which I hope to have published in a book some day when I have completed the series. So much is about to take place, that I wait those events.

The work of years will be undone if the UAW gives in now, because General Motors begins to feel the pinch, and is unable to supply parts and fulfill its contracts. It is heartening to read The Militant every week, and find that it stands for firmness against economic aggression as much as it does against political aggression. It is a fine paper. I would we had more so outspoken and inspiring.

Strange how afraid our dailies are of letting the people voice their opinions in their columns, and how cautious they are in their editorials. Don't they know that the future belongs to labor? Nothing can stop this eventuality, but the day can be put off by disunity in the ranks.

Your paper can be praised for many fine things, but your insistence on unity, all pulling together, is one of the finest. On that depends everything. Shall the new 1946 be ours? It can be, if we will it so; but YOU know this better than anyone. I do not write this to urge you; I do not need it; but to let off the steam of indignation that almost blows one up sometimes.

Sam Brown
Boston, Mass.

Veteran Socialist
Editor:
I have been in this economic struggle many years. I read the Appeal to Reason for a long time, then the American Guardian for a long time, and now take The Progressive. I cast my first vote for James B. Weaver. I still feel there is some hope of the people waking up, and I like your paper for the stand you

take, although I would like to add the following to what you say:

Government ownership of all production and distribution! Government production for use instead of for profit! I would remember the aged; the grudging help they give us, such I have received for the last 10 years, is a shame. I would advocate the overthrow of the present form of government by the people. It can be done if they all get together.

Enclosed is a money order for which please enroll me on your subscription list. I would do better by my old age assistance won't allow it. I, like the CIO, am fighting for an existence!

LABOR

He stirs, and gazes fixedly, where kings
Cower in terror of the thing he is;
Awake at last, and freed from iron gyves
He looks at them across the gulf of years,
The banner of his freedom is unfurled,
The hunger of the helpless from his face,
Has vanished. He, is master of the world.

This thing has taken life. From whence, we ask,
It thinks, it moves, it feels its age-long wrongs,
Will it make waste, and desolate our homes,
Revolting from the tyranny that claims
The sacrifice of common wealth to kings?
Is this that form, that leaning on its hoe
In Millet's picture, made such grave appeal
To man's humanity, through Markham's life?
Is this that image, only multiplied,
By thousands and by thousands of its kind?

We fear this desperate shape, this Nemesis,
This boomerang, the greed of man hath wrought,
The poet truly says that it is filled
With threats and torments of the times, and fraught
With menace for the chains that fetter men.
Its shadow veils the future, and its breast
Is bared to show the wounds that gape therein.

Shall we regard this menace with disdain?
The mills of God are grinding slowly on,
And devastations, terrible as war,
Will shake the earth, if he stretch forth his hand.
He stretched it once, and laid it on a throne,
And that throne crashed, and men went frenzied mad,
For kings must reap the evil they have sown.

But we do wrong to measure him with hate.
He beareth that which shall our pride condemn;
His name is LABOR, circling the world,
And none shall ever shackle him again.
The fire of life is racing through his veins,
The wine of life is mounting to his head,
He hath inherited a giant's brood,
And the whole earth will tremble at his tread.

SAM BROWN.

ago, you stated that the Jews do not want to go to Palestine but they were being sent there by the Zionist leaders and in a more recent article you state that according to surveys made among European Jews, they did want to emigrate to Palestine. It seems to me this contradicts your former statement. Furthermore, in view of the fact that the overwhelming majority of Jews favor a Jewish homeland in Palestine and the fact that the Jews have created thriving, progressive communities there, I think it will take more than a pronouncement in your editorial to convince Jewish workers or anyone else for that matter that Jews do not want Palestine. Nor will you rally the Socialist Zionists who may have become disillusioned with the policies and leadership of the Zionist Organization and who may be considering different alignments of forces in which to work.

I'd like to point out that there are elements in the Zionist movement who are not so naive as to believe that the policies for Palestine will be decided by pledges or moral considerations rather than imperial interests. Therefore, the Roosevelt letter to Ibn Saud is not the great surprise or the "damaging blow" you suggest, for they never considered Roosevelt's support decisive in realizing their aims of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine. You seem to attach more importance to it than does the Zionist movement.

It seems to me that because of the urgency, at the present time, it would be advisable to make a thorough analysis of the Jewish Question. The problem of a homeland should be discussed from the sociological, cultural and historical phases. In fact it would be a good idea to review the entire National Question from a Marxist point of view. Every radical I speak to including Trotskyists seem to be very much confused on that issue.

I want to add that in 1937 Trotsky issued a statement to the effect that history has not justified assimilation; that the Jewish nation needs a land of its own; and that the Jewish problem will be solved through territorial concentration. I would very much like to see that statement brought to light and analyzed along with the entire question of Jewish survival as a group.

I realize that this is quite an assignment, but no responsible revolutionary movement can take a position without studying these factors.

A. G.
Newark, N. J.

Asks Discussion On Jewish Question
Editor:
In the recent issues of The Militant there were several articles on the Jewish Question upon which I wish to comment.

I want to begin by saying that I am in agreement with your basic assertion that the Jewish problem, like all other social problems, will be solved when Socialism replaces this imperialist system. However, while your articles showed how the Jewish people were betrayed by the imperialist policies of the Allies, and condemned the Zionist organization and their leaders, you haven't in any way touched upon the fundamental Zionist problem of Jewish homelessness and self determination of the Jews.

In an editorial of a few weeks

Bitter Negro Sailor Asks "What Did We Fight For?"

Editor:
After serving five years and three months in the U. S. Navy, including time in the reserves, I still find the Negro is nothing but the servant of the superior-feeling white man.

Whatever he does, wherever he goes, the Negro is held at arm's length, not only for inspection, but for condemnation for the slightest misstep.

I can report the case of a wounded white Marine, who refused life-saving blood just because it was a Negro's. Needless to say, the Marine died. Think of the suffering of his poor parents, his wife and children, just because he had been educated to the false idea that Negroes are inferior, unworthy of his consideration and an object of contempt.

I myself wallowed in the mud of Salpan and Iwo Jima. I watched Negro Seabees shot down in the Philippines when they were performing their jobs as fighting men of the United States. I hold several decorations from the United States. But I'm ashamed to wear them. I'm not ashamed of the United States, I love her. But I am ashamed of the kind of home the greedy individuals have made it for me.

I could name several places that discriminate against the Negro where I have been, places in the South where he can't ride a train, places in the North where he can't eat. But it reverts back to the question of Government policy.

We depended on the Government, and were located at a hospital in Medford, Oregon. By hook or crook, the white leaders of the community prevented all

Negroes from remaining there for any period of time.

When Negro sailors, patients and staff members, were located in this town, the wagging tongues got busy. Get them out, they don't belong! Break the glasses they drink from! Keep your children off the street—Boogie Men are in town!

The community of Medford determined to rid itself of this "scourge." The Medford Chamber of Commerce wrote to Washington, "Get them out," or more likely, "get rid of the Niggers."

Washington intervened. The white commander of the Naval Hospital at Medford Camp had to act and act quickly. The Negroes were shipped a long distance to a community where Negroes lived, when liberty might have been arranged for them at a town closer to Medford.

The Negroes were told "as Navy men you go where you are ordered. But it is for your own convenience. We have no recreational facilities here for you." So the Negro sailors, many of them battle-wounded, were forced out of Medford, even though the executive officer admitted that their work and conduct in the Navy had been excellent.

We all fight for existence. But if there were another war, I still wonder what I would be fighting for. Could I get fair treatment for my loved ones and myself? Or would I still have to eke out a mere existence, a pittance, have nothing but the crumbs left over from my so-called superior, the white capitalist who teaches and commands the lower class whites to obey. What did I fight for?

A Bitter Negro Sailor
San Francisco



We know our readers will be very pleased to learn that the press run of The Militant for the past two weeks has been 68,000 copies. The increase over our regular run is attributable to the fact that Socialist Workers Party branches from coast to coast have ordered larger bundles for distribution to striking workers of the General Motors Corporation.

With the excellent work our comrades and friends are doing in introducing The Militant to

new readers, the regular paid circulation is increasing steadily week after week. We are nearing the goal of 50,000 regular paid circulation set by the November 1944 Convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

Al Cutler of Boston writes: "In spite of inclement weather, four of us went out last Saturday and distributed about 300 copies of The Militant in a working class area in Roxbury. On Sunday we had a full mobilization with very favorable results."

"In fact, comrades reported that some of the workers who were visited said they had read the paper the night before, and were waiting for The Militant salesmen."

An excellent plan, which we know many of our friends will want to follow, is contained in the following letter.

Mimi Adams of New York: "I didn't take me long to decide what to give my relatives and friends this Christmas—a one-year combination subscription to The Militant and the Fourth International. I can't think of anything they would enjoy more, not only for the immediate holiday season, but for an entire year to come."

Rudy Rhodes of St. Louis reports these two very interesting incidents: "Last week we revisited a home where we had left a copy of The Militant. This worker had asked us to come back when we originally called as he was short of cash that day. When we arrived he remarked, 'I am sure glad to see you. My wife cleaned up and accidentally threw away the copy of The Militant you had left. I was afraid you wouldn't call back and I wanted to subscribe very much, but couldn't remember the address of your paper.'"

