

The Only Road To Victory In The GM Strike

By The Editors

The big General Motors strike is 100 per cent effective. That vast billion dollar automotive empire of the du Ponts lies motionless and inert.

The men are all digging in for what everyone expects will be a long and a hard siege.

The GM strike is the spearhead of the unfolding class battles now in the offing in America between labor and capital.

The GM strike of 1937 decided the question whether America's mass production industries were to be organized. The GM strike of 1945 will decide the place and the standard of living of the working man in postwar America.

Labor is in a very strong position. It is superbly organized. It has the strength of numbers on its side. The men are trained and experienced in struggle and they are determined to fight.

All the fears and uncertainties of leading militants as to the temper and mood of the mass of workers has been dissipated in the very first hours of the strike. Their seeming lack of enthusiasm of the past weeks proved completely deceptive. The men know the fight is inevitable and they are willing, nay, they are determined to fight. You can say that they are in a mood of sober determination.

They know the battle will be a tough one and a long one. They know the power of the other side, and they have already resolved to wait it out and to fight it out and to draw in their belts and sacrifice in order to win the victory. And what is of equal importance, their wives are in the same mood and have the same awareness of what is at stake.

There are no illusions as far as the working man and woman are concerned as to the character of the fight they face.

The Position Of Big Capital

Big capital, on its side, has never been in a stronger position for a fight from a purely financial point of view. The carry-back provisions of the tax laws, so generously passed by a pliant and accommodating Congress, guarantee the corporations huge profits, even if their plants remain closed for a whole year. And as far as that goes, GM could afford to let the men remain on the streets for many, many months.

But there should be no false pessimism or foolish fears on this score. Let's understand this: the du Ponts cannot throw the keys away and forget about making automobiles for six months or even for three months. That is not in the cards.

Despite their callousness and brutality, despite their haughty unconcern for the fate of the men and women who pile up their millions of profits for them, the du Ponts are not in a position to employ this cruel strategy. GM is too big and its shut-down immediately affects too directly the whole economy of the country. Before many more days elapse, the steel, rubber, glass, and a host of other industries will be forced into partial shutdowns as a result of the GM strike. And soon the whole economy will be in the grip of a creeping paralysis. The country will face a major social crisis.

Role Of Capitalist Government

This spells one thing: the government will be forced to step in and use its state power in an attempt to bring the strike to a speedy end. The government, we must be clear, is not an impartial body which defends the interests of all the people, as school children are falsely taught. The government in the United States is actually the executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole. It will defend and protect the interests not of the overwhelming majority of the people (most of whom are poor) but of the small clique of profit-bloated bankers and industrialists who are the real rulers, the real masters of the United States.

This means that in the present situation one must take for granted that the government will be on the side of the General Motors corporation and against the hundreds of thousands of GM workers.

Congress Labor-Haters Howl

Why, we already see the time-servers of Big Business in Congress attempting to whip up a lynch spirit against the GM strikers and the labor movement as a whole. They have already introduced in the House a vicious, a dastardly piece of legislation, whose aim is to strangle the labor movement and to convert the working men and women of America into a flock of sheep, helpless before the predatory might of the Wall Street autocrats.

We now hear these Congressional hyenas beginning to shriek their slanders and lies at the trade unions, beginning to heap filth and mud upon the laboring man and woman. They are trying to turn public opinion against labor. They are trying to shield the criminal rich who have coined gold out of the blood (Continued on Page 2)

Dictator Chiang Kai-shek Aided By U. S. Imperialism

United States forces are continuing and extending their aid to Chiang Kai-shek's troops in the civil war that is raging in China. Communist (Stalinist) officials in Chungking declared that Nationalist Government (Kuomintang) "troops making the drive into Manchuria were American armed and equipped."

With superior arms and aid in transporting their troops, Kuomintang forces were able to capture the strategically important port of Huai.

lutaio on the southern coast of Manchuria, reported a November 24 Associated Press dispatch.

When the port of Hulutao is thoroughly secured, the United States plans to transport Kuomintang forces to Manchuria by sea. This route will obviate the necessity of passing through areas held by Communist (Stalinist) guerrilla forces in the interior. Government transport routes had been attacked more than a hundred times from the first to the twentieth of November.

Chiang Kai-shek's troops possess superior and greater quantities of arms and equipment than the Stalinists. Twenty divisions were "completely trained and equipped" by the United States, according to General Albert C. Wedemeyer, American theatre commander.

The imperialist intentions of the United States in China daily become more evident. America is giving every kind of aid short of full scale military operations to Chiang Kai-shek's offensive against the Chinese Stalinist forces. Through his dictatorial

equipment of 19 more divisions "is being completed by making available to the Chinese lend lease material that was either en route to China or in Army storehouses here when war ended," stated a November 24 N. Y. Times dispatch.

Furthermore, "American cadres have been assigned to assist the Government troops embarking by sea for North China and debarking there," said Wedemeyer.

NO WITHDRAWAL

That the United States has no intention of withdrawing from China was made clear by Wedemeyer who said that his instructions from the War Department did not cover an "immediate withdrawal."

Both Wedemeyer and Secretary of State James Byrnes now assert that American troops are being maintained in China for the sole purpose of disarming and repatriating Japanese troops who are still there. However, to date one-third of these troops remain under arms. And a short time ago, Wedemeyer stated that Japanese troops were being allowed to retain their arms in order to "preclude disorders."

U. S. forces in China are disarming Japanese troops slowly, if at all. These imperialist troops are now at the disposal of Chiang Kai-shek for the bloody suppression of the Chinese masses.

Wedemeyer added that the

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Workers Show Grim Determination As Titanic Strike Paralyzes G.M.

A New Point On The Agenda



Anglo-American Despots Praise Japanese Allies

The Allied imperialists have spread the most vicious slanders against the Indonesians fighting for the independence of their country. The Allies, for instance, circulated the lie that the Indonesians "collaborated" with the Japanese during the occupation.

But the Allies have not hesitated to use Japanese troops against the Indonesians, although the Allied excuse for entering Java was to "disarm" the Japanese.

Now they praise these troops. On November 22, according to Associated Press, a British spokesman described the Japanese as "good troops who fight well."

Trotskyist Fighters In Forefront Of Struggle To Free Indo-China

By Robert L. Birchman

The Trotskyists are playing a leading role in the battle of the Indo-Chinese people for freedom from imperialist rule, according to dispatches in the capitalist press.

Alfred Wagg, correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, declared November 9: "The three political

Strike Upsurge May Soon Sweep To 1,250,000

Inspired by the nation-wide General Motors strike, within a few weeks a possible 1,250,000 industrial workers may be manning the picket lines in the greatest labor upsurge in American history.

An estimated 600,000 were on strike throughout the country this week. For the past eight weeks the weekly number of strikers has ranged from 400,000 to a high last week of 625,000.

Adding another 83,000 to the strike ranks this week will be some 83,000 Montgomery Ward workers scheduled for a one-week strike demonstration beginning November 26. The demonstration is timed for the start of the Christmas shopping rush.

On Wednesday, November 28, (Continued on Page 8)

U. S. ARMS MOW DOWN PEOPLE OF INDONESIA

Java is being soaked with the blood of her fighters for freedom as Allied tanks, bombs, cannon and rockets blast the cities of the Republic which dares to seek independence from Dutch despotism. The utter brutality of the Allies is revealed in the following outline of events:

November 19: "The Netherland airmen said the Kali Mas, the river bisecting Soerabaja, was choked with the bodies of Indonesians," United Press declared. "They estimated the native troops had suffered 'between 30,000 and 40,000 casualties' in the ten-day battle."

November 21: After dropping 10,000 leaflets giving the 218,000 inhabitants of Semarang 90 minutes to evacuate, the British, flying American Thunderbolt

forces nurtured by these peoples are the Stalinist followers, many of whom studied at Stalin university at Moscow; the Trotskyites, more violent than the other communist group, who run an underground news sheet titled Cam Tu (Volunteers for Death); and the Chinese, who control the sources of food and river transport.

Cam Tu is quoted by the Christian Science Monitor: "This is the hour when every Annamite must participate in our resistance. Our guerrillas must have the greatest mobility, must profit from the slightest relaxation of the enemy's vigilance and continue attacking him without giving respite."

"Death Volunteers must destroy roads, bridges, set fire to factories. On occasions the entire population must go into action and refuse cooperation with the enemy, not sell him food, preventing him to organize his exploitation of our people. In the long run this action will destroy the enemy. All property of French colonialists must be destroyed."

4-POINT GUIDE
The same issue was reported to contain a four-point guide for the Annamese guerrillas: "The first duty of our compatriots is to win the sympathy of the people; second, avoid an attitude that might destroy sympathy; third, no troops are entitled to requisition of food or goods; fourth, guerrillas must surrender all moneys they have collected for the resistance funds."

Whether or not CAM TU is actually a Trotskyist newspaper cannot as yet be verified. But the Trotskyists are undoubtedly in the forefront of the struggle of the Annamese people against French imperialism. Prior to the war, the Trotskyist organization was very popular in Indo-China. During the Japanese occupation it was reported that the majority of the Communist Party had rejected Stalinism and joined the Trotskyists.

The fate of the fighters for Indo-Chinese independence when (Continued on Page 3)

Spirit Of 1937 Displayed In Flint GM Strike

By John Darnell

(Special to THE MILITANT)

FLINT, Mich., Nov. 21—This center of the great 1937 sit-down victory of the CIO United Automobile Workers is again witnessing a showdown between the 42,000 GM workers, now solidified stronger than ever, and the war-profits bloated General Motors Corporation.

The nation-wide strike called by the UAW-CIO began here an hour early, but in perfect order and calm. The 11,000 working at Buick, where 2,500 were already laid off, began walking out at 10 a. m. By the appointed hour of 11 a. m., 12,000 were out at Chevrolet, 5,000 at Fisher Body, and 8,000 at AC Spark Plug.

About 1,000 AFL construction

Flint 1937 Sit-down Strike See Page 7

workers quit GM plants in sympathy. Almost all supervisory employees also joined the walk-out. For those who hesitated a firm command by union committeemen was enough to get them out. Some, however, indicated they would seek permission from the unions to go back.

THE FIGHT BEGINS
Picketing began quickly at all plants, with signs reading, "Join now, support the picket line: no wage increase for scabs — join now; no more buck-passing, this is it; 30 per cent or fight."

Several Chevrolet gates were welded shut by unionists' "to (Continued on Page 7)

225,000 Unitedly Answer UAW Call For A Showdown

Detroit Ranks Prepare for Bitter Struggle To Defend Union and Win 30 Per Cent Raise

By Kay O'Brien

Special to THE MILITANT

DETROIT, Nov. 21—The biggest industrial strike in the nation's history started at 11 o'clock this morning when 225,000 members of the CIO United Automobile Workers poured out of 102 General Motors plants from coast to coast, to fight for a 30 per cent wage increase.

This strike is a culmination of unsuccessful negotiations begun with the world's largest industrial corporation three months ago in an attempt to bring take-home pay more nearly in line with the cost of living.

While prices have soared at least 50 per cent in the past three years, hourly wage rates have been frozen and the work-week has now been reduced to 40 hours with overtime pay eliminated.

DELEGATES DECIDE

Angered by the refusal of the corporation to negotiate in good faith and goaded beyond endurance by company provocations in the plants, the GM workers have met the corporation's arrogant, insulting, union-busting tactics with the grim determination to fight it out on the picket lines.

This was the unanimous decision of the 200 delegates to the national conference of all GM union locals, held here in Detroit on November 19 and 20.

LAST PROPOSAL

On Monday, November 19, the delegates had sent a final proposal to General Motors asking that the wage dispute be submitted to a three-man arbitration board composed of a corporation and a union representative plus a chairman selected by the first two.

The union added the proviso that the arbitrators must have full access to the books and records of both parties and should then make a final and binding decision, with any wage increases retroactive to August 18, 1945, when the wage demand was originally submitted. The union demanded a reply within 24 hours to its arbitration proposal.

COMPANY'S REPLY

While the conference waited for the company's reply, the delegates reported on local conditions, one after another taking the floor to tell of the corporation's anti-union offensive in the plants, its disregard of seniority rights, its attempts to provoke strikes, and of the result.

"HERE THEY COME!"

This morning, as the hour approached for the strike to start, there was an atmosphere of subdued excitement in the plants and local union halls. Last minute instructions were issued. Sound trucks cruised up and (Continued on Page 2)

"Dynasty Of Death" Rules GM's Empire

By Dinah Sanders

"Dynasty of Death"—that is the popular title by which the billionaire war racketeers of the infamous du Pont clan have been known for generations.

It is this family, reapers of a golden harvest from the blood and agony of slaughtered millions, which holds the largest share of General Motors stock—23 per cent!

Who are the du Ponts? They are the tight-knit clan of industrial barons, virtual owners of the entire state of Delaware, who hold outright ownership of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company, the giant munitions and chemical trust on which their staggering fortune is based.

The du Ponts have the largest industrial holdings of any family in the United States, including a controlling interest in General Motors and outright ownership of U. S. Rubber plus scores of subsidiary companies, partial holdings, personal and family holding companies, etc.

