

How The Auto Workers Fought Injunctions

—See Page 3—

Workers Of The World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. IX — No. 51

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1945



PRICE: FIVE CENTS

GM STRIKERS ASSAIL FORD SCHEME

Fighting Policy Needed To Win The GM Strike

By The Editors

Through four weeks of bitter struggle, the General Motors workers have inspired American labor by their unity and militancy. But despite the magnificent fight of the GM ranks, their strike is being thrown on the defensive all up and down the line solely because of the policies of the CIO United Automobile Workers leadership.

From the start, these leaders have acted upon a totally false concept of the nature of this conflict. They have failed to understand that the titanic GM strike is the spearhead of the whole unfolding battle between labor and capital in America.

The super-slick strategy devised by the auto union leadership of taking on the Corporations one at a time, of isolating GM while keeping its rivals working, has collapsed like a house of cards.

It is not the General Motors corporation that is isolated. It is the General Motors workers who find themselves isolated. Such are the first fruits of the Thomas-Reuther "strategy."

The General Motors strike has temporarily been thrown on the defensive not because of any weakness in the workers' ranks. This strike has been thrown on the defensive for one reason and one reason alone: the inadequacy, the bewilderment, the fear of the top union officials. It is they who have retreated step by step until they have today handed over the initiative to the auto barons, the industrialists in general, and their government agents.

Let us review the most important of these retreats which in their totality are responsible for the present defensive status of this strike.

The Record Of Leaders' Retreats

First, there is the question of the office and supervisory workers. Ever since the GM strike started this issue has agitated the ranks and created endless confusion and dissension. The workers on the picket lines, with a true class instinct, understood that these office and supervisory workers, if permitted to go through the picket lines, could become the starting point for a future back-to-work movement. Therefore they wanted to keep everybody out, to keep the plants shut down tight.

The top union officials, contrariwise, revealed from the first on this issue an attitude of indecision and cowardice. They wanted to temporize. They wanted to make some kind of "deal" with the company. Thus, they hoped to prevent the company from getting court injunctions against the union, against mass picketing.

But it was clear right from the beginning that the General Motors Corporation was not interested in concluding any practical agreements with the union on this issue. It was clear from the beginning that the corporation intended to keep this issue alive precisely so it could go into the courts at the opportune moment and get its paid judges to legalize the mass picket lines.

And despite all of Thomas' and Reuther's and Addes' attempts to capitulate on this point, the corporation officials adamantly turned down EVERY proposal. And now, at what they believe is the propitious moment, they are securing their injunctions against the union.

More And More Steps Backward

The retreat of the top union officials, however, has not been halted at this point. On the contrary, frightened by these injunctions, they have instructed the locals to withdraw pickets from the GM Administration Buildings and to permit the office and supervisory workers to pass through. Of course, automobiles will not be manufactured by either the office or the supervisory workers. And in and of itself, this retreat will not break the strike. But it represents, nevertheless, a CRUEL BLOW to the strike. It undermines morale. It breeds confusion and lack of confidence and disgust. It weakens the strike. It paves the way for a possible future back-to-work movement.

As for injunctions, there is only one way to fight them and beat them. That is the way they were fought at Toledo in the Auto-Lite Strike of 1934 and the way they were fought at Flint in the GM strike of 1936-37. There is no other "easier" way. There is just no way of winning a battle of this magnitude and importance except by hard fighting. You can't do it by bluffing, even when it is a Walter Reuther who is doing the bluffing.

Next, there was the proposed retreat on GM parts production. We are all acquainted with the tragic-comedy of Thomas' letter to the General Motors Corporation agreeing to reopen those GM plants which manufacture parts for the other automobile companies. Some people imagine that this fantastic, irresponsible proposal was just a personal brainstorm on the part of R. J. Thomas. Not at all. It was a logical derivative of that fantastic dream that is Reuther's "strategy" of "isolating" the General Motors Corporation and thus winning the strike. Luckily, the rank and file intervened at once on this proposition and squelched it before it had a chance to proceed very far and really do damage to the strike.

Last week we discussed how labor is being threatened by punitive legislation from Congress, how such legislation will hogtie the labor movement and render it, in time, helpless before the ruthless might of the money aristocracy.

(Continued on Page 2)

"Reinforcements Now Appearing . . . Union Men Be Strong!"



Huge Picket Line Demonstrates Before GM Building In Detroit

By Kay O'Brien
(Special to The Militant)

DETROIT, Dec. 10—Detroit auto workers today staged the largest picket line in the city's history in a display of solidarity with the GM strikers. More than 10,000 men and women representing CIO

auto locals from all parts of the city, joined with pickets from the closed-down GM plants. For over an hour they circled the huge General Motors Office Building, which occupies an entire city block.

The demonstration had been called by the December 4 regional conference of all CIO United

PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS FIX STRIKE DEADLINE

By Leigh Ray

CHICAGO—Dec. 10—The CIO packinghouse workers have indignantly answered the "Big 4" packers' wage increase offer of four cents an hour by initiating preparations for militant strike action. 150 delegates from local unions in 20 states met here yesterday and unanimously accepted plans outlined by their National Strike Strategy Committee for a nationwide strike to take place on or before January 1.

Delegate after delegate spoke of mass sentiment for solid strike action in their locals. Discussion was on the practical problems. These local leaders of 150,000 of America's lowest paid workers see the next few months as the most crucial for the packinghouse workers' union. They face the organized onslaught of the entrenched multi-millionaire meat packers who are scheming to weaken and destroy the union and further beat down the miserable standard of living of the workers.

The CIO United Packinghouse Workers of America is one of the newest of the big international unions. In voting more than 20 to 1 for strike action, the packinghouse workers have exhibited remarkable unity and readiness to fight. In working out plans for the coming strike, leaders and rank and file members showed themselves fully determined to battle it out and win the entire 25 cents an hour they are demanding.

Plans call for a complete shut-

ting this line filled the sidewalk for an entire block.

Shortly after 3:30, the stirring strains of "Hold the Fort" could be heard in the distance. Then from around the corner appeared

(Continued on Page 2)

Rubber Union Delegates Back GM Strikers

By Milton Genecin
(Special to The Militant)

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., Dec. 14—The first act of the annual CIO United Rubber Workers of America Convention today was to firmly declare its complete support of the General Motors strike.

At the first session, more than 400 delegates unanimously voted their full backing to the CIO United Automobile Workers who are now in the fourth week of struggle against the Wall Street-Pont billionaires.

Recognizing the fact that the GM strikers are spear-heading the fight of all labor for higher wages, the convention took the stand that the entire membership of the URWA must be mobilized in their support. The delegates went on record in favor of having the local unions of the rubber workers collect money from their members to help the strikers in addition to giving full moral support.

As a further indication of their solidarity with the striking auto workers, the URWA delegates voted to invite Walter Reuther, UAW vice-president, to address the convention.

CRUCIAL PERIOD

This tenth annual convention of the United Rubber Workers is meeting at a decisive moment for the entire labor movement. The capitalist class, flushed with victory over its imperialist rivals, is determined to beat down the unions. The Wall Street bankers and industrialists have fattened themselves to the tune of over 50 billion dollars during the war. They now have their eyes on more billions to be made from the exploitation of China, South America, the Near East and other colonial lands.

But before they can take on

(Continued on Page 2)

IN THE NEWS

Might Aid "Enemy"

The Meade Senate War Investigations Committee recently uncovered the fact that the Army is hoarding stupendous supplies, including 60,000,000 sun-glasses, 116,000,000 cotton shorts, 42,000,000 woolen drawers, 53,000,000 blankets, 30,000,000 sheets, 57,000,000 fatigue jackets etc. War Department officials tried every means to conceal this information—including the claim that it was a "military secret."

George III Said It Too

"The conflict between British forces and Indonesian extremists has nothing to do with the Indonesian independence movement. The British forces are simply putting down terrorism as would be done in any country in the world." (M. E. Denning, British Foreign Office observer in Java.)

Not For the Record

Deleted from the Congressional Record by Representative Cannon of Missouri were the statements of two other Congressmen who criticized his appropriations bill. One of the censored remarks, by Representative Hebert, was: "Many remember the Bonus March after the last war. That will be nothing compared to the march on Washington of ex-servicemen looking for shelter. I'm for economy, but this is no place to begin it."

Going to the Dogs

Millions of men, women and children in Europe and Asia are going to freeze and starve to death this winter, but the canine pets of America's rich will not suffer. Macy's Department Store, in a half-page of the N. Y. Times last week, advertises for sale in its Kennel Shop (Fifth Floor) fur coats for female dogs at the low price of "from \$12.49 to \$246."

Pawnbroker Worried

Queen Wilhelmina, who owns the monopoly on pawn shops in the Dutch East Indies, a world monopoly on quinine and everything below the subsoil (mineral rights) in Indonesia, told the Netherlands Parliament on November 20: "I am greatly concerned about the recent events in Java."

Flint City Wide Committee Hits Plan To Fine Strikers

Demand UAW Officials Repudiate Proposal Offered To Ford; Want Leonard Reprimanded

By Jerry Kirk

FLINT, Mich., Dec. 14.—The Flint city-wide strike committee, representing 45,000 General Motors workers here, went on record today sharply condemning the company security clause proposed by UAW Ford Director Richard Leonard to the Ford Motor Co.

Cleveland Judge Limits Pickets On Fisher Line

BY WIRE TO THE MILITANT

CLEVELAND, O., Dec. 17 —

Starting this morning, picketing at GM's Fisher Body plant here has been limited to 55 pickets by a Common Pleas court injunction. The injunction orders CIO United Automobile Workers Local 45 to permit supervisory and salaried personnel not covered by bargaining units to enter the plant "so long as the corporation does not resume manufacture and production operations."

The terms of the injunction were worked out in the judge's chambers by agreement with union officials. Local 45 leaders point out that theirs is one of the few GM locals which has barred all salaried and supervisory personnel since the beginning of the strike, November 21.

ON GUARD

Local militants feel constrained to comply with the injunction for the time being because of the national strike situation and because the local obtained what appears to be the unprecedented ruling enjoining the corporation from using salaried personnel in production and manufacture.

The local union is suspiciously on guard and preparing for action. Should the corporation violate the terms of the injunction, the union will resume mass picketing, with the responsibility for violation squarely on the company. The morale of the strikers remains high.

Flint City Wide Committee Hits Plan To Fine Strikers

The motion passed by the Flint strike committee states "Moved: That the proposal of Richard Leonard, UAW Ford Director, to the Ford Company, to permit firing and fining of union members be condemned as a treacherous blow to the entire labor movement and a direct back-handed attack against our strike in General Motors, and we request the International Officers to rescind this action and reprimand Richard Leonard."

Top UAW officials in Detroit and in Flint are moving with might and main to keep the Flint decision under cover. They fear that the explosive indignation of the powerful Detroit and Flint sections of the GM workers will blow to smithereens this vicious plan to shackle the Ford workers and set a dangerous precedent for all CIO and other labor organizations.

RANKS OPPOSED

The same motion had been passed earlier by the AC Spark Plug Local's strike strategy committee here.

Some officials of GM locals in Flint, in obvious confusion, have been toying with the idea of accepting the "union security" plan. They view it as an escape from their responsibilities of leadership.

In this sense there has been a widening gap developing between some of the UAW officers and the militant Flint auto workers. The motion of condemnation will undoubtedly let such officers know, in no uncertain language, what the ranks of the auto workers want of their leaders.

Members of AC Spark Plug Local 651, which came to grips with the UAW International last

(Continued on Page 2)

Steel Men Ready For Giant Strike

(SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT)

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 14—CIO steel workers here are girding themselves for an all-out fight against the powerful steel oligarchy as they prepare for the gigantic national strike scheduled to begin January 14.

The Decisions of the Wage

Policy Committee of the CIO United Steelworkers of America, which met in Pittsburgh December 11 to map strategy on the steel workers' \$2-a-day wage increase demand, reflect the grim determination of the USA membership to put up a real fight for a living wage. In a standing vote the committee unanimously endorsed the proposal to halt all steel production on the strike date. Fabrication mill workers will join those in basic steel to make the shutdown complete.

DETERMINED TO FIGHT

Pittsburgh steel workers harbor no illusions that their wage demands can be won easily from the autocratic steel operators. The profit-swollen steel tycoons have an unsurpassed reputation for brutality and ruthlessness.

Many heroic steel workers have fallen in the long fight to organize the industry. Today the men are grimly determined to see this fight through, convinced that their organized strength CAN bring the industrialists to heel. The wage increase is a burning necessity, if their families are not to suffer privation. Contrary to the lying propaganda of the capitalist press, steel workers here possess no backlog of savings or hoarded bonds. Since V-J Day, which re-

established the 5-day week in Pittsburgh mills, the few bonds the workers had managed to buy during the war have been used to cover living expenses.

WHY THEY WANT STRIKE

In a local housing project where steel workers live, one woman whose husband has worked in the Carnegie-Illinois mill at Homestead for 20 years, pointed out that her husband's take-home pay had been cut \$42 a month since V-J Day. "Out of the \$58 he brought me last pay" (for two weeks' work), she said, "I had to put out \$40 for rent. That left me \$18 to feed my

(Continued on Page 2)

ON THE INSIDE

Ford Windsor Strike	2
History Of Injunctions	3
Trotskyists Speak On Germany	7
Imperialists Continue Slaughter In Colonies	8
COLUMNS AND FEATURES	
To bring you nation-wide reports on current labor news, we have omitted this week Trade Union News and International Notes.	
Veterans Problems	8
Workers Forum	5
The Negro Struggle	7
Diary of Steelworker	3

Canadian Ford Strikers Fight New Attempt To Impose Phony Government Arbitration

By Kay O'Brien
(Special to The Militant)

WINDSOR, Ontario, Dec. 14.—In spite of Ford's starvation strategy, in spite of the Canadian labor minister's attempt to put over government arbitration, in spite of the anti-labor barrage in the capitalist press, and finally in spite of the union leadership which is now trying to end the strike, the Ford workers of Canada are still on the picket lines.

Except for the power house, which was reopened two weeks ago, the plant remains completely closed, and no one enters without a union pass.

That this strike, now in its fourteenth week, could keep going so long, is due to the high morale on the picket lines, to the workers' invincible courage and determination to fight to the end. Against tremendous odds, the rank and file of CIO United Automobile Workers Ford Local 200 is fighting to obtain a settlement on the question of union security BEFORE returning to work.

ARBITRATION MOVE

The latest move of the International and Local union of officials to undermine the militancy of the ranks and bring the strike to an end, has been to agree to hold a referendum of all Local 200 members on the question of submitting the dispute to government arbitration.

The request for a referendum came from Canadian Minister of Labor, Humphrey Mitchell, and has the support of the officers, policy committee and negotiating committee of the Ford Local. Even the steward's body, which has previously held out for continuing the strike, has begun to yield to the terrific pressure, and has voted by a two-thirds majority for the referendum.

On Sunday, December 16, union leaders will try to "sell" the referendum to the ranks at a membership meeting. If they succeed, a referendum will be held on December 18 and 19 on the following proposal: "To return to work and resume negotiations with the company, with a Supreme Court Judge of Canada, as government arbitrator, sitting in on the negotiations. At the end of 10 days, if no agreement is reached, the whole matter will be referred to the government arbitrator, whose decision is to be final and binding. It is also proposed that an umpire go into the plant immediately upon its reopening to handle the large list of grievances which had accumulated before the strike started."

DEFEATED BEFORE

This is the same proposal for settling the strike through government arbitration which the local rejected by a 52 per cent majority in a secret ballot vote taken at a membership meeting November 29. Militant pickets who fought off government arbitration at that meeting are

now organizing their forces to defeat the proposal for a referendum.

They claim that a referendum violates the union constitution which stipulates that an authorized strike can be ended only by a vote taken at a regular membership meeting of the local. They also point out that a referendum is designed to reach those members of the union who never come to union meetings and who have never been on the picket lines. It is precisely this element which yields most readily to company and government pressure rather than putting up a militant fight for the union demands.

In the local strike headquarters across from the main gate of the plant, talking of government arbitration is like waving a red flag before a bull. The militant men who have been reporting for picket duty in large numbers ever since the strike started, have no faith in any decision which a Supreme Court judge might hand down. They regard the arbitration proposal merely as a trick to get them back into the plants.

Once inside, they claim, their union will be cut to ribbons. On the other hand, they have ample evidence of the solidarity of their picket lines, and they want to continue their fight with the only weapon they trust, the weapon of militant strike action.

AID GM STRIKE

Their fighting spirit is not confined merely to their own local struggle, but extends across the border. During yesterday's blizzard, a group of these Local 200 pickets joined the GM picket lines in Detroit. They returned from Detroit convinced that the ranks of the GM strikers are opposed to the policy of letting foremen and office workers into GM plants.

The Canadian Ford strikers are adamant on this point. During the early days of their own strike, they allowed foremen to enter, only to learn that they were performing the workers' jobs. "Don't let anyone into the plants" was their advice to GM strikers. "Keep everyone out. That's the way to win a strike."

Considerable concern was also expressed in the Windsor strike headquarters over the "security" being offered to the Ford Motor Company of America by Richard Leonard, UAW Ford Director. Leonard's proposal that the company deduct from \$3 to \$5 a day from the pay of any Ford worker who engages in an "unauthorized" strike, was termed "company unionism" and "an invitation to the foreman to take advantage of the men."