"We also visited a Militant subscriber. He informed us he liked the paper very much and wanted us to give him four blank subscription cards. He told us: 'I've taken The Militant into my shop and three of the men I work with also want to become subscribers. And I want to keep a spare card on hand.'"

Our Militant sub-getters are known for their persistence in the face of all obstacles. As the following letter illustrates, nothing seems to faze them.

P. Mertens of St. Paul writes: "Comrade G. works for the railroad and was sent on a overnight run to La Crosse. When he got there in the morning he should have gone to bed. Instead he went subbing in a pouring rain, and sold seven subscriptions, in addition to three 'Jobs For All' pamphlets. We are quite pleased, and think he did a good job."

Our Program:

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!

A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

Government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers' control!

Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

No restriction on the right to strike!

Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!

3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!

4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! Down with Jim Crow!

5. Working class political action! Establish the workers' and farmers' government! Build the independent labor party!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor! No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism! Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

8. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples! Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

I would like:

☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.

☐ To obtain further information about your organization.

☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

Name (Please Print)

Address

City Postal Zone State



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Admission 50 cents

"Militant" Subscription Campaign Nears Goal With 9,324 New Readers Gained

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

As this story goes to press, prior to our last National Red Sunday Mobilization on December 9, we are nearing the conclusion of our drive for 10,000 additional readers. Final results will appear in next week's issue of *The Militant*.

Thus far 9,324 new subscribers have been obtained, representing 93 per cent of our national goal.

This week's scoreboard reveals that Allentown-Bethlehem and Boston have now joined the other 13 branches of the Socialist Workers Party which have reached 100 per cent. Most

of the remaining branches have written to tell us that they are concentrating all their efforts and all their forces in these last few days of the campaign, to meet their quotas and become part of the "over the top" group.

Reading maintains its lead on our scoreboard for the second consecutive week, and has a national pace-setter in fifth place—Comrade C. Raymond.

However Reading's position is now being challenged by St. Louis. The following note is from Rudy Rhodes, who incidentally is a national pace-setter, in sixth place: "We didn't want to accept Reading's challenge while we were at the top of the scoreboard. However, now that we are neck-and-neck, we accept

the challenge. We might advise also that we are going to fight to get back on top."

This column continues to maintain its neutrality by simply adding—may the best subscribers win!

Our readers will note two interesting developments when they examine this week's scoreboard. First, San Diego has sent in 26 subs, thereby fulfilling 52 per cent of their quota. Due to circumstances beyond their control they got a very late start in our present campaign, but they write us that despite this handicap, they will meet their quota.

PLAN CELEBRATIONS

Kansas City appears on our scoreboard for the second time. This group of comrades and friends recently began canvassing the area for subscribers, and to date have sent in seven subs. Due to their late start, they are not being assigned a quota, but we feel sure they will make a good showing in our final listing.

Local New York says: "We are planning an elaborate dinner consisting of turkey with all the trimmings, a program of entertainment including brief speeches, songs and skits. In ad-

dition, the two teams with the highest scores will be awarded prizes for the extra effort they put forth to make this campaign such a huge success. We were assigned the highest quota—2,000 subs, and completed it in the seventh week of the campaign."

"On Sunday, December 9, we are planning a Victory Dinner to wind up the campaign, and celebrate the quota which we feel sure will be reached nationally."

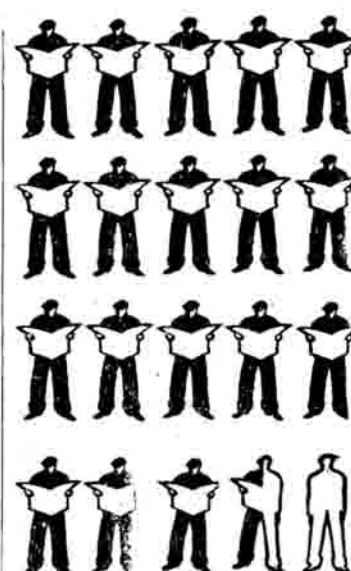
Max Geldman of Philadelphia writes the following very inviting note: "Philadelphia will celebrate the successful results of the sub drive at a Militant Celebration Dinner at the Embassy Restaurant, 619 W. Girard Ave., on Saturday, December 15, at 8 p.m. Comrades from Reading, Allentown and Baltimore are expected to be present to cheer the obtaining of 10,000 new readers for *The Militant*, and their own good work in making the campaign a success.

"All readers of *THE MILITANT* are invited to celebrate with us the latest achievement of the devoted members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party. Reservations should be made in advance at our headquarters, 405 W. Girard Ave."

MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

The twenty who have sold the highest number of subs.

Paul Kuljak	Chicago	199
Ernest Drake	Detroit	155
Mike Warren	Seattle	146
Theresa Stone	Philadelphia	125
C. Raymond	Reading	120
Rudy Rhodes	St. Louis	118
Bill Ference	Minneapolis	116
Rigo Carl	Detroit	101
H. Spangler	Connecticut	92
Joe Simmons	Philadelphia	90
G. Roberts	Detroit	81
Connie Locke	East Side, New York	73
Margaret Moran	Chicago	66
Ed Lewis	Detroit	64
Ida Brandt	East Side, New York	58
E. Logan	Detroit	58
Eloise Gordon	Pittsburgh	56
Bob Kingsley	Cleveland	56
J. Singer	Connecticut	53
Albert Conway	Los Angeles	51



Each figure reading "The Militant" represents 500 subscriptions sold. Each blank figure represents 500 subscriptions not yet sold.

Fifth Anniversary Celebrated By Buffalo SWP

BUFFALO, Nov. 24.—This Saturday night about 40 members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party attended a spaghetti dinner in celebration of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Buffalo branch. Pioneer members of the branch made vivid and inspiring talks on the progress which has been made in both political and trade union fields, since the branch was established. They also dealt with the full satisfaction they derived from being members of the party and the deep meaning it has given to their lives.

Everyone left the hall that night with a feeling of closer comradeship and with full confidence in the great future of the branch. A real demonstration of this feeling was shown by four sympathizers joining the party during the evening.

San Francisco Bay Area Hears John G. Wright On Labor Party

By Della Rossa and R. Marshall

SAN FRANCISCO—Intensely interested Bay Area audiences, in San Francisco on November 23 and in Oakland, November 25, heard John G. Wright, associate editor of *The Militant*, describe the development and victory of the British Labor Party and the tremendous impetus it has given the drive toward an independent labor party in this country.

Approximately 45 workers, most of them trade unionists, in San Francisco, and 35 workers in Oakland, nearly half of them new readers of *The Militant*, had come to the lecture on "British Labor Victory and U. S. Labor Party Prospects" because they wanted a "scientific, and therefore, Marxist, analysis" of what had happened in England.

"The British workers want revolution," Comrade Wright said. "That is the reason behind the tremendous victory of the Labor Party. But now they find that their leaders want revolution by consent of the capitalist class. They find that Bevin was much

more radical when he was in the same government as Churchill and therefore was forced to show a difference from him."

"Revolution by consent," will never be possible, Comrade Wright pointed out, and this realization will lead the British workers toward a new leadership.

"In this new strike struggle in America, the workers reach out for power," Comrade Wright said in indicating the revolutionary possibilities of our own working class. "And they find that their ECONOMIC hands are not long enough."

This is a period, he pointed out, when conservative unions are passing resolutions to open factories under workers' control.

BUILDING A NUCLEUS

"When you consider," he said, "that until recently the American workers had the Gompers 'medieval guild' for a union, and that then in a five-year period

there was the tremendous growth of the powerful CIO, you can see what the sharpening conflict in the next period will mean in the growth of an independent labor party."

The real struggle in forming a labor party, he said, is not in getting the thousands and the millions but in building the basic nucleus.

Comrade Wright's ability to attract and recruit workers was once more demonstrated in San Francisco when at the close of the meeting a worker came forward with an application for membership.

Huge banners reading, "Build an Independent Labor Party," covered the front of the halls at both the San Francisco and Oakland meetings. Around both halls were displayed the slogans, "Down With Jim Crow," "Subscribe to the Militant," and "Join the Socialist Workers Party."

New York Open Forums

Sunday, Dec. 16

Downtown:

"Germany Under Occupation"

Speaker: George Matthews

116 University Place

8 p.m.

Harlem:

"Housing In Harlem"

Speaker: John Andrews

103 West 110th St.

Room 23

7:30 p.m.

Philadelphia Mass Meeting

PROTEST THE MASSACRE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES!

Demand the Withdrawal of U. S. Troops!

Friday, Dec. 14, 8 p.m.

Speakers:

JESSE BROWN, Negro fighter for minority rights
JACK MILLER, Socialist Youth Group (Trotskyist)
GOLDY COOPER, Militant Labor Forum
MAX GELDMAN, Socialist Workers Party Organizer
Ostropel Hall 943 N. Franklin St.