They augment their colossal loot by such practices as spurious stock transactions to show income tax losses, evasion of in-

ant unrest in the workers' ranks. All the international executive officers, reflecting the fighting mood of the delegates, spoke militantly.

All day Tuesday, November 20, the 200 representatives of the hundreds of thousands of GM workers remained in session awaiting the corporation's reply.

An hour before the deadline, at 4 p. m., the company finally sent to the conference its declaration of war. Curtly and with no explanation it brushed aside the union's demand for a definite

Coast-to-Coast GM Strike Reports See Page 2

stand on the arbitration proposal. General Motors informed the conference it would not state its position until Friday, three days later.

Promptly at 5 o'clock, a motion for a nationwide strike was made and unanimously adopted amid great enthusiasm. Delegates spontaneously rose to sing "Solidarity Forever." Then they rushed from the hall to notify their respective locals of the momentous decision.

Although the hour set for the strike was not revealed to the general public, the word spread like wildfire among the GM workers. On the night of the conference adjournment, all the Detroit locals involved held meetings of their strike committees to make final plans, select picket captains, establish strike kitchens and perfect preparations for an effective mobilization of union strength.

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ON THE SPOT GM STRIKE NEWS — COAST TO COAST

Auto Strikers Determined

(Continued from Page 1)

down in front of plant gates, playing union songs and explaining the union position.

Precisely at 11 a.m., as whistles blew in the distance and gongs rang outside the plants, those waiting outside the gates shouted "Here they come!" The strikers began pouring out, first in tens, then hundreds, then thousands.

Throughout Detroit, in the space of a few short minutes, all General Motors plants, employing more than 30,000 workers, were completely shut down. On instructions from the union, only power house workers and skeleton maintenance crews remained inside.

"THE ONLY WAY OUT"

At Chevrolet Gear & Axle, the largest GM plant in this city, the Local 235 sound truck called the strikers to a meeting in a parking lot across from the union hall. Mike Lacey, the local's president, addressed the meeting from the top of the sound truck, explaining that "this is the only way out—it is the only way management understands."

Pointing out that there were many war veterans among the strikers, who had come back from fighting overseas only to be forced by the company to go out on strike, Lacey asked, "Why does the common man have to fight just to exist?" and "How do war veterans feel about trying to rehabilitate themselves on less than \$35 a week?"

Lacey explained that General Motors, richest industrial corporation in the world, had not raised wages so much as one cent per hour since 1942, while GM President C. E. Wilson, who claims to be the "great enemy of inflation," has been getting \$500,000 a year. The Detroit daily papers, Lacey pointed out, also supposed to be "enemies of inflation," succeeded in bosting the price of their dailies from two to five cents "without a strike. But when workers try to get a reasonable wage increase, a strike is forced on them."

"NO COMPROMISE"

Fleetwood Local 15 likewise held a meeting at its union hall. Leaflets were distributed to the strikers at the plant gates. At a spirited meeting, John W. Anderson, member of the Local 15 strike committee and secretary of the city-wide strike committee, presented the plan of strike organization and reported on the negotiations between the International and the GM officials.

Following the meeting, over 500 Fleetwood workers marched across the street to form a double line the entire length of the two-block-long plant on West Fort Street. As they marched, the pickets could read the huge sign over their union headquarters: "30%—No Compromise—Fleetwood Local 15 UAW-CIO." A union spokesman announced that a meeting of all Fleetwood war veterans, who are expected to play an important role in the strike, is scheduled for Monday, November 26.

FISHER BODY PICKETED

Equally large and well-organized picket lines were set up by the strikers of Fisher Body plants 21 and 23, and the General Motors Experimental Division, within a few minutes after the strike began. Picket captains, wearing Amalgamated Local 157 caps, were stationed every 20 feet inside and outside the lines, directing passers-by to the other side of the street, watching the gates, and answering the questions and comments of the pickets as they marched.

Matt Hammond, militant Local 157 president, assisted in organizing the lines and making immediately available hot coffee and food to the pickets. He reported that an excellent meet-

ing of the strike committee had been held the previous evening.

All other General Motors plants likewise had pickets at the gates, which were increased at the time the afternoon shift was due to report.

Chevrolet Forge Local 262, in spite of the short notice on which the strike had been called, issued picket signs right after the strike began. These read: "30% OR STARVE"—"NOW OR NEVER"—"WHITE AND BLACK UNITED"—"DID WE WIN THE WAR?"—"UNITED RACES AND CREEDS."

This small local also had its strike kitchen already in operation and an announcement went out over the sound truck that the kitchen would be operating 24 hours a day.

TERNSTEDT WOMEN

Although most of the GM plants here have laid off women workers, and hired men to take their places in violation of seniority rights, Ternstedt, a unit of West Side Local 174, proved to be an exception. This was evident from the many women workers on the picket lines, and confirmed by a conversation with picket captain Robert Walker.

He reported that the women, comprising about half the Ternstedt employees, were "very solid" and ready to fight the wage issue through to the finish. "They would holler their heads off," he said, "at any proposal from the company to accept the union's arbitration offer at this late date. They're out and they're going to stay out." Attractive picket hats, designed in beret style especially for women and bearing the Local 174 insignia, were being issued to the women pickets.

LABOR SUPPORT

The solidarity within the strike ranks was augmented by support from the AFL and Railway Brotherhoods. At Fleetwood, 200 AFL building trades workers marched out of the plant side by side with the UAW-CIO members. During the day, leading officials of the AFL Building Trades as well as the Teamsters announced that they would respect the picket lines.

The Railway Brotherhoods reported that a single picket at rail entrances to GM plants would be recognized as a picket line and that no rail traffic will be permitted into such picketed plants.

Meanwhile, all other UAW-CIO locals are standing by to give the GM locals all necessary help. The Dodge Local 3 sound truck, stationed near the Cadillac picket lines, gave evidence that help is already forthcoming.

NO ILLUSIONS

GM workers have no illusions that their strike will be easily

won. UAW President R. J. Thomas warned at the GM delegates' conference yesterday that "we have to prepare for a long, hard struggle." This sentiment was echoed by all local union officials and was reflected today in the ranks who called out to plant protection men as they left the gates, "We'll see you next spring." As one Chevrolet picket expressed it, "We're ready to stay out until our belt buckles touch our backbones."

UAW officials have promised to feed the strikers, provide medical care and fight any attempts to evict them from their homes. GM workers know that the coming weeks and months may well be difficult. Nevertheless they walked out to a man rather than put up any longer with the intolerable conditions existing in the plants.

STERN DETERMINATION

The mood of the workers is one of stern determination to fight it out and win their just demands. They will not tolerate any phony compromises. This pressure of the rank and file is responsible for the statement that Walter Reuther, UAW vice-president in charge of all GM locals, issued to the press: "We don't care now whether they offer to arbitrate or not, the strike will go on until we have attained our wage demands."

This same feeling was expressed by all the strikers interviewed by the Militant reporter. Many of them also added that "we've got a lot of other grievances which have to be taken care of too, before we'll want to go back."

They were referring not merely to the more recent company provocations during the wage negotiations, but to the accumulated indignities suffered during the war years while their hands were tied by the no-strike pledge.

THE BANNER-BEARERS

Beneath the strikers' determination to win their wage increase and settle accounts on grievances, lies the moral general concern for preservation of their union. They recognize that General Motors wanted a long drawn-out strike, in hopes of bleeding the union and eventually smashing it. They understand that the corporation's union-busting tactics are part of a nationwide Big Business plot to cripple all unions and depress living standards.

Therefore the GM workers feel that they are banner-bearers for all labor, that their strike is a gigantic test of strength which both Big Business and organized labor everywhere are watching carefully. The outcome of this struggle will have tremendous bearing on the future of American labor.

The Open-Shopper's Lament



Cleveland Auto Strikers Get AFL, Brotherhoods Support

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

CLEVELAND, Nov. 24.—All General Motors plants in this city are closed tight as a drum. Picket lines of determined auto workers keep a 24-hour guard. UAW-CIO Local 45 has completely shut down the big Fisher Body plant for the first time in its history, although many bitter strike battles have occurred here before. On the West Side, four plants of GM's Cleveland Diesel division, struck for the first time, are closed down by Local 207.

In a splendid demonstration of disciplined strength, the workers downed tools and shut off machines at exactly 11 o'clock, November 21. They immediately marched out of the plant and formed themselves into a giant picket line. Not a single worker remained behind.

WAVE OF SOLIDARITY

The entire labor movement here in Cleveland is responding in a wave of solidarity, for the workers in both the AFL and CIO understand that the ability of the UAW to force wage increases will directly affect the chances of all labor to make gains. AFL construction work-

ers have downed tools in the struck plants. The AFL teamsters and the Railroad Brotherhoods have pledged themselves to respect all picket lines.

The two UAW locals involved in the strike are digging in for a protracted struggle. Soup kitchens are being set up, portable shelters and heating facilities are beginning to appear along Colt Road and 140th Street. The families and friends of the strikers are being mobilized to feed and clothe the men on the picket line.

The tremendous growth of the union is shown by the difference between the Tool and Die strike of '39 and the present general strike for a 30 per cent wage increase. In 1939 scabs, supervisors and foremen worked. The

plant management continued a measure of operation, carried on with the aid of the local police provoked attacks on the pickets. Today the story is a different one. All supervisory personnel is turned back by the pickets, and they leave without question or argument. As for scabs, there is no sight of any, and if they do appear they'll be in for an unpleasant reception.

The union has agreed that powerhouse and plant protection employees, government inspectors and small maintenance patrols may enter the plants, but only in accordance with certain conditions specified by the union, which must be followed to the letter.

Toledo Chevrolet Pickets March In Spirit Of '35

By Charles Reading

Special to THE MILITANT

TOLEDO, O., Nov. 21.—Chevrolet-Toledo, where a bottleneck strike in the spring of 1935 forced General Motors Corporation for the first time to recognize a union committee, was closed again today when 1,000 production workers walked out at 11 a.m. on the nation-wide call by the CIO United Automobile Workers.

Tonight the rest of Toledo auto workers were rallied to support of the strike at a mass meeting in the Civic Auditorium, called by Richard Gosser, UAW-CIO regional director. The audience

of 3,000 cheered loudly and long at the declaration that the Chevrolet workers will "stay out 'til hell freezes over." Gosser emphasized that the Chevrolet workers are fighting the fight of all labor and deserve all labor's support.

This was in the tradition of Toledo, where the auto workers won their first great victory in the historic Auto-Lite strike of 1934. Then in 1935 the Toledo Chevrolet workers forced GM to negotiate and spearheaded the auto union's break from the AFL bureaucracy and the formation of a CIO international union.

"30% OR FIGHT"

Picket signs, "30 per cent or Fight," "On Strike, Local 14, UAW-CIO," and "Strike, Stay Away," were ready when the 1,000 Chevrolet workers walked out at their lunch hour. Picket lines were immediately formed at the three gates.

Although weather was the severest so far this season, enough pickets remained to keep all but a few authorized persons from the plant. Foremen were warned they could not return after lunch. The Local 14 commissary served coffee and food to the pickets. Sympathetic lunchroom operators also contributed.

The impending strike had been a topic of conversation for weeks. Many workers felt it was needed long ago. Production had been speeded up as much as 100 per cent. War veterans were the main victims of the speedup.

DETROIT BRANCH

Of the Socialist Workers Party

Announces

Gala House Warming

SATURDAY, DEC 15

At Our New Headquarters

6108 LINWOOD

On the Grand Belt Car Line - 2 Blocks So. of W. Grand Blvd.

Road To Victory In The GM Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

of the battlefields and are now engaged in a conspiracy to drive down the living standards of American labor to coolie levels. This present U. S. Congress is nothing but a stooge, a Charlie McCarthy for the J. P. Morgans, the du Ponts, the Girdlers and their kind.

What Washington Has Up Its Sleeve

Now, under cover of this propaganda barrage, the government is calling to Washington the leaders of the GM strikers and the officials of the GM Corporation. Why? What is the government's plan? What does it have up its sleeve?

First let us remember this: Washington, D. C. has been the burial ground of more strikes than any other place in the country. It is an old technique. They call the labor leaders to Washington; the government bureaucrats overwhelm them with their authority; they threaten them, they cajole them, they flatter them, they bulldoze them. They get the tremendous propaganda machine of Big Business into action; the radio and newspapers begin howling with one voice that "the public" demands a settlement; that labor is disrupting the country and bringing on "anarchy," and that the strike must be ended. Of course they never suggest that the corporations should give a wage increase to their underpaid workers.

This technique of government strike-busting has been practiced over and over again. Sometimes it is even done under hypocritical cover of giving help to the strikers, as occurred in the case of Montgomery Ward strike. But the results are always the same. Strikes completely victorious on the picket lines have time and again been lost in Washington, D. C. because of the treachery or cowardice, or stupidity, or ignorance, or bewilderment, or weakness of the trade union officials involved.

First Dangers GM Workers Face

This is one of the first dangers that the GM workers face today in this initial phase of the strike. The government is likely to come forward with the proposal to set up a so-called impartial fact-finding commission or board with full powers to arbitrate the strike. It is up to the strikers to weigh the meaning of such a proposal right now and to prepare their answer to it ahead of time.