Youngstown Steel Locals Get Ready For Big Strike

(Special to THE MILITANT)

YOUNGSTOWN, O., Dec. 13.—News of the setting of the steel-strike date January 14, spread like wildfire through mills and homes in this steel city. It permeated the atmosphere. It was greeted with enthusiasm by the steel workers who are determined to fight for a decent standard of living. Everybody talked about it and still talks about it.

Because the forthcoming strike will be the first total steel strike called since 1919, the workers are determined that no stone shall be left unturned in preparations for the struggle. Locals are already setting up strike committees.

Militant steel workers are discussing how to organize the

picket lines, and how to provide for families who may be in need. They are aware that because the strike is called for mid-winter, preparations for food and clothing must be most thorough. Policy questions—questions on what the union leaders will do under varying circumstances that may arise during the strike—are already being asked by the workers, who know the importance of conducting a successful struggle.

It is clear that the steel workers understand that the corporations, with the full support of the government in Washington, are out to smash the union. The workers are ready for a tough fight.

Veterans On Detroit GM Picket Line



"GM Gets Tax Rebates," reads one of the placards of the war veterans in this picket line of the UAW-CIO strikers. "We want our unemployment compensation under GI Bill of Rights."

Flint UAW Veterans Spike Plot By GM To Break Their Strike

By John Darnell
(Special to The Militant)

FLINT, Mich.—General Motors' second attempt to organize a veterans' "back to work" movement here was as miserable a failure as its first fiasco involving "Captain" Jack Parkard (reported in The Militant, Dec. 8).

A Lieutenant Holliday called a meeting last week at the Flint YWCA. The meeting was advertised in the papers and on the radio. When meeting time arrived, Lt. Holliday and a colleague showed up—and so did about 50 CIO veterans of World Wars I and II. The meeting had failed to attract a single veteran in the city of Flint with ideas of strikebreaking!

Holliday had hired a pianist and two night club singers—entertainment appreciated by the assembled veterans. He opened the meeting by reading a touching prayer in which he asked everyone to remember all the boys killed and wounded on the battlefields, and all the boys still overseas. He ended by addressing God Almighty to assist "those of us at home" to get back to work at once, that is, help bust the GM strike.

After the prayer, Holliday addressed a few lame questions to his earthly audience about what they fought for overseas, what their attitude toward the civilians at home was, what they thought of the strike. He was answered curtly and pointedly by various veterans.

FUT ON THE SPOT

Gilbert Rose, a CIO United Automobile Workers representative in charge of veterans' work

Steel Men Ready For Giant Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

three kids on for two weeks. And the insurance collector took \$4 of it."

Another steel worker's wife with five small children to feed and clothe, explained that although the strike will mean immediate sacrifice, they were willing to go through a tough siege because on the \$57 her husband brings home every two weeks her children can be kept only in a state of chronic undernourishment.

A MIGHTY UNION

Despite the hardship she knows her family will endure during the strike, the average steel worker's wife supports the union's wage demand and knows it will have to be fought for. She is bitter about soaring prices. She doesn't have to be a mathematician to sense that the steel operators piled up billions during the war. On the other hand, she knows that her husband's present earnings don't begin to cover the cost of feeding the family.

In spite of the tremendous resources of the steel industrialists, they face a formidable challenge. The steel workers approach the impending struggle with a mighty organization and with the support of millions of workers throughout the country. They are armed with the knowledge that they are not fighting alone, and that their demand for security wages is a thoroughly just demand.

and himself a veteran, took the floor. He blasted Lt. Holliday as an agent of General Motors and a strikebreaker.

Rose asked Holliday where he had worked prior to going into the army. Holliday's answer was that he had been an interne in Henry Ford Hospital! What, then, was his interest in labor affairs, since he had never worked in a shop or understood labor's problems? Who paid the expenses of the evening?

Holliday claimed that a group of six veterans was behind the

"Returned Veterans' Association," and that he himself was paying most of the bill.

After some more pointed questions were directed at him, Holliday excused himself from the meeting. That was the last seen of him for the evening.

The planist was still there. We asked her to play "Solidarity Forever," and we all sang lustily. The meeting ended with everyone in high spirits, and contemptuous of the clumsy corporation attempt to divide the veterans from other GM workers.

Flint veterans had again shown that they are well organized, strong union men, ready at a moment's notice to descend upon and liquidate any would-be strikebreaking action.

Flint Strikers Hit Ford Scheme To Victimize Militant Unionists

(Continued from Page 1)

spring over a so-called "unauthorized strike," still have a bitter taste in their mouths. They are well aware of the meaning of this surrender of the local union's right to strike.

DANGERS IN CLAUSE

Archie Myers, president of AC Local, stated: "My own position on the 'union security' proposal is that even if we gave GM this clause, management would manipulate it to provoke and create disturbances which would lead to the firing of our best union people. For that reason I would be opposed to it in the GM set-up. I think that is the stand of the AC workers."

Myers continued, "If the Ford local units could vote on the security clause right now, in my opinion they would turn it down."

INJUNCTION THREAT

With the threats of an injunction in the air, three GM Lo-

cals, Fisher Body, Chevrolet and AC, voted to permit office workers and supervisory employees to return to work, with the proviso that the corporation negotiate the many local demands. This was the position adopted by the GM Delegates' Conference. The Bulk local voted either office or supervisory employees into the plant under any conditions.

During the past week the AC management attempted to get office workers through the picket lines without union agreement. The AC workers turned them back pending word from the union's top negotiating committee.

At a huge membership meeting of Chevrolet Local, the members reluctantly agreed to let salaried employees back in the plant, but insisted that this action come only after the top committee notifies the local of an agreement with GM regarding local demands.

Wasting little time, GM advertised for the return of office workers at Chevrolet. Despite the fact that no agreement has yet been reached, the top committee has evidently passed the word down to the Chevrolet strike committee to pass through the picket lines. Resentment over this action is increasing with each hour. The top committee is clearly violating the mandate of the GM Conference.

HIT ARBITRATION

At the same membership meeting, Chevrolet local passed a forthright resolution against arbitration. Still wary of the Truman "fact-finding" proposal, the Chevrolet workers called for con-

Flint, Mich.

All Militant Readers Invited To Socialist Workers Party Meetings

Every Sunday Night YWCA

First Street And Harrison 8 p.m. Admission Free

'Fleetwood Organizer' Blasts Ford 'Fines' Plan

The "Fleetwood Organizer" strike bulletin of Local 15, United Automobile Workers, CIO, has condemned the company security agreement offered by Richard T. Leonard, UAW Ford Director, in the Ford negotiations. The following is the text of the "Fleetwood Organizer" editorial.

The UAW-CIO's Ford Department is currently engaged in negotiations with the Ford Motor Company. The issue was originally the Union's demand for a 30 per cent wage increase. But Ford spokesmen have maneuvered the Union's negotiator, Richard T. Leonard, into a defensive position on an entirely different issue.

Ford proposed that the Union guarantee the Company against unauthorized work stoppages by agreeing to pay the Company \$5 per man per day for every unauthorized strike. Instead of denouncing this open attack on an attempt to break the UAW, Leonard and his brain trusters came up with a counter-proposal that is even worse from the rank and file workers' point of view.

Leonard's proposal is that the Union agree to the Company's collecting fines of \$3 and \$5 from the men's paychecks in the case of any unauthorized strikes. Where the money goes is immaterial, and should not enter the picture at all.

CRIMINAL PROPOSAL

What should be crystal clear to all union men is the absolutely criminal character of this proposal from a responsible officer of the UAW.

No one should make the mistake of thinking that this is the Ford workers' problem, not our own. GM cancelled their contract with the UAW for the express purpose of getting a similar clause written into a new contract. This is our problem as well as the Ford workers'. It is the problem of every UAW member.

If written into the contract between our Union and any corporation, it would reduce our Union to the status of a disciplinary agency for the bosses.

It would mean the end of the UAW-CIO as a free association of working men and women, united to fight for their economic betterment. This proposal and counter-proposal must be fought tooth and nail. It must

Ask Your Shopmates To Subscribe TO THE MILITANT

be exposed as part and parcel of the great union-busting campaign being waged today by American monopolists.

All real union men must close their ranks against this drive

of the corporations and any agents they may have within our membership. For a free and independent Trade Union Movement! DOWN WITH THE FORD PLAN!

Huge Detroit Picket Line Marches At GM Building

(Continued from Page 1)

ed the sound truck from Detroit Transmission Local 738. Pickets by the thousands fell in behind, and marched down to the international headquarters. There they were joined by the band and color guard from Chevrolet Gear and Axle Local 235.

Sound trucks wheeled in and out among the assembling pickets, issuing directives. The band from Ford Local 600 arrived. Picket signs by the hundreds were rushed out from the inter-

national office, augmenting those brought down by local unions. Cheers went up, greeting each new contingent of pickets, and the massive march got under way.

It was an inspiring sight to see these men and women workers of all ages and all races marching shoulder to shoulder, five abreast, in closed ranks. Some were in working clothes, some in uniform. Still others bore the insignia of their local union flying squadrons. As they marched slowly around the four sides of the General Motors building, they were flanked by sound trucks from the various local unions, including Briggs Local 212, Murray Local 2, West Side Local 174, Ford Local 600, and the truck from Local 738.

Rubber Union Delegates Back GM Strikers

(Continued from Page 1)

any large scale enterprises in far off countries, they want to deal a crushing blow to labor here at home. In these plans the profiteers have the full support of the administration in Washington which has now taken the lead in the war against labor.

The rubber workers are the first of the large unions in this country to meet in convention since the hostilities with Japan ceased four months ago. This gives them the opportunity to show the way to the rest of the labor movement. In giving its full support to the GM strikers the URWA is acting in its best tradition. Ten years ago the rubber workers were in the forefront of the great organizing drives that laid the basis for the building of the C.I.O.

The demands of the rubber workers are similar to those of the auto and all other workers. They are summarized in a seven point program on wages and hours calling for a 30-cent an hour increase, a basic 30-hour week, time and one-half for work performed in excess of 30 hours, time and one-half for Saturday work, double time for Sunday, pay for six designated holidays and a 10-cent per hour night-shift differential.

The union's attempts to negotiate for these demands with some of the large rubber companies have already been met with the same unyielding and arrogant attitude that has characterized the auto and steel battles. The rubber workers know that they are in for a fight and preparations are being made for it.

QUESTION OF LEADERS

While there is much talk in the corridors of replacing the present conservative leadership of the International with one that will really fight for the seven point program, it is too early on this first day of the convention to hazard any predictions. A large number of delegates representing the Akron locals, the U. S. Rubber local in Detroit and the locals in Los Angeles make up the core of the militant forces in the convention. Further developments in the next few days will decide who is to lead the rubber workers in the conflicts which are very soon to come.

However, it is safe to predict that no matter who heads the URWA in the next year, the men and women in the plants will display the same solidarity, initiative, fighting spirit and determination to win as they did in the great sit-down strikes of 10 years ago.

MARCHERS' SLOGANS

Over the entrance to the International headquarters was a huge banner reading "We Fight Today For a Better Tomorrow." This fighting spirit was repeated in the picket signs, numbering more than a thousand, which were carried in the line of march.

"GM PROPOSES L O W WAGES, LONG HOURS, HIGH PRICES, MASS UNEMPLOYMENT" read one sign. Other signs included "HITLER BURNED BOOKS" GM HIDES BOOKS, "WHAT HAVE THE DUFONTS GOT THAT WE HAVEN'T GOT — 30%?", "FOR AN AMERICA WITH JOBS FOR ALL", "6 MILLIONS STRONG CAN'T BE WRONG — CIO!", "OUR BUDDIES GAVE THEIR LIVES. WHAT DID GM GIVE?!", "COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, NOT ANTI-LABOR LAWS".

In spite of the bitter cold, the pickets were reluctant to call off their line. Cheering and singing, drawing into their ranks the reinforcements which continued to arrive, this mass army of pickets made two more circuits of the building after officials in charge had declared that the demonstration was over. At five o'clock they were finally persuaded to disband, and left the scene shouting "We'll see you on the picket lines tomorrow!"

Brooklyn SWP Moves To New Larger Quarters

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Dec. 13 —

The success of the Trotskyist election and Militant sub campaigns revealed how receptive the working people of Brooklyn are to the program of the Socialist Workers Party. Over 1,100 votes were cast for Farrell Dobbs in the working class districts, the largest Trotskyist vote in the five boroughs.

The comrades in Brooklyn with the help of the New York local have already taken action by moving into a new headquarters suitable for a rapidly growing party. The new headquarters is located at 635 Fulton St. in the heart of the downtown district, convenient to all bus lines and subway systems.

The work of decorating the new headquarters is progressing rapidly.

A gala housewarming to which all our friends are invited will be held January 12.

Buy Books As Gifts For Your Friends And Shopmates

By LEON TROTSKY

The First Five Years of the Communist International

cloth \$2.50

paper 1.50

now at the bindery—ready for delivery before Christmas

The Revolution Betrayed cloth 2.00

paper 1.00

now at the bindery—ready for delivery before Christmas

In Defense of Marxism cloth 2.00

paper 1.50

Lessons of October cloth 1.00

Whither France cloth 1.00

By JAMES P. CANNON

The History of American Trotskyism cloth 2.00

paper 1.00

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party cloth 2.00

paper 1.50

Order From

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT

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

Published in the interests of the working people
The only newspaper in this country that tells
the truth about labor's struggles
for a better world.

You may start my subscription to The Militant for 6 months. I enclose \$6 cents (coin or stamps)

Send me The Militant at your regular rate of \$1 for 12 months. I enclose \$1 (coin, stamps or Money Order)

Name (Please Print)

Street

City

State



Fighting Policy Needed To Win The GM Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

cracy. We discussed how Murray and the other top CIO leaders stopped half way in their break with the Truman administration, how Murray was not making good on his promise to labor that the CIO would mobilize the American people to fight this assault on their liberties. Murray's timid half-hearted policy was capped this week by the action of Thomas and Reuther.

After Truman appointed his three-man Fact-Finding Commission to "investigate" the General Motors strike, Thomas and Reuther reversed their previous stand and announced, in effect, that the UAW would cooperate with the Commission. This new stand violates the express decision of the recently held GM National Conference of the Union, and represents at the very least a 75 per cent reversal of the union's previous policy. The position of Thomas and Reuther commits the union, at least in part, to accept any final decision of Truman's Fact-Finding Commission. It weakens labor's whole fight against the Truman-proposed anti-labor legislation. It is a set-back to the GM strike. It is a set-back to labor's whole fight for a decent standard of living.

On top of all these retreats comes the worst action of all: the "stab in the back" of the GM strike from inside labor's own house. This "stab in the back" is the offer made to the Ford Company by Richard Leonard, UAW Ford Director, to "discipline" the union ranks and to provide the company with "security." Leonard made the proposal that any worker guilty of "agitating" for an "unauthorized" strike shall be fired and that all workers participating in such "unauthorized" strikes shall be fined first \$3 and on the second offense \$5 per day.

This outrageous proposal to housebreak the great auto union is made in the name of and represents the unanimous position of every international executive officer of the UAW. This is a proposal to convert the proud, militant, fighting auto union into a miserable job trust. This is a proposal to organize a joint conspiracy between the corporations and the union bureaucrats against the workers. The corporation would help bolster the union bureaucracy and protect it from the wrath of the rank and file by means of the check-off and the "disciplinary" provisions of the contract. In return the union bureaucrats would become policemen for the company to keep the working force docile and submissive.

The Net Results Of This "Strategy"

These bureaucrats of the auto union, scared as rabbits by the fast-moving events and the big problems confronting them, are so stupid, so blind, that they don't even realize that they would be digging their own graves, even if they succeeded in putting their sell-out proposal across. A "unionism" of this kind would engender such fierce hatred on the part of the more backward workers against the union organization and its leadership, that in two or three years' time it would be child's play for a Ford or any other labor-hating corporation to move in and wipe out the whole union, the top bureaucracy included.

Clinging blindly to their asinine theory of isolating GM, the auto union officials had conjured up sweet dreams that their sell-out offer to Ford would break the "log-jam" on wages. But their sell-out offer hasn't paid off. Ford didn't come across with any wage proposal. Ford's anti-union strategy proved even more insidious and potent than that of GM. Ford said to the union in effect: We neither accept nor reject your "security" proposals, although they do show that you have a "good attitude" and that Leonard is a wonderful statesman. However, let us put them on the table for the time being and let us discuss the next point on the agenda, namely, labor's "productivity." Or in plain English—the speedup. As for wages, we probably will not be in a position to make any kind of a wage offer for a long time.

That is how the union leadership's "strategy" has worked out at Ford's. As for GM, it immediately cancelled its contract with the union and is likewise preparing demands which will guarantee its "security." Thus, the UAW top leadership has opened the doors to the corporations to launch a new, insidious attack upon the unions, to curtail their freedom and to destroy the democratic rights and the self-confidence of the rank and file.

These are the reasons why the GM strike, and with it labor's wage fight on a national scale, are today on the defensive.

What must be done to retrieve the situation?