SCOREBOARD

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party	Quotas	Subs	Per Cent
Reading	50	169	338
St. Louis	50	151	302
Philadelphia	300	672	224
Connecticut	100	191	191
Cincinnati	50	95	190
Pittsburgh	100	157	157
Minneapolis	100	131	131
Baltimore	100	124	124
San Francisco	300	344	114
Boston	200	226	113
Portland	75	80	107
New York	2000	2049	102
Detroit	1000	1007	101
Allentown-Bethlehem	100	101	101
Seattle	300	269	90
Chicago	1000	895	90
Newark	300	252	84
Bayonne	100	84	84
Buffalo	300	250	83
Cleveland	200	152	76
Rochester	50	31	62
Los Angeles	1500	904	60
Youngstown	300	164	55
St. Paul	100	53	53
Flint	200	105	53
San Diego	50	26	52
Akron	300	124	42
Toledo	300	95	32
Groups, Members-at-large and Friends	175	75	43
Kansas City		7	
TOTAL	10,000	9324	93

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM — by James P. Cannon

Previous installments of Comrade Cannon's book described the emergence of the American Communist Party out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919, the expulsion of the Trotskyists in 1928, the formation of a new party and the Minneapolis Strikes of 1934. In 1935, the Trotskyists turned their attention to a growing left wing tendency in the Socialist Party.

These organizations have a pseudo-democracy which permits a great deal of talk and criticism as long as this talk and criticism doesn't in any way menace the control of the organization. But the moment their rule is challenged, they come down every time with the most brutal bureaucratic repressions against the majority. This is true of all of them, of all kinds and colors of opponents of Bolshevism in the field of organization. Even the sanctified Norman Thomas was no exception, as I will demonstrate later on.

Incidentally, this is also true of all the sectarian groups without exception who split away from the Fourth International, who raised a great hue and cry about the lack of democracy in the Trotskyist movement. The moment they set up their own organizations, they established real despotism. The Oehler group, for example, was no sooner constituted as an independent organization than the people who had been lured by his appeals against the terrible bureaucratic of the Trotskyist organization got a rude shock. They encountered the most rigid and despotic caricature of bureaucracy.

The split in New York of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party heralded the national split—that was clear to us. The Right Wing of the Socialist Party were determined, for reasons of their own, to disconnect themselves from the militant rank and file and youth elements in the SP who were talking about revolution. They considered this out of date. They were looking toward the 1936 national elections and already in their own minds had undoubtedly arrived at the position of supporting Roosevelt. They were only looking for a good pretense to break their relations with the rank and file militants and youth who were still taking Socialism seriously. This split in New York showed us that the time had come to act without delay. It happened that I was in Minneapolis when the explosion took place in the New York organization of the SP. Here was a striking repetition of the procedure of 1934. The impulsion to speed up the fusion with the American Workers Party came from a discussion held there during the strike. Now, for the second time, the initiative for a sharp political turn came from an informal conference which I had with leading comrades in Minneapolis.

We came to the conclusion that we must move, without one day's unnecessary delay, to get into the Socialist Party while it remained in a state of flux, before a new bureaucracy would have time to crystallize and before the influence of the Stalinists could be consolidated. The whole leadership of our faction, the Cannon-Shachtman faction, was agreed upon this line. The rank and file of the faction had been well prepared and educated in the long internal fight and had entirely assimilated the political line of the leadership. They supported this plan unanimously. They had overcome all prejudices about the "French turn," about the principle of "independence," and all other shibboleths of the sectarian phrasemongers. When the opportunity arose to take a turn which offered the prospect of political advantage they were ready to move. The moment had come to act.

Then everything hung on the question of acting without too much delay without playing around, without indecision or hesitation. Routine propaganda, which is carried on all the time, is by no means sufficient in itself to build a party and enable it to grow rapidly. The routine exposition of principles is not enough. A political party must know what to do next, and do it before it is too late. In this particular case the thing we had to do next, if we wanted to take advantage of a great fluid situation in the vanguard of the workers movement, was to move forthwith into the SP, seize the opportunity before it slipped away, take a step forward by effecting a fusion of the Trotskyist workers with the militant rank and file and young people in the Socialist Party who had at least the subjective desire to be revolutionists and who were moving in our direction.

There is an expression, a good American motto, about striking while the iron is hot. I don't know how many of you realize how vivid that expression can appear to one who understands its meaning in the mechanical sense. It has always been a favorite motto of mine in politics, and it always calls up the vision of the black-

HOW WE ENTERED THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN 1936

smith shop back home where we boys used to stand around, fascinated by the blacksmith, a heroic figure in our eyes. He took his time, smoked his pipe very leisurely, talked to people about the weather and local politics. When a horse was brought around to be shod, the blacksmith slowly pumped up the bellows under the forge, still taking it easy until the fire reached a certain white heat and the horseshoe became red hot. Then, at the decisive moment, the blacksmith became transformed. All his lassitude thrown off, he seized the horseshoe with his great pincers, lifted it onto the anvil and began to pound it with his hammer while it was red hot. Otherwise the horseshoe would lose its malleability and he could not fashion it into the proper shape. If we had allowed the opportunity in the SP to cool, we would have missed our chance.

We Strike While the Iron Is Hot

We had to strike while the iron was hot. There was danger that the Stalinists, who were pressing upon the SP very heavily, would get in ahead of us and repeat their feat in Spain. There was danger that the Lovestonites, who were certainly closer in political affinity to the American Socialists than we were because they were nothing more than centrists themselves, would learn what their next cue was and step ahead of us into the Socialist Party.

We had two small hurdles to jump over before we could effect the entry. First, we had to have a party convention to get the sanction for such an action. Second, we had to get permission from the heads of the Socialist Party before we could join it. Prior to our convention we had to go through one more fierce factional struggle with the Mustelites who summoned their cohorts for a last stand to save the "independence" and "integrity" of the Workers Party. They fought with holy zeal against our proposal to dissolve the church of the Lord and go and join the heretic Socialists. They defended the "independence" of the Workers Party as though it were the Ark of the Covenant and we were laying profane hands upon it. It was certainly a furious fight that had in it elements of semi-religious fanaticism. But it availed them nothing. The large majority of the party members were clearly on our side from the start.

We began negotiations with the leaders of the "Militants" over the terms and conditions of our entry into the Socialist Party. The negotiations with these papier-mâché heroes were a spectacle for gods and men. I will never forget them. I believe that in all my long and somewhat checkered experience, which has ranged from the sublime to the ridiculous, and vice versa, I never encountered anything so fabulous and fantastic as the negotiations with the chiefs of the "Militants" caucus in the Socialist Party. They were all transient figures, important for a day. But they didn't know it. They saw themselves in a distorting mirror, and for a brief period imagined themselves to be revolutionary leaders.

Outside their own imagination there was hardly any basis whatever for their assumption that they were at all qualified to lead anything or anybody, least of all a revolutionary party which requires qualities and traits of character somewhat different from the leadership of other movements. They were inexperienced and untested. They were ignorant, untalented, petty-minded, weak, cowardly, treacherous and vain. And they had other faults too. They were in a quandary over our application for admission to their party. They wanted to have us in the party, most of them, to counterbalance the Right Wing and to help ward off the Stalinists whom they mortally feared on one side and tended to approach on the other. They wanted us in the party and were afraid of what we might do after we came in. They didn't know for sure, from the beginning until the very end, what they really wanted. In addition to everything else, we had to help them make up their minds.

There was Zam, ex-Lovestonite and renegade Communist who was turning back to Social Democracy. On his way to the right he ran into some young Socialists who were traveling to the left, and for the moment they seemed to be in agreement. But it wasn't really so; they had merely met at the crossroad.

There was Gus Tyler, a very smart young chap whose only trouble was that he had no character. He could stand up and debate the war question from the standpoint of Lenin with one of the Stalinist leaders—and state the Leninist position quite correctly—and then go to work for the Needle Trades fakers, do-

ing "educational work" for their program, including their war program, and then wonder why anybody should be surprised or indignant about it. People without character are like people without intelligence. They don't understand why anybody should think it strange.

There was Murry Baron, a bright young college boy who also got a job as a trade union leader on the sufferance of Dubinsky. He lived well and considered it important that he continue to do so. At the same time, he was dabbling with the task of leading a revolutionary movement, like someone who takes up a hobby on the side.

There were Biemiller and Porter from Wisconsin, young fellows who at the age of thirty had acquired all the senile qualities of the European Social Democrats. Having lost the flame of idealism, if they were ever touched by it, they were already settling down to the business of labor faking on weekdays and pretending to be radical on Sunday. They were nearly all of the same type, and it was a very poor type. Yet they were the leaders of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party and we had to negotiate with them all, including Norman Thomas who was head of the party nominally, and who, as Trotsky very well explained, called himself a Socialist as the result of a misunderstanding.

Our problem was to make an agreement with this rabble to admit us to the Socialist Party. In order to do that we had to negotiate. It was a difficult and sticky job, very disagreeable. But that did not deter us. A Trotskyist will do anything for the party, even if he has to crawl on his belly in the mud. We got them into negotiations and eventually gained admission by all sorts of devices and at a heavy cost. It was not simply a question of calling them on the phone and saying, "Let's meet at two o'clock on Tuesday and discuss matters." It was a long, involved and tortuous process. While we were negotiating formally and collectively, we also had several separate, individual angles working.