Such a proposal represents a mortal danger for the GM strike. The men will never win their 30 per cent increase this way. Such a so-called settlement will cheat the men out of their just demands and represent a defeat for labor and a victory for the corporations.

The men must be prepared for the fact that murderous pressure will be brought to bear on the union to accept some such phony "compromise." High government officials will threaten that unless the union accepts this proposition, Congress will pass vicious anti-labor laws which may bind the trade unions hand and foot and force upon them compulsory arbitration. The men must be prepared for just this kind of anti-labor barrage.

How GM Workers Must Answer

And being thus prepared, they will turn to their union officers and say: "We are not afraid of government threats. We have the power to fight it out and win. We fought General Motors to a standstill in 1937. We are now better organized and can do an even better job. Go ahead and press for our full demands on that basis. We are here on the line and we intend to stay out here until we win. We are not going to accept any phony government arbitration scheme. We are not going to permit any judge or ward-heeling politician or professor or 'public spirited citizen' to cheat us out of our bread and butter." If the auto workers resolve to fight on, regardless of pressure or threats; if the auto workers draw on support from the ranks of all labor who are watching this crucial battle in a spirit of complete solidarity, then victory is assured. Victory is certain.

It is with this conviction that the auto workers will unquestionably organize themselves for the long fight ahead.

Electromotive Pickets Display High Spirits

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT
CHICAGO, Nov. 21—"Wages Up, Hours Down Make McCook A Union Town."

"The Rent, The Rent, We Can't Pay The Rent, We Demand The Thirty Percent"

With these slogans on their lips the workers in suburban McCook's Electro-Motive Division of General Motors marched out of the plant today in the nationwide strike and virtually padlocked the doors.

As the members of UAW Local 719 marched out at the stroke of 10 o'clock, they shouted to the foremen, "Merry Christmas, yes and a Happy New Year too." They thereby revealed their understanding that the strike will probably be a long one.

BIG SHOTS AWED

About an hour before the 10 o'clock deadline, the company big shots appeared in the shop to watch developments. By that time the leaders of the local were walking up and down the aisles, giving last minute instructions

for the walk out. When the hour struck, everything went off like clockwork. The big shots could only stand and watch in awe, for the union was in complete control.

Baltimore GM Down As 1,000 Close Two Plants

By Dorothy Lessing

(Special to THE MILITANT)

BALTIMORE, Md., Nov. 21.—"GM on strike; don't cross the picket line; 30 per cent or no cars; Wilson got his, we want ours."

With these slogans on picket lines, 1,000 General Motors Corporation workers walked off jobs here at 11 a.m. in response to the national strike call of the CIO United Automobile Workers. Full co-operation was promised by 500 AFL construction workers and the Building Trades Council.

From Chevrolet, all 800 men on truck production came out. From Fisher Body, not yet in production, came the skeleton crew of 200. A hundred men remained to picket before the two gates of the adjoining plants. Most of them have been GM employees many years. Without singing or jubilation, they voiced only determination to put up a good fight. "We have to win."

Said one worker: "I've been at Chevrolet for 12 years. After I've worked three hours on that assembly line I'm as tired as if I'd done a full day's work. And yet they don't pay us enough to live on."

Ten veterans of this war were among the pickets. "Don't forget to mention us GI's on the line," shouted one veteran.

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A.F.L. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS JOIN G.M. STRIKERS IN L.A.

By Jean Blake

(Special to THE MILITANT)

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 21.—All production stopped at the South Gate assembly plant of General Motors Corporation when 1,100 enthusiastic CIO United Auto Workers walked out as one man at 8 a.m. today, followed by 800 AFL construction workers.

By 8:10 lively picket lines were guarding the five gates and two railroad entrances to the 10-acre establishment.

Plant protection workers, not

called out by the strike committee, are also members of the union, which recently won a retroactive pay raise for them. Indicating their complete sympathy with the strike, one of the plant guards pledged his wages for the duration of the strike to the strike fund.

WELL-ORGANIZED

South Gate plant workers had voted 100 to 1 for strike, the highest percentage in the country. Local 218 was well organized for 24-hour picketing, with Flying Squadrons, first aid, strike kitchen and strike strategy committee functioning smoothly. In true UAW democratic tradition, picket captains were elected on the lines.

All contractors and others who wanted to remove equipment, etc., were referred to the nearby union office for passes. Plant manager Henry Clark's chauffeur was not permitted to enter the gate, so Clark had to walk out to his car to go home.

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The Fearful Plight Of Jewish Victims

By Joseph Hansen

By November 15 the casualty toll in Palestine, after several days of British troop assaults on Jewish demonstrators, was five dead and 68 seriously wounded.

Most of the casualties were youths and even children. Meyer Levin, correspondent of the N. Y. Post, who visited the hospitals, wrote November 20: "Of the 50 persons who were shot, 20 were children 8 to 16, and only 17 were over 20."

The young Palestinians demonstrated in Tel Aviv November 14 in protest against the British ban on further immigration of Jewish refugees from Europe. British imperialism replied by rushing in airborne troops who were ordered to fire to break up the demonstrations. At night British planes dropped flares to aid the imperialist patrols in hunting down the militant Jewish youths.

TERRIBLE FLIGHT

To understand why the Jews are demonstrating in Palestine and other countries against Allied policy, it is necessary to understand the fate of the Jewish people in Europe; for the British use of armed force in Palestine only underlines the terrible plight of these persecuted victims.

Before the war there were some 9,600,000 Jews in central Europe. When the Nazis occupied the countries in which these people lived, Hitler began systematically to exterminate them. The slaughter of the Jews is one of the most horrible episodes in human history. A minimum of 4,000,000 are known to have been killed by the Hitlerites and their allies. Approximately 1,700,000 "disappeared" under Nazi rule. Another 2,650,000 are listed as "unaccounted for."

This leaves only 1,250,000 believed to be still alive. Of this number 100,000 are in concentration camps in Germany. Reports of U. S. Government investigators revealed that conditions in these camps remained as inhuman and brutal under Allied supervision as they were under the Nazis. Truman promised to ameliorate these conditions, but last reports indicate there is little or no improvement.

The Jews outside the concentration camps are largely "displaced" persons. That is, they were torn from their homes by the Nazis and shipped to Germany as slave laborers. The Nazis sold the homes and belongings of these victims.

Now the buyers of these possessions refuse to give them up. They fear the return of the rightful owners. This fear combined with Hitlerite propaganda has given rise to a new wave of anti-Semitism in Europe.

SEEKING HAVEN

The Jews thus face a frightful prospect. If they remain in Germany, they will surely die by hundreds of thousands in the coming winter from hunger, cold

INDIAN PEOPLE BACK COLONIAL FREEDOM CAUSE

The battle of the colonial peoples in the Far East for freedom is awakening profound response in India. "Since Britain seems determined to use Indian troops and material for crushing Asiatic Freedom Movements," reports the Bombay correspondent of the British 'New Leader,' "India feels the time has come to use its national strength in answer."

Already, continues the New Leader, "Nation-wide preparations are . . . under way for rendering succor to its brother peoples."

Azad, President of the Indian National Congress, declared: "Indians . . . cannot but sympathize, and fall in line, with the struggle of the Indonesian and Annamite Nationalists . . . The dock workers of China and Australia have set an example which Indian port workers and seamen can emulate."

and disease. Those able to return to their former homes face victimization at the hands of the anti-Semites.

In this desperate situation they seek escape from the European death-trap. Some want to come to the United States or Great Britain. But most of them, if reports are to be believed, seek to go to Palestine. The Jews in Palestine are fighting in their behalf.

The demonstrations and protest meetings of Jews in America as well as Palestine indicate disillusionment with the Allies. The Zionists in particular supported the Allies in the war because of their hatred of Hitler, their horror over the fate of the Jews and their hope that London and Washington would carry out their promises to open Palestine to Jewish immigration.

By centering attention on Palestine as a "homeland" for the Jews, however, the Zionists play directly into the hands of the Allied imperialists. The Zionists divert attention from Washington's callous indifference to the terrible plight of the Jews in Europe and the refusal of Wall Street's government to permit immigration to the United States. The Zionists thus allow Truman to find an easy escape by paying lip service to free immigration to Palestine while keeping the gates of America closed.

First Belgian Trotskyist Congress Since "Liberation" Notes Big Gains

By E. GERMAIN

Special to The Militant

BRUSSELS, Belgium, Nov. 10—The Fifth National Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Belgian Section of the Fourth International, met here on November 1, 2 and 3. Twenty-four regular voting delegates, a delegate of the European Secretariat of the Fourth International, as well as representatives from the British, French and German Trotskyist parties actively participated in all the discussions of the congress. Our comrades of the Dutch party, prevented at the last moment from sending their delegate, sent a wire expressing their fraternal greetings.

This Congress was the first held by the Revolutionary Communist Party (Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire) since the "liberation." It thus gave the party an opportunity to present to its members and sympathizers, as well as to the entire working class of

the country, a balance sheet of several years' activity. It is a balance sheet of which no one need be ashamed. Fifty issues of La Voie de Lening (Lenin's Road) (central organ of the party) were issued illegally; 15 underground papers were published in Flemish; dozens of leaflets were put out in French, German, Flemish and Polish; five pamphlets were printed and published in illegality. That constitutes material proof of our incessant activity during the whole period of the Nazi occupation. This is evidence which shows that not for a single instant did we relax our struggle for the program of the Fourth International.

We pursued this struggle in illegality while at the same time defending, from day to day, the immediate interests of the workers against both their "native" as well as their "foreign" exploiters. Among the outstanding agitational campaigns led by the PCR were the campaigns during its illegality for the defense of the USSR, for the support of strikes, for the struggle against deportations, for the general strike of May 1, 1944. These were all occasions on which the party demonstrated at every critical moment that it was the only genuine party of the working class.

MANY MARTYRS

For this activity, the PCR had to pay a heavy price indeed. Twenty of our outstanding militants fell in the course of the illegal struggle. Among them we mourn particularly the loss of comrade Leon Lesoil, the foremost leader of the party before the war, and comrade A. Leon, National Secretary of the party during the occupation. Of the 10 comrades who successively constituted the Executive Committee of our party between 1940 and 1944, only three escaped arrest. Four returned to us alive from the Nazi prisons. Three others were killed by the Hitlerite butchers. The Presiding Committee which opened the sessions of the Congress tallied among themselves alone more than 10 years of captivity in the concentration camps. All this testifies only too eloquently to the fact that the Gestapo understood very well that internationalism, communism, Trotskyism, was its main enemy.

Following the "liberation," the party lost no time in considerably expanding all its activities. Since then it has occupied a



Leon Lesoil

unique place in the political life of the country as the only revolutionary party of the working class. The PCR was the only one to warn the partisans in November 1944 that their organizations were going to be dissolved. It was the only party to tell the truth about the events in Greece. It was the only party to defend the workers' rights, to fight against civilian conscription, to support to the very end and against everyone, the striking coal miners of Charleroi, of the Center region and of the Borinage district.

PAPER BANNED

The government banned its central organ, La Voie de Lening, for appealing for solidarity with the German proletariat. But today this solidarity, has already become a living reality which the "decrees" of the governors and ministers can no longer suppress. Tomorrow the energetic and incessant intervention of the PCR in the crisis over the monarchy will also bear its fruits, and the slogans of our party, especially that "For the Republic! For the Defense of the Workers' Interests!" will become the slogans of the entire working class of Belgium.

BOLSHEVİK CONGRESS

The Congress reflected generally the very important progress already achieved by our party in relation to the past. Not only did the party more than double its membership since the Fourth Congress held in 1943 in the midst of complete illegality. In the unanimous opinion of all the delegates, the present political level of the party and its press, its capacity to intervene actively in the political developments, to speak in the language of the masses and to penetrate into ever deeper layers of the Belgian working class — all of this constitutes a very serious and important step forward.

PARTY ORGANIZATION

At the same time, the Congress submitted the entire political and organizational life of the party since the Fourth Congress to Bolshevik self-criticism. The Congress drew the conclusion that the rhythm of development of the party continues to be much slower than that of its increase in influence.

Drawing the lessons of the past experience, the Congress decided upon a much stricter application of Leninist organizational rules, in order to bring about greater productivity in our work, as the most important task of the party internally. On the basis of the opinions expressed by militants from all the districts who are most closely linked to the working class, and taking into account at the same time the political framework for the solution of all political problems, the Congress set before the party a whole series of concrete objectives: on recruitment, on the expansion of our press, on trade union work, on work among the youth and in educational work.

DECISIONS ADOPTED

Among the specific decisions adopted were the following: The publication of a printed monthly magazine L'Avant - Garde (The Vanguard); the organization of a campaign of regular political forums in all parts of the country; a program of publication of low-priced agitational pamphlets. The first pamphlet, dealing with the problem of pensions, met with considerable success. By November 4, the day after its publication, more than 1700 had already been sold. The

Congress likewise decided on the progressive transformation of La Lutte Ouvrière (The Workers' Struggle), leading paper of the party, into a big popular weekly.