How To Retrieve The Situation

To begin with, the active militants must make up their minds that the "super-slick" Thomas-Reuther "strategy" of "isolating" GM is deadlier than the proverbial Dodo. No attempts to revive it will succeed. It must be buried. The GM strike cannot and will not be won on that basis.

Labor then must proceed to organize a counter-offensive all along the line. What does this mean in practice?

First, all the little leaks and holes in the GM strike must immediately be closed up. That means closing down the plants tight, and asking all workers, office and supervisory included, to stay out and respect the picket lines. That means to stop all work on GM tools and dies in the job shops and to close down the GM plants organized by the UE.

Next, the militants on the picket lines must make up their minds that there is only one way they can beat the injunctions emanating from the labor-hating judges: by using the methods employed in the Flint GM strike of 1936-37.

Furthermore, the treachery at Ford's must be roundly condemned and the international officers instructed to withdraw immediately their sell-out proposals. (We note with satisfaction that action along this line has already started.)

Next, the threat of hostile legislation from Congress, the threat of compulsory arbitration by the imposition of Fact-Finding Commissions, must be met by mass action and resistance on the part of labor.

Extend The Strike Front!

Finally, it has already become clear that the wage battle of labor is too big and is being fought on too wide a front for the GM workers to be able to stand alone. The GM strikers must have help. New, powerful reinforcements must be moved up into the line of battle. The fight must be brought to a sharper head. THE STRIKE

How Auto Workers' Historic Battles Stopped The Threat Of Injunctions

Picketing Cudahy's In Kansas City



This picket carries a placard telling the management that the packing house workers want "No Stalls, No Delays—Just 25 Cents" an hour increase in wages.

Cleveland GM Strikers Battle On Picket Line

By David Lands

(Special to The Militant)

CLEVELAND, O., Dec. 11—A mass picket line today stopped the attempt of Fisher Body officials and superintendents to enter the struck GM plant here at the garage gate. Members of Fisher Body Local 45, CIO United Automobile Workers, were supported by striking members of Murray Ohio Local 65, UAW-CIO. A group of veterans in uniform added their strength to the picket line.

In the face of a series of provocations from corporation officials intent on creating violent incidents and confronted by police detachments and an array of company supervisors and foremen, the pickets held their line. Not in many a month has the Cleveland labor movement been treated to such a magnificent display of unbreakable power and discipline.

HOLD THAT LINE!

Only once did the corporation come near succeeding in its attempts to provoke violence. W. Wolf, despatch superintendent of the press room, arrived in a car driven by Joe Price, a former follower of the renegade union leader Homer Martin, who sold out to the corporation in 1939. Price edged Wolf's car into the picket line, trying to reach the company parking lot.

A small group of pickets, fighting mad, warned the two to turn back. Price continued to move into the line. The pickets seized the car, rocking it in warning. This was enough for the miserable pair of skunks, who left the scene and were soon followed by the whole gang of company weasels. A shout of victory rose from the picket line. The plant remained closed.

"THANKS, BOYS!"

Today's developments grew out of General Motors' arrogant action in Detroit yesterday, where the corporation announced that it was abrogating all local agreements as well as the national contract with the UAW. But the corporation's attempt to

FRONT, THEREFORE, MUST BE EXTENDED. Ford and Chrysler must join the picket lines!

And when you are talking about extending the strike, the union that is first indicated to do the job and bring up the necessary reinforcements is the CIO Steel Union. The steel workers find themselves in the identical position of the GM workers. Their wage demands are also stymied. They are preparing to strike. But Murray and the other steel union leaders have taken upon themselves to set the strike date one month off, January 14! There is no possible justification or excuse for this long delay. The strike front needs reinforcements NOW, not one month from now.

It would be a good thing if the militants in the Steel Lodges demanded of Murray that the steel strike be called right now. At the very least, such a campaign will insure that the steel strike will be called on the date set. At the very least, it will make it more difficult for Murray to delay further.

These are some of the steps necessary for labor to adopt if it is to organize its successful counter-offensive against the organized might of Big Capital. Labor has the power to do it. If it organizes its counter-offensive, it will confound its enemies and beat them in battle.

By Art Preis

"We don't bribe judges. We select them."—Richard Croker, New York City political boss during the 1890's.

General Motors has been howling "illegal" at the CIO auto workers' picket lines. Last week it began to call in the "law."

In Cleveland, Ohio, and Trenton, New Jersey, compliant judges issued injunctions or "restraining orders" limiting the number of pickets at GM plant gates.

Every auto worker knows what this means. General Motors is paving the way for wholesale strikebreaking through injunctions. It's an old method. First get a judge to make mass picketing "illegal." Of course, it's just to let "office workers" into the plants. But it isn't long before the company tries to push scabs and strikebreakers through the picket lines, hoping to break the strike.

If it works in Cleveland and Trenton, GM will find other "impartial" jurists, selected for their jobs by the corporate interests, ready to sign the necessary papers. Sheriffs and federal marshals will be waving court orders before every GM picket line. And all "law-abiding" strikers will be expected to retire—and let the scabs march in.

AN OLD TRICK

It's been tried in at least two important auto strikes before. And if the workers had just folded up before the "law," the history of the CIO United Automobile Workers would have been vastly different. They might still be working for 40 cents an hour.

Toledo and Flint. The first, the real birthplace of the fighting traditions of the UAW-CIO back in the famous Toledo Auto-Lite Strike of May, 1934. The second, the center of the great "sit-down" strike of 1937 that first humbled the General Motors empire.

In each historic struggle, the strike boiled down to one question: How would the strikers meet the challenge of injunctions issued through the collusion of big money and compliant judges?

In both cases, the answer was: "We will defy them!" And by successful defiance, the workers won.

The spring of 1934 saw the auto workers in Detroit and other major centers cruelly disillusioned and demoralized by the AFL bureaucracy's capitulation to Roosevelt's Auto Labor Board and its company union ruling. Their aspiration for organization was given a crushing blow.

Then came an electric wave of renewed inspiration. In a titanic six-day pitched battle against hundreds of armed special deputies, police and finally 1,500 National Guards, a couple of thousand of auto workers at the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite plant won a partial victory, laid the basis for union recognition, and established a precedent that sparked the whole subsequent struggle of the auto workers.

HISTORY OF AUTO-LITE

When the Auto-Lite workers went out on strike in the late spring of 1934, the city was a notorious "open-shop town." One third of its population was on "relief"—that is, slowly starving to death. Any kind of a job looked good then—even at 35 cents an hour, the typical auto rate of pay.

There was no great tradition of union solidarity then. The workers hadn't learned yet. Scabs were plentiful. All that was needed to break a strike was a legal pretext for barring pickets and a police convoy for the scabs.

It was tough enough to begin with for the members of the AFL federal auto local to keep the scabs out. And when a pitiful judge issued the usual injunction against mass picketing, the scabs and strikebreakers began pouring into the plant. Outside a handful of pickets—their AFL leaders had told them they had to be "law-abiding"—listened to the hum of machinery and the occasional jeers of the scabs calling out of the windows.

ONE SIMPLE ANSWER

In desperation, some of the strikers came to an organization which had made a reputation for itself as a militant outfit fighting for the jobs, the Unemployed League, led by two young Trotskyist workers.

They saw the strike was on its last legs and that a defeat might set back union organization in Toledo for years. Their advice was simple. "We will openly defy the injunction. We will defend the inalienable right of the workers to strike and picket."

That's what they said in a letter to the judge before they went on the picket line—five men, five

a general strike, how the company finally agreed to a settlement. The Toledo Auto-Lite workers had learned how to deal with an injunction.

Two and a half years later, the automobile workers, now organized in their own CIO international union, once more showed how to deal with the legal strike-breaking invoked by the capitalists and their courts.

There were 140,000 GM workers in key auto centers on strike in January and February 1937. Most of them were "sitting-in," occupying plants. The strikers at Fisher Body 1 and 2, and Chevrolet 4, in Flint, held the key to GM production.

State militia, armed with machineguns and 37 millimeter howitzers, surrounded the plants. The deputies and police swarmed around like lice. Inside the plants, the defiant workers had refused to budge even at this display of overwhelming military force.

WORKERS JEER

When Governor Murphy, a "New Deal" candidate, hesitated to give the final order for a militia assault, General Motors went to its tried and true servant, the capitalist courts. A Judge Gadola issued an order for the men to leave the Fisher Body plants or face imprisonment for contempt and a \$15,000 collective fine. The order was read to the jeering "sit-downers."

All day long, and the next day, February 4, the cops and deputies were building up their nerve, mostly with whiskey. The deadline for evacuation was set at 3 p.m. But it never took place.

TO THE RESCUE

For from every auto town within 150 miles, thousands upon thousands of auto and other workers swarmed to the rescue. At Fisher 1, they formed a line of 5,000, armed with clubs, crowbars, and sundry other weapons of self-defense.

The sheriff who had read the order the day before, began to get weak knees. The deadline passed. Governor Murphy wired him to hold up action. Eagerly the sheriff complied, explaining that the judge's order "after all" did not specifically instruct him to take action. When the judge got on the muscle and ordered the sheriff to arrest the strike leaders, the sheriff found he did not have enough forces—and refused to swear in new deputies.

The judge's order was never carried out. The Flint workers, and the GM workers throughout the nation, went on with their battle to a historic victory.

Once more GM is scheming to break a strike with injunctions. But there are a lot of auto workers who remember the Toledo Auto-Lite strike and the Flint "sit-downs" and who are saying, "Pretty big job—putting 225,000 GM workers in jail!"

Scandalous Fraud Robs GM Workers

By Jeff Thorne

A single scandalous fraud, among the worst of many in the history of General Motors Corporation, is robbing GM workers every year of about one-tenth of their ordinary wages. The CIO United Automobile Workers has every right and duty to open the corporation's books and expose and correct these frauds or "mistakes."

Every year GM pays dividends of \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 on shares that were issued for absolutely nothing in the long-forgotten Heany Lamp swindle. There is no Heany Lamp and never was anything but a phony patent. Yet GM paid more for four Heany Lamp Companies than it paid for Buick and Oldsmobile combined, two of the biggest money-makers of GM. The GM shares issued for Heany pay just as large dividends as those issued for Buick and Olds. Every day GM employees work an extra 45 minutes just to pay dividends on Heany.

John Albert Heany was granted a patent in 1907 on a tipless electric lamp bulb, and organized four firms to promote, produce and sell the lamp. W. C. Durant, GM founder, bought the Heany companies for over \$7 millions in GM shares and \$112,759 cash.

General Electric Company contested the Heany patent and eventually the patent attorney, H. E. Everding, and a patent office clerk, Ned W. Barton, went

to prison for altering the original patent application.

On September 30, 1910, the Heany "holdings" were transferred on the GM books to "good will" and later written off entirely. But the GM shares paid for Heany "holdings" are just like any other GM shares, and have grown many times over in stock dividends and stock splits, until today they draw off \$40-million to \$50-million a year in dividends which GM workers produce but don't get.

Full significance of the "good will" nature of the deal was only hinted at by a remark of Benjamin Briscoe years later. He said the Heany deal was to have "sweetened" another deal for the purchase of Maxwell-Briscoe, but this fell through. The Heany deal was apparently so "sweet" for someone that it went through even without Maxwell-Briscoe.

Lawrence H. Selzer, in "A Financial History of the Automobile Industry," published in 1928, cites the Heany case as one of apparent "watering of stock." There are numerous others, each still robbing GM workers of a part of the wealth they produce every year.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

Vol. IX—No. 51 Saturday, December 22, 1945

Published Weekly by
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8441

ARRELL DOBBS, Managing Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; \$50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Single copies: 5 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries.

Single copies: 5 cents.

Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.



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

Ford "Fines" Plan

The billionaire Ford Motor Corporation has arrogantly demanded that the United Auto Workers Union pay \$5 for each worker for each day he might engage in what the Fords call "wild cat" strikes.

R. T. Leonard, head of the Ford Division of the UAW, yielded in cowardice to this outrageous demand of the Ford dynasty. Only Leonard wants the fines donated to some "worthy" cause, he wants them set at \$3 per day for first "offenders" and \$5 per day for the second, with the fines deducted from the workers' pay.

Evidently the Fords have been studying history. The system of fines was employed by the most vicious capitalists during the early days of capitalism. It survived in Russia under the Czars up until November 7, 1917, when the working class, led by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky tossed this hated privilege into the ascan along with the Czars and the whole capitalist system.

In other countries, when the union movement gained strength, one of the principal grievances they toppled in the early days, was this dictatorial privilege of the bosses.

But now the Ford dynasty wants to turn back the pages of history. It wants to revive the old days when the capitalist robber barons fined their unorganized employees for the most trivial reasons, such as lateness to work, spoiling a job, accidentally breaking a tool, falling behind the speed-up.

The Ford dynasty, however, forgets a small item. It faces the most democratic militant union the country has yet seen. The auto workers will give the Ford "fines" plan the fate it deserves; namely, crumple it up and toss it contemptuously into the wastebasket.

Stalinists In China

The American Stalinists have launched a campaign to "Bring the GI's Home" and "Stop Intervention in China."

As a result, Times Square in New York on December 8 saw the first Stalinist demonstration of that character since Browder came out in support of Wall Street's imperialist war some five years ago. The Stalinists have promised similar rallies in other cities.

The Trotskyists were the first to demand the withdrawal of all American troops from foreign soil. The belated decision of the Stalinists to finally join in this fight can only be welcomed—even though their active participation so far has been limited almost exclusively to China.

Undoubtedly many rank and file Stalinists hope that the campaign on China foreshadows further militant activity. The wish to refurbish their tarnished reputations as militants is quite natural. They feel the pressure of the wide sections of American workers who have turned in utter disgust and scorn from the belly-crawling attitude of the Stalinist leadership before Wall Street during the war. Many of the ranks are undoubtedly striving to suppress their doubts about the correctness of official policy, to regain their morale, and give Foster a longer opportunity to prove Stalinism has really reformed.

These hopes, however, are doomed to swift and miserable disappointment. Precisely the campaign on China illustrates why American Stalinism cannot hope to escape its doom. The rank and file will presently discover they are neither advancing socialism nor defending the Soviet Union by remaining in the Communist Party. Already the fountainhead of Stalinism in the Kremlin is selling them down the river. Stalin couldn't even wait for his lieutenants to cash in on this new "militancy" in the United States.

Under Generalissimo Stalin's command, the Red Army is now clearing the roads for dictator Chiang Kai-shek's puppet troops in Manchuria.

Generalissimo Stalin is likewise turning over to the Chinese butcher the main cities of Manchuria. Chiang is far too weak to seize them without the aid he is receiving from both Stalin and Wall Street.

The Generalissimo in the Kremlin has likewise ordered the Red Army to guard the airfields for the arrival of Chiang Kai-shek's American-equipped troops.

Wall Street's mouthpiece, the N. Y. Times,

gloats editorially over these services performed by Stalin: "Russia (Stalin) and the United States (Wall Street) see eye to eye on the Chinese situation."

Stalin has again betrayed the Chinese people. He has again sacrificed the Chinese Stalinists as "expendable." For an undisclosed price, he is again giving moral, political and material aid to Chiang, Wall Street's agent and the butcher of the Chinese masses. No other conclusion is possible.

"Chiang Kai-shek is making rapid progress," observes Wall Street's reactionary spokesman, the N. Y. Times, with satisfaction, "largely because of the help given him by both Russia (Stalin) and the United States (Wall Street)."

Thus the American Stalinists are left in a most ludicrous and politically hopeless position. While they try to convince people that they sincerely want to stop intervention in China and bring the troops back home, their "genius-like" horse trader in the Kremlin perfidiously joins Wall Street in bolstering up Chiang Kai-shek, knifing the struggle of the Chinese people, weakening the Soviet Union and betraying socialism.

Small wonder that the Stalinists are finding it impossible to retrieve the prestige they lost forever with their open support of Wall Street's imperialist war!

Free The CO's

An appeal for grant of amnesty to the 3,000 conscientious objectors now in Federal prisons has been sent to President Truman by the American Civil Liberties Union.

An accompanying letter points out that "the number of men now in prison is seven times the number in World War I." Pending the granting of amnesty, the letter urges that parole conditions for the conscientious objectors be amended to give the prisoners "at least the same consideration as ordinary offenders."

Some 6,000 additional conscientious objectors are serving in labor battalions called the "Civilian Public Service." Since the Selective Service does not award these men points toward discharge, they face an indefinite term. Besides asking that a point discharge system be set up for these laborers, the letter sponsored by the ACLU asks that the War Department be requested to review all convictions by courts martial of men in the Armed Forces whose records show claims of conscientious objection.

The conscientious objectors represent a political current which opposes war on moral grounds. They preferred prison to engaging in the slaughter of their fellow men.

The Militant disagrees sharply with this method of opposing war. The method of the conscientious objectors is not only futile but can serve to disorient the working people from the only correct way of ending wars forever—that is, by ending the capitalist system.

The Trotskyists too were imprisoned by the Roosevelt Administration for opposing the imperialist Second World War. But in the Minneapolis court room where they were tried, the Trotskyists pointed out that those who genuinely hate war should not separate themselves from the worker-soldiers, but go with them, participate in their experiences and convince the workers of the need to overthrow the economic system which breeds such evils as depressions, imperialist war and fascism.

