

How The Auto Workers Fought Injunctions

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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 haggle the labor movement and render it, in time, helpless before the ruthless might of the money aristocrats.

(Continued on Page 3)

"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 Auto Workers 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.

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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 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 had 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 no 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



"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 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.

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 engaged in an "unauthorized" strike, was termed "company unionism" and "an invitation to the foreman to take advantage of the men."

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-

"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 pianist 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.

'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 Depart-

ment 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 as 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.

Ford proposed 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 strike. 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.

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.

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

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 735.

Rubber Union Delegates Back GM Strikers

(Continued from Page 1)

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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 DUPONT'S GOT THAT WE HAVEN'T GOT — 30%"; "FOR AMERICA WITH JOBS FOR ALL"; "6 MILLIONS STRONG CAN'T BE WRONG — CIO"; "OUR BUDDIES GAVE THEIR LIVES, WHAT DID GM GIVE?"; "COLLECTIVE BAR-GAINING, 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.

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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

cussing 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 strike.

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.

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 under-nourishment.

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 thorough-going just demand.

THE MILITANT

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Published in the interests of the working people

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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 the workers' 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 UAW.

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

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 "re-training 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 titan six-day pitched battle against hundreds of armed special deputies, police and finally 1,500 National Guards, a couple of thousand 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 pliant 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 jobless, the unemployed League, led by two young Trotskyist workers.

The 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 Gadol 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."

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 was 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 sat 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 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 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. Seltzer, 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.

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. The great majority of approx-

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 moon 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.

The new headquarters, at 6108 Linwood, is more than five times as large as the old headquarters which the Detroit Branch had outgrown. Yet even this larger space was filled almost to capacity by the lively throng, and gave promise of an even faster growth.

The new headquarters, at 6108 Linwood, is more than five times as large as the old headquarters which the Detroit Branch had outgrown. Yet even this larger space was filled almost to capacity by the lively throng, and gave promise of an even faster growth.

Many of the workers becoming acquainted with the Trotskyist movement for the first time flocked around a specially constructed literature rack in the main hall, displaying an impressive list of party books and pamphlets.

"For a long time now I have been disgusted with the literature of the Socialist Labor Party," said one new friend of the Socialist Workers Party. "All they do is talk and preach. Tonight I happened to come here and I am certainly glad. I see here a party which does something more than talk—you people are also in action in the labor movement."

Another friend of the party said he is eagerly awaiting arrival of the two new Pioneer Publishers' books: "Five Years of the Comintern" and "The Revolution Betrayed," both by Leon Trotsky.

THANKS, BOYS!

Today's developments grew out of General Motor's 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.

Labor Solidarity

EVERETT, Mass.—Employed members of Market Forge Local 2431, CIO, United Steelworkers, last week launched a movement here to support the General Motors strike with voluntary pay-day pledges.

The Local 2431 Executive Board asked the 250 members to pledge 25 cents a week for the duration of the strike. In the first day of the campaign 90 per cent of the men enthusiastically made pledges, with 50 members contributing 50 cents weekly.

The Local telegraphed the GM Strike Committee urging it to appeal to every CIO local to take similar pay-day action.

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

—Leon Trotsky

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 ashcan 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 prefer 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.



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 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 ordinance 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 outfit, mobile radio outfit, 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.

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"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."

ALLENBETHLEHEM

Christmas Festival

Saturday, Dec. 22

Entertainment . . . Refreshments

Militant Labor Forum

S. E. Corner Front & Hamilton Sts., Allentown

50 cent ticket admits two.

Congressmen At Work



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 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 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

looks 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, bracing 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 skiing.

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"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."

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

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"

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 scoop 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. Carl
Flint, Mich.

White Collar Workers Need Unions, Too

This is where I feel traditions 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 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 piled 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

U. S. Imperialism's Gift to Philippines

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—the comparison of them to the mansions of the leading citizens, would probably have made Chi-

At the beginning, honest men

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."

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."

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.'

From Milwaukee we hear:

"I would like to report that recently we were discharged from the Army and were surprised at the cute way 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?"

Mr. Henry Ford:

In The Militant, under date of September 29, 1945, it is stated that four months before the Nazis overran Poland in 1939, you presented a gift of 25,000 Reichsmarks to Hitler on his 50th birthday. Is this a fact or a falsehood?

If this statement is an accomplished fact, are you aware of the tremendous damage you inflicted on the German people?

This gift was an approval of all of Hitler's policies to the German people. Well might they say: "Henry Ford, the greatest industrialists in the world, has approved of our Hitler; he can not be wrong with the mighty Henry Ford back of him."

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 reply.

Respectfully yours,

Milton L. Babin
Waukash, 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.

R. M.
Arlington, N. J.

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

This Year, ENJOY

NEW YEAR'S EVE

With The Trotskyists In Your City

NEW YORK

Dancing . . . Entertainment . . . Refreshments

Academy Hall, Roosevelt Bldg. 858 Broadway, Near 14th St.