The particularly encouraging increase in recruitment among the youth and the enthusiasm with which young militants manifest their complete devotion to the cause of the Fourth International, permit us to hope that in the coming months all of these projects will be carried out on schedule. Their realization will mean the definitive transformation of our organization into a genuine Bolshevik party, concretizing step by step our already wide-spread influence among the masses.

POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS

While the Congress placed special importance on the organizational questions, it did not of course neglect its political work, which is correctly conceived by our party as decisive. After a very intense pre-Congress discussion carried on in all branches of the party, which produced consistent clarification on all political problems, three main documents were adopted by the Congress.

A resolution on "The Advance of Barbarism and the perspectives of the Proletarian Revolution" brings up to date the analysis of the present situation and outlines the great alternatives facing decision in the near future: the revolutionary upsurge in Great Britain, considered as the key to the situation, its fusing with the much slower and much more contradictory revolutionary development in Europe; the fate of the colonial revolution; the future of American imperialism; the development of the situation in the USSR.

Another resolution, "The Present Situation in Belgium and the Immediate Tasks of the Party," which is summed up in the Manifesto of the Congress, draws the balance sheet of the "liberation," analyzes the present "prosperity" as speculative and tenuous, demonstrates the complete responsibility of the reformist and Stalinist leaders for the defeat of the first revolutionary offensive, points out very clearly the dangers for the working class residing in the counter-offensive of the bourgeoisie, of which the question of the monarchy is merely one aspect, and traces the objectives and the methods of struggle which, in view of the recent experiences, are the only ones capable of guiding the working class towards its genuine emancipation. Finally, the Congress worked out a Program of Action and adopted a resolution on the situation in the USSR and on the situation in the countries occupied by the USSR.

GREETINGS TO THE INTERNATIONAL

With great joy and pride the closing session of the party Congress reaffirmed its attachment to and complete confidence in the only surviving International, the Fourth. The PCR, together with its French sister section, began in 1942 the work of reconstructing the revolutionary center in Europe and took the most active part in the work of the European Conference of the Fourth International which united, under the very noses of the Gestapo, the representatives of FIVE different sections somewhere in Europe. Today TEN European sections are already participating in the work of the European Executive Committee as testified to by the 10 signatures on its Manifesto for the defense of the colonial revolution.

The most encouraging news reached the Congress from overseas, particularly from India and from America, whose particularly active Trotskyist parties were saluted by the Congress as models for our party.

The participation of the international delegates in the work of the Congress only crowned a permanent and fruitful interest of the international revolutionary leadership in the life of our party. At the very time when internationalism has almost disappeared even from the vocabulary of the reformist and Stalinist renegades, we are particularly proud of this fact. The Congress proclaimed before all the world that the PCR is merely an integral part of the one and only party, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, the Fourth International.

Chinese Eighth Route Soldiers March



These are soldiers of the Communist (Stalinist) Eighth Route Army in China, now engaged in a life and death struggle with the U. S.-equipped soldiers of dictator Chiang Kai-shek.

French Stalinists Betray Labor For Cabinet Posts

By Paul G. Stevens

The French Stalinists settled their sharp clash with General de Gaulle in the cabinet crisis last week in return for a few minor concessions in ministerial posts.

The crisis arose when de Gaulle, at first elected without Communist Party opposition as "interim" President by the newly convened Constituent Assembly, balked at giving the Stalinists a major cabinet post, such as Minister of War, of Foreign Affairs, or of the Interior. In a radio speech the general alluded to the French C.P. leaders as untrustworthy for such key positions because of their "attachment to Russia."

The Stalinists thereupon opened a sharp attack against de Gaulle, nominating the Socialist Felix Gouin as their candidate for President when the general tendered his resignation to the Assembly. By this move they hoped to wean the French reformists away from de Gaulle's party, the Catholic Popular Republican Movement (MRP), for

joint action in the cabinet crisis.

The Leon Blum reformists are under pressure from their mass following to undertake joint socialization measures with the C.P. But in foreign policy they are allied with de Gaulle's MRP for the pro-Anglo-American "Western European Bloc" and against the Stalinists' pro-Kremlin policy. Consequently, the Stalinist maneuver did not succeed. When the Assembly acted on de Gaulle's resignation, the Socialists joined the majority in rejecting it and once again entrusting the general with the presidency.

MANEUVER FAILS

When de Gaulle offered to resign, the Stalinists tried to exploit sentiment for a labor government. This course is reflected in the Paris dispatches of the N. Y. Daily Worker. The Paris correspondent, Derek Kartun, is always careful to stress the authoritative character of his sources. On November 17, under the heading "French Left May Go It Alone" he writes that, in view of de Gaulle's resignation and his hope that a "Left wing" government will discredit itself, the French Stalinists feel "the Socialists, Communists and mighty General Confederation of Labor have the program, ability, popular support and determination to tackle and solve the problems that will confront them."

Unsubtly the Stalinists were then playing around with the slogan of a Socialist-Communist-Trade Union government. This is a slogan which the Trotskyist Party inscribed at the head of its banner in the recent elections and which received an extraordinarily wide response from the working class in Paris.

ENUMERATES TENDENCIES

Two days later, Kartun writes that "the de Gaulle-Communist dispute is the logical outcome of many disturbing tendencies becoming visible in France today." He enumerates these as (1) "continued Vichy and Fascist domination of the Army," (2) "this French Gestapo, the DGER, (which) was already active before the liberation and since has grown to enormous proportions," (3) "marked increase in the intensity of anti-Communist and indeed anti-democratic propa-

ALREADY FORGOTTEN

Gone and forgotten are the "Fascist domination of the Army," the "French Gestapo, the DGER," etc., etc. The time for "peaceful cooperation of all classes" has not passed after all. No government of "the Socialists, Communists and mighty General Confederation of Labor" is needed after all. What has happened? De Gaulle, taking over the Ministry of Defense himself, has given the Stalinists a sub-ministry of "Armaments" while the MRP leader Bidault retains control of Foreign Affairs and the Socialist Tixier, the Ministry of the Interior. The Bonapartist general has graciously consented to throw the Stalinists a sop to help them save face. The November 22 Daily Worker reports a brief cable from Paris:

STALINISTS SATISFIED!

"The Communist Party is highly satisfied with the government of real national unity. Though the Communists have

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made sacrifices, the main difference is the de Gaulle climb-down. They stress the statesmanlike, high-minded attitude of Thorez and other leaders throughout."

"Statesmanlike" and "high-minded" are the euphemistic terms the Stalinists use for their shameless exploitation and betrayal of the aspirations of the masses in their mad scramble for the ministerial trough. But the masses of France will yet be heard from. No fake "nationalizations" will appease them. The unity with the Bonapartist bourgeoisie will not long be accepted by them. The cry for a Socialist-Communist-Trade Union government and for genuine socialization will be heard more powerfully than ever.

Trotskyists In The Forefront Of The Indo-Chinese Struggle

(Continued from Page 1)

they are captured is shown by the following dispatch in the October 24 London Daily Telegraph: "Nearly 400 Annamite terrorists captured in the nationalistic fighting in Indo-China were sentenced to 16 to 20 years hard labor for 'associating with criminals and carrying arms' by a French court in Saigon, yesterday."

A sketch of developments not previously reported follows:

October 31: "A 33-day strike plus a boycott of British and French troops was declared in Cholon today as the result of charges that Indian and Gurkha troops had committed rape, incendiarism and looting in the district." Cholon is the largest Chinese settlement near Saigon.

November 9: "An over-powering French force equipped with lend-leased tanks of American manufacture yesterday occupied Tay Ninh, 58 miles northwest of Saigon, opening the first overland link with food-rich Cambodia." Associated Press reported. The French declined to furnish details or estimate the amount of American arms used by their troops in Indo-China.

Heavy fighting broke out at Tan An, 35 miles southwest of Saigon and the United Press reported that the French garrison was forced to request relief by British Indian forces. The Annamese were reported to be using Japanese 75's against the French.

Annamese Nationalists were reported to be mobilizing 66,000 troops near Pakse. Admiral

Dargenlieu stated that 9,000 French troops with the latest American equipment will arrive by the end of the month. In addition to French forces there are now 18,000 British Indian troops.

November 10: "About 20,000 gallons of high octane aviation gas, practically the entire Royal Air Force stock in Indo-China, was destroyed today by Nationalists who set fire to a dump on Saigon airfield," reported Reuters. The AP reported the loss as 40,000 gallons.

Nationalists threatened to burn rubber stocks estimated at 100,000 tons. They declared they intend to burn all stocks of goods and raw materials as a measure of "total economic warfare."

November 12: "Some of the Japanese now engaged in defense work previously were disarmed only to be rearmed because of increasing Annamese activity," declared AP.

WELL ORGANIZED

The observations of Christopher Buckley, special correspondent for the London Daily Telegraph show the well-organized character of the independence movement in Indo-China. In his October 1 dispatch, he declares: "What is most significant is the evidence that the Annamese forces are working to plan. They have attacked the power house, the docks, the market place and the ammonia factory, which is essential to the cold storage of meat."

"Where they could not seize buildings permanently they have endeavored, often with success, to set fire to them, having previously removed the fire engines. . . ."

"Yesterday Annamese crews succeeded in scuttling four ships, one of 400 tons, two of 200 tons

and a tug. They also sank a pontoon ferry in the Saigon river."

"The crews, who had been regarded as trustworthy, sank the vessels practically under the noses of the Allies, close under the river bank and not half a mile from Allied H. Q. They made off. They had received their pay on the previous day."

In his October 3 dispatch, Buckley declared of the leaders: "The inner ring of about a dozen is composed of professional men—lawyers, journalists, doctors, mostly with a European education. Two or three are members of the Communist party and have attended the Moscow school for Far Eastern workers, and others are near communists. One is a Trotskyist."

"Several others were noted for Japanese sympathies, one or two for the reverse. . . . The rising that began a week ago was carefully planned; it was not a spontaneous outburst."

With these cynical remarks, the British shifted from accusing the Indonesian movement of being "Japanese-inspired" to open acknowledgement and brazen approval of Allied use of Japanese imperialist troops against the Indonesians. In the final analysis, all the capitalists, no matter what their nationality, see eye to eye in great political crises involving their domination over the workers or over subject peoples.

As the Allies increased the strength of their forces in Indonesia, the violence of their offensive likewise increased in intensity. On November 23, "Sherman tanks wheeling into action for the first time blasted out 2,000-yard gains in Soerabaya today," reported AP. "Indonesian resistance melted before the tremendous fire-power of the Sherman tanks. These tanks were supplied by U. S. imperialism as part of its contribution to crushing the Indonesian battle for freedom."

Allied brutality is reaching savage heights. On November 24, reported AP, "The British . . . set the torch to native settlements in one locality," reported AP. "British Lieut. Col. H. C. G. Harding . . . said that 60 Indo-

nesian policemen had been shot down in cold blood by Netherlands and Ambonese when units of the Netherlands Tenth Battalion attacked the Indonesian central police station in Batavia a few days ago."

"Japanese troops, under British command," continued the dispatch, "were assigned to clear the eastern half of Semarang. . . . Later Japanese units were reported by the British to have received the task of clearing native settlements east of Semarang. The British said that the Japanese were doing an excellent job."

By November 25 Allied violence reached a crescendo with

the use of the most modern rocket-firing planes: "Royal Air Force Mosquitos, making their first rocket strike in Java, crippled the propaganda machine of the Indonesian extremists. They shot up the Surakarta and Jogjakarta radio stations," reported the N. Y. Times. "The British claimed nine direct hits on the Surakarta station and thirteen on that at Jogjakarta. The rocket attack was followed up by cannon fire in strafing runs."

"The crews, led by veterans of the European war, expressed confidence on their return that the stations had been destroyed."

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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

All Support For The Embattled UAW!

America's capitalist class is rallying to a man behind the billionaire du Ponts in their war against the General Motors workers.

Every agency and agent of Big Business is mobilizing for the fray. They don't need any "compulsory conscription" act, either. They are voluntarily enlisting "for the duration" in the cause that is dearest to their hearts—safeguarding their profit interests by dealing a smashing blow at labor.

No sooner did the GM workers, their patience finally exhausted by the intolerable corporation provocations, launch their strike, than the national spokesmen for the big industrialists leaped into the battle on the side of the du Ponts.

In Washington, where the labor and corporation representatives were going through the motions of rigging up an "Industrial peace," the spokesmen of Big Business on the day of the GM walkout let forth an immediate blast of implacable hostility to organized labor. They confronted the union leaders with a series of demands that constituted a virtual declaration of war.

These demands are based on the infamous five-point program advocated by the National Association of Manufacturers. They are designed to limit the independence of the unions by anti-labor laws, restrict the right to strike, place the unions under the penalties of the anti-trust acts, subject the unions to fines and "damages" suits for contract "violations," pervert the National Labor Relations Act into an instrument for harassing labor.

Simultaneously, the Congressional agents of Big Business rushed to their anti-labor artillery posts. The House Rules Committee shunted aside all other measures before the House in order to give immediate right-of-way for a series of union-smashing, labor-hating bills embodying the program of the National Association of Manufacturers for "Industrial peace." One of the most vicious measures being pushed would permit employers to sue for "damages" where workers strike during the life of a contract, regardless of employer violations and provocations.