The Militant, however, underlines the fact that the conscientious objectors are not criminals but political prisoners. They have been unjustly thrown in prison because they refused to support the mass murder sponsored by the capitalist class.

The release of these political prisoners is a cause every believer in freedom of speech and freedom of opinion should back wholeheartedly.

A Stab In The Back

When John L. Lewis was the fighting leader of 525,000 striking coal miners who stood out against the whole yelping jingo pack of capitalists, government officials and rival union leaders during the war, he deserved support and commendation.

But when John L. Lewis uses the occasion of a Congressional hearing on a proposed anti-labor bill to make a snide, gratuitous and utterly vicious attack against the General Motors strike, which is the spearhead of American labor's fight for higher wages, there is but one thing to call it:

A treacherous, strikebreaking stab-in-the-back.

There is no other term to apply to his widely-publicized comments on the General Motors strike during his testimony, on December 10 before the House Labor Committee hearings on Truman's "fact-finding" bill to restrict strikes.

Lewis had a great time, in his usual Shakespearean oratory, pointing out the "blunder" of the General Motors workers in striking "at this time," and telling how he would end the strike by letting the profits-swollen corporation charge higher prices.

Whether the GM workers "blundered" is totally beside the point. They are in the midst of a vital and desperate battle now. There is but one honorable thing for any real union leader to do. SUPPORT THE STRIKE TO THE UTMOST.

Instead, Lewis tried to capitalize on the GM situation to inflate his own stature at the expense of the embattled auto workers, by putting them up to ridicule and scorn. That we condemn as mean and base and unworthy of a union leader.

The Militant was the only labor paper in America to back the miners' wartime strikes 100 per cent. We are proud of that fact. We then called Philip Murray and William Green strikebreakers for their attacks on the miners.

When John L. Lewis today imitates the conduct of Murray and Green he merits the same condemnation they so richly deserved.



"Surely you're not going to the masquerade in that silly Santa Claus costume—you're definitely not the type!"

MOVIE REVIEW

The Southerner was banned in Tennessee. Some reviewers took this as an automatic recommendation. Apparently they recalled that Tennessee banned Darwin's theory of evolution; and, reasoning by analogy, they decided that whatever Tennessee bans must have something good in it.

But Tennessee's Bourbon censors are too sensitive. So little of the harshness and bitterness of sharecropper life is exposed, that only the guiltiest of consciences could have feared its showing. In essence it is a fairy tale, not differing at all in principle from Hollywood's more common type of fairy tales.

True enough, The Southerner wears some of the trappings of realism. It tries to show a real family, on a real farm, facing real hardships. It even includes a tobacco-chewing grandmother, and to that extent, perhaps, it makes enough of an evening's entertainment to warrant being banned in Tennessee.

But the basic theme of this film is petty bourgeois and reactionary. From the side of the workers, therefore, it deserves only the harshest condemnation—even after deducting the credit due it for being banned in Tennessee.

POVERTY'S "REWARD"

The hero is Sam Tucker, a laborer on a cotton plantation. He and his devoted wife, Nona, believe they could find greater security and independence if they had a farm of their own. Sam longs for his own farm so

intensely that even the thought of factory work repels him. Despite hunger, cold, sickness and disasters, Sam and Nona struggle with Spartan-like fortitude to get their farm. In the end virtue is rewarded—they find joy in the very worst reverses, proving that even desperate poverty is not without its compensations.

This type of thinking is petty bourgeois. It is based on the illusory wish to work up from the bottom and become a capitalist—the thought-pattern of the small business man. If at first he must rely on his own labor power and that of his wife and children, eventually he hopes to have hired laborers and finally become rich. The idea of joining forces with thousands and millions of other human beings in the same class to work out collective security through a socialist society is alien to this type of person.

ESCAPE IMPOSSIBLE

For the great mass of people, escaping from the class struggle and achieving security by taking up a farm is impossible in the present epoch. The theme of the picture is, therefore, reactionary. It sows the delusion that a poor working man, if he has sufficient pluck, can all by himself beat the capitalist system at its own game. All a young man needs, to listen to this "back to the soil" propaganda, is a piece of wasteland and the stamina to convert it with his bare hands into a cozy farm.

During the depression this

was a favorite theme among defenders of the capitalist system. In fact it is still a favorite theme among such political representatives of the reactionary Southern Bourbons as Rankin and Bilbo.

The fault with this film does not stem at all from the difficulty of converting the lives of sharecroppers into dramatic material. Quite the contrary. Suppose, for instance, the plight of a colored sharecropper family had been taken as the subject. How bitter—instead of sentimental—could have been the scene where the penniless mother tried to get medical aid for the child stricken with pellagra! How cruel the scenes where the envious well-to-do independent white farmer on the neighboring farm vents his spite against the struggling sharecroppers! And if the landlord had been brought into the picture, intent on squeezing the last possible cent out of his sharecropper tenants; what punch could have been added!

Then to make a rousing conclusion, suppose the picture had shown the sharecroppers organizing, getting together, fighting against landlords and plantation owners in the only realistic way possible to better conditions!

That would have made a memorable picture. But the Hollywood propaganda mill will scarcely produce anything like that—too many states besides Tennessee would ban it.

—Reviewed by Joseph Hansen

Congressmen At Work

Most of Wall Street's Congressmen are convinced it is only a question of time until the Third World War breaks out. But they are troubled over the fact the voters want peace. Naturally the Congressmen are anxious to discover a miracle that would make peace possible under the capitalist system, as it would be good for a life-time political meal ticket. And so they are devoting a lot of study to the problem. Representative Horan of Washington, for instance, has pondered deeply.

"Mr. Speaker, if our hope for world peace is to come from the association of peoples rather than governments, I should like to have you listen to me for about five minutes on skiing."

Like peace, skiing has something enticing about it that gets you: "In my own Pacific Northwest, it is possible to ski the year around, and for eight to ten months of the year ideal conditions can be found for skiing."

Horan explained how increasing numbers of people are discovering the peaceful joys of the waxed boards: "In the Rockies, the Sierras, in New York, and New England there are many active in skiing... skiing is rapidly becoming an international sport."

PROFOUND ANALYSIS

For the benefit of his more ignorant fellow legislators, this erudite political representative of Big Business launched into a profound analysis of the material basis of skiing:

"Skiing, of course, would be impossible if it were not for the mountains of the United States and the water sheds which provide suitable snows late in the season."

Horan called attention to the



inevitable corollary of this scientific law: "Skiing has probably received its greatest impetus from Norway, Sweden and the Tyrolean Alps."

To illustrate how skiing can provide a firm basis for world peace, Horan reported a personal experience:

"Realizing the importance of this medium of contact and exchange, early last August while in Oslo, Norway, I called on Sigmund Ruud. Ruud is a champion ski jumper. Horan didn't mention what they decided about world peace, but he did say they got around to an exchange of opinion on ski jumping. Horan felt free to report that Sigmund Ruud is an enthusiast on the subject. 'I had a nice visit with him.'"

Naturally Horan didn't forget Wall Street's interests: "Sig also told me that the Norwegians are very much interested in getting hickory from America. Their yields are running out and Norway needs American hickory for her skis."

Horan hammered home his point on how skiing can bring world peace: "In addition to making healthy recreation and the appreciation of nature available to our own citizens, skiing

looms large as a medium that can hurdle the barriers of custom and language and bring the peoples of many areas of this world closer together."

It sounds like a splendid, brave, braiding idea. Instead of sending American-made bombers and tanks to the British troops in Indonesia, for instance, why not send Congress there with a boat load of American-made skis? The Indonesian fighters for independence would undoubtedly appreciate this as a real friendly gesture that would bring the Allied assault measurably closer to an end and help establish world peace. Thus millions of ski enthusiasts could be gained in a tropical land that has seen plenty of imperialist bloodshed but never any Congressional ski-jumping.

Pittsburgh
JOHN G. WRIGHT
will speak on
"The Meaning of the
British Elections"
Sunday, Dec. 23—8 p.m.
Militant Reading Room
5905 Penn Ave.
E. Liberty

NEW YORK
Holiday Social
Saturday, Dec. 22
Bring A 10c Gift For
The Grab Bag!
116 University Place
8 p.m.

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Unions Must Organize Veterans

A mass veterans' organization must be created by the trade unions. Such an organization will be a powerful ally of the labor movement. It will be a bulwark against reaction, another weapon in labor's hands, one that can be used to stop the anti-union drive of Big Business.

Even veterans belonging to unions find it necessary to join other organizations in order to fight for aims applying specifically to veterans. To struggle for the needs of their disabled comrades and those still in the armed forces, to press for better veterans' legislation, to fight for objectives of special interest to the veterans, they join separate organizations.

Wall Street is fully aware of this. The bosses' strategy is well worked out. Most of the existing veterans' organizations are dominated by Big Business. All of them have a common goal: mislead the veterans, dupe them into following a program favorable to the bosses; divide them from the rest of the workers. These Wall Street controlled organizations try to buy off the veterans with rosy promises, and to drive a wedge between veterans and non-veterans.

Through trickery, lies and deceit, the bosses hope to turn the resentment of the veterans away from themselves and direct it toward the labor movement. They hope to make an ally of a large section of the veterans and use them to strike a blow at the unions.

In the present General Motors strike a Captain Jack Packard tried to organize the 3,300 veterans employed by General Motors in Flint. He planned to use them in a strikebreaking move. The Ku Klux Klan made a bid for the veterans in Detroit.

But the vast majority of the veterans have shown that they are solidly with the unions. They are the most active militants. In every strike poll they vote overwhelmingly for strike. They are in the forefront on the picket lines. Time and again veterans have demonstrated that they are against the bosses, against the fascists and reaction of every kind.

However, to make their struggle most effective, they must be brought into an organization that is allied with the labor movement.

To counter the anti-union moves of General Motors during the present strike, it was necessary for the UAW veterans to form a veterans' committee in Detroit. The veterans had to be organized after the strike began. And until a mass veterans' organization is formed by the unions, this will be the case in every strike. Veterans will have to be organized either on the eve or in the heat of battle.

The Veterans Committees set up in the General Motors strike should be extended to other regions and unions. These should be tied together to form a national organization of veterans. The expanded organization should adopt a broad program that meets the needs of all veterans.

Such an organization will not only be a barrier against reaction. It will be able to fight effectively for the special needs of the veterans, because it will have no interests other than those of the labor movement and the rank and file veterans.

Vast Army Supplies Wantonly Destroyed

Thousands upon thousands of tons of American military supplies—from food, clothing and medicine to jeeps and planes—are being deliberately and wantonly destroyed before the eyes of starving, ragged, diseased millions in India, Burma and elsewhere.

According to Paul Mallon, who first disclosed some of the facts in a Washington dispatch, November 1, in the Assam, Malay, theater "the British have succeeded in imposing upon our armed forces an officially ordered restriction against leaving anything behind of benefit to the natives."

Hospitals were razed to the ground. Mallon reported, and "chemicals and drugs are buried in the ground for destruction when no longer of use to us and surgical instruments are systematically ruined in a government dump prepared for that purpose. Appeals for use of the drugs in mission hospitals were unavailing."

Sun glasses, costing the American taxpayers \$7.50 apiece, were systematically collected from departing Air Corps men, taken out to the air strip where a steam roller was run over them. Some 6,000 ordnance wrist watches were collected and destroyed. In India, 14-pound sledgehammers were used to smash generators, fans, refrigerators, radios and X-ray equipment.

Confirmation of this destruction, "staggering in scope and thoroughness," came from Sydney, Australia, November 28, where the Sydney Sun correspondent C. A. Burley wrote from Rabaul, that the American forces in the Pacific Islands "are dumping in the sea or are burning millions of pounds worth of gear."

At Saigon, tons of food have been dumped into the sea. 200 Hellcat fighters were tossed overboard in the Admiralties. Pontoon-loads of jeeps, complete dental outfits, mobile radio outfits were tossed into the ocean at Finschhafen, while small vessels were burned in the harbor and vast stores of clothing were burned on shore. Whole warehouses filled with photographic equipment and other scarce supplies were abandoned at Lae.

A mess sergeant writing from India to the New York Daily PM, November 29, reported indignantly that millions of dollars' worth of useful planes and plane equipment are being tossed into gasoline-filled ditches and burned. He reported 300,000 parachutes of silk and nylon, which could have been used "for all kinds of underwear, pajamas, shirts, and nightgowns for our families," were burned at Lashio.

"They burned all the extra clothing issue equipment they could find. They just took blankets, shirts, trousers, underwear—just everything—out of the warehouses, piled them up and burned them..."

ALLENTOWN-BETHLEHEM

Christmas Festival

Saturday, Dec. 22

Entertainment... Refreshments

Militant Labor Forum

S. E. Corner Front & Hamilton Sts., Allentown
50 cent ticket admits two.

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.

GM Strikers Eager To Read "Militant"

Editor:
I am writing to congratulate you on the splendid work you have done in putting out The Militant of December 1, and to relate my experience in distributing it to General Motors strikers here in Flint.

I have distributed The Militant many times in the past, but I have never met such an enthusiastic reception as I have in the last two days. With another comrade I went from picket line to picket line at all GM plants in the city. Not a single worker refused to take the paper or objected to our distribution. On the contrary, at many picket lines and union halls they requested extra copies for the pickets who would come in late, and promised to see that none were destroyed. To our knowledge, not a single Militant was wasted.

Several workers, urging us to get The Militant into the hands of pickets who had not yet seen it, told us when the picket shifts would change. We also found that workers who are regular subscribers, recommend the paper to others and are anxious to see it distributed. Although they have been on strike for three weeks and do not know when they will return to work, many workers insist on paying for the paper to help it out.

We heard frequent comments on the soap in the December 1 editorial, on the fact-finding committee. One Stalinist in Buick said: "I hate this paper like hell but they called it right on the fact-finding committee." I am sure that many of these men on strike will become regular subscribers when they return to work. The Militant will become not only a mass paper, but a guide for all the militant trade unionists who will lead the struggle for better conditions and a better world. Congratulations for a job well done.

R. Carli
Flint, Mich.

White Collar Workers Need Unions, Too

Editor:
This is where I feel trade-unions are "missing the boat" and through your paper I would like to call it to the attention of some of the organized workers among your readers.

I am a "white collar worker." Let me say here that the term "white collar worker" means worker. It is our sweat and brains with the rest of the nations workers that has carried America into such rapid mechanical advances in recent years.

But we of the "white collar" jobs seem to have become the forgotten men and women of industry and business. Not only are we forgotten by our bosses (as we expect to be), but our fellow workers in other fields seem to place us in some mysterious category where we depend on the capitalists for a living but on the other hand do not need the protection of unions.

During the recent war we saw prices soar. Other workers

wages crept upward; but our wages were as frozen, as we were to our jobs. We have the same battles as all workers. But 90 per cent of the time we aren't given the chance to join any union!

I can speak with knowledge only for my home, Kansas City, Mo., but here there has been almost no attempt at organization of this mighty group. And now is the time to organize, while prices soar and wages drop.

True, these workers would need education as to the advantages of strong trade unions—but what group now organized didn't? Perhaps in some strongly organized cities, these workers are organized. But here we're crying for organization and protection. I am sure this condition prevails to a surprisingly large extent in professional groups such as teachers; I have had contact and conversations with a great many of these underpaid and trampled workers.

Isn't there a place for the "lost workers" of America in unions? It's a bad situation that hurts all but the capitalist who sees a class he still has very, very much under his thumb.

Please do not use my name. I would without doubt lose my job if my name were published with this letter.

A Worker
Kansas City, Mo.

War Guilt Trials Are A Farce

Editor:
The trial of the Nazi war criminals is a farce. The prosecutors have too much in common with the defense.

Having witnessed the social distinction afforded to the German officers, I expect very little unless mass pressure is brought to bear on the prosecution.

Soon after D-Day, American soldiers got a good close-up of the War for Democracy. German officer-patients were provided with beds and mattresses while enlisted men were in their fox-holes. American officers plied their German brothers with gifts, for after all "birds of a feather..."

You see they admired the "snapping to attention" which German officers got from their men, and which they had so much difficulty getting from American soldiers.

Goering and the rest of them lived like lords in a Luxembourg castle awaiting trial, while German enlisted men have to slave for their daily bread.

Who were more responsible for fascism—the officers or the enlisted men?

George Kingsley
New York.

The Foremen's Union

Editor:
In the last few years the foremen have been getting a good kicking around, so they formed a union of their own. The initiation fee was \$3, and monthly dues \$1. These men, having very little experience in union matters, quickly ran into difficulties which the rank and file know little about.

At the beginning, honest men

joined this union expecting it to protect their interests. But, as is always the case, a few members waited until the union was well organized, before they joined; then in a few short months they took over the running of the union where they could.

The present delegate to the Foremen's Union Convention (from one of the local chapters here) was one of the late-comers in the union; in fact, he publicly talked against it for a year before he joined. Unlike the average foreman, this man has had a lot of union experience—not much of it good. He was once an officer in a strike which ended in what the men considered a sell-out. He was also an ERP Representative in a steel plant. He offered his services to write the constitution for the company union, formed in opposition to the CIO. This project failed because the company union had no membership for whom to write a constitution.