Subscription \$1

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

PORLTAND, ORE.

Gala New Year's Eve Party

Socialist Workers Party

134 S.W. Washington St. 3rd Floor

Tickets Now On Sale. Call AT 3992

At Door \$1.25

BUFFALO

Dancing and Fun at The

Militant Forum

829 Main Street 2nd Floor

Admission 50 cents

BAYONNE

Dancing . . . Floor Show

Midnite Supper

750 Avenue A

Tickets At the Door

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 cute way 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 question goes unanswered.

We are just back in the states and are heroes. We weren't heroes over there; we were just a part of a gigantic war machine carrying death and misery to the already long suffering people of Europe, Asia and Africa, etc. True, most of the very rich over there were spared the suffering, and some of the rich, even became richer. We saw those things happen, and we didn't like it.

(Maybe it's things like that they don't want us to tell civilians?)

And then we read things in the press we didn't like, too. Things in Yank, that ran something like his: "You have fought the war and won it. You think it is over now, but it has just begun. Soon you will be returning to civilian life, and your job is to get in there and work hard and help pay the gigantic debt this war has brought on your government." If you read it fast enough, you get it this way: You won their war for the big-shots, Sucker, now go home and pay for it!

Okay, but how?? Even a hero has to eat; where are the jobs that will pay us a living wage, much less give us enough to pay for the bloody war we just fought for them? Maybe they expect us to pay for the war out of the \$20 weekly unemployment compensation the GI "Bill of Gripe" offers us. Maybe they think we can pay for the war out of the money we will have left over from the \$50 a month they are willing to pay us to go to school.

Well, maybe it would be a good idea for a lot of us to go to school. The kind of school that will make us smart enough to let the bloated Wall Street War-Makers pay for their war themselves—out of the blood-crusty profits they made out of the war!

For the Socialist Revolution, which will put an end to wars for Dollar-Democracy!

Two Veterans, shortly removed,

Johnny Eager and

Kent Darrow

New York

Militant Readers

</div

"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-

paign, 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 Readers:

Hear Radio Talks By
ARTHUR BURCH,
SWP Organizer
on

'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—Assuming 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 make unflagging 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 ineffec-

tual 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 pro-

gram 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-gets 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.

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 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 leadership 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: Pencile 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 factional 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, and concerns itself with the problems of the proletariat in all parts of the world.

(To Be Continued)

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	111
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
Flint	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
Rudy Rhodes	St. Louis	141
Bill Ference	Minneapolis	116
H. Spangler	Connecticut	107
Joe Simmons	Philadelphia	105
Rigo Carli	Detroit	101
E. Jarvis	Cincinnati	100
Eloise Gordon	Pittsburgh	99
Red Burnell	Chelsea, New York	82
G. Roberts	Detroit	87
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THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM — by James P. Cannon

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 cheapskates—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 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 constrain 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

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 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 hail 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 proletarian of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who above all need the solidarity of the proletarian 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 proletarian 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 unmolested 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 "guilt" 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 labelled 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 Seizing, 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 theses 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 confusions, 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 threatens 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

Activities Of Italian Trotskyists

The October 17 IV Internazionale (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 Internazionale, 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.

FARCIAN DEMOCRACY

The socialist and Communist workers did not support Nenni and Togliatti in order to achieve a "farciel democracy." These workers are fighting for the democratic rights of "the whole proletarian movement," declares IV Internazionale.

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 50th 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 warm-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 loaned, and is continuing to loan them all, money and supplies; and she consequently has them all in hock. She is now, therefore, more the MASTER of these mighty 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.

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 Revolucion 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 Revolucion 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 public utility, declares Revolucion Proletaria.

"While homes damaged by the cyclone of the past year remain levelled to the ground, while campesinos (agricultural workers) suffer from a lack of rural roads and even the most elementary necessities of life, Grau prepares decrees to squander money without the control of a budget. He plans to spend tens of millions of pesos for a 'White Way' for the tourists going to Varadero."

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. 5-5149.

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 was. 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 told 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.

Notes Of A Seaman

By Art Sharon

It is now like the morning after for 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 hating 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 dangers." 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 spokesmen 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

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-mitten 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

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!

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 continue 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 Annamites 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 Somal, cooperating with French troops north of Saigon, sank twelve junks and six sampans full of pirates, 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 Anshan.

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 Annamites 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 Felex 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 Browder line.

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 '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 just as Browder sits on the sidelines and adopts a policy of 'watchful waiting,' the concealed supporters of Browderism will not be able to do the same. Browder's revisionism is real, but 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 knew the real nature of Stalinism.

Another straw in the wind is 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 Dulcos' article, and Dulcos' 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 that 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 militiaman in the Communist Party to the real nature of Stalinism.