That same day, November 21, the day the GM strike began, President Truman found the pretext for baring his teeth against labor. He issued a ferocious attack on striking municipal transportation workers in Washington, D. C. The timing and exceptional violence of this attack leave no room for doubt that Truman's real objective was the General Motors strike.

The Washington strike he called a "blow at the sanctity of labor agreements. It strikes too at the very roots of orderly government." How like the language of the GM officials, the spokesmen of the NAM, the Congressional labor-baiters! Truman demonstratively assails one group of strikers, but his gaze is fixed squarely on the General Motors workers.

This gang-up of the ruling class, its politicians, national spokesmen, press, propagandists of all hues, against the General Motors workers, is not an expression of personal regard for the du Ponts. Everybody knows that amongst themselves the various capitalist cliques are in continual conflict.

But they do not let their internal differences blind them to their general class interests which unite them against their main enemy, the working class. They fully realize the significance for American capitalism of the General Motors struggle. They recognize that if the GM workers force the du Ponts to yield wage increases, all of organized labor will be pounding at the employers for more pay, and fighting on the picket lines to win it.

When American Big Business mobilizes to crush the GM workers, it aims to blunt the sharpest spearhead of American labor now driving to secure decent living standards and permanent security. Big Business knows what a victory for the auto workers will mean for all labor. It is acting accordingly and in strict conformity with its basic class interests.

American labor as a whole, for its part, is duty-bound to rally its forces in defense of its class interests as embodied in the titanic struggle of the GM workers.

Virtually every union in America, AFL, CIO, railway workers and independents, is demand-

ing wage increases. A victory on this issue for the mighty GM contingent of the CIO auto workers will undermine the barriers of the capitalist class and open the way for a labor victory all down the line.

For every local union, for every international, regardless of affiliation, there can be but one answer to the Wall Street offensive against the GM strikers:

"ALL SUPPORT FOR THE EMBATTLED AUTO WORKERS!"

The Same Struggle

The General Motors strikers and the Indonesian people are fighting a common enemy.

In the United States, General Motors is one of the giant corporations of monopoly capitalism whose tentacles strangle American industry.

In Indonesia, General Motors is one of the companies of monopoly capitalist imperialism which have long drained super-profits from the people of that land.

In both countries, General Motors seeks to maintain and strengthen its holdings, no matter what the cost in human suffering.

Wall Street's government is backing General Motors both at home and abroad.

The Indonesian people battling for the independence of their Republic, threaten the lucrative holdings of the Allied imperialists, including General Motors. Wall Street's government is aiding the British and Dutch in a ruthless attempt to put-down this Republic and safeguard the imperialist grip on Indonesia. The Dutch and British troops have been given American-made tanks, planes and bombs to carry out this butcher's job. American ships are hauling troops to use these arms against the Indonesians.

The General Motors strikers, battling to safeguard their union and their standard of living, threaten to lower the enormous rate of profit the du Pont family established during the Second World War. Wall Street's government has underwritten the profits of these robber barons, guaranteeing them in 1946 a minimum of \$160,000,000 through tax rebates even though the du Ponts shut down the plants for the entire next year. Congress is now preparing vicious anti-labor legislation to dovetail with the union-smashing drive of the giant corporations.

It is clear that the struggle of the Indonesian people aids the auto workers. The militancy of the auto workers on the other hand aids the Indonesians.

The cause of the working class is thus seen to be international. The solidarity of the workers against capitalism transcends all frontiers.

By helping the Indonesians achieve their independence the American workers help themselves.

Express your solidarity with the colonial peoples!

Demand the withdrawal of all troops from the Far East!

Operate Idle Plants

We call attention to an important change in the box "Our Program" on page five of *The Militant*.

For the past period we have listed as one of our slogans, "Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!" We raised this demand when billions of dollars were being pumped out of the public treasury to expand and modernize American industry for the production of war goods. Big Business not only shook down the greatest profits in all history through operation of these plants, but the monopolists set out to convert them into their own private property.

With the end of the war, Big Business set all its political wheels in motion to shut down and dismantle the plants it considered "expedient." Those plants Big Business wished to take over were placed on the auction block by its Washington representatives.

Thus the closing down of government-built plants threw millions of workers out of work, while the employers, bent on crushing the unions, have forced hundreds of thousands of additional workers into the streets.

To meet these altered circumstances we have changed our slogan to read:

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

The main change is the inclusion of "idle" plants. During the war, industry operated at capacity producing the instruments of death. Now, when the entire world suffers from the untold destruction of wealth, America's great industrial plant, under the arbitrary control of Big Business, is being cut down to only a fraction of its capacity.

The millions of unemployed cannot be provided the jobs that are their right unless these plants are run at full capacity.

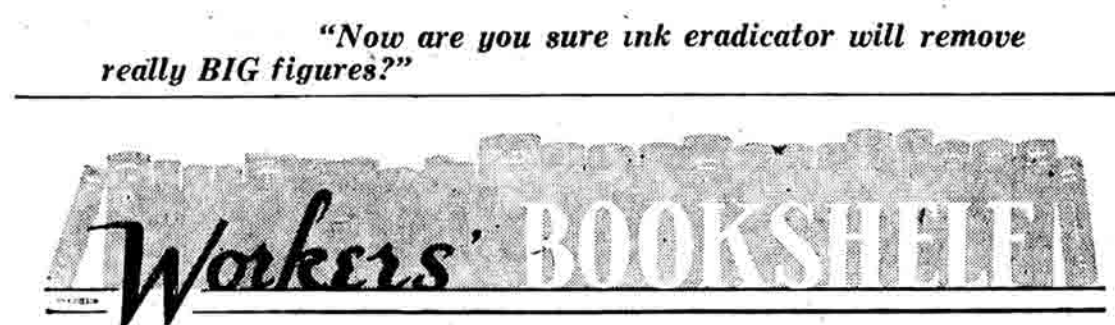
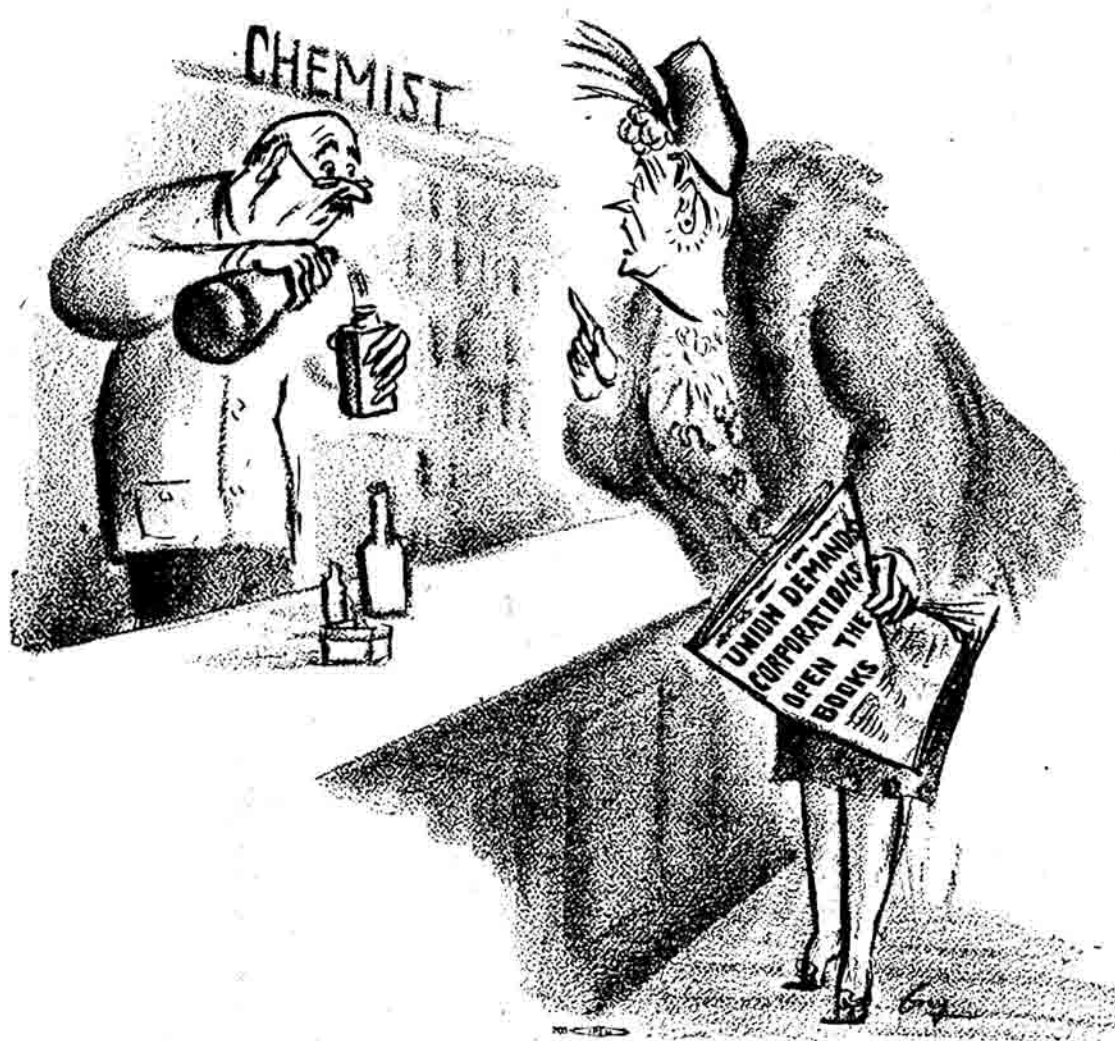
In view of the sabotage by the big capitalists, our slogan calls for "Government operation" of these plants. If Big Business refuses to run the plants, let them be operated by the government!

As before, our slogan calls for "workers' control." This is of crucial importance. Workers' control provides for union inspection of the company books and records. It means an end to business "secrets" including an end to secrecy on the mountainous profits piled up by the bosses. It means the organization of workers' committees, aided by specialists where necessary, who would place the corporations under a magnifying glass.

The present demand of the auto workers to open the books of General Motors illustrates the timeliness of this part of the slogan.

Let all the unions place high among their demands:

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



AMERICA'S SIXTY FAMILIES.
By Ferdinand Lundberg. Published by Vanguard Press, New York, 1937.

Ever since it first appeared, "America's Sixty Families" has been accepted as an authentic source-book on the financial crimes of America's arrogant capitalist class. Lundberg lays bare the family and economic ties of the monopolist clique which dictates the living standards of American workers, and tells how its wealth was amassed.

The auto workers who have hit the picket lines to fight for a 30 per cent wage increase, have good reason to hate General Motors for its union-busting tactics, its intensive assembly-line speed-up of the workers. But every worker in America has equal reason to hate and fight the powerful GM corporation, whose greedy fingers reach into the economy of the entire nation.

General Motors, Lundberg shows, is controlled by the du Ponts, the Fishers and the Morgans. The fortune of the Morgan group was conservatively estimated by Lundberg as three-quarters of a billion dollars; the du Ponts, a cool billion; the Fishers, who are relatively "newly rich," had only a modest half billion.

AMERICAN BOURBOIS

"The Morgans," writes Lundberg, "may be likened to American Bourbons who have slowly, remorselessly broken down the power of scores that refused to bend the knee, surrounding themselves with a host that accepts Morgan leadership . . .

the du Ponts (may be likened) to the Romanovs."

First of the banking powers in America is the Morgan group, working through a network of partnerships. The Fisher family is one of many whose affairs are "handled" by the Morgan firm.

The du Ponts, have their own family holding company, the Christiana Corporation, which "gives them the largest industrial participation of any family in the United States." But the du Ponts do not depend on their own resources alone! "J. P. Morgan and Company . . . includes the du Ponts among its supporting families."

As a triumvirate, the same monied moguls who rule GM, control at least 51 banks and 86 non-banking corporations with an aggregate wealth of \$43 billions. But we must add to this, for a real picture, the vast number of corporations dominated by the financial power of the Morgan group. One-fourth of American corporate wealth, says Lundberg, is directly or indirectly manipulated by the Morgan affiliates.

MIGHTY MONSTER

This is the mighty monster against which the auto workers are directing their fight. This is the colossus which whines that it "cannot afford" to pay a decent wage to the workers who sweat in its factories. This is the economic power of American capitalism, wallowing in wealth while it screams of "poverty."

Individual members of the money clique lived through the last depression in a fantastic world of luxury. "A careful survey," Lundberg wrote, "indicates that the du Ponts own more

yachts, more pipe organs, more swimming pools, more ducal estates, and more bathrooms than any other family in the world today. They employ more servants than the royal family of Britain." And "The Morgan family, with town houses and apartments in New York City, also owns East and West Island, off the North Shore of Long Island." The tax assessment on East Island alone was \$2,256,000, until after prolonged litigation, Morgan senior managed to win a million dollar reduction. Bertha M. Fisher, one of the "poor" members of the clan, was listed by Lundberg as the owner of a \$1,250,000 diesel yacht; if it springs a leak, she needn't stay at home, for one builder alone delivered 14 vessels to the Fisher brothers for their seafaring pleasure.