When the Foremen's Union Convention was called to make 17 amendments to its constitution, did he notify the membership that one of the proposed amendments was to raise the initiation fee to \$5—(of which \$4 would go to the national office, \$1 to the local chapter) and to raise monthly dues to \$1.50 (\$1 for the National office and 50 cents for the local; this I believe is a dime less than now goes to the local out of the \$1 dues)?

No, he did not notify the membership; instead a meeting of the Executive Committee was hastily called to instruct him in what to do. But the rank and file members still have to wait until after the convention to find out how he voted.

Such an incident indicates to me that the Foremen's Union may be on the way to becoming just as bureaucratic as some of these Foremen's Union leaders accuse the CIO or UMW of being. But we shall see, after the convention.

Jim Scott
Buffalo, N. Y.

U. S. Imperialism's Gift to Philipines

Editor:
Here is a brief eye witness account of the devastation of one Philippine city, from a letter written to me by my brother in the armed forces:

"We went to N., which was once a city of 60,000, and saw first hand what a few bombs and shells can do. It was a terrible sight. There were no bodies—too much time had passed for that—but there were bones scattered everywhere. There are only about four buildings in the whole city standing, and they are full of holes."

"The ground is just a mass of broken chinaware, tile and plaster, twisted scraps of steel and charred timber protruding from the piles of rubbish. From what I have been able to determine, I imagine it was once a beautiful city—but the native huts must have been a sore spot. They are pretty shabby—but the comparison of them to the mansions of the leading citizens, would probably have made Chi-

To All Readers Of The Militant: This Is YOUR Fight, Too!

You recognize The Militant as a fighting newspaper of the working people. You know its ideas and most of you agree with them. BUT

It Is Not Enough To Have Ideas

The important thing is to make your ideas a living reality.

The Militant expresses the ideas and program of the Socialist Workers Party. The Socialist Workers Party fights day by day, in the trade unions and on the political field to put these ideas into action.

The Socialist Workers Party is made up of workers like you. It is led by workers like you. It needs more and constantly more workers like you, organized to fight for the needs of all the working people.

Take Your Place In Our Ranks

Join the fight for a better world—a socialist world—for yourself and your children. If you evade the struggle today, if by your inaction capitalism continues to rule, your own children will be blown to atomic dust in World War III.

Only if you organize today will your children tomorrow have life and the abundance to enjoy life.

Fill Out The Application Blank

The blank at the bottom of this page is for your convenience. Tear it out and mail it today.

Join The Socialist Workers Party

The Editors

Two War Veterans Demand An End To Capitalist Misery

Editor:

Recently we were discharged from the Army and were surprised at the ease with the Government goes about telling us we can't talk to civilians about our war experiences, even though the war is supposed to be over. What is the Government afraid of? What does it fear we will tell?

The truth?

Now that the war is "over" and we are being discharged, we spend our last days in the Army listening to a series of lectures given by men specially trained in the art of "civilian-readjustment." And these men seem peculiarly untrained in the art of talking to men who have spent years of their life being bulldozed by ninety-day shavetails in the line outfits.

We begin these lectures by assembling in the big hall assigned for the purpose. The officer in charge comes in, smiles sweetly and says in a nice, refined tone: "Well, boys, you've done it again! You've won the war, you fought a good fight and now you're going back to civilian life. Heroes, all of you, heroes! To the little girls on the corner and to the old men with walking canes, you're all heroes!"

When one of the guys in the back of the hall shouts "Why didn't you go over and be a hero, too?" the officer just bows his head and waits for the crowd to stop laughing, and then says humbly enough: "Some of us had to stay here and fight on the home front." (We've seen good soldiers court-martialed for saying less than that to an officer. But now we're heroes—for the moment, anyway!)

And now comes the pay off. The officer continues: "You boys have seen a lot in combat, a lot that civilians will want to hear about. You have all probably been mistreated in one way or another and have some bitches coming. Now, please (that's the first time a lot of us guys ever heard that word from an officer's lips!) please don't take these bitches to civilians! Bring them to us, to your army officials. Civilians can't help you with your troubles; the army and the veterans' admin-

The news item further states that you had established a gigantic factory at Cologne, Germany, known as the Ford-Werke A. G. Your son, Edsel Ford, and Charles E. Sorenson, vice-president of the Ford Motor Co., served on its Board of Directors and established its policy. It is further stated that your German Ford Co. provided Hitler with the bulk of his trucks, command cars and troop carriers.

Are the statements I have culled from The Militant the truth or are they falsehoods? Failure to answer this letter will be your admission of their truthfulness.

I am enclosing a self-addressed stamped envelope for a reply. Respectfully yours,
Milton L. Babin
Waukegan, Minn.

Asks UAW Pressure For Unemployment Compensation Funds

Editor:
I understand that in New Jersey one cannot collect unemployment compensation in case of a lockout. I would like, if it is possible, to give our State Legislature or whoever is responsible for this act, a blast in our paper.

Hyatt Roller Bearing Division of General Motors has moved about 60 per cent of its employees to its new plant at Clark Township. This modern 86-acre plant was built during the war.

I have been employed at Hyatt for the past 11 years. I have been a brother in Locals 511 and 736, UAW-CIO. I have done my share of picket duty, and would love to be there every day. But it is impossible for me to travel 22 miles to do picket duty—a 44-mile round trip every day.

Two War Veterans Demand An End To Capitalist Misery

Editor:

Recently we were discharged from the Army and were surprised at the ease with the Government goes about telling us we can't talk to civilians about our war experiences, even though the war is supposed to be over. What is the Government afraid of? What does it fear we will tell?

Now that the war is "over" and we are being discharged, we spend our last days in the Army listening to a series of lectures given by men specially trained in the art of "civilian-readjustment." And these men seem peculiarly untrained in the art of talking to men who have spent years of their life being bulldozed by ninety-day shavetails in the line outfits.

We begin these lectures by assembling in the big hall assigned for the purpose. The officer in charge comes in, smiles sweetly and says in a nice, refined tone: "Well, boys, you've done it again! You've won the war, you fought a good fight and now you're going back to civilian life. Heroes, all of you, heroes! To the little girls on the corner and to the old men with walking canes, you're all heroes!"

When one of the guys in the back of the hall shouts "Why didn't you go over and be a hero, too?" the officer just bows his head and waits for the crowd to stop laughing, and then says humbly enough: "Some of us had to stay here and fight on the home front." (We've seen good soldiers court-martialed for saying less than that to an officer. But now we're heroes—for the moment, anyway!)

And now comes the pay off. The officer continues:

"You boys have seen a lot in combat, a lot that civilians will want to hear about. You have all probably been mistreated in one way or another and have some bitches coming. Now, please (that's the first time a lot of us guys ever heard that word from an officer's lips!) please don't take these bitches to civilians! Bring them to us, to your army officials. Civilians can't help you with your troubles; the army and the veterans' admin-

The average worker here has to travel this distance. When we have to pay high rent, and support a family, this is impossible unless we can collect unemployment compensation.

I think that our International should put pressure on the State Legislature so we could have some source of income. It does not seem fair that we cannot collect our own savings, especially when we are in need. The majority of our brothers and sisters have been paying unemployment insurance since it started, and have never received as much as a penny in return.

R. M.
Arlington, N. J.



The enthusiastic reception accorded The Militant by workers who receive copies at plant gates, on picket lines, and union meetings is reflected in the following excerpts from letters sent in by participants in these distributions.

Joe Morgan of Toledo: "Of the 2,000 papers we received on the General Motors situation, we have at this writing only about 200 left. The papers have been distributed to the striking workers of the Chevrolet Corp."

Pioneer Notes

From Philadelphia we have two inspiring letters this week. The first reads:

"I hate to bother you with orders so frequently (!) but we just don't seem to be able to keep any literature in stock... the orders of the last few weeks have been bought up by the comrades almost as soon as I've opened the packages."

The second letter, accompanying another large order, reports:

"There seems to be a terrific intellectual hunger prevalent among the members of the Philadelphia branch. Old members, new members, 'highbrows,' and workers who have had little previous opportunity before this to educate themselves, pounce ravenously on the literature I order the moment it comes into headquarters. Here is another order. I think there will be another in a few days."

From Milwaukee we hear:

"I would like to report that recently five copies of A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow were placed in a drug store in the Negro district. Going back to see how they were selling I found that all were sold. The manager is taking a half dozen more. What do you think of this suggestion to further publicize the pamphlet? An attractive poster which would be placed in the windows of friendly taverns or drug stores in the Negro district?"

A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow by Charles Jackson, 10c. Second, enlarged edition, ready for distribution soon. Order now from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

and the now striking Auto-Lite workers.

"We find the spirit of the workers very determined. They are not in any mood for half-way measures. At the Auto-Lite plant we were received very warmly, and not a single copy of The Militant was thrown away."

From Detroit, Rose Young writes: "We distributed The Militant at a mass picket line of about 4,000 workers. In spite of the biting cold weather the determined workers were singing and were cheered by the encouraging speeches coming to them from blasting loud speakers."

"The workers took copies of the paper and we could tell by the appreciative comments how pleased they were with the solidarity displayed by The Militant's coverage of the strike from coast-to-coast."

June Carey of Allentown: "We distributed the last issue of The Militant at the gates of the Mack Corporation. The reception was excellent. Many workers who had started at an earlier shift came out of the building to get a paper. In addition, there were groups standing around outside in spite of the cold and snowy weather reading the paper."

"When I attempted to give several workers our paper, they smilingly said: 'Keep it to give to some one else. I have a subscription.'"

"One worker came over to me and said he had gotten a sub during our present campaign. He added: 'It's the only paper I've ever read that gave an honest picture of the problems of the workers, and I read it from cover to cover.'"

H. Spangler of Connecticut wrote in the following experience: "After spending some time obtaining subscriptions in a project in Bellevue Square, we put our remaining papers under other doors, planning to call back the next night."

"We did this, and in one house that we returned to we found the worker of the family reading The Militant. He welcomed us very warmly and said: 'My wife handed me the paper Friday night, and once I started to read it, I just couldn't stop. It's written so clearly, and tells the truth. I was going to cut out the coupon and send it in for a subscription.'"

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)
STREET _____
CITY _____
POSTAL ZONE _____ STATE _____

New York
Militant Readers
Forum
In Harlem
Sunday, Dec. 23
"African Struggles"
Speaker: Cliff Evans
103 W. 110 St., Room 23
Admission Free 7:30 p.m.

This Year, ENJOY

NEW YEAR'S EVE

With The Trotskyists In Your City

NEW YORK

Dancing . . . Entertainment . . . Refreshments

Academy Hall, Roosevelt Bldg. 853 Broadway, Near 14th St.
Subscription \$1 At Door \$1.25

LOS ANGELES

Dancing . . . Orchestra . . .

Jitterbug Contest!

Masonic Hall 1050 E. 50 St.
Admission \$1

NEWARK

Turkey Supper and Dance

Progressive Workers School
423 Springfield Ave. \$1.50
Make Your Reservations Early

DETROIT

New Year's Eve Dance

Music . . . Entertainment . . . Supper
6108 Linwood Donation \$1
Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

PORTLAND, ORE.

Gala New Year's Eve Party

Socialist Workers Party

134 S.W. Washington St. 3rd Floor
Tickets Now On Sale. Call AT 3992

BUFFALO

Dancing and Fun at The

Militant Forum

629 Main Street 2nd Floor
Admission 50 cents

BAYONNE

Dancing . . . Floor Show

Midnite Supper

750 Avenue A
Tickets At the Door

"Militant" Subscription Drive Tops Goal With Final Score 10,681 New Readers

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

10,681 new readers! Thus another subscription campaign has come to a successful conclusion. Once again we have gone "over the top" by securing 681 subscriptions above our projected quota of 10,000.

Every branch is to be highly commended for the fine work done in this campaign. Not only had they the task of meeting branch quotas, but in addition our comrades and friends were busily engaged in the day to day activities of mass work.

Furthermore, they were active in demonstrations to fight fascism in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Detroit, Minneapolis and other sections of the country.

During this subscription cam-

paing, Local New York was also engaged in running two candidates in the municipal elections. The comrades utilized the election campaign to sell subscriptions to 'hundreds of workers, explaining the program of the Socialist Workers Party as reflected in *The Militant*.

An analysis of our final score-board reveals some very interesting points.

Reading is the national branch

pace-setter for the third consecutive week with the remarkable score of 460 per cent. St. Louis is next highest with 376 per cent. It will be recalled that the former branch challenged all others having the same original quota, and the concluding score-board proves that Reading is the undisputed winner over St. Louis, Cincinnati, Rochester and San Diego.

Special commendation is due to Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Connecticut, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Reading for having more than doubled their original quota.

In addition, outstanding records were also set by Baltimore, Milwaukee, Portland, New York, Boston, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Chicago, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Allentown, Bethlehem, Seattle, St. Paul and Bayonne. These branches successfully concluded their share of our national subscription campaign by going over their quota.

Frances Roberts of Seattle wrote us the following item on their concluding campaign celebration: "We closed our drive

in Seattle with a fried chicken dinner at which there were 30 people present. Six of these were subscribers we had obtained in this present campaign.

"The dinner event turned out to be a recruitment event. We had not planned it as such, but it seems that we have reached a point where every meeting turns into a 'Join the Socialist Workers Party' meeting. Two of the people present at our dinner indicated that they wanted to become members."

Our final pace-setters' box shows Detroit and New York are tied for top representation, with three national pace-setters each.

Chicago, Connecticut, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia each have two pace-setters representing them in our concluding box.

Paul Kujac of Chicago is National Pace-setter Number 1 in this campaign, having obtained the impressive number of 254 subs. In an interview, Paul was asked to account for this outstanding achievement, to which he replied: "Very simple—you just work like hell." It's his contention that *The Militant* has



The Militant subscription campaign has gone over its quota of 10,000 new readers. The large figure above represents the final total, 10,681.

become a beacon of hope and inspiration to the advanced section of the American working class, and "our revolutionary paper is the best organizer of the party."

As reported previously awards of books by Leon Trotsky go to our national pace-setters. Pioneer Publishers has advised us that both the prize for the ten highest, "The First Five Years of the Comintern" and for the others, "The Revolution Betrayed," are available. They will be distributed soon.

Detroit Reads:

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.

Paul Kujac, National Champion Sub-Getter, Tells How He Did It

By Clara Kaye

CHICAGO, Dec. 11 — Amassing a grand total of 254 Militant subscriptions in the eight-week campaign, Comrade Paul Kujac of Chicago, has steadily overtaken all competitors to emerge as national champion.

All participants in the sub-drive and readers of *The Militant* will be vitally interested in the reasons for Paul's phenomenal success as a salesman for socialism. The secret? "Very simple," says Paul. "You just work like hell."

Yes, Paul Kujac and all the others who fought fatigue and the elements to get out and canvass working class neighborhoods for subs, bear testimony to the energy, determination, and dogged perseverance of revolutionary Marxists in their fight to spread the great principles of

socialism throughout the world. As Paul phrases it: "Trotskyists must and do have unflinching devotion. *The Militant* is the best working-class paper in the country, and sells itself. The individual can contribute only time, time and more time."

Paul points out that he couldn't possibly be 25 times as "good" as the salesmen who sell 11 subs—but he does spend 25 times as much time! He believes firmly that "more time spent by more participants" will result in 100,000 new Militant readers in the next campaign.

PAUL EXPERIMENTS

The first day Paul went out, he sold only one sub in three hours. In the following days and nights, he experimented with various forms of sales technique and degrees of political approach. Discarding the ineffective

and applying the most successful measures ultimately resulted in a generally consistent average of four subs per hour. Paul insists that many comrades have higher hourly averages, but do not stay out long enough. "It's during the second and third and fourth hours that these totals really begin to mount."

It was natural that in the course of his activity Paul should come into contact with many workers definitely ready for membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The next task of the party, he claims, is to reap the fruits of the labor expended in the campaign and recruit all these avid new Militant readers.

INCREASED MILITANCY

The wealth of incidents he experienced and impressions he derived, are the cause for Paul's greatest enthusiasm. He cites especially the increasing militancy and class-consciousness of the Negro worker, who, as the most exploited element of the working class, has logically become the most politically advanced. Paul continually emphasizes the role of the party in leading the fight against racial discrimination.

"The next period will prove the enlightened political status of the Negro workers," Paul states. "They will join our party by hundreds and thousands to strengthen us in our fight against the degenerate capitalist system."

Today, Comrade Kujac is the organizer of Chicago's South Side branch, carrying on his work with the same revolutionary ardor that characterized his 15 years in the mass movement as a union leader, as an organizer in the unemployed movement of the 30's, and as a Trotskyist.

He emphatically states that "our revolutionary paper is the best organizer of the party. All new recruits testify to this, and this influence is expressing itself, daily in the trade unions and in the growth of our party. *The Militant* has become a beacon of hope and inspiration to the advanced section of the American working class."

WRIGHT GIVES RADIO TALK IN L.A. ON BRITISH LABOR

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 2 — Climaxing a week-end of intensive speaking activity in Los Angeles and San Pedro, John G. Wright, Associate Editor of *The Militant*, now on a national tour for the Socialist Workers Party, today delivered a talk over radio station KFOX. Speaking on a program sponsored by the Los Angeles Sentinel, largest Negro newspaper in the west, Wright discussed British imperialist foreign policy and the policies of the labor government, drawing the lessons for the American workers.