One of them was Zam, the renegade Communist who seemed to think, because we wanted to join the Socialist Party, that we were going to do a little renegading too. He had personal reasons for wanting us in the SP and he facilitated our admission. He was mortally afraid of the Stalinists, and thought we would be a counterbalance and antidote to them. Private discussions with him always preceded the formal discussion with the leaders. We always knew beforehand what they were planning to do.

Hard Conditions Attached to Entry

In addition to all the other things, they had no internal solidarity or respect for each other and we naturally took advantage of that. Another independent side-line operation, preceding the entry, was with Thomas himself. The arrangement of the rendezvous between Thomas and the Trotskyists was the last progressive act in the life and career of Sidney Hook. Perhaps he felt that he owed us one more favor. Possibly he was moved by sentimental reminiscences of his youth when he had thought the revolution was a pretty good thing. Be that as it may, he arranged a meeting with Thomas which increased the pressure on the "Militants" caucus. They finally agreed to admit us, but they made us pay. They made very hard conditions. We had to give up our press despite the fact that it had been the tradition of the Socialist Party to let any faction have its own press, and despite the fact that the Socialist Call had started as a faction organ of the "Militants." Any section or state or local organization in the SP that wanted its own press had been free to have it. They demanded special conditions of us, that we should have no press. They made us give up *The Militant* and our magazine, the *New Internationalist*. They wouldn't allow us the honor and dignity of joining as a body and being received as a body. No, we had to join as individuals, leaving every local Socialist Party branch the option of refusing to admit us.

We had to join individually because they wanted to humiliate us, to make it appear that we were simply dissolving our party, humbly breaking with our past, and starting anew as pupils of the "Militants" caucus of the SP. It was rather irritating, but we were not deflected from our course by personal feelings. We had been too long in the Lenin school for that. We were out to serve political aims. That is why, despite the most onerous conditions, we never broke negotiations—and never gave them an excuse to shut negotiations off from their side. Whenever they showed signs of indifference, of evasiveness, we kept after them and kept the negotiations alive.

Meantime our own party was moving toward its convention. It was soon revealed that the decisive majority of the party supported the proposals of the Cannon-Shachtman caucus for entry into the Socialist Party. Our proposal also had the support of Trotsky. This was a considerable factor in reassuring the rank and file of the party that it was a good tactical step, not to be construed in any way as a repudiation of principles, as the Oehlerites had represented it. The convention of March 1936 which had to put the seal on the decision was a formality. The majority in favor of the proposal to enter the Socialist Party was overwhelming. The opposition was reduced to such a small group that they had virtually no alternative but to accept the decision, submit to discipline and go along with us into the Socialist Party.

The Great Majority in Favor of Entry

At this convention there was a kick-back from some unprincipled politics that had taken place in the summer, a cruel penalty for unprincipled combinationism. In this case it was the aftermath of the Allentown incident which is quite famous in the history of our party, and is still alive in the memories of those who went through the struggles of those days. Allentown had been one of the main centers of the American Workers Party. The entire organization there, which was quite large, and which was in the leadership of a very substantial movement of unemployed workers organized in the National Unemployed Leagues, was composed of former Mustelites. Most of the Allentown members had been in the movement only a short time. They had come into the American Workers Party through the unemployed activities and were in need of Marxist political education, in order that the fruits of their mass work could eventually be transformed into political gains and a firm political party nucleus established there. We sent in some comrades to assist them in this respect. For the youth a young comrade named Stiller was sent in. For the adult movement, Sam Gordon was sent. Their function, while participating in the mass activities, was to assist in the Marxist education of these Allentown comrades who showed a strong will to become completely fused with us in ideology as well as organization. The faction fight arrested these plans and Allentown was a center of infection all through the period.

One of the worst complications arose from the treachery of Stiller. He was sent in there with the trust of the party, but he succumbed to the backward environment. He became an instrument and defender of the worst elements in the American Workers Party who had a center there in Allentown. A man named Reich, another named Hallett were closely connected with one of the Mustelite national leaders, named Arnold Johnson. They used Allentown as a base for opposition to every progressive trend in the party. Time and time again, the Allentown organization would deviate from the party line in the mass work, in the direction of Stalinism. Sam Gordon would intervene and a big fight would take place locally. Then, either the National Committee representatives would go to Allentown, or a delegation would come in to New York, for a discussion of the issue. We would speak and explain for hours on end in an effort to clarify the question and educate the Allentown comrades. We suspected nothing at first, but as one incident followed another, we couldn't help noticing that every flare-up had one and the same distinguishing characteristic.

No matter how each fracas started, or what the immediate dispute might be over, there was always a taint of Stalinist ideology in the position of the Allentown comrades. We thought it probable, in the beginning, that the deviations were only tendencies, the expression of the pressure of the Stalinist movement weighing upon them, and not the deliberate work of real Stalinist agents in our ranks. We continued to give them the benefit of the doubt, even when they began to manifest organizational disloyalty, breaking the discipline and unity of action of the Workers Party and working in unison with the Stalinist caucus even against their own comrades in the Unemployed Leagues. We kept fighting it out with them, but our aim was purely educational.

It has always been the policy in our movement to use incidents like these, errors and deviations from party principle, not for the purpose of staging man-hunts but as the occasion to explain concretely and in detail the doctrines of Marxism and thus aid the education of the comrades. Many comrades in the party have received their real education in the meaning of Bolshevism from these educational discussions conducted on the basis of some concrete incident or other. We tried the method in this case.

(To Be Continued)

1,000 Workers In San Francisco Picket Fascist Smith's Meeting

(Special to THE MILITANT)

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 2—More than 1,000 anti-fascist workers this afternoon picketed the first meeting here of Fascist Gerald L. K. Smith, who after a month of legal maneuvering was granted the use of the Commerce High School auditorium. Another 1,500 sympathetic on-lookers lined the streets in support of the anti-Smith demonstrators.

Pickets formed two block-long lines circling before the entrance to the school auditorium, while a third line covered the rear of the building. When would-be fascist Smith arrived in his limousine and was escorted into the building by his bodyguards and a big police detail, the picket line surged in his direction and a chorus of boos and hisses filled the air.

BANNERS ON LINE

Represented on the picket lines were the banners of the AFL, Pile Drivers Local 34; Marine Firemen, Independent; CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards; CIO National Maritime Union; AFL Office Employees Local 36; AFL Miscellaneous Employees Local 110; Federation of Architects, Chemists and Engineers; Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist); American Youth for Democracy; Workers Party; and the California Labor School.

Banners of the Stalinist-led CIO Longshoremen's union and the Communist (Stalinist) Party were conspicuous by their absence. Although the call for the picket line was sent out by the CIO Council, and Stalinist officials of the CIO, including Harry Bridges of the ILWU-CIO, took an appearance on the picket line to "make the record," it was quite evident that Stalinists and CIO leaders had made no effort to swing the bulk of the CIO into action.

Approximately 500 policemen,

Rubber Workers Back GM Strike

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

AKRON, O., Dec. 2.—The regular membership meeting of CIO United Rubber Workers Goodrich Local 5 here today enthusiastically adopted a resolution pledging "all possible support to the General Motors strikers."

Militant Local 5 in its resolution further "serves notice upon the auto corporations that the rubber workers are solidly behind the UAW-CIO."

"We inform all locals of General Motors, UAW, that should they be in need of aid we stand ready to do whatever is in our power," declares Local 5.

The resolution calls upon the Akron labor movement "to sponsor a rally in the Akron Armory at the first opportunity in order to acquaint the Akron workers with the grave importance of the GM strike," and proposes to invite UAW President R. J. Thomas and Vice President Walter Reuther to address the rally.

"The auto workers," says the resolution, "are spearheading the fight of all labor."

plain clothesmen and deputized "reserves" were on hand to protect America's No. 1 Fascist. Two steel cables, strung the whole length of the block, provided a clear path for those wishing to enter the meeting, forcing the picketers to march in the street. Policemen lined along the cables, massed at the street corners and the stadium wall across the street, and swarmed inside the building and around nearby strategic points.

ROLE OF STALINISTS

Largely because of Stalinist influence, only the minimum steps were taken by the CIO to notify interested organizations of the picketing. In major local unions, such as CIO Longshoremen's Local 6 and 1-10, which alone could have put more than 10,000 pickets on the line, no mention of the picket line was made at regular meetings. The Labor Herald, CIO paper, carried only a brief, obscure notice. The Stalinist "Peoples World" gave only perfunctory notice to the forthcoming action and combined the announcement of the anti-fascist picket line with the call for a protest at the Board of Transportation to oppose a proposed increase in street car fare.