Individual extravaganzas, just eccentricities? The GM corporation itself, as a "business enterprise," could afford to wallow a bit, too. It maintained a private railroad car, for the comfort of its officials. Average cost of such a car is about \$100,000, with maintenance running as high as \$50,000 more every year.

Even more devastating are many of the accounts which Lundberg gives of the chicanery and trickery, the crushing of business competitors and the plunder of the public treasury in war and peace. For anyone who would like to understand how the GM autocracy got that way, "America's Sixty Families" is a first-rate source of information.

Reviewed by
Ruth Johnson

Congressmen At Work

A burning question faces Wall Street's Congressmen: What spot shall they choose as the "permanent site for the new peace capital of the world" to house the United Nations Organization?

Geneva, Switzerland, is out of the question, for this was the site of the League of Nations, predecessor of the U.N.O. The League, as everybody knows, did not bring peace but simply paved the way for the Second World War. "Through no fault of its own, Geneva is not located in an environment of historic peace," Mundt of South Dakota explains. Stewart of Oklahoma proposes Tuskahoma—which by chance happens to be in his home state of Oklahoma.

His arguments are powerful: "Wild life is in abundance. The people who inhabit this earthly Eden . . . have never been infected with radical isms that plague other sections of our country."

Next in importance is the influence of Heaven: "We in Oklahoma have always suspected the Almighty of keeping this spot for some special purpose and now we are inspired to offer it to the world as the seat of international government."

SOLENN COUNCIL

And finally, weightiest consideration of all: "Tuskahoma



was the capital of the old Choctaw Nation and their ancient council house has recently been rehabilitated." The U.N.O. delegates would undoubtedly find this a great convenience when they squat in solemn council and pass the pipe of peace around the fire.

Mundt of South Dakota, however, favors the Black Hills—which by chance happen to be in his home state of South Dakota: "The Black Hills world capital invitation committee proposes that an entire new city be especially designed and constructed in this area which will become to the world's workers for peace what the Vatican City in Rome is to the believers in Catholicism."

Mundt's arguments are indeed persuasive: "If the world capital

is adjacent to mountains, it is always possible to construct deep underground rooms for the safe-keeping of important records or—if deemed advisable—for emergency meetings of the delegates should that become necessary."

SAFE SPOT

According to Mundt, the Black Hills will be the safest spot for the capital of world peace when World War III breaks loose: "Its central location, far from either coast, or any possible military border makes the Black Hills site immune from military occupancy and comparatively safe from attack by scientific weapons of war. Its vast mountains provide ample opportunity for completely safe underground rooms to the extent, and for any purpose, desired by the United Nations Organization."

It is too early, however, to award Congressman Mundt the brass spittoon for the most realistic arguments. The Rocky Mountain Congressmen have yet to be heard from. And they have in their territory ghost mining towns above abandoned mines with hundreds of miles of tunnels which could easily be converted into atomic bomb shelters.

What safer place in the whole capitalist system could be found than such a ghost town for the world capital of "peace"?

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Maimed Suffer, Government Stalls

Men who went through horrible combat experiences in North Africa, Europe or the Pacific, then suffered the terrifying agony of being wounded and losing one or more of their limbs have every human right to expect what they were promised: the best the country can provide.

Through no fault of their own they lost their ability to earn a living in a normal manner. Now they are at the mercy of the government.

What has the government done for them?

It has permitted a \$10,000,000 monopoly of 250 manufacturers "to impede and discourage the development and improvement of the utility and comfort of artificial limbs," according to the November 15, N. Y. Times.

No one was permitted to "impede and discourage the development" of the atomic bomb, nor the B-29!

But a viciously mercenary monopoly was allowed to force the price of artificial limbs up to as high as \$2,000 each and prevent their improvement. Both of these facts have been common knowledge for a long time. Why wasn't anything done about it?

This country has the most highly trained scientists, the best laboratories, highly skilled technicians, access to unlimited raw materials, and the most modern light-weight plastics. Under proper direction and planning these resources could be utilized to vastly improve the lot of the amputees.

The government demonstrated what it could do for war. Towns, huge factories, complicated machinery, elaborately equipped laboratories were constructed almost overnight in order to make the atomic bomb. Billions of dollars were spent. Talent from all over the world was mobilized. No patents, no trade restrictions, nor lack of materials were permitted to stand in the way.

How different is the attitude of the government when it's a question of scientific and technical development needed to aid the men who lost arms and legs in the war!

As though no new materials, no new techniques had been developed in the past 25 years, the amputees are given cumbersome, outmoded, nearly useless limbs similar to the ones issued after World War I.

Not until the middle of October, 1945 was any move made to begin research to improve artificial limbs. Then contracts were awarded to private concerns—the same ones that are indicted for a conspiracy to fix "high, artificial, unreasonable and non-competitive" prices, perhaps—for research and development.

A Half-Hearted Beginning

Least amputees raise their hopes only to have them dashed a little later, it should be pointed out: the sum awarded is small; private concerns will absorb a large portion of it as profits; and even the few improvements they make will not be available soon for "actual production will not get under way for possibly two years," according to Dr. Klopsteg, chairman of the National Research Council's committee on prosthetic devices.

This half-hearted, inadequate beginning to improve artificial limbs has been made by the government under the pressure of mounting public indignation over the scandalous treatment of amputees. Meager research was begun belatedly, not because the government was unaware of the poor quality of limbs given the wounded, but because brass-hats and high officials are callously indifferent to the needs of the men maimed in battle.

Operators Net Millions In Ships "Sale" Steals

The scandalous tie-up between wealthy ship-owners and the Maritime Commission whereby public funds are poured out for the purchase of virtually worthless vessels is revealed in the October 19 Congressional Record. Chief link in the shady deals is Admiral Emory S. Land, head of the Maritime Commission, who once flaunted his hatred for labor in a statement that "all union organizers should be shot at sunrise."

Congressman Rich B. Wigglesworth of Massachusetts presented a table of figures compiled from information supplied by the Maritime Commission, the War Shipping Administration and the General Accounting office. These figures disclose some of the enormous profits made by the ship-owners on the Red Sea run and the over-inflated insurance placed upon decrepit ships by the government. They also reveal some of the staggering prices allowed by the Maritime Commission for these rust-buckets, which are today fit only for the junk heap.

In 1941, the Maritime Commission purchased, among other ships, the "Nana," valued at \$55,040, for \$352,669; also, "El Capitan," valued at \$87,462, for \$486,595. In 1942, the Commission purchased the "City of Alma," built in 1920 and bought by the owner for \$81,580, for \$660,300; also the "Malany," valued at \$66,612, for \$400,000. These were Admiral Land's own valuations and far in excess of the cost of these ships to the owners. Thus, for these four vessels alone, valued at \$300,442, the government paid out \$1,999,564.

Purchase prices for other vessels as shown by the figures are equally generous—at public expense. The Lafayette, ex Dryden, built in 1919, cost the owners \$59,597 and made a net profit on the Red Sea voyage of \$296,705. The Maritime Commission, which insured this tub for \$843,000, is now allowing \$676,000 for its purchase.

The Kenowis, built in 1920, with a book value of \$35,492, was insured by the Commission for \$235,663 and is now given a purchase value of \$688,700. For the Panama City, bought by the owners for \$57,502, the Commission allows \$548,000.

But even this plunder, dished out by the Maritime Commission, is piecemeal compared to what the Navy can do for profiteering ship-owners. The figures disclose that in 1940, for the "City of Baltimore," built in 1918 and valued at \$52,658, the Navy paid \$1,420,000!

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.

Mill Gives Guns To City Police

I am enclosing a clipping from the Minneapolis Star-Journal of October 31, which tells a short story about whose power is behind the police department.

With the heading "Police get new weapons," is a picture of Police Chief Ed Ryan happily receiving three Reising model automatic rifles — "commonly known as sub-machine guns," says the caption. He also received 60 boxes of cartridges. The donor in the picture is the guard captain at the General Mills mechanical plant.

The heavy armament is a gift from General Mills to the city police. It will be used "in an automatic weapons training program for Minneapolis policemen."

Incidentally, the appointment of Police Chief Ryan, vigorously opposed by organized labor, here, was one of the first acts of Mayor Humphrey who was recently elected with labor endorsement.

James Kersey
Minneapolis, Minn.

Recommends Class In Socialism

I have just finished the basic training course given by the Socialist Workers Party. I wish to suggest that all class-conscious workers take this course.

Today the workers of the world are confronted by very miserable economic, social, and political problems that have arisen out of the present day system of society. Depressions, wars, death and destruction of all kinds plainly show the inability of the system of capitalism to solve these problems.

The necessity of a change is driving the workers of the world to openly protest and revolt against this decaying system. The controlling forces of capitalism, in their effort to maintain their rule, threaten the destruction of the human race by preparing for a Third World War. No worker can overlook the tremendous power of the atomic bomb.

The necessity of maintaining an existence on this earth will drive workers of all nations to unite under the banner of socialism, the only solution to the problems of society.

In the first class of the basic training course I learned why the workers need a revolutionary party, and how, with the leadership of such a party, they can succeed in the struggle to overthrow capitalism.

Through the six weekly classes, I learned to understand the problems of society, why they exist and what their origin is.

I learned how the different classes of society arose; the growth of the state and how it became the instrument of the ruling capitalist class in exploiting the working class today.

I also absorbed an understanding of the dangers of decaying capitalism, in studying fascism and how it comes to power. In studying imperialist wars, I actually saw the utter decay of the capitalist system.

The transitional program of the revolutionary party explains not only the necessity of helping the masses as they struggle daily to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. The bridge itself should have a system of transitional demands that arise from today's conditions, from the consciousness of the working class. These demands must lead to the conquest of power by the working class throughout the world.

Studying the nature of the revolutionary party, I understood how the party is formed, the discipline of the party, and how it affects each member. The democratic principles of the Socialist Workers Party make it a true party to lead the workers of the world in their struggle to overthrow the yoke of capitalism.

From this basic training course I have learned not only what the economic, social and political problems of society in general are, but have also gained a fundamental understanding of the solution of these problems through socialism. I have also acquired a tremendous thirst for an understanding of the principles of socialism so that I can help in overthrowing this dirty, rotten system of capitalism.

C. Perck
New York

Censors Hold Up Letter Exposing Discrimination

The following letter, written to me by a Negro seaman subscriber of The Militant, speaks for itself. The letter was held up by the censor and returned to the writer upon his arrival in port.

Bob Chester
San Francisco

June 27, 1945

Comrade Bob:

The last three months I have been very busy combatting racial discrimination, so I hope that you will forgive me for not writing to you sooner. There have been no gains in minority rights. We have seen many "White Only" signs. So you may see that thousands or millions of dark people have died in vain. There is more racial hate and racial discrimination today than ever before in

the history of the world. To continue the war is useless. The thing we are fighting against is tolerated here and in the United States. I would like you to send me a Militant and write me a long letter about the San Francisco Peace Conference, and other interesting events. Looking forward to hear from you in the near future.

Disgusted Soldiers' Letter to Congress

Editor:

Here is a very significant letter, published November 20 in PM, from a group of soldiers who are completely disgusted with this never-ending war.

Jeff Thorne
New York

This is an open letter to the Congressmen of the U. S. A.: Just what more do you blood-sucking bastards want from us? We fought your damned war, although few of us know why, noting that you are today starting another, with Russia, in China.

For 70 days we have rotted in this stinky, garbage-filled dump. We are the 85-pointers, the 90-point men, the men-over-38 and over-35 whom you promised to get home "within 90 days." You lied like Goebbels and with every slow-dragging day that we sit here in this rotting slime, we become more convinced that the lie was deliberate.

For 70 days we have sat in deadly idleness, sleeping, without mattresses, in flapping, dripping, mud-floored tents, with a candle for lighting, while the Stars and Stripes and AFN radio stations ground out their bright quips about "fully winterized tents" and college-hotels on the Riviera.

For 70 days we have eaten salt pork, wormy oatmeal, canned meat, powdered eggs, and boiled potatoes. Days on end, weeks on end! The number of men who have been hospitalized for jaundice is known only to the medics. The number of us who, from malnutrition, are developing ulcers to plague our later years will never be known.

For 70 days we have been shifted from one group or organization to another (to conceal our status?? to avoid responsibility??). We have had no mail...

There are no laundry facilities available to us. We are kept constantly "alerted for movement" and no passes are granted. Our "bathing facility" is a portable shower located two miles from the camp center, on the banks of a stream filled with green sewage.

For the number of men in this stinking hole, recreational fa-

New York Trotskyists' Election Sound-Track



The sound-track used by the Trotskyists in the recent campaign for its municipal candidates, is shown here at the headquarters of the Harlem Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, 103 West 110 St. The truck was toured through Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx, in the campaign of Farrell Dobbs for Mayor, and Louise Simpson for City Council.

A Caustic Commentary On Hull, Winner Of Nobel "Peace" Prize

Editor:

With the blood of millions of innocent people still dripping from its greedy hands, the capitalist class today reaches its ultimate in hypocrisy by naming one of its chief lieutenants as winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1945. The Nobel Peace Prize is supposed to be awarded annually to that person who contributes most towards "the fraternity of nations."