LIVELY DISCUSSION

On Friday night, November 30, he spoke before an audience of 35 in San Pedro and on Saturday to one of more than 100 in Los Angeles. Sunday afternoon, directly after the broadcast, he was present at a social held for the sub-getters who had been out all morning selling subscriptions to *The Militant*. On Tuesday, December 4, he is to speak at San Diego and return to Los Angeles the next day where he will lead a discussion with Socialist Workers Party members on educational work. His lecture, which discusses

the electoral victory of the British Labor Party and analyzes the political development of the working class in the United States, evoked a great deal of interest. Question and discussion periods were lively.

At the Los Angeles meeting a GM worker who is now out on strike, took the floor. He observed that in the course of the strike the workers had taken great strides to the left. In the same way the entire working-class will take a great leap to the left when the class struggle reaches its heights in periods of crisis.

At the conclusion of the discussion in both San Pedro and Los Angeles Comrade Wright urged members of the audience to join the Socialist Workers Party. In response to his appeal, one person joined in San Pedro and two in Los Angeles.

SCOREBOARD

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party	Quotas	Subs	Per Cent
Reading	50	230	460
St. Louis	50	189	376
Philadelphia	300	758	253
Connecticut	100	237	237
Cincinnati	50	118	236
Pittsburgh	100	201	201
Baltimore	100	150	150
Milwaukee	100	137	137
Portland	75	94	125
New York	2000	2384	119
Boston	200	233	117
Minneapolis	300	348	116
San Francisco	300	340	113
Chicago	1000	1033	103
Buffalo	300	308	102
Cleveland	200	204	102
Detroit	1000	1007	101
Allentown-Bethlehem	100	101	101
Seattle	300	305	101
St. Paul	100	100	100
Bayonne	100	100	100
Newark	300	261	87
Rochester	50	39	78
Los Angeles	1500	1140	76
Pitt	200	130	65
Youngstown	300	164	55
Akron	300	157	52
San Diego	50	26	52
Toledo	300	95	32
Kansas City	—	7	—
Groups, Members-at-large and Friends	175	85	48
Total	10,000	10,681	107

MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

The twenty-one who have sold the highest number of subs.

Name	Branch	Subs Sold
Paul Kujac	Chicago	254
C. Raymond	Reading	162
Ernest Drake	Detroit	155
Mike Warren	Seattle	146
Theresa Stone	Philadelphia	142
Ruby Rhodes	St. Louis	141
Bill Ference	Minneapolis	116
H. Spangler	Connecticut	107
Joe Simmons	Philadelphia	105
Rigo Carl	Detroit	101
E. Jarvis	Cincinnati	100
Eloise Gordon	Pittsburgh	99
Red Burnell	Cheslea, New York	82
G. Roberts	Detroit	87
Ruth Massey	Pittsburgh	86
Albert Conway	Los Angeles	76
Connie Locke	East Side, New York	73
J. Singer	Connecticut	69
Bob Kingsley	Cleveland	68
Margaret Moran	Chicago	66
Don Barry	East Side, New York	66

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.

We tried to educate not only the comrades involved in Allentown, but the whole party on what conciliation with Stalinism means in a revolutionary sense. But this work was hampered by the fact that these people were personal friends of Muste and that Muste protected them. For factional reasons he protected his friends against those who he admitted, were defending a correct political line. Instead of taking a clear stand with us, and joining in between us and them, blur the issue and prevent any kind of disciplinary action even in the most flagrant violations. Blinded by the intensity of the factional fight, Muste put the thing on a factional basis, protecting his friends. That is one of the gravest offenses against the revolutionary party. What has to be protected in the party, first of all, are the principles of Bolshevism.

If one has friends, the best thing he can do for them is to teach them the principles of Bolshevism, not to protect them in their error. If you don't, not only do your friends go to the devil, but you go with them. The friendship business is all right for Tammany Hall, which is based on the exchange of personal favors. But friendship which is a very good thing in personal life, must be subordinated to principles and the interests of the movement. I said to Muste after one of those exhibitions: "You are going to be terribly shocked some morning when you wake up and discover a Stalinist nucleus in Allentown trying to betray the party."

"He wouldn't listen, but persisted in his fatal course. And he was assisted in this crime by those who knew better. Muste was not a man of long experience in the tradition and the doctrines of Bolshevism. That might be said in his extenuation. But Muste was supported and egged on in this shielding of Stalinist tendencies and elements for factional reasons by Abern and his little clique. And I won't say anything more about these people here because I have said all that need be said about them in my book, *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*.

This adventure of Muste and Abern had a terrific kickback in the convention in March 1936. Then, in return for his coddling and covering up and protecting of the Stalinist tendencies in Allentown, Muste was rewarded by the announcement in the *Daily Worker*, on the day our convention opened, that Reich, Hallett and Johnson had joined the Communist Party! Muste's "friends" issued a statement denouncing the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists," on the very morning that our convention opened. This was the final devastating blow to the Muste-Abern faction, which had already been discredited enough. They had to suffer the final disgrace of seeing a group of people, whom they had protected for factional reasons, turning out to be Stalinist agents trying to demoralize and split our convention on the day it opened. Fortunately, the traitors were completely isolated; their action remained only a personal episode, and did not disturb the convention or the party in any way whatever. It only discredited the faction that had covered them up so blindly in the preceding months. By the same token, this denouement reinforced the authority of the majority faction, which had followed a clearly principled line and was in no way involved in the scandal.

The Big Majority in Favor of Entry

We had an overwhelming majority at the convention. The minority, which was a very small minority by then, accepted the decision. There was nothing else they could do. At the Socialist Party convention in Cleveland a few weeks later, the split with the Right Wing was completed on a national scale, and our members all over the country began joining the Socialist Party as individuals under the direction of the national leadership. We suspected a double-cross even at that late date. Our advice to our comrades everywhere was: "Hurry, don't delay. Don't dicker for terms but get into the Socialist Party while there is time. Don't hold out for formal concessions which will give them a pretext

ENTRY INTO S.P. WAS POLITICAL TASK

for reopening the question and changing their minds."

We received no welcome, no friendly salute, no notice in the press of the Socialist Party. Nothing was offered to us. No one of the leaders of our party was offered so much as a post as branch organizer by these cheap-skates—not one. The Stalinists were howling at the top of their voices: "You will never be able to digest these Trotskyists." They were warning them what would happen when the Trotskyists came in. And this was scaring the "Militants" blue in the face. It was a shabby business—the way they received us. If we had had been subjective people standing on our honor, we might have said, "To hell with it!" and walked away. But we didn't, because we were serving political ends.

We didn't construe all these humiliating concessions we had made as conciliation with the centrists. We just said to ourselves: that is blackmail we are paying for the privilege of carrying out an historically important political task.

We went into the Socialist Party confidently because we knew that we had a disciplined group and a program that was bound in the end to prevail. When, a little later, the leaders of the Socialist Party began to repent of the whole business; wishing they had never heard the name of Trotskyism, wishing to reconsider their decision to admit us, it was already too late. Our people were already inside the Socialist Party and beginning their work of integrating themselves in the local organizations. We issued a declaration in the last number of *THE MILITANT*, published in June 1936, announcing that we were joining the Socialist Party and suspending *THE MILITANT*. We stated our position very clearly, so that nobody could misunderstand us; no one could have any ground to believe that we were joining as capitulators, as renegades from Communism. We said: "We enter the Socialist Party as we are, with our ideas." These world-conquering ideas once again were on the march. And there was a fruitful year of work ahead of us in the Socialist Party.

CHAPTER XII

The Trotskyists In The Socialist Party

The last lecture in this series deals with the period of approximately one year that we spent inside the Socialist Party and the six months during which we were neither in nor out, but on our way to another destination. In the course of these lectures I have emphasized repeatedly that the tactics of a party are imposed upon it by political and economic factors beyond its control. The task of political leadership is to understand what is possible and necessary in a given situation, and what is not possible and not necessary. This may be said to be the gist of political leadership. The activities of a revolutionary party, that is, a Marxist Party, are conditioned by objective circumstances. These circumstances sometimes impose defeat and isolation upon the party despite anything that can be done by the leadership and the membership. In other situations the objective circumstances create possibilities for successes and advances, but at the same time limit them. The party always moves within a set of social factors not made by itself. They are features of the process of the development of society.

There are times when the best leadership cannot move the party forward by a single inch. For example, Marx and Engels, the greatest of all the teachers and leaders of our movement, remained isolated practically throughout their entire lives. They could not even create a substantial group in England where they lived and worked during the period of their maturity. This was not due to errors on their part and certainly not to incapacity, but to external factors beyond their control. The British workers were not yet ready to hear the revolutionary word.

During the long period of reaction and stagnation, which gripped the world labor movement in the first years of our existence as a Trotskyist movement in this country, namely from 1928 until 1934, we could not avoid isolation. That was the time when the whole weight of the world seemed to bear down upon a small group, a small handful of irreconcilables. That was the time when fainthearted people, especially those without a theoretical grasp of the nature of modern society and the laws working within it in favor of crises leading to revolution, fell by the wayside. That

was the time when only the Trotskyists, the bona fide Marxists, foresaw, in the period of darkest reaction and isolation, that a new rise was bound to come and consciously prepared for it in two ways: first, by elaborating the program which would equip the party for the new time; and, secondly, by assembling the preliminary cadres of the future revolutionary party and inspiring them to hold on with faith in the future. This faith in the future was justified as we have seen in some of the preceding lectures.

When the log jam in the world labor movement began to break up, especially beginning with 1934, a new movement of the masses was to be seen in this country, and all over the world. When that new situation began to reveal itself we were put to the test and given our opportunity. That was no longer the time to remain contentedly in isolation, clarifying principles. That was the time to bestir ourselves and apply those principles in action in the life of the surging class struggle. Our determination to do this, our recognition that the opportunity was before us, and our determination to grasp that opportunity, brought us into conflict with the centrists, the ultra-leftists. We had to fight them, we had to defeat them, in order to go forward. We did that. In the Minneapolis strike we took a step forward in the economic mass movement. The fusion with the American Workers Party was an other important step along the road toward the development of a serious Marxist Party in the United States. But these progressive actions were only steps, and we had to recognize the limitedness of the accomplishments. Political initiative and resolute actions in more complicated situations were still required of us.

In Politics Time Does Not Wait

The entry of our group into the Socialist Party of the United States was a still more important step along the complicated, winding, long drawn-out path toward the creation of a party that will eventually lead the proletariat of America to victory in the socialist revolution. That step, the entry into the Socialist Party, was taken by us at just the right time. Time is always an important consideration in politics. Time does not wait. Alas for the political leader who forgets it. There is a legal expression: "Time is of the essence of the contract." Ten times, a thousand times more does that apply in politics. It is not only what you do that decides, but when you do it; whether you do it at the right moment. It was not possible for us to join the Socialist Party earlier than we did, and if we had tried it later, it would have been too late. The heterogeneous Socialist Party that was attracting so much of our attention in those days, this centrist mishmash, this headless, helpless party, was buffeted by external events and squeezed by all kinds of pressures. The party itself was not viable. It was already in the stage of violent ferment and disintegration in 1936 at the time of our entry. The Socialist Party was destined, in any case, to be torn apart. The only question was how and along what lines the disintegration and eventual destruction of the historically unviable party would take place.

There was a powerful, though not yet fully conscious movement in the Socialist Party toward reconciliation with the Roosevelt administration, and thereby with bourgeois society. The propaganda and material resources of the well-heeled apparatus of the Communist Party pressed heavily upon the leaderless Socialist workers. The question was: Would the potentially revolutionary element of the centrist party—the worker activists and rebellious youth—be engulfed by these forces? Or, would they be fused with the cadres of Trotskyism and brought over to the road of the proletarian revolution? This could be tested only by our entry into the Socialist Party. It was not possible for the Trotskyists to come into contact with these potentially revolutionary elements of the Socialist Party otherwise than by joining the Socialist Party, for the simple reason that they showed no disposition to join our party. Organizational fetishism had to be cast aside. It had to give place to the demands of political necessity, which always stand above organizational considerations.

Our entry into the Socialist Party took place against a background of great events which were in process of unfolding, both at home and on a world scale. The sit-down strikes in France, a veritable revolution, were taking place at the very moment we were arranging to join the Socialist Party. The second big upsurge of the CIO, destined to carry this tremendous movement to greater heights than the organized labor movement of America had ever known—

in numerical strength, in mass militancy, and in its composition of the basic lower strata of the proletariat—this second big upsurge was in the beginning of its development at that time, in the Spring of 1936. The CIO rebellion was partly influenced, undoubtedly, by the sit-down strikes in France. The Spanish civil war was about to break out in full force; and to raise once again, in the most acute manner, the prospect of a second victory of the proletarian revolution in Europe. The Spanish revolution had within it the possibility of changing the whole face of Europe if it should succeed. A few months afterwards the Moscow trials were to shake the whole world.

Our Party Gains Valuable Political Experience

This great panorama of world-shaking events—and the rise of the CIO was not less important than the others in my judgment, from a world historical point of view—created the most favorable auspices for a forward march of the Marxist vanguard. There was no lack of political interest, no lack of mass activity, no lack of an adequate field for the operation of Marxist revolutionists at the time when we were conducting our activity within the framework of the Socialist Party. If we were worth our salt under such objective conditions, we were bound to gain. We would have had to be the worst kind of leadership; we would almost have had to set out consciously to defeat ourselves in order to fail to gain in such favorable circumstances as those.

Our work in the Socialist Party, when viewed in retrospect, was by no means free from errors and neglected opportunities. There is no doubt at all that the leaders of our movement adapted themselves a little too much to the centrist officialdom of the Socialist Party. A certain amount of formal adaptation was absolutely necessary in order to gain the possibilities of normal work in the organization. But this adaptation undoubtedly was carried too far in some cases and led to illusions and fostered deviations on the part of some members of our movement. There is no doubt at all that after the entry too much time was spent in negotiations and palaver with the leaders of the New York "Militants" group—Zam, Tyler and other Lilliputians of this type, who had absolutely no real power in the party, and whose strategic position was a transitory one rather than that of real influence over the ranks of the party. There is no doubt that in carrying out the political maneuver of entry into the Socialist Party and concentration on the political problems raised within the Socialist Party, we neglected to do as much mass work as might have been done. There is no doubt that such errors and neglected opportunities can be charged against us. But, on the whole, with the advice and the guidance of Trotsky—a decisive factor in all this work—we accomplished our main task.

We accumulated invaluable political experience, and we more than doubled our forces as a result of the entry and one year's work in the Socialist Party. We began our work very modestly and according to plan. Our first prescription for our people was: Penetrate the organization, become integrated into the party, plunge into practical work and thus establish a certain moral authority with the rank and file of the party; establish friendly personal relations, especially with those elements of the party who are activists and therefore potentially of some use. Our plan was to let the political issues develop normally, as we were sure they would. We didn't have to force discussion or to initiate the faction struggle artificially. We could well afford to let the political issues unfold under the impact of world events. And we didn't have long to wait.

The situation was vastly different from that of our early years when the general reaction and stagnation held us down. Now objective factors worked in favor of the revolutionists and created the conditions and opportunities they needed to move forward. The Spanish Civil War began in July 1936 with the insurrection led by Franco and the great counter-attack of the workers. The Moscow trials broke over a startled world in August, a few months after we had joined the Socialist Party. These were issues of world significance, and consequently they became known as "Trotskyist" issues. As far back as 1928 it had been recognized by our enemies, even by the most ignorant, that Trotskyism is no provincial dogma. Trotskyism is a movement of world scope and world perspective. Trotskyism proceeds from the standpoint of internationalism and concerns itself with the problems of the proletariat in all parts of the world.

(To Be Continued)

The Trotskyists Call For Solidarity With The Heroic German Workers

Editorial Note: The following manifesto, proclaiming solidarity with the German workers, has just been received from Europe by THE MILITANT. Printed in the German language and issued in leaflet form, it is signed by the European sections of the Fourth International. This call for international support of the German proletariat demonstrates that the Trotskyists alone remain true to the heritage of the martyred revolutionary leaders of the German workers, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. In their spirit, the Trotskyists alone carry forward the work of the socialist revolution.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY With the German Proletariat

Hitler-fascism lies prostrate—broken by armed power—and it would seem that a breathing space for humanity is possible. Finally, after 12 years of frightful suppression and five terrible years of war, full of blood and tears, it would seem that the working people of Germany above all should be free to breathe and hope for a better future.

But it is turning out quite differently. The lie propagated through the years by Goebbels' propaganda machine—that Hitler and the German people are one and the same—has now become the official pretext for the treatment imposed by the victorious Allied powers. Vansittart in England, Morgenthau in America, and Ehrenburg in Russia all preach with equal hatred that the entire German people bear the guilt for Hitler's crimes. The partitioning of Germany, the annexation of territories, the forced agrarianization of Germany, the plundering of machines from factories, requisitioning of all types, the confiscation of arms, deportations, the evacuation of millions from their native homes, the hunger blockade, reparations running into billions—this is the "Peace" given the German people under the excuse that they are collectively guilty.