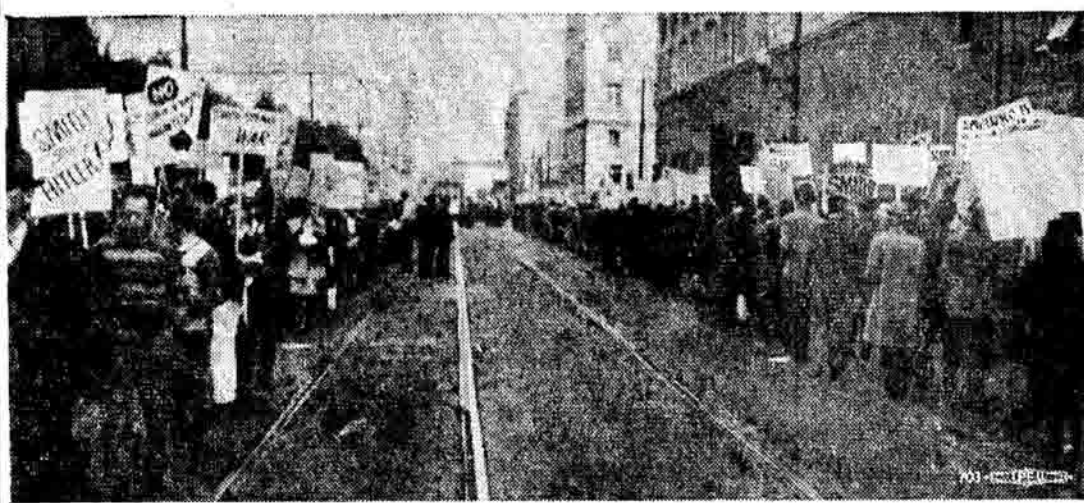
SWP SPREADS CALL

The San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party distributed 10,000 leaflets at key points in the city, at trade union halls and on the waterfront, announcing the call of the CIO and other organizations to picket Smith's meeting. A special SWP leaflet was addressed to the AFL membership urging the AFL to participate in this action.

The Trotskyists here have set themselves the task of educating the ranks of the labor movement to a greater awareness of the menace of fascism. They plan to popularize in every section of the Bay Area the slogan that "the fight against fascism is the fight of all labor."

San Diego
Buy THE MILITANT
AT 242 BROADWAY

Workers Picket Fascist Meeting



1,000 anti-fascist workers in San Francisco picketing the December 2 meeting held by Gerald L. K. Smith, America's No. 1 Fascist. The San Francisco Local of the Socialist Workers Party was active on the picket line which included AFL and CIO unions.

Photo by The Militant

Flint GM Committee Initiates Call For CIO Emergency Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

the desire of the representatives of the workers on the picket lines to go on the offensive against General Motors and the unhonoring administration and Congress.

In the strike committee's discussion of the proposed recommendation, delegates from AC and Fisher Body pointed out the success of the veterans' bonus march of the early 1930's in arousing mass sympathy for their demands. Almost without exception the delegates felt that with the CIO behind the march, tremendous pressure could be exerted on the boss-controlled Congress and that the whole anti-labor campaign could be smashed.

The proposal for the formation of a labor party was discussed at length. Some delegates expressed the opinion that CIO President Philip Murray had broken with Truman but not with the Democratic Party. The majority of the delegates contended that the time has come to break entirely with the two Big Business parties and form labor's own party.

Flint, Mich.
All Militant Readers Invited To
Socialist Workers Party
Meetings
Every Sunday Night
YWCA
First Street And Harrison
8 p.m. Admission Free

The first and third proposals carried almost unanimously. Although there was more opposition to the labor party proposal, it was carried decisively when Chairman Jack Holt, UAW regional director, called for the vote.

BLOCK SPLIT MOVE

During the past week, the GM locals here have gone into action to forestall moves that might weaken the strike. The explosion was directed against UAW President R. J. Thomas and the international executive board's strategy committee as well as at General Motors.

When it was reported that Thomas had accepted a GM proposal to work parts-plants supplying parts to GM's "competitors," Archie Myers, AC Local president and Bob Carter, chairman of the AC strike committee and chairman of the Greater Flint CIO Council, sent a scathing telegram to Thomas stating:

"We vigorously protest any back-to-work agreement for any portion of our people. Our plant is down 100 per cent and we intend to keep it down 100 per cent until our just demands are won."

AC PAPER'S WARNING

That same night the Greater Flint CIO Council, representing 60,000 CIO members here, also unanimously condemned Thomas' stand. Thomas subsequently made a hasty retreat and stated that his views had been "misrepresented."

Warning against any move to weaken the strike by dividing the workers and making concessions to the corporation, AC Local in a special strike bulletin declared: "GM is attempting to whittle away at the strike piece-meal. As long as we remain united, 300,000 strong, no power in the world can smash us. GM knows that. For this reason, they want to split us, disunite us, divide us and at the next stage smash us. We intend to win this fight by the united action of all GM locals, together, on the picket lines."

ASSAIL TRUMAN

The Truman "fact-finding committee" proposal has met with united opposition of all UAW local officers and members in Flint. Archie Myers told this Militant correspondent: "I am definitely opposed to arbitration. If we go along with the fact-finding committee we will wind up at best with a 10 to 15 per cent wage increase. The oil workers turned that down and the auto workers will reject a similar proposal."

Bob Carter stated: "I am against arbitration and will oppose the setting up of fact-finding committees. Anyone acquainted with the labor history of this country knows that the fact-finding committees are used by the political stooges of the corporations to cheat the workers out of their just demands. Let us follow the example of the Ford workers of Canada who rejected arbitration even though they had been on strike for more than 80 days. That's the way we'll get a 30 per cent wage increase."

"There has been considerable talk of GM getting an injunction against the UAW for 'illegal picketing,'" Ben Woodard, Buick Local president, put the position of the Local officers very bluntly. "If GM thinks it can break

this strike by violence through the use of injunctions, on this or that pretext, they have another thing coming. We are better organized than ever before. The picket lines are swelling. Our Flying Squad is bigger and better prepared to defend the picket lines. GM can never bust this strike!"

Truman Drops Mask In Attack Against Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

union rights snatched away during the war.

American Big Business, drunk with world power and emboldened by the whole spectacle of labor retreat during the war, has determined to beat down the workers, undermine and ultimately destroy the unions, and leave itself undisputed master.

TRUMAN SHOWS HAND

The conflict that is unfolding between capital and labor has reached its first crucial phase in the General Motors strike. The owning class, with an inflated sense of power, feels, as one commentator puts it, that "the clock has struck twelve" and proposes to concede nothing at all to the workers.

In this situation, Truman was impelled to reveal unambiguously the class interests he really represents. His proposal for the enforcement of a 30-day "cooling-off" period and the establishment of compulsory arbitration through industrial "fact-finding boards," is the proposition, with but slight modifications, advanced by the corporation spokesmen at the Labor-Management Conference.

The promptness with which the National Association of Manufacturers endorsed the principle of Truman's proposal and the indecent haste with which the notoriously anti-labor Congressmen have swung into action to embody it in law, make transparent the real origin and purpose of Truman's strikebreaking scheme as well as the obvious collusion between Big Business and the administration in projecting it.

UNION REACTION

The apparently bitter reaction of the top union leaders to Truman's strikebreaking acts and union-curbing proposals is evidence of the tremendous pressure the union ranks are exerting and the little opportunity the administration has given the union officials for the usual squirming and twisting attempts to cover up the viciously anti-labor character of the government.

This time CIO President Philip Murray and AFL President William Green could find no formula to conceal the real meaning of the administration's act. Murray attacked it over a national radio hookup in savage terms. Green made so bold as to threaten: "We are no different from the laboring men of Great Britain. When driven to desperation we too will turn to the left."

Of course, Green or Murray will "turn to the left" only when the union ranks take them by the scruff of the neck and pull them left. But the union leaders are forced to talk in these terms, hoping that the threat will somehow induce the administration to modify its anti-labor course. Their hopes, of course, are in vain.

Record Meeting Answers Slander Against SWP

By Al Lynn

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 29.—A capacity audience of 260 workers jammed Folks Hall in East Los Angeles tonight to hear the Trotskyist answer on how to defeat fascism in America and stop fascist demagogues like Gerald L. K. Smith. Another 50 had to be turned away.

The meeting was called by the Socialist Workers Party, Los Angeles Local, and its youth organization, the Socialist Youth Club, in answer to a vicious slander attack against the Trotskyists by the Communist (Stalinist) Party.

Blasting the Stalinist lie that the Trotskyists are "fascists" and "even worse than fascists," Murray Weiss, member of the SWP National Committee, replied: "The Stalinists by thus blurring over the real nature of fascism align themselves with the reactionary witch-hunters in the local colleges who are accusing the students of 'Red Fascism,' and are splitting the united front just as they did in Germany when Hitler came to power."

HUSH-HUSH TO PRAYER

Characterizing Stalinist policy throughout the local labor campaign against Gerald L. K. Smith as "from hush-hush, to picketing, to prayer," Comrade Weiss pointed out that only under the greatest pressure both from their own ranks and from the labor movement did the Stalinists agree to picket the recent Smith meetings here.

When Smith held his first meetings, the Stalinists proposed to give him the "silent treatment." Now that they have been able to seize the leadership of the anti-fascist forces because of their numerical superiority in the labor movement which led the struggle against Smith, the Stalinists are advocating, as the means of combating Smith, that the workers call upon their ministers and rabbis to pray against Smith when he speaks. Comrade Weiss countered to this the Trotskyist program for a united militant anti-fascist labor struggle.

Other speakers dealt with the role of the youth, the women, the parents and the racial minorities in the anti-fascist struggle. Giving color to the meeting were the posters strung along the walls. These posters had been carried in the recent giant labor picket lines against Smith.

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself; where labor with a black skin is branded."
—KARL MARX

by CHARLES JACKSON

Another Angle on G. M. Strike

The powerful CIO United Automobile Workers Union has demonstrated its ability to close down, from one end of the country to the other, the profit-mad General Motors Corporation. The workers have backed this strike almost to the man and have given one of the grandest demonstrations this country has seen in working class solidarity.