The fund for the Prize, ironically enough, was established by one of the greatest munitions manufacturers in the world, Alfred Nobel. And to whom is this prize awarded for the year 1945? To none other than Cordell Hull, the man who, as Secretary of State, deliberately led the United States into the greatest human carnage in history in the second World War.

In his capacity as executive of the country's foreign policies, Hull consciously and knowingly helped set the course in the months and years before Pearl Harbor which was to lead the nation into the purely imperialist struggle. Together with his chief, Roosevelt, who supposedly "hated war," and promised to

keep American boys from participating in wars on foreign soil, Hull carried out the foreign policies dictated by his masters, the plunderbund of Wall Street, as they began to drive toward the imperialist conquest of the world.

PROOF OF HYPOCRISY

Today this hypocrite is held up to a suffering and starving world as a great humanitarian. The Pearl Harbor investigations have definitely shown that the government of Roosevelt and all his lackeys of capitalism knew that the policies they were following could lead only to armed conflict with other imperialist nations, as is well proven in Li Pu-jen's article in the October Fourth International.

They knew the war would result in the murder of thousands upon thousands of workers for the greater aggrandizement of American imperialism. Because they knew the workers would not die willingly for such a cause, they hauled out the new slogan of the "Four Freedoms" to replace the discredited slogan of "fight for democracy" that was used last time. Today these leeches of society have the undiluted gall to print the name and picture of Cordell Hull as the great philanthropist and benefactor of humanity, the Nobel Peace Prize winner.

THE PRETEXT

And what pretext do they dig up to pass off this shoddy lie on the people? Hull was given the prize for the leading role he played in "laying the foundation for the San Francisco Peace Conference."

Lenin called the League of Nations a "thieves' kitchen," and the correctness of his analysis has been proven by the recent world conflict. If he were alive today, he would probably call the San Francisco Conference a "thieves' paradise," where all the world was divided, and the seeds of the next war sown. Yet for master-minding this diabolical meeting of international brigands, world capitalism bestows honors and prizes on Cordell Hull.

Conspicuous by their absence as peace prize winners, during the years immediately following the first World War, are names like Lenin and Trotsky, who really worked for world peace through the abolition of capitalism, the root of all present day wars. In reality, to mention their names for such dubious honors by the capitalists would be disparaging. They live instead in the hearts and minds of the toiling masses of the world as leaders in the fight for true peace under the only system of society that can bring permanent peace—socialism.

Decadent capitalism in its last days can play such ironic jokes on the people as naming Cordell Hull for humanitarian honors, but the final history of the present era of wars and revolutions has not been written. When a progressive and peaceful world under socialism is ushered in, the toilers of the world will then have the opportunity to honor the names of the revolutionary heroes of the world proletariat as the real humanitarians of their generation.

FRANK BROWN
Detroit, Mich.

BELGIAN TROTSKYIST GIVES FACTS ON WALTER DAUGE

Editor's Note: In The Militant of October 6, 1945 we carried a letter from a member of the Young Communist League in England, which dealt among other things with the case of Walter Dauge. Dauge had at one time been a leading member of the Belgian Trotskyist organization and rumors had spread that he had betrayed the organization under the Nazi occupation. In our reply to the young English reader, we pointed out that the Dauge case was unique in the history of Trotskyism while among the Stalinists and reformists there were many cases of betrayal. In the course of our reply we referred to Dauge as one who had become a "collaborationist" with the Nazis. That this was incorrect is indicated by the following letter which we have just received from a Belgian Trotskyist, who gives the full facts of the case:

Editor:

In your issue of October 6, you publish an "Editor's Reply" to a letter of an English reader which contains a wrong explanation of the case of Walter Dauge.

Dauge never went over to the "collaborationists." True, he betrayed our organization, but only in abandoning all political activity and in discrediting himself by becoming a black market racketeer. But when (Henri) De Man (a reformist leader who turned "collaborationist") and even Degrelle (the leader of the Fascist organization known as "Rexist" in Belgium) tried to win him over for their fascist organizations, he maneuvered cleverly enough to escape any declaration in favor of the "New Order," without endangering the lives of many comrades known to and arrested by the Nazis.

Once Degrelle wrote him a letter urging an immediate answer, and threatening in it to arrest all the workers who had signed the Trotskyist election petitions before the war. Dauge answered that he was ready to affiliate with an organization on the basis of a specific program, and he enumerated the complete list of slogans of our Transitional Program! Since then he was never called upon again by the fascists to join them.

Dauge was killed by Stalinist gangsters in 1944. His widow is at the present time preparing the necessary material to bring the case before the Belgian courts.

The PCR (Revolutionary Communist Party, Belgian Section of the Fourth International) does not take the slightest responsibility for Dauge's disgusting personal behavior. Our party expelled him immediately after the reorganization of its underground movement in 1941 and publicly denounced him in the underground "La Voie de Lenin" ("Lenin's Road," central organ of the PCR). At the same time, it is more than proud to state that, while so many Stalinists and reformists openly went over to the fascists, NOT A SINGLE Trotskyist member or leader joined the Nazis.

Fraternally yours,

A. V. K.
Brussels, Belgium.



A number of our sub-getters inform us that workers they meet who have read Charles Jackson's pamphlet "A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow," are most anxious to become subscribers to The Militant so they can read his weekly column, "The Negro Struggle."

In this vein, we received the following note from Bill Ference of Minneapolis, a national pacemaker in our present sub campaign: "I have had no end of success in getting Militant subscriptions while riding on trains. I speak to the dining car waiters and cooks and show them Jackson's pamphlet. They buy and read it, and shortly thereafter are most anxious to obtain more information. These militant workers know what the score is, and when they see our message

in so concise and lucid a form, they are eager to learn all about the Socialist Workers Party, what it stands for, etc.

"This naturally leads to my selling subscriptions to The Militant since I show them Charles Jackson's regular column, 'The Negro Struggle' in addition to the very many other features our paper carries. In my travels, I have been able to sell subscriptions to workers in the south, and many leading towns and cities from St. Louis to New York."

Libby Jones of Buffalo cites the following experience: "One of our comrades knocked at a door in a Negro neighborhood, and a man answered. As soon as she said, 'I'm from The Militant,' he said: 'You don't have to say anything more. Ever since I read that pamphlet, A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow I've been wanting to get The Militant.' She told a sub to him, and another to a friend visiting him."

In addition to the fine job our branches are doing in obtaining new six month subscriptions, they are also sending in an impressive number of one year subscriptions which do not receive special recognition on the score-board.

This past week the following branches sent in the highest number of one year subscriptions:

New York City	14
Detroit	8
Los Angeles	7
Minneapolis	5
Boston	5
Rochester	5
Chicago	4
Flint	4
Pittsburgh	4

Rudy Rhodes of St. Louis writes the following: "Today was a Red Letter Day for The Militant in St. Louis. We had a number of callbacks to make, and every place we revisited we sold a subscription."

"In one instance, we had left 'The Militant' with the wife of an official of the Steelworkers Union. When we went back, her husband asked for a one year subscription and remarked that he would like a couple of additional subs later for the union local. We stayed about an hour and discussed socialism with the worker. He told us his wife's parents had been Debs socialists."

And from Belgium comes a letter which, in a few words, tells a story of what European revolutionaries have gone through during this war. "Please send me anything you have by Marx, Engels, Lenin or Trotsky. I have just returned home after five years in an Austrian concentration camp. My home and everything in it had been burned."

New York
Militant Labor Forum
Ben Joseph
"The Jews In
Postwar Europe"
Sunday, Dec. 2, 8 p.m.
116 University Place

Protest The Massacre Of The Colonial Peoples!

MASS MEETING
FRIDAY NOV. 30

8 P. M.

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

Speakers:

CHARLES JACKSON

Writer of 'The Negro Struggle'

FARRELL DOBBS

Editor of The Militant

GEORGE NOVACK

National Secretary, CRDC

Chairman

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

HOTEL DIPLOMAT

108 West 43rd St., New York

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party



Pioneer Publishers
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Our Program:

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!
 - A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!
 - A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!
 - Government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers' control!
 - Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!
2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!
 - No restriction on the right to strike!
 - Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!
3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!
4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! Down with Jim Crow!
5. Working class political action!
 - Establish the workers' and farmers' government!
 - Build the independent labor party!
6. Tax the rich, not the poor!
 - No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!
 - Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
 - Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!
8. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!
 - For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
 - Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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

- I would like:
- ☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.
 - ☐ To obtain further information about your organization.
 - ☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

Name (Please Print)

Address

City Postal Zone State

"Militant" Sub Drive Hits 77 Per Cent; Gains 7,663 New Readers In 6 Weeks

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

In the sixth week of our National Subscription Drive we find that *The Militant* has been introduced to 7,663 new readers from coast to coast. This represents 77 per cent of our quota of 10,000 new subscribers.

An examination of this week's scoreboard reveals that Baltimore and Cincinnati now join the seven other branches of the Socialist Workers Party which have filled their quota and are now in the "over the top" category.

This achievement is particularly notable as Baltimore entered the campaign with a handicap. The campaign had been

in progress for three weeks before a quota was assigned to the group working there under the leadership of Dorothy Lessing. Despite this setback Baltimore is now in eighth place nationally. Similarly, Cincinnati has made a notable advance this week, climbing from tenth place to fifth.

DOUBLE QUOTA

Special attention must be called also to St. Louis and Reading who have more than doubled their quota. The latter branch writes, "We are aiming for 300 per cent!" With such spirit we're sure they can do it too. Incidentally, Reading directed a challenge last week at those branches having similar quotas:

as yet, we've received no acceptances. How about it, St. Louis and Cincinnati?

Close on the heels of these "over the top" branches are seven others which have completed 75 per cent or more of their quota. Milwaukee, New York, Detroit and Minneapolis have relatively high quotas as over the 90 per cent mark, and will undoubtedly fill their quota very soon.

A. Field of Minneapolis sent us this interesting experience: "We decided to try some trail blazing in Minnesota and selected Austin which is a large meat packing center, and a union town. Seven of us drove out, worked a few hours and obtained 47 new subscriptions, sold 22 pamphlets and distributed over 300 copies of *The Militant* to workers who had never seen the paper before."

Ernie Drake of Detroit writes: "Due to lay-offs in the plants, some of the workers we canvass don't have the money on hand when we call for subscriptions. We make an appointment to call back, and in the meantime leave them a copy of *The Militant* to read. In the overwhelming majority of return visits we

obtain the subscription.

"We also make arrangements for our women comrades to go out in the evening during the week as some of them find it difficult to get away on morning mobilizations."

The pace-setters box this week shows that Detroit and New York are again vying for greater representation. Detroit keeps the lead for the second consecutive week claiming five pace-setters, New York claiming four of whom three are from the East Side Branch.

As reported previously in this column, special prizes are to be given to these 20 national pace-setters. The highest 10 will receive copies of Leon Trotsky's new book, "The First Five Years of the Communist International" and the second 10 will be given "The Revolution Betrayed" by Leon Trotsky.

Ask Your Shopmate

To Subscribe to
The Militant

MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

Here are the twenty who have sold the highest number of subs.

Name	Branch	Subs Sold
Paul Kujak	Chicago	174
Ernest Drake	Detroit	137
Mike Warren	Seattle	130
Theresa Stone	Philadelphia	109
Rudy Rhodes	St. Louis	92
Rigo Carl	Detroit	84
G. Roberts	Minneapolis	75
Bill Ference	Philadelphia	69
Sympathizer	Connecticut	68
H. Spangler	East Side, New York	67
Connie Locke	Detroit	60
Ed Lewis	East Side, New York	52
Ida Brandt	Los Angeles	51
Albert Conway	Chicago	51
Margaret Moran	San Francisco	49
Ruth Brady	Detroit	48
E. Logan	Pittsburgh	46
Eloise Gordon	East Side, New York	45
Don Barry	Brooklyn, New York	43
Jimmie Wright	Brooklyn, New York	43



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

Workers At Stalinist Meeting Defend "Militant" Distributors

By Milton Genecin

AKRON, O., Nov. 16—Stalinist efforts to prevent distribution of *The Militant* at a Communist Party meeting failed tonight, when workers entering the hall showed friendliness toward our distributors and dislike of strong-arm methods aimed against a working class party.

For half an hour almost every person going into the hall accepted a sample of *The Militant*. Some insisted upon paying for copies. Suddenly two Stalinists attempted to chase the distributors from the entrance. When the Trotskyists refused to be intimidated, the Stalinists threatened to get reinforcements and "make some trouble." They appeared with several others, one of whom tried to grab *The Militant* from our girl comrades.

The distributors held their ground and insisted upon their rights. Attracted by the scuffle, some workers in front of the hall rushed over to see what the trou-

ble was. The Stalinists shouted that the *Militant* was "anti-Semitic," "fascist," and so on. But the workers were not convinced. They had received the paper, and had glanced at the front page.

STALINISTS RETREAT

Receiving no support in their efforts to create a lynch spirit against the Trotskyists, the Stalinists beat a retreat. The distribution continued.