German working people in the cities and on the farms! In this situation, we, the International Communists, feel obligated to stand by you with all the power and conviction of our class solidarity. Understand that we are not Social Democrats—who with cowardly opportunism support the label of collective guilt and act as agents of Anglo-American and French imperialism in Western Germany. Understand also that we are not Stalinists—who shout still louder under Russian command in declaring the German people guilty and who halt the annexations in the East carried out by the same Stalin who once declared he didn't want an inch of foreign territory. We are Communists in the spirit of Lenin and in the tradition of the forever glorious Russian October revolution. We simply defend the basic principles of this revolution when we oppose all imperialist exploitation and assaults no matter from what power they come and no matter against whom they are directed.

Today it is you, the German proletariat, the proletariat of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who above all need the solidarity of the proletariat of other countries.

We International Communists wish to testify for you, the German proletariat, who have stood to a man through hundreds of class battles, bleeding at a thousand wounds, you, who have lost tens of thousands of your best representatives in concentration camps. We do this despite the fact that we know we shall suffer persecution and the lies of the prostitutes of the press and corrupt labor bureaucrats labeling us as "Hitler-Trotskyites." Let them attack us. Solidarity remains, solidarity. And truth remains truth despite everything.

Truth demands that we tell the world proletariat Hitler-fascism was not a pure "German" phenomenon, but the most violent dictatorship of German monopoly capitalism against the German working people. Hitler first waged war

against the German proletariat before launching into World War. Hitler had to smash the German workers' organizations and slaughter the entire workers' leadership before he could build his war machine unopposed and then commit his war crimes. So long as Hitler directed his butchery against the German proletariat, the foreign capitalists backed him. It was the foreign capitalists who encouraged and did business with Hitler. The guilt of international capitalism in supporting Hitler-fascism is only underlined in retrospect when it plasters the label of "guilty" on the German people in order to squeeze billions in reparations out of them.

Truth further demands that we note the Second World War broke out when Hitler attempted in the interests of German monopoly capitalism to secure a world redivision of markets and spheres of influence. If Hitler, representing belated German imperialism on the world market, appears as the aggressor, the other imperialists cannot thereby be labeled peace-loving democrats, since they simply defended imperialist robberies made at an earlier stage. Their lack of innocence is all the more emphasized by the fact that scarcely did they militarily defeat their competitor Hitler than they began new imperialist quarrels among themselves, organizing new blocs and laying the foundation for another war. And these imperialist squabbles are being fought at the expense of the German proletariat in particular.

Capitalism Is The Culprit

We International Communists therefore denounce as the main culprit above all the capitalist system which creates war and fascism. We say to the German proletariat and all other workers that the fall of Hitler-fascism has not assured world peace. Peace can be secured only through the struggle for socialism and the Socialist United States of the World.

But from the viewpoint of the working class, to fix responsibility it is necessary first of all to point to the former leaders of the German proletariat.

From the murder of Liebknecht under Noske to the Administration of Eberling, a straight path leads to the development of Hitler, a path passing through the whole coalition politics of the Social Democrats, and their participation in the capitalist government. The Stalinist leadership on their part with their idiotic theory of "Social-fascism" contributed decisively to the victory of Hitler by deepening the split in the already broken class unity and thereby further weakening the German proletariat.

The German workers, despite the betrayal of their leadership, heroically defended themselves. The thousands of martyrs alone make the thesis of "collective guilt" an insult to these heroes of the German proletariat. Even up to the end, when the Allied armies were laying carpets of bombs over the workers' sections and seriously paralyzing any full-scale resistance against Hitler, the German revolutionary workers engaged in strikes and demonstrations against fascism. Deserters from the German army together with foreign workers rose against

Displaced Families In Germany



Millions of families, torn from their homes by the Allies, are swelling the ranks of the masses uprooted by the war and now wandering in central Europe. The above photograph was taken at the railway yards at Bamberg, Germany, last July. Lacking food, shelter, and adequate clothing, these people face death during the coming winter.

the SS. In some towns the workers in daring insurrections even seized power before the Allied armies arrived.

These same military powers, who blame the German people for not overthrowing Hitler, did everything to liquidate and suppress the news of these uprisings. In the final analysis the victorious imperialists, as well as the defeated Hitler-fascists and the now hypocritically democratic German bourgeoisie, all find their main enemy to be the proletarian revolution. The treatment of the German people on the principle of collective-guilt provides the fascists precisely with new possibilities to fish in the murky waters of nationalism. The danger is all the greater since, if the German people are collectively guilty then the Nazis who are the real guilty ones can logically hope to escape punishment.

No Trust In Bourgeoisie

We warn the German proletariat not to trust this bourgeoisie which now declares itself to be democratic. These new "anti-fascists" in reality are the same capitalist cliques who are already utilizing their connections with the international trusts to reorganize their class front against the German proletariat, and who want to make a pact with the foreign imperialists to load German reparations on the backs of the German people.

We International Communists in the so-called victor countries therefore see in you German workers and farmers victims whom we are duty bound to help.

In the spirit of Lenin we are ready to fight together with you for your release from the imperialist yoke.

We protest with you against the partitioning of Germany, against the confiscations, requisitions and against the billions in reparations.

We greet every instance of fraternization between the soldiers of the occupation armies and the German proletariat, and at the same time ask these soldiers not to let themselves be used for imperialist and reactionary purposes against the German workers. (A line is missing here in the leaflet—Translator) . . . and forced labor. We demand trade union rights, decent wages, houses worthy of human dignity, and adequate food for all these German workers deported abroad for reconstruction work.

Together with you we demand the treatment of war prisoners in accordance with the humane Red Cross rules, and their earliest possible release.

We are against the evacuation of millions of working people from their native homes. We demand the lifting of the hunger blockade which stifles the German workers and first of all their children, and threatens the world with epidemics. We are for brotherly mutual aid.

We are for self-determination of the German people.

We International Communists will fight for these demands wherever we are. We will try to organize the proletariat of all lands to conduct this struggle. We owe this to the teachings of

a Liebknecht, a Luxemburg and the thousands of martyrs of the German proletarian revolution.

Call To Workers Of World

And in this spirit we call to the workers of the world: practice solidarity with the German workers! Help them to throw off their imperialist yoke.

German class brothers! We do not doubt that you for your part will build your organizations with renewed energy. Build strong, militant and unified class organizations. Above all steer your working class movement away from all coalition horse-trading with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists; for the task of freeing the working class still rests with the workers themselves. The independence and self-reliance of the German workers' movement is of utmost importance today in fighting imperialist enslavement. Only with class independence, only in clear struggle and with clear class aims does the international character of the workers' movement become manifest. Just as Lenin after the collapse of the Second International built the Communist International, so today the Fourth International has replaced the Communist International after its degeneration and dissolution. This Fourth International has kept alive the heritage of Marx and Lenin. The German section of this International must be built up into a party to lead the German working class in the coming struggle to victory. That is the great task facing the German proletariat.

We know how difficult your struggle is under the harsh conditions of occupation. Freedom to organize, freedom of assembly and demonstration, freedom of the workers' press and the right to strike—these are the democratic rights which you will have to win through mass action.

To solve the housing problem, to control the distribution of food, to supervise prices, to organize the rebuilding and reopening of factories, organize yourselves into a network of committees of all the working people.

Don't let it come to pass that only Nazis and war criminals selected by the Allies receive punishment, but see to it that everyone who ever played a role as stool-pigeon or executioner of the German workers is punished. Only revolutionary workers' courts are capable of convicting them. Understand that only as a united and solid proletariat can you stamp out fascism. Recognize that in itself "anti-fascism" means nothing. Fascism and imperialism can only be ended with the downfall of capitalism and the victory of international socialism.

Long live the German proletarian revolution! Long live the Socialist United States of the World!

(Signed by the following parties of the Fourth International)

Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain
Internationalist Communist Party of France
Communist Workers Party of Italy
Revolutionary Communist Party of Belgium
The Dutch, Irish, Spanish, Swiss, Greek and German Sections of the Fourth International.

Activities Of Italian Trotskyists

The October 17 IV Internationale (Fourth International), organ of the Communist Workers Party, Italian Section of the Fourth International, has just been received by THE MILITANT. The Italian Trotskyists are fighting for the right to publish their paper legally. In an article, "Blows at the Left and Collaboration with the Right," they expose the role of Pietro Nenni, leader of the Italian Socialist Party, and Palmiro Togliatti, head of the Italian Stalinists.

Nenni and Togliatti "talk about democracy and a constituent assembly," states IV Internationale, they speak about "regional autonomy, agrarian and industrial reforms." But they don't guarantee freedom of the press or assembly. They persecute the left-wing of the labor movement and refuse to authorize publication of the Italian Trotskyist paper.

FARCIICAL DEMOCRACY
The socialist and Communist workers did not support Nenni

and Togliatti in order to achieve a "farciical democracy." These workers are fighting for the democratic rights of "the whole proletarian movement," declares IV Internationale.
In spite of the obstacles placed in their path by the Socialists and Stalinists, the Italian Trotskyists continue to publish their paper.
The issue carries two articles by Leon Trotsky: "The Beginning of the End" and "On the 90th Anniversary of the Communist Manifesto."

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

The Colonial Struggle Is Our Struggle

We have been witnessing for the last several months the cruel massacre of hundreds of thousands of colonial colored people by and because of the European and American imperialists. In China, Indo-China, Burma, India and especially Indonesia, non-

white men, women and children have recently been bombed, burned and butchered simply because they attempted to drive out the exploiters and set up their own independent governments.

There has been far too little protest in Europe and America by labor and minority groups for the withdrawal of all Allied troops from these areas now that the German and Japanese war-minded ruling classes have been removed as competitors to power-drunk, American imperialism. Now, some may claim that since the Negro is so badly oppressed in this country, that he of all people can ill afford to be concerned with what happens to the colonial brothers. But as a matter of fact, just the opposite is true.

Precisely BECAUSE we are the most severely oppressed group under this system, we should not only take part in, but should take the lead in supporting the militant struggles of the colonials for freedom from the blood-sucking imperialists. For those Indonesians, Indo-Chinese and Indians are struggling not only for their own survival but also—whether they know it or not—for our survival.

WHAT IS AT STAKE
We must understand exactly what is at stake. Today the oppressors in the colonial countries and here in America are not so much similar as they are the SAME. The big sister of British, French and Dutch imperialism has for some time been none other than American imperialism. Wall Street has looted, and is continuing to loot them all, money and supplies; and she consequently has them all in her hook. She is now, therefore, more the MASTER of these petty thieves than she is their big sister. Thus the basic economic enemy of the colonial people is the same enemy as that of all working people and especially of the Negro people here in America.

If the colonial people are successful in throwing off their exploiters, Wall Street will be cut off from a goodly source of its super-profits. All of these countries where the imperialists are so interested in "maintaining law and order" are—by coincidence, of course—fabulously rich in minerals and other natural resources badly needed by modern industrial production.

THEIR PLAN AT HOME
On the other hand, if the imperialists should succeed in their present all-out drive to crush these freedom movements in the Asiatic and Oriental lands, they would then be free to move with refreshed audacity against any home opposition. Militant movements in the next period for complete equality for the Negroes would be mercilessly stamped out by the emboldened capitalists. Thus a victory over the freedom loving colored peoples on the opposite side of the globe would greatly fortify the instigators, perpetrators and beneficiaries of Jim Crowism in America.

THE SAME FOE
The du Ponts who have coined billions out of the workers' toil and the workers' blood through wars and depressions, hold the controlling interest in GM Corporation. This family clique of parasites also is in the forefront of those who are profiting by Wall Street's imperialist moves in China and in the East Indies.

Thus, although the methods of repression are on a different scale at present, the GM workers and the colonial slaves in this case have an identical common enemy. And we all know that a blow to a foe is a blow to a foe, whether it be to his head or whether it be to his toe.

Cuban Trotskyists Hit Grau's Regime

Dr. Grau San Martin, "liberal" president of Cuba, has "defrauded the people," declares an editorial in the October 31 Revolution Proletaria (Proletarian Revolution), organ of the Cuban Trotskyists.

Drawing the balance sheet of Grau's first year in office, the Cuban Trotskyists declare: "The promises made during 11 years of opposition have dissolved like a lump of salt in the rain."

In May 1944 Revolution Proletaria predicted that the Grau regime would demonstrate the impossibility of basically reforming the capitalist system in the interests of the workers. "The facts have confirmed our position," declares the editorial.

"All the evils suffered by the people under the regime of Batista (Juan Batista, ruthless dictator of Cuba) have been duplicated by the present government."

LIST CRIMES
The Cuban Trotskyists list some of the crimes committed by the Minister of Commerce under Grau: "fantastic commercial transactions," an "infamous policy of barter," "deals that culminated in international scandals," "trafficking in the blood of the Cuban people."

Despite repudiation of the Minister of Commerce by the Cuban Congress which, according to the Cuban Constitution should have forced his dismissal, Grau intervened in his favor. Grau's Presidential regime, states the editorial, is one of the worst ever suffered by the Cuban people. He grants favors to and protects friends and relatives.

"It is true that public funds have not been stolen in the traditional manner." But public works have been started without plan or organization, for the benefit of his political supporters.

Notice To Militant Readers

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party is beginning the organization of its first band. We have obtained the help of a very well known and capable band leader and music teacher. He has offered to organize an SWP band and to teach free of charge any friends of the Party who wish to learn to play a musical instrument. All those interested are invited to attend meetings of the band. For further information call C. Kerry, GR. 5-8149.

Socialist Workers Party Branch Activities

AKRON—Visit The Militant Club, 405-6 Everett Bldg., 39 East Market St., open Tues. and Thurs. 2 to 4 p.m.; Mon., Wed., Fri. 7 to 9 p.m.

ALBANY-BETHLEHEM—Public discussion meeting on current topics every Thursday, 8 p.m., at Militant Labor Forum, 6 E. corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Allentown.

BOSTON—Office at 30 Stuart St. Open Mondays and Saturdays from noon until 6 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 Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor.

CHICAGO—Visit the Chicago SWP headquarters, 160 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 pamphlets at Socialist Workers Party 145 So. Broadway, Room 203, Los Angeles 12. SAN PEDRO, Socialist Workers Party,

1008 S. Pacific, Room 214. Socialist Youth Club, First Anniversary Supper, Sat., Dec. 22, 7 p.m. Viaduct Center, 126 N. St. Louis St.

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.

NEW YORK—Registration open at 118 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.

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

Dec. 21—Ben. Josephs will speak on "The Jews in Post-war Europe."

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

Circulating library. Class on 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, 306 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, 1819 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.

Diary Of A Steelworker By T. Kovalesky

His name is George P. Ellsworth, but the fellows generally refer to him as "Old Ellsworth," "that goddamn Ellsworth," or one or two other names that you might say but you wouldn't write down. He's a large man with a lantern jaw and hair that's just beginning to turn gray. His face is hard as a chunk of steel and his eyes are just that cold. He is superintendent of the blast furnace department.

George P. Ellsworth was born, they say, somewhere in the south, grew up there, and went to college to learn about the steel industry. They taught him everything about blast furnaces that you can learn out of a book, and they taught him how to handle workmen . . . the company way. Then they turned him loose in the steel plant.

He started out "at the bottom." He came to work in overalls tending stoves on a blast furnace in the times when we used to work eleven-hour days and thirteen-hour nights, with a twenty-four hour shift once every two weeks. Oh, yes George P. Ellsworth was once a workman with a dirty face and sweaty woolen underwear.

But he was always a man apart. We knew what he was here for, so we never took him into our confidence; and he, on the other hand, associated with us only as much as he had to on the job. When we cursed the company for our hard work and low pay, his eyes would narrow, and he'd walk away from us. When the colored fellows would talk, he'd listen with an amused, superior smile; for George P. Ellsworth was from the south, a "southern gentleman."

He started at the bottom but he didn't stay there long. Within a year he was a blower. Not long afterward he was a foreman, then assistant superintendent, working under Old Houseman. George P. Ellsworth was a man of destiny. There was a place waiting for him in this world.

Then one day, Mr. Housman retired, and Ellsworth became superintendent of the department. He had made the grade.

From the company's standpoint, he was a fine man for the job. Always looking for a way to save money, he cut the working force first in one place and then in another, loading more work on those left on the jobs. When we'd complain about this, Ellsworth would say, "Don't tell me that! I worked on those furnaces, myself, and I know how much work there is. You fellows still have it easy." Well, there was no union then, so we couldn't do anything about it. He ruled the department with an iron hand.

That's the way it went for a long time. There were vicious and spiteful punishments meted out to anyone who broke the company's rules. Promotions were given to favorites regardless of their ability, even more openly than now.

Then Something Happened

But then something happened. The SWOC came around, and the men began joining it. Ellsworth was furious. Here was an organization coming in to challenge his absolute rule. The company OWNED the plant. The company had put him, George P. Ellsworth, in charge of the blast furnace department. And now this damned union, this gang of red radicals, was trying to come in and tell him, HIM, George P. Ellsworth, how to run HIS department! As he stalked about the furnaces, hatred tightened his face and vibrated in his voice.

All the active unionists were closely watched. Whitey Larson was soon fired for some trivial reason that I have forgotten now. Soon afterward the same thing happened to me, but we both kept on organizing the union from outside the plant.