Black and white alike both know that a 30 per cent wage increase is the only answer to the present combination of a rising cost of living, widespread cutbacks and a shorter work week, with consequently greatly reduced take-home pay.

Issues (such as the demand for the corporation to open its books) which have been injected into no previous strikes have been brought out in this class action. That trend will become increasingly evident as the American workers realize the full necessity of all-out struggle against the capitalist class on an ever-widening scale. Careful consideration by the GM workers will also make it plain to them that now is the time for them to insist on the inclusion of a no-discrimination clause in the new contract for which they are fighting.

WEAPON OF THE BOSS

Discrimination against Negroes and against women in employment does not in the end work to the advantage of the white male workers at all. Instead, it is a dangerous weapon of the boss. Now that the GM workers have the employer on the ground, they should certainly remove this dagger, discrimination, from under his cloak, so that when he gets back up he will be robbed of one of his most deadly weapons.

As reported here in a recent issue, the Gear and Axle plant of GM in Detroit openly discriminated against women—and especially Negro women—as soon as "peace" broke out, with the surrender of the Japanese imperialists. Even worse practices have been reported from GM plants in other parts of the country. Quoted below are excerpts from an editorial in the Los Angeles Sentinel of November 15:

SITUATION IN GM

"The situation at the local GM plant illustrates the need for insisting on a non-discrimination clause in any agreement that is reached. Employment there is in the hands of the company. As a result of union pressure, they promised to hire Negroes in production. But they have not lived up to this promise. 'The company has flouted this (Fair Employment Practices Committee) directive—and has gotten away with it.' 'Meanwhile, as many instances have amply demonstrated,

Ask Your Shopmates to Subscribe to THE MILITANT

Thus we see that when workers stand together, black and white, they can bring even the mighty GM giant to his knees. On the other hand we have seen, from early union days, that when the ranks of labor are torn by the dividing teeth of racial discrimination, their total class strength can only suffer and the boss class exploiters can only profit. On the west coast the bosses are evidently preparing to repeat the performance now.

ANSWER TO THIS ISSUE

The answer to this pertinent issue then must be a second demand incorporated in the total demand of a 30 per cent wage increase. The workers must insist upon a no-discrimination clause in the new contract with the bosses. In the words of the Sentinel editorial, to which we thoroughly subscribe, "The UAW is now in a position to press for inclusion of the no-discrimination clause in the present negotiations. In the interests of the white auto workers, as well as in the interests of colored workers and of the union itself, the automobile manufacturers must be forced to accept this policy throughout the country."

Leaders of the GM workers now demonstrating such valiant picket line solidarity: You now have the thieving giant on his back! Do not let him arise until he not only agrees to return to you part of his plunder but until he also surrenders that hidden dagger of racial discrimination which he hopes to sink into your back at a later date. Color discrimination in hiring and job opportunity, as you have seen before, is aimed THROUGH the Negro AT the entire working class. It is to YOUR benefit to demand the elimination of the union busting tactics of dividing Negro and white, women and men.

Socialist Workers Party Branch Activities

AKRON — Visit The Militant Club, 405-E Everett Bldg., 39 East Market St., open Tues. and Thurs. 2 to 4 p.m.; Mon., Wed., Fri. 7 to 9 p.m.

ALBANY — Public discussion meeting on current topics every Thursday, 8 p.m., at Millant Labor Forum, S. E. corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Allentown.

BOSTON — Office at 30 Stuart St. Open Mondays and Saturdays from noon until 5 p.m., Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays from 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

BUFFALO — Every Saturday night, Current Events Discussion and Open House, at Millant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor.

CHICAGO — Visit the Chicago SWP headquarters, 180 N. Wells, R. 317. Open 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. every day except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 7562.

CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m., at Peck's Hall 1446 E. 82nd St.

DETROIT — SWP Open House every Saturday at 6108 Linwood. Forums on topical questions every Sunday, 8 p.m.

KANSAS CITY — SWP Branch meets Saturday, 8 p.m., Rm. 203, Studio Bldg., 418 E. 9th St., for study and discussion.

LOS ANGELES — Buy The Militant, 4th International and other Marxist books and pamphlets at Socialist Workers Party 145 So. Broadway, Room

203, Los Angeles 12. SAN PEDRO, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

MILWAUKEE — Visit the Milwaukee branch of the SWP at its headquarters, 424 E. Wells St., any evening from 7:30.

MINNEAPOLIS — Visit the Labor Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily. Attend the Twin Cities Sunday Forum held every Sunday, 3:30 p.m.

NEWARK — Open forum every Friday at the Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30.

Dec. 14—"The Situation in France." Speaker: Charles Carsten.

NEW YORK — Registration open at 116 University Pl. for classes in Principles of Marxism, Public Speaking and Parliamentary Procedure.

Harlem Discussion Group meets every Sunday night 7:30 p.m. to discuss "Labor and Negro Struggles," at 103 West 110 St., Room 23. Office open Wednesday, Saturday, 1 to 5 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA — SWP Headquarters, 405 W. Girard Ave. Open forums every Friday 8 p.m. on current topics.

Socialist Youth Group meets on alternate Saturdays, 8 p.m.

Fundamentals of Marxism every Sunday evening.

PORTLAND, Ore. — Visit the SWP headquarters, 134 S. W. Washington, 3rd floor. Tel. ATwater 3992. Open 1 to 4 p.m., daily except Sunday, and 6 to 8 p.m. on Tuesday and Friday.

SAN FRANCISCO — Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 3 p.m., Monday through Saturday, and 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.

SEATTLE — Study groups every Friday, 7:45 p.m., at Seattle School of Social Science, 1919 1/2 Second Ave.; 1. Imperialism; 2. Introduction to Socialism.

ST. LOUIS — Visit our headquarters, 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, open Monday through Saturday from 12 to 2 p.m.; Monday, Wednesday, Friday from 8 to 10 p.m.

TOLEDO — Forums every Tuesday, 8:45 p.m., Rol Davis Bldg., Room 304, 905 Jefferson Ave. Open evenings, 7-9. Thursday Classes: Fundamentals of Marxism, 7:30 p.m. History of 3rd International, 8:50 p.m.

YOUNGSTOWN — Youngstown School of Social Science, 225 N. Phelps St., open to public Tuesday and Saturday afternoon from 2 to 5; also 7:30 to 9:30 p.m., Monday through Thursday.

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Diary Of A Steelworker By T. Kovalsky

As you plod through the snow on the way to the steel plant, you look down the street and see the huge corrugated iron shed of the open hearth looming over the town, and suddenly the power of the great steel companies stands out harshly in your mind. The open hearth with its tall stacks pouring their smoke into the dirty sky sits solidly on the snowy earth, and the dusty, poverty-ridden steel town kneels before it like a miserable little slave before a brutal king.

The open hearths, the monstrous, howling blast furnaces, the coke ovens shooting great geysers of white steam up into the gray sky, the squat, rambling mills mean millions upon millions of dollars of cruel, uncompromising capital. And before them, scattered and piled together on the snow covered land, fouled with the dust of the furnaces and the smoke of the stacks, lie the rickety flats and tenements of the steelworkers.

The division is great, and it is obvious: on the one side, the smoky riches of the steel company; on the other, the smoky poverty of the men and women who work there.

But there is something else in the picture that perhaps not everyone would see . . . and that is the determination of the steelworkers, it is our will to struggle. You see, our wealth is not like the wealth of the companies. You can't count it, sell it, or put it in the banks. It has no dollar sign. Our wealth, our power, rests in our huge numbers, organized and unyielding; we are strong in our courage and in the knowledge that we are right.

The Plant Begins to Hum

Our strength has penetrated into the very stronghold of our enemy. Within the gates of the mills, on the furnaces, in the locker rooms you can see it. Old John, the janitor in our locker room, tells me concerning the strike vote, "I go over and vote YES. I no vote for company!" Slim had half the walls in the department chalked up, "Vote YES Nov. 28." Mike, the wild man of the organizing days, is beginning to get

interested again and talks enthusiastically about "pulling the pin." Our whole department, our whole plant, is beginning to hum with growing tension. The air is charged with an electric quality of waiting for action. All that is a manifestation of our power.

But one of the things which seems most significant to me is that men who have taken no interest whatsoever in the union have begun to turn out. The dollar men, those who paid their dollar on the checkoff every month and never went over to the union hall from one year to the next, have been coming up to those of us who have been active and asking, "Well, when are we going to walk out?" Their feeling seems to be, "Look, I don't know much about the union. I stay home or go to the show on meeting nights. I let you fellows, stewards, committeemen, and officers run the local, because I don't want to be bothered. But I know it's good to have a union. I worked here before the plant was organized, and it was tough. I don't want that anymore. So I'm with you, brothers. If there's going to be a fight, I'm going to be in it. I'm no scab."

This Is Our Power

In every locker room in the plant you'll hear them reminiscing. "I was up there at No. 2 Gate in the big one when the cops came around," says somebody. "A big cop comes up to me and says, 'You can't keep these guys out,' and I says back, 'Brother, that's just what we're doing!' Before he finishes talking, somebody else is interrupting with another story of bravery, tragedy, or even comedy on the picket line during the last 'big one.'"