Then came the strike, and the union was recognized. What a blow this was to Ellsworth! Here in his OWN department, he had to deal with a Grievance Committee . . . and more than that, on this committee were two men that he had fired and the union had gotten back into the plant. He was a wounded man, and he showed it.

But you have to make the best of a bad situation, so Ellsworth began to act more cooperative. He began to joke with the committee when we went in on grievances, and that was OK with us, as long as we won our points. Sometimes it would be a little too hard for him to take, and he'd try to be his old tough self; but a little strike would usually be enough to set him right.

When war was declared, and the International gave the no-strike pledge, Ellsworth began to get his footing once again. He began to say "No" more and more often, and we couldn't do much about it. A little strike couldn't beat both the company and the union bureaucrats; and the workers weren't ready to have a big one in wartime. So we were stuck, and George P. Ellsworth began to ride high almost like the old days.

Well, he's still riding high, but he's due for a fall, and I think he feels it because he shows, once again all the old hatred. The union has given notice. We'll go out on the fourteenth of January and we're ready and anxious. Ellsworth is powerless to do anything about it, so he stalks about the department like a wounded bear, glaring and snarling, wishing for the good old days, when a superintendent was king of the department, and there were no union men to interfere with his royal will!

Notes Of A Seaman By Art Sharon

It is now like the morning after the membership of the CIO National Maritime Union.

During the war, the NMU, under the whip of its Stalinist leadership, was driven to submit meekly to the anti-labor policies of the Maritime Commission and the profiteering ship-owners. Not even the labor loving brass of the Army Transport Corps went as far as the Stalinist leaders of the NMU to keep the seamen on the ships and submissive to the thousand and one restrictive and repressive measures devised by Washington.

Now Mr. Ship-Owner and his mouthpieces in Wall Street and Washington have stopped smiling and making pretty speeches about the "unsung heroes in dungarees." They are showing their teeth and are talking fight.

Listen to the editorial spokesman for the ship-owners in the New York "Journal of Commerce," December 10: "Strikes and the threat of strikes are a very serious factor. Another strike on a par with that of the stevedores in 1934 might have unpredictable results. It would leave a trail of ruin . . . There would be unions there too; dead ones."

Consider this sinister statement of the Wall Street spokesman for the ship-owners in the light of what the NMU leaders promised during the war.

You don't need a very good memory to remember what was said by the Stalinist leadership of the NMU not so very long ago. The "post-war" period was to be one of sweetness and light and brotherly co-operation between the sea-going workmen and the ship-owning capitalists. Any NMU member who said otherwise was slandered as a "Jap spy" and a "Trotskyite."

Well, we are in that "post-war" period of Capital-Labor "co-operation" that Curran, Bridges and Co. talked so much about. And the seamen are now learning the hard way

what the Journal of Commerce confirms.

What was it that McKenzie, Smith, Stack, Meyers and other Stalinist NMU leaders said at that membership meeting last April 28? NMU members well recall their frenzied attack on The Militant, which had analyzed their program as an empty gesture and had correctly stated that only preparation for militant action, beginning with the revocation of the no-strike pledge, could start the ball rolling for the NMU to achieve its demands.

The Stalinist officials of the NMU took over the best part of a three-hour-long meeting to blast this criticism of their leadership. Few who were present will forget the hysterical abuse heaped on "Trotskyism" and "The Militant." This was only camouflage however. The NMU bureaucrats were really leveling their fire against the restless NMU militants who wanted to call a halt to the headlong flight into the arms of the ship-owners and Washington.

The top Stalinist clique has split since then. Now for the first time, the rank and file of the union are learning the bitter truth of the role these elements played all during the war.

National Director Ralph Rogers, as reported in The Militant, December 8, resigned with a letter to NMU President Joseph Curran, charging McKenzie, Smith and others of the leadership with selling out to the ship-owners. Tommy Ray, long the Number 1 man in the Stalinist machine, and Alexander have quietly resigned. Apparently the Stalinist machine has found some way to keep them quiet. Now Hedley Stone NMU treasurer, has placed his resignation before the National Council which is meeting at this writing.

How does this all stack up? The top Stalinist cliques followed a treacherous course all during the war and succeeded in completely disorienting the union. They are now trying to cover up their tracks by centering the attention of the membership on secondary issues and questions, when the very existence of the union is at stake.

An Incident On A Bus By Grace Carlson

DETROIT — He must have been nine or ten years old — a brown-haired, brown-eyed boy, wearing a brown leather jacket and helmet. He stood in the aisle of the crowded Detroit bus next to his little brother, who shared a seat with me. Also dressed in a brown leather jacket and helmet, the five-year-old was almost an exact replica of his older brother.

I knew that he was five because he kept reminding his brother that next year when he was six, he would go Christmas shopping all by himself. They had obviously been Christmas shopping that morning. Both of them carried packages in their red-mittened hands and from the looks of the wrappings, all of their shopping had been done in the ten-cent store.

When the bus reached the General Motors building, it was brought to a grinding stop. A gigantic motor picket line around the huge, ornately-decorated General Motors building halted all traffic. The honking of the horns, the singing of the pickets and the bright picket signs attracted the attention of both of the children. The little boy leaned across me to look

out of the bus window.

"What are they honking for?" he demanded excitedly.

"They're the Fords," answered the older boy, who was able to read the picket signs. "They're here to help the GM's."

The five-year old grew more and more excited as he saw hundreds of picket signs flash by. "What do they say on the signs?" he asked.

His high childish voice could be heard all over the bus. Many of the passengers were watching the pair with interest. The older boy saw this. He pulled his little brother back into place and spoke to him in a low voice.

"Papa's a GM," he said. "The Fords want to help Papa and all the other GM's." Then, he placed his finger across his lips to warn the little boy that all of the people in the bus might not be friendly to the "GM's."

The five-year-old tried to be quiet, but his shrill whisper could be heard by many of the passengers. "That's good for the Fords to help the GM's." He shook his brown-helmeted head up and down with happy approval. "The Fords are helping Papa."

Fighters For Freedom Of Colonies Continue Their Heroic Defense Against Allied Assault

By Charles Carsten

The battlers for freedom of the colonies in the Far East are continuing their heroic struggle against the brutal assault of Anglo-American imperialism.

Another town in Java was burned by British troops on December 16, according to the Associated Press. This village, near Buitenzorg, was put to the torch, the British asserted, because sniping from the village interfered with troops guarding a rail crossing where some British forces were said to have been ambushed.

A few days ago British troops burned every building in the village of Beknassi, Java, and strafed trucks as they left the town.

U. S. RESPONSIBILITY

Two more British Indian divisions on the way to Java will raise the Empire's forces to 100,000 men. When the additional Dutch troops are brought in, the combined Anglo-Dutch forces will amount to 150,000. The Dutch Marines on their way to the islands were trained in the United States. All the imperialist troops in Indonesia are fully equipped with the most modern arms.

American imperialism shares joint responsibility with the British and Dutch in the assault against the Indonesian people. The United States is not only equipping the Anglo-Dutch armies, training and transporting Dutch soldiers, but the British troops in Java are under the Supreme Allied Command in Washington.

In view of these facts President Truman's December 15 statement on policy in China appears all the more hypocritical. He declared that "the United States has long subscribed to the principle that the management of internal affairs is the responsibility of the peoples of the sovereign nations." Washington, however, is not only backing the British and Dutch in Indonesia and the French imperialists in Indo-China, but is intervening even more directly in China.

In supporting the Chinese dictator Chiang Kai-shek, Washington has armed and trained many divisions which are fighting to crush the Chinese Stalinist armies of North China.

More of Chiang Kai-shek's troops are being transported to Hulutao from Shanghai and Haiphong, Indo-China, aboard United States transports to supplement his troops in Manchuria.

Under the formula, "autonomous armies should be eliminated" in China, Truman is backing Chiang Kai-shek against the Chinese people, hoping to stabilize this ruthless dictator as an agent of Wall Street.

"INAPPROPRIATE"—BUT REAL!

Although Truman states that "intervention . . . would be inappropriate," United States marines continue to guard rail lines and bases for Chiang's armies. United States planes strafe defenseless villages in Stalinist held North China. The United States Seventh fleet continues to transport Chiang's troops. Modern weapons continue to flow to China under Lend-Lease.

Government officials state that marines are in China to disarm Japanese troops. But, according to army reports, Japanese soldiers are being allowed to keep their arms to "maintain order," that is, they are being used against the Stalinist-led forces.

Likewise, Japanese troops are being used by the Allied imperialists in Indo-China. Even after they are "disarmed," a December 9 Associated Press dispatch states, "10 per cent of the Japanese columns are permitted to retain their arms."

Until sufficient French forces can be brought in to take over guard duties, the dispatch reveals, "some Japanese garrisons will be maintained to protect French nationals," in Indo-China. The meaning of this double talk about "guard duties" is the same as "maintaining order" in China. These troops will be used against the Annamese who are struggling for independence from imperialist rule.

No method is too barbarous for the imperialists in crushing colonial resistance to imperialist rule. A Reuter dispatch from Saigon states: "The French frigate Smol, cooperating with French troops north of Saigon, sank twelve junks and six sampans full of plates. It was officially stated here today."

Destroy the fighters for freedom, is the policy of the imperialist barbarians. Then above their graves write "pirates!"

"Bring Back Daddy," Demand Wives And Children Of War Veterans

By Winifred Nelson

ST. PAUL, Minn., Dec. 10 — Over 100 mothers, members of the "Bring Back Daddy" Club, marched on the State Capitol today to protest against the delay in returning fathers to their homes.

Despite sub-zero weather, all the women brought their children, ranging in age from 10 months to seven years, bundled in snowsuits, scarves, mittens and overshoes, to impress upon the Governor the need for doing something NOW to relieve the situation of servicemen's families existing on inadequate government allotments.

Hanging from the children's shoulders were signs reading: "Please bring my daddy home." "I want my daddy back." "No boats, no votes."

Chief protest of the group is that men "are being kept overseas doing nothing while their families are suffering at home from lack of funds to support them during the winter." One of the women stated, "Our children are cold. Something has to be done. Our children cry their hearts out every night in loneliness. They go to Santa Claus and ask only that their daddies be returned for Christmas."

Although Mrs. Ruth Orlando, club spokesman, expressed satisfaction with the Governor's promise to "do all he could," other mothers in this morning's "March on the Capitol" were far from satisfied. They threatened that, if nothing is done, they will get no votes from them in the next election.



Photo by courtesy of St. Paul Dispatch-Pioneer Press

Allied 'Lidices' In The Far East

By The Editors

One of the most shocking Nazi atrocities during the war was the levelling of the Czechoslovak village of Lidice.

This small town, claimed the Nazis, "gave shelter and assisted" the underground fighters who had shot Reinhard Heydrich, brutal Nazi leader. In retaliation, the Nazis shot all the men in the town, sent the women to concentration camps, and then razed the town, leaving nothing but smoking ruins.

The Allied propagandists utilized this frightful atrocity to make the name of Lidice a rallying cry for vengeance. They pointed to the bestiality of the Nazis at Lidice to whip up the morale of the Allied troops. The inhuman monsters capable of such a foul crime, cried out the propagandists, must be fought to a finish by every decent human being.

Now the Nazis have been defeated. It might appear that human decency had triumphed.

But on December 4—more than three years after the Nazi Lidice—the American military command in China gave the world another Lidice. Two Americans, claimed General Rockey, had been shot by Chinese. Those accused of shooting these armed invaders of their land fled to a small village named Anshon.

When the villagers failed to produce them, the Marines pumped 24 mortar shells into this defenseless town. "Seasoned combat men estimated the village could have been wiped out," reported Associated Press.

Again on December 13, the British command in Indonesia equipped with American-made arms, gave

the world still another Lidice. The British generals claimed that Indonesian "terrorists" had killed British airmen and Indian soldiers who were part of the Allied forces invading Java.

The British cold-bloodedly selected the village of Bekasi for retaliation. Then "truckloads of soldiers swept through the village, drenching wooden buildings with gasoline and planting incendiary bombs, while tanks and artillery stood by to repel any attacks . . ." A column of black smoke more than 1,000 feet high rose over the town.

These are not the only new Lidices smoking on the altar of Allied "democracy."

On October 28 French troops, transported in American ships and equipped with American arms, burned down a village near Saigon, Indo-China.

The Allied Commander used as the pretext for this atrocity the charge that Annamese fighters for the independence of their country had fired at British armored cars as they sped through the village.

The Allied atrocities in China, Indonesia and Indo-China prove that the war criminals are not confined to the ranks of the German imperialists. The war criminals in Washington, London and Paris are just as vile, inhuman and bestial as their Nazi opponents.

These Allied atrocities give new insistence to the widespread demand that all troops be withdrawn immediately from the Far East.

Hands off the colonial peoples!

Foster Continues Earl Browder's Sell-Out Line; Ousted Chief Adopts Policy Of Watchful Waiting

By Felix Morrow

In the six months since the formal deposing of Browder at the July convention of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, the "new" Foster leadership has tried with might and main to work up a line which looks different from Browder's revisionism. In vain. That becomes clear when one reads the documents of the CP's National Committee meeting of mid-November, which are now appearing.

"For a Fighting Communist

Party!" was the slogan of the meeting, but the political weapons displayed by Foster & Co. scarcely could make that possible. Foster's own speech was limited to vague generalities, but the speeches of his chief lieutenants, who had to get down to cases, shows the essential identity of the Fosterline with the Browderline.

John Williamson, the party's organization director, put it plainly enough:

"Just as we fight for a foreign policy of Big Three Coalition, so at home we fight for a policy of democratic unity and the maintenance of a firm coalition of all democratic forces, with the independent working class movement as its backbone." (December Political Affairs, p. 1115).

This was also Browder's central formula. The Fosterites can no more drop it during this period than they can thumb their nose at Stalin. The Big Three Coalition continues, despite quarrels over the booty, and whatever luxuries Foster can permit himself in the way of criticizing Truman, he must remain within the limits of "a firm coalition of all democratic forces," i.e., continued support of American capitalism.

Gene Dennis, Foster's political expert, had to take note of the development of Labor Party sentiment, but only to oppose it. He speaks of the need in 1948 of a "third party" to include "the followers of Wallace in the Democratic Party," Newbold Morris "No Deal" grouping, etc., i.e., a capitalist third party. Even this, however, is offered only as the music of the future.

NOT IN QUESTION

"It is not a question of projecting at this time, nor even necessarily during the course of the 1946 elections, the question of organizing a third party." (Sunday Worker, Dec. 2, p. 3.)

In a word, the 1946 elections are still to be conducted along

the line of this November election's deal with Tammany for the election of O'Dwyer.

All this is served up with much larding of abusing Browder, but that gentleman can very well ask Foster what he has done except grab Browder's job in an unprincipled clique fight. The Fosterites show no confidence of having ousted Browder once for all. As Gene Dennis complains:

BROWDER WAITING

"And here it should be noted that just as Browder sits on the sidelines and adopts a policy of 'watchful waiting,' the concealed supporters of Browderism express their opposition to the Party line and leadership by sabotaging and withdrawing from all mass work, by 'digging in,' by remaining passive."

We can be sure that if Foster were really confident that Browder's revisionism was really done with, he would toss Browder out. But the latest news of a new Big Three Conference in Moscow cannot fail to make Foster wonder if Browder isn't due for a comeback.

One Browderite, Sam Donchin, a cowardly lickspittle if there ever was one, felt cocky enough in this situation to open an attack on the Foster leadership. He based himself on the obvious fact that the Fosterites had been part of Browder revisionism and accused them of falsifying the July convention resolution in order to pretend they hadn't been Browderites. Donchin "undertook to mobilize the membership of Eastern Pennsylvania against the leadership." With the usual bureaucrat's cry of "This is factionalism, not democracy," Foster acted against Donchin.

But what is notable is that Donchin was merely removed from the National Committee and not expelled from the party. Notable, because if Foster had been at all sure of himself he

would have chopped off Donchin's head.

Another straw in the wind of Sam Darcy's declining to return to the party, from which Browder expelled him two years ago. Darcy's criticisms of Browder were one of the chief sources of the case against Browder in the Duclos' article, and Duclos' praise of Darcy ordinarily could only have meant Darcy's return to power. Darcy was invited to return—but declined! An astute politician, Darcy apparently has no faith in the longevity of the Foster regime.

John Williamson complains: "We should also take note of certain rumor-mongering and gossip concerning the national leadership . . . While some people who should know better engage in this detraction, there can be no doubt that it has its source in enemy forces who are busy at work."

RUMOR-MONGERING

We can safely assume the "rumor-mongering, gossip and detraction" of the leadership is in reality criticism from some of the rank and file who thought Foster was going to make a real turn to the left and are now becoming disillusioned.

Another indication of it is Gene Dennis' complaint:

"Since the Convention, the dangers from the 'Left' have increased . . . tendencies . . . to play with strikes . . . to rely on spontaneity in calling strikes. These Left moods also have found expression in policies designed to belittle the need of common action of all progressive and democratic forces . . ."

This can only mean that Browder's removal was taken seriously down below by militants, whom Foster is now trying to handcuff again.

The opportunity is at hand to open the eyes of many a militant in the Communist Party to the real nature of Stalinism.