That is our power. It is an invisible power that doesn't loom over the town like the great open hearth. You can't see it, but it's here, everywhere. It's behind the fierce grins of the boys at the strike committee meetings. It's in the conversation of the steelworkers cashing their checks at the bar in Emil's Place. It's in the heart of every man and woman who voted YES on the 28th . . . and most of those who didn't get to the polls to vote at all.

This power is enough and more than enough to win the coming strike. But it won't stop there. Some day—and remember this—this very same power is going to tip over the world and make out of it a place fit for human beings to live in.

Postwar Notes For Seamen By F. J. Lang

If the bill for compulsory peacetime military training is pushed through Congress, some of the conscripts may be assigned to Maritime Service. The U. S. Maritime Commission recently adopted a resolution calling for such a corps of young men. According to the commission, the draftees would be placed in a maritime



pool for "shadow crews."

These "shadow crews" are for the "ghost fleets" of thousands of laid-up ships for which the government can find no use between wars. Even though there will be little use for the laid-up ships, it is certain that the "shadow crews" would be called into service in the event of a maritime strike. That is war, too. And the bosses are not particular whether their conscript army is used abroad or at home. It all depends upon where such an army is needed most at a particular time to protect the interests of the employing class.

A major battle between maritime labor and the shipping interests of this country, with the government spearheading the drive against merchant seamen, will develop soon, just as was the case after World War I. Seamen are now beginning to realize what a monstrous hoax was the much-hailed "\$45 a month wage increase" granted by the WLB last July.

Instead of being an increase, it actually amounted to a 30 per cent cut in the seamen's wartime earnings. Every maritime union in the country is now demanding wage increases and improvements in conditions to off-set the deep inroads that are being made in the seamen's pay checks by the rising cost of living.

The real problems facing merchant seamen have long been ignored by the Stalinist leadership of the CIO National Maritime Union. However, a fight has now developed in the top circles of this leadership over precisely this ques-

tion of a more vigilant and aggressive policy in the interest of the membership.

One of the signs that the Stalinists in the unions will now make a show of militancy while continuing to disregard the immediate interests of the union memberships was the one-day work stoppage on December 3 called by NMU President Joseph Curran on the East Coast and CIO Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union President Harry Bridges on the West Coast. Neither seamen nor longshoremen under the leadership of these puppets of the Stalinists were allowed to fight against the wartime encroachments of the bosses. Nevertheless, these same men who have seen their unions weakened during the war were asked to make a one-day demonstration to help the high point GI's get back home.

Such a demand and fight for the return of the troops is 100 per cent correct in itself. But it raises the question of why the Stalinists can call a strike on an issue approved by the Kremlin, but prevent the seamen from conducting a militant, consistent struggle for decent conditions for themselves. In this sense, the NMU leaders cynically used in a strictly limited action the sentiments of the seamen for bringing home the troops as a substitute for a militant fight all down the line for the seamen's just demands.

GI's are not the only ones that are stuck in foreign places while U. S. imperialism prepares to launch the next phase of its drive for world-wide conquest. Right now there are at least 40 merchant ships full-loaded with ammunition in the Pacific atolls, and nobody knows when the crews on those ships will get home.

One of the excuses given for not bringing these ships back is that there are not enough West Coast port facilities to handle these ships and so there is no use hurrying them home. The real reason for keeping these floating ammunition dumps in the Pacific now is to insure supplies for the troops now being kept in China.

Striking Vets Picket MUCC

(Continued from Page 1)

eral Motors Department; August Scholle, Michigan CIO Regional Director; Robert Carter, Chairman of the Flint AC Spark Plug Local Strike Strategy Committee; Matt Hammond, President of UAW Local 157; and representatives of the Veterans' Bureau of the International Union.

At 2 p.m. today the picket line began forming in front of the MUCC headquarters. The veterans carried placards demanding: "Bring the Boys Home Now," "GM Gets Tax Rebates: We Want Our Unemployment Compensation Under The GI Bill of Rights." Other placards demonstrated that these veterans were also GM workers on strike.

Six delegates from various local unions were selected from the picket line to accompany Anderson into the MUCC offices; E. M. Lakanen, Local 235; Oleus McMillan, 262; Homer Coleman, 174; John Martinow, 735; August J. Golas, 163; and Helen Golas, army nurse, 163.

VETS "DISQUALIFIED"

The delegation was received by J. L. McCuskey, Chief of Operations. He gave a lengthy and ambiguous "interpretation" of Section 800-B of the GI Bill of Rights. He stated that veterans who comprise part of a labor dispute in which they either "participate" or even are merely "interested," and in which the question of wages is involved, are "disqualified" from receiving unemployment benefits. He said that

beginning on Monday, each of the 4,500 GM veterans who have already filed claims for such benefits, will receive a notification as to whether or not he is entitled to such benefits.

Under direct questioning by John W. Anderson and other members of the delegation, McCuskey admitted that all GM workers covered by their bargaining agreement would be disqualified. He further admitted that only salaried workers and perhaps some maintenance workers covered by separate bargaining agreements, would not be affected. McCuskey was silent when Anderson pointed out that directly before the strike occurred, GM had increased the wages of the salaried employees in an anti-labor move on the part of the corporation to divide the supervisory and salaried employees from the production workers.

RED TAPE IN APPEAL

"Thus, it is plainly obvious that under your interpretation of the bill, not one of us who are GM production workers will ever receive this compensation," Anderson pointed out. Mrs. Golas added: "Evidently all that remains for the GI's then, is paupers' relief!"

Upon request from the delegation, McCuskey described the lengthy, legal red tape involved in appealing the "interpretation" of the bill. At the end of this, he said, the final decision would

rest with General Omar Bradley, Veterans' Administrator in Washington.

Thereupon Anderson demanded that the Commission telephone General Bradley then and there to ask him directly to cut all the red tape and instruct the MUCC to pay out the benefits immediately. McCuskey demurred that he did not have authority to take this step, but that the top officers of the Commission were at that moment in session and he would refer the request to them.

He took the delegation to Dr. Ashley's office where the Commission was in session. Pressed by Anderson, Ashley telephoned his "liason man" in Washington and asked him to contact General Bradley. But General Bradley was not in town and the matter would have to wait until he returned. "But this is a Congressional law," said Ashley, who is one of the top leaders in the Republican National Committee, "and I feel sure it will have to be changed by Congressional action."

"Well, then, it may be necessary to change the law," replied Anderson. "We GI's notice that Congress is getting very fast these days when it comes to passing laws against labor. We'll find out if they will act equally fast in changing this law in favor of labor veterans. If we cannot get satisfaction through the local MUCC, we will have to contemplate taking further steps."

Detroit Veterans Denied Even Slum Housing; No Relief In Sight As Mayor Double-Talks

By Grace Carlson

DETROIT, Dec. 1—Last week, one of the Detroit papers published a cartoon, showing a veteran and his family living in a fox-hole which had been dug in the backyard of a crowded apartment building. The cartoon was titled, "Home At Last!"

This is the artist's dramatization of Detroit's scandalous housing crisis. Veterans returning to already-overcrowded Detroit at the rate of 10,000 a month are finding it almost impossible to find decent homes. Every day, the "Wanted To Rent" columns in the local papers are filled with ads like the following:

"After 31 months Japanese internment camp, couple want living quarters. Winter months or permanent. Box 2662. Detroit News 31."

"Desperate Veteran with wife and year-old child needs apt., flat or house. Will pay up to \$80 month for house. Good references. Reliable, permanent Detroiters, Hogarth 5663."

WORST HOUSING NEED

A recent report of the United States Department of Labor characterized Detroit as "the nation's city most in need of housing. A MINIMUM of 200,000 housing units is needed immediately for Detroit's present population. This number increases daily as more and more veterans return to the city."

Detroit is a landlord's Paradise! Every apartment owner has hundreds of applications in his files. From among these, he can select the kind of tenants he likes—employed couples, with references and steady jobs. Recently returned veterans have a very difficult time locating a flat or apartment.

Veterans with children in the family have a still more difficult time to rent a home. Veterans who have returned to work in the auto plants, and are now out on strike against the General Motors Corporation, or may be called out in the coming months, have no chance at all.

THEIR "REWARD"

Veterans with families in Detroit are forced to move into the already-crowded homes of fathers, brothers and sisters. Those still less fortunate are driven into drab, dirty, dismal, substandard houses—buildings which have been condemned by the city's health authorities.

Men who thought that they had left filth and grime behind them on the battlefields of Okinawa, Iwo Jima and Anzio must make their "homes" in dirty shanty-type dwellings in Detroit's slums. Men who had been told that they were fighting to free all the peoples of the world from want and fear now live in foul-smelling, rat-infested buildings.

JEFFRIES' "PROGRAM"

Twenty per cent of Detroit is considered a slum area, according to the latest report of the city's Governmental Research Bureau. Another 10 per cent of the city's area shows signs of "economic blight." Scores of proposals have been made by social service, medical and civic groups to clear these slum areas and make way for huge low-cost public housing projects.

On November 22, Mayor Jeffries announced that Detroit's acute housing shortage has made it necessary to postpone any talk of a slum clearance project. This is no time to move people from their slum homes, according to Jeffries, because substitute housing is not available. The man who pleaded with Detroit's voters before November 6 to elect him and "save City Hall from Frankenstein and the CIO-PAC," admitted that he was no solution to the critical problem of housing Detroit's homeless veterans.

All that he would promise the veterans' committee, which sought his aid, was that he would "explore the possibility of interesting Eastern financial sources in investing in low-cost housing in Detroit."

During the war, when training centers were needed by the Army or when housing projects were required for defense plant work-

ers, plenty of money was available to build them—Government money. No one proposed then to delay the military program until private capitalist interests would inaugurate the necessary housing projects. Millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money were spent at Willow Run alone to build the houses required for workers in the Ford Bomber Plant.

Since the shut-down of the plant a few months ago, about 2,300 dwelling units at Willow Run have been empty. Veterans have proposed that these housing units be moved to Detroit. But this proposal has met with opposition because so far, neither the city, state nor federal government will agree to pay the moving costs. It is estimated that it would cost \$2,500 per unit to disassemble these houses and set them up within the city limits, but to date, no money has been appropriated to carry this through.

Detroit Readers:

Hear Radio Talks By
ARTHUR BURCH,
SWP Organizer

'The Political and Labor Situation Today'

Station WJLB—1400 kc.
Sunday, Dec. 23, 2:15 p.m.
Sunday, Dec. 30, 2:15 p.m.

Two billion dollars were found without the slightest difficulty to build the atomic bomb. Two billion dollars could be earmarked for a project that resulted in the destruction of thousands of dwelling places and hundreds of thousands of human beings! But the government, so lavish in the disbursement of funds for the purpose of destruction, is very miserly about expending money for the critically necessary construction of low-cost homes for the veterans of Detroit and other cities.

RICH KEPT SNUG

But the millionaires for whom the veterans fought the Second World War are not homeless. Safe and snug in their Grosse Pointe mansions, the industrial magnates plot to cut wages and taxes. A headline in the November 29 Detroit News reads: "Mansion Owners Beg for Tax Relief." The story tells of the appeal of the owners of 90 Grosse Pointe estates assessed at \$11,000,000 for a cut in taxes.

The well-fed, well-clothed and very well-housed Grosse Pointe millionaires are not concerned over the plight of Detroit's worker-veterans. They do not offer to house homeless veterans in their huge, marble-lined mansions. They are not agitated about slum-clearance and low-cost housing projects. Quite the contrary! These greedy capitalists are thinking only of how they can hang on to their wealth—and how they can cut the living standards of the workers.

As plant workers, Detroit's veterans helped to build up the auto magnates' fortunes. Then, as conscriptees, these workers went abroad to fight to protect the billionnaires. Today, for these homeless worker veterans, the words of the second verse of "Solidarity Forever" seem particularly appropriate:

"Now we stand, outcast and starving
Midst the wonders we have made."

Spending for "Peace"

Testifying recently on inflationary pressures before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, OPA head Chester Bowles revealed the Army and Navy plan to spend \$41-billion in the 12 months following V-J Day, compared to total military expenditures of \$33-billion for all of World War I. Asked, "What do they want to spend it for?" Bowles replied he "didn't know."

Spirited GM Picket Line In Cleveland



GM's Fisher Body plant in Cleveland picketed by striking CIO auto workers who carry signs demanding that the company open its books to reveal the extent of its war profiteering and its ability to pay a 30 per cent wage increase.

How A Typical Idle Auto Baron Sucked Millions From Workers

By Larissa Reed

Probably more millionaires were created in recent years through the sweat and toil of the auto workers than in any other industry.

One of these millionaires, John Anderson, died two weeks ago. The newspapers paid him lavish homage. It is illuminating to see how much brains this typical auto magnate really had and just what he contributed to the industry which paid him off so well.

In 1903 Anderson, an attorney, invested \$5,000 in the Ford Company. Ten years later he was a multi-millionaire. He himself once described how it happened. In the spring of 1913 while Anderson was disporting himself in Europe, his law partner cabled him that Ford had declared a huge dividend. "On this particular night," Anderson said, "I arrived at my hotel in Geneva, Switzerland. My children were there and we had dinner in our room. While we were eating a cablegram was handed to me. I opened it and it said '500'."

"I WAS VERY HAPPY"

The dividend was so large that at first Anderson thought there had been an error. He went to the cable office to check. But it was true. So after the good news, he said, he took Mrs. Anderson out to listen to a band playing in a nearby square. Then to a restaurant where he ordered champagne.

"I was very happy," he said. "I toasted Mr. and Mrs. Ford, Mrs. and Mrs. Couzens, the stockholders and the Ford car." Mr. Anderson did not toast the thousands of toiling, underprivileged auto workers who were producing the thousands of Ford cars as well as his enormous dividends. "I think if a Ford had gone through the square I would have gone out and hugged it," he said. But you may be sure he wouldn't have hugged a Ford worker. Those Ford workers who lived under the terror of a private army of armed thugs and were drained by the most merciless speedup system ever devised.

HOW IT CAME OUT

John Anderson told this touching story of how he became a millionaire to an interested audience in Detroit's Hotel Statler in 1927. The gathering in the swanky hotel was not, however, for social purposes. It was an "improvised courtroom."

Anderson was a witness in his own behalf in the suit of the U. S. Treasury to collect \$34,000,000 additional income tax from the Ford stockholders on the basis of the profits they made when Henry Ford bought them all out. It was in 1919 that Ford began

to consolidate his family's empire. He paid Anderson \$12,500,000 for his holdings. The government later contended that Anderson owed \$1,438,826.35 of this in additional taxes.

There were other "distinguished" lawyers defending the group of millionaire Ford stockholders, including Joseph E. Davies, former ambassador to Moscow and author of that infamous pack of lies, "Mission to Moscow." The Ford millionaires and their slick lawyers of course won the suit. The judges decided that not only had Anderson and the other original stockholders paid enough income tax when they sold out to Ford, but that they had paid too much. So \$3,000,000 of the taxpayers' money went to swell the super-profits of the millionaires. Anderson got his share.

NO EXCEPTION

The story of John Anderson is significant because it is no exception. This is the way all the fantastic fortunes of America's 60 ruling families were made. A few of them, like the du Ponts and the Fords, control vast empires which reach all around the globe. They control the lives and destinies of millions of work-

ers. They decide whether men shall work or starve. They decide at what wages men shall toil and for how many hours. They even decide whether, to crush Wall Street's foreign rivals and build up ever greater profits, men shall die on foreign battlefields.

Multi-Millionaire Anderson is dead and Henry Ford is getting old. But their "brainy" sons keep a firm grip on their dynasties. Today a 28 year old ignoramus of a playboy rules over the billion dollar Ford empire and decides the fate of a million men. His only accomplishment is that he is the grandson of Ford. His first "contribution" to the auto industry is to begin locking out Ford workers, in support of his capitalist ally, the General Motors Corporation.

So "indispensable" are these millionaire and billionaire parasites that if they all disappeared tomorrow, the auto industry would continue without a ripple. In fact, it would only then really begin to thrive. For the only indispensable men in the auto industry are the auto workers. Without their brains and skill and work, it would cease to exist.

Bristol Strikers Oppose GM Parts Production Move

BRISTOL, Conn., Dec. 7.—A packed meeting of striking workers of General Motors New Departure Bearing Company, members of Local 626 UAW-CIO, voted unanimously last night against any partial return to work by GM strikers. "Either we all go back, or none," was the determined conviction expressed by those present.

This local of 8,000, engaged in the first strike in this town in 50 years, is doing a splendid job in strike organization, that can compare favorably with more experienced locals of the UAW. Though most of the members are new to unionism and strikes, they have by now, in their 17th day of action, achieved a well-organized and smoothly functioning strike machine.

The picketing system is working smoothly. A strike commissary at union headquarters and field kitchens out at the picket lines are in full operation, supplied by the many friendly storekeepers of the town, a few of whom are throwing funds for the pickets, "on the house." Union members who happen

to feel the pinch and need credit or cash relief, have found the union's backing promptly thrown behind them.

There have been a few isolated and ineffective attempts made to lower the morale of the picketing workers through publication in the local press of anonymous anti-strike letters from company stooges, but they have been quickly and effectively countered by the union's publicity. The town generally, and veterans particularly, are solidly supporting the strike.

An example of the fine spirit of militancy and solidarity that is typical of Local 626, was the appearance of a delegation of the Local's flying squadron in support of a public strike meeting of their sister UAW Local 133. Local 133 is now in the eighth week of its action against the arrogant Fafnir Bearing Co. of New Britain. The appearance of Local 626's uniformed pickets at the meeting served as a great boost to the morale of the hard-pressed but determined Fafnir strikers.

Protest The Massacre Of The Colonial Peoples!

CHICAGO
MASS MEETING
SUNDAY
DEC. 16
8 p. m.

Demand The Withdrawal Of Allied Troops
From China, Indonesia And Indo-China
Speakers:

CHARLES JACKSON
Writer of 'The Negro Struggle'

M. BARTELL
Chicago Organizer, SWP

BUCKINGHAM HALL
Chicago
Auspices: Socialist Workers Party