The friendly spirit in which *The Militant* was received showed

ed the workers' desire to learn the Trotskyist point of view. An observer inside the hall reported that not a single *Militant* was thrown away. Instead, the crowd coldly heard a Stalinist speaker appeal for subscriptions to the Sunday Worker. Although girls paced the aisles for subs, NOT ONE "Worker" sub was sold!

The Stalinist attitude towards the distribution of *The Militant* was not the least of the reasons for their sorry showing.

Buffalo SWP Celebrates 1917 Revolution Anniversary

BUFFALO, N. Y.—A successful meeting celebrating the 28th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution was held at the Militant Forum, November 13 by the Buffalo Branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

The chairman, Comrade R. Riley, described the great historic achievements of the Russian workers and peasants under the leadership of the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky. She pointed out that the workers are the only force in society that can lead a successful struggle against capitalist war and insecurity, and that the Russian Revolution was only the first step toward the establishment of world Socialism.

Comrade Bill Gray, Buffalo organizer of the SWP, was main speaker. "The only hope for suffering humanity in an insane world of capitalist destruction," said Comrade Gray, "is to follow the heroic example of the Russian masses of 1917 and establish the rule of the workers throughout the world." Despite the criminal actions of Stalin, the main advancements of the Russian Revolution remain, Comrade Gray asserted.

"Because one-sixth of the surface of the world is closed to imperialist exploitation in these days when the struggle of the capitalist powers is for more markets, and because the bosses know that the existence of nationalized property in the Soviet Union remains a threat to the system of private property, we now see the first moves in the direction of World War Three. This war against the Soviet Union can be led only by the United States which is today the mightiest force for world reaction."

In conclusion, the speaker declared that the fight for world peace, for Socialism, is above all a struggle against our own capitalists, the imperialist masters of the world. The meeting adjourned with the singing of *The Internationale*.

JOHN G. WRIGHT TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
KANSAS CITY	Monday, Tuesday, Dec. 10-11
ST. LOUIS	Thursday, Friday, Dec. 13-14
CINCINNATI	Sun., Dec. 16 to Tues., Dec. 18
PITTSBURGH	Thurs., Dec. 20 to Mon., Dec. 22

Seattle Workers Hear J. G. Wright

SEATTLE, Wash., Nov. 16 — Fifty workers, members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party heard John G. Wright speak last night on "The British Labor Victory — Its Meaning for American Workers."

In his speech, Comrade Wright showed that the overwhelming electoral victory of the British Labor Party is an integral part of a powerful sweep to the left in the consciousness of the toiling masses the world over. It is the product of the utter bankruptcy of the capitalist system.

Because Wall Street's imperialism is travelling the same road of bankruptcy, a strong movement for a Labor Party is unfolding in this country, paralleling the birth of a new, militant leadership in the labor movement. The most conscious section of this new leadership is to be found in the Socialist Workers Party.

After the collection, which totaled \$51, Comrade Wright answered numerous questions pertaining to the Socialist Workers Party and the working class struggle in general.

In summarizing Comrade Wright addressed himself to the many workers present who were not members of the Socialist Workers Party:

"The key question of the liberation of the working class is the question of leadership. This leadership does not spring up overnight. It is you who must build it by joining the Socialist Workers Party. Our party is a party of workers, dominated by workers. The whole history of the labor movement shows that

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM — by James P. Cannon

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

At Pittsburgh, Muste united with Shachtman and Cannon to beat back this assault of the sectarians. He was able to recognize that their conduct was disruptive. Muste was always extremely responsible and constructive in his attitude toward the organization. He was very glad to have our cooperation and help in handling these wild men, beating them down and making it impossible for them to disrupt the party work. And he certainly needed our help. Muste was far too much of a gentleman ever to deal with them the way they needed to be dealt with. We pushed them back a little bit at Pittsburgh, but we settled nothing. We realized that the decisive fight lay ahead and that it had to be settled theoretically and politically. All our hopes of letting the party breathe freely for a while, our hopes of maintaining harmony for the sake of developing the party's mass work, were blasted by the irresponsible sectarians.

We came back to New York determined to take our coats off and give them a fight to the finish. It is a good thing for the party that we did. The party owes us something for that—that we didn't trifle with sectarianism turned virulent. We mapped out a whole campaign of offensive operations against the Oehlerites. They wanted discussion? We proposed to give them—and the party—a thoroughgoing discussion which would leave not a single question at issue unclarified. Our objective was to reeducate the party members who had become infected with the sectarian sickness, and if it proved impossible to reform the leaders, to so isolate them in the party that they could not hamper its movements or disrupt its work. The high hopes we had entertained at the fusion convention naturally began to sag a little bit when we ran into all these difficulties.

But you never get a straight road in politics. People who are easily discouraged, whose hearts sink when they encounter conflicts and setbacks, shouldn't go into revolutionary politics. It is hard fighting all the time, there is never any assurance of smooth sailing. How can that be expected? The whole weight of bourgeois society presses down upon a few hundred or a few thousand people. If these people are not united in their own conceptions, if they fall to quarreling among themselves, that is also a sign of the tremendous pressure of the bourgeois world on the vanguard of the proletariat, and even more on the vanguard of the vanguard. The influence of bourgeois society finds an expression at times even in sections of a revolutionary workers party. Therein is the real source of serious factional fights. One ought, if he goes into politics, to try to understand all these things; try to estimate them clearly from the political point of view and find a political solution for them. That is what we did with the Oehlerites. We did not become discouraged and downhearted. We analyzed the question politically and decided to solve it politically.

Radicalized Workers Attracted to Socialist Party

The internal fight was paralyzing the new party. The objective factors of the workers' mass movement were not favorable enough to help us to drown out the internal factionalism with a big flood of new recruits. The rise of the Left Wing in the Socialist Party was fatal to our further development along the line of a purely independent movement, ignoring the Socialist Party. The very fact that a Left Wing was arising in the Socialist Party made it more attractive to the radical-minded workers than it had been for years. The Socialist Party was a much bigger organization than our party. And we, watching every sign and symptom, began to notice that workers who were awakening to radical ideas and other workers who had dropped out of the political movement and wanted to rejoin, were joining the Socialist Party, not our party. They had the idea that the SP was eventually going to become a genuine revolutionary party, thanks to the development of the Left Wing. This cut off recruiting to the Workers Party. It was the warning signal to us that we must not let ourselves become isolated from the Left Wing of the Socialist Party.

Difficulties of a financial nature beset us in the midst of these difficulties and complications. One of the major factors in the development of the American Workers Party, as in the

HOW TROTSKYISTS APPRAISED THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Conference for Progressive Labor Action before it, had been the personal contacts and associations of Muste, and the financial resources accruing therefrom. Upon his entry into the labor movement in 1917—in the Lawrence strike—Muste joined the textile workers union and became one of its outstanding leaders. Then he founded the Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, New York—ran it for years at a great expenditure of money. While still at Brookwood, he founded the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (in 1929). Later he abandoned the Brookwood Labor College and devoted himself entirely to politics.

During all that time he had been able to raise considerable sums of money from various kinds of individuals of means who had confidence in him personally and wanted to support his work. He had been able to retain this support through his various activities. That had been a decisive feature in the financing of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the American Workers Party. But when Muste joined with the Trotskyists to form the Workers Party, these contributors began to drift away. Many of his contacts, friends and associates were churchmen, Christian social workers and do-gooders in general—people from that theological underworld from which Muste himself had come. They were willing to support a union, give money for the unemployed, finance a workers college where the poor workers could get an education, help a "Conference" to do something "progressive"—whatever that might mean. But give money—even to Muste—for Trotskyism? No, that was going too far. Trotskyism is entirely too serious a matter; the Trotskyists mean business. One by one, Muste's most generous contributors, on whom he had counted to help finance the expanded activities of the united party, fell away.

Despite Difficulties We Continue Mass Work

We had begun with quite an ambitious program of party activity. The enthusiasm of the unity convention had brought in contributions of various kinds, and there was money on hand to start with. The boys in New York, while Muste and I were out on the road, decided that the least we could do was have a presentable headquarters. They rented a grand place on the corner of Fifth Street and Fifth Avenue. I think the rent was \$150 or \$175 a month. There were offices of all kinds for the different officials and dignitaries. They installed a switchboard—not a single telephone but a switchboard, with a girl sitting there plugging it in, while the various officials, editors and functionaries would pick up their phones—I don't know whom they were talking to. It looked good while it lasted. But it was a St. Martin's summer, not a real one. In the summer of 1935 we were evicted for non-payment of rent. We had to make the best of it and rent a rather unprepossessing old loft on Eleventh Street. We cut out the switchboard and decided to have one telephone—and even that was cut off after a few months for non-payment of bills. But we survived.

We tried our best during that period to develop the mass work of the party. The National Unemployed League, created by the old Muste organization, had flourishing branches in many parts of the country, especially in Ohio, Pennsylvania and parts of West Virginia. We gave, I think, some real help to the field workers who had done that great job. We reached thousands of workers through these unemployed organizations. But further experience also taught us an instructive lesson in the field of mass work too. Unemployed organizations can be built and expanded rapidly in times of economic crisis and it is quite possible for one to get illusory ideas of their stability and revolutionary potentialities.

At the very best they are loose and easily scattered formations; they slip through your fingers like sand. The minute the average unemployed worker gets a job he wants to forget about the unemployed organization. He doesn't want to be reminded of the misery of the former time. Besides that, chronically unemployed workers very often give way to demoralization and despair. I don't know of any task in the revolutionary movement more discouraging and disheartening than the task of trying to keep an organization like this together. It is a hard job to stick to, month after month and year after year, in the hope of crystallizing something firm and stable for the revolutionary movement.

One sure lesson, I think, to be drawn from the experience of that time, is that the employed workers in the factories are the real base of the revolutionary party. That is where the power is, the vitality and the confidence in the future. The unemployed masses, the unemployed organizations, can never be substituted for a base in the employed factory workers.

In that period there were rumblings of an approaching strike in the rubber factories in Akron. We went out there, several of us, to try to find a way to enter it through some contacts. Nothing happened. The strike was postponed. I mention the incident only to show that we were oriented always in the direction of mass activity, trying to overlook no opportunities. In that summer the strike of the Chevrolet workers in Toledo broke out. Our comrades were extremely active in the strike. Muste went out there and exerted considerable influence on the rank and file leaders of the strike. We got a lot of publicity from his activity, but nothing tangible in the way of organization. That was one of the weaknesses, it seemed to me, of Muste's methods, after I had had a chance to observe his personal traits over a period of time. He was a good administrator, and a good mass worker, gaining the confidence of workers very quickly. But he tended to adapt himself to the masses more than a real political leader can afford to do, with the result that he was seldom able to crystallize a firm nucleus on a programmatic basis for permanent functioning. In practically every case Muste in his mass work did a good job which some other political tendency, less generous and easy-going than Muste, eventually profited by.

Budenz' Jingoistic "American Approach"

In this period of party depression and internal difficulty Budenz began to show his hand. Budenz, as one of the leaders of the American Workers Party, had automatically come over into the new party—but without any enthusiasm. He had been opposed to the fusion. He was sick at the time and never participated in the work. After a few months of grumbling, he began an open opposition on his own account. He accused us of not carrying out the "American approach." That had been one of the emphasized points of the American Labor Party: that we should approach the American workers in understandable terms, talk their language and emphasize those events in American history which could be interpreted in a revolutionary way, etc. We Trotskyists had always emphasized internationalism in our fight against the nationalistic degeneration of Stalinism.

When they first began to discuss with us, the Mustelites were greatly surprised to learn that we were perfectly willing to accept the "American approach." As a matter of fact, years back in the Communist Party, our faction had waged a fight along this very line. We demanded that the Communist Party, which had been inspired by the Russian revolution and kept its eyes all the time on Russia, look home ward. We said the party should Americanize itself, adapt itself in every way possible to the psychology, habits and traditions of the American workers, illustrate its propaganda, whenever possible, by events of American history. We were fully agreed with that. I don't know if any of you noticed that we tried to apply it a little bit in the recent Minneapolis trial. In cross examination, Mr. Schweinhaut was trying to get me to say what we would do if the army and navy turned against the Workers and Farmers government. I gave him the illustration of the American Civil War, what Lincoln did.

We were all for that kind of Americanization, that is, adaptation of our propaganda technique to the country. That is good Leninism too. But Budenz very quickly showed that by Americanism he meant a crude version of jingoism. He came to the National Committee of our party with a proposal that our whole program should be an amendment to the Constitution; that our revolutionary program be whittled down to one parliamentary project. It was a terribly capitulatory, a philistine program of the crudest kind. Budenz tried to make some trouble in the ranks, hoping to exploit ignorance and prejudice. There we had to be very careful about repercussions, because he had been a field worker and was known to the workers in the field. The word had been assiduously spread that the Trotskyists were these sharks and hairsplitters, who understood nothing of the realities of the mass movement, and that no mass worker could have anything to do with

them. We had to be very careful of this prejudice that had been spread against us. We didn't care about Budenz. We had his number. But we were greatly interested in his friends among the field workers who had come from the American Workers Party.

We moved very carefully against Budenz. We didn't expel him, didn't threaten him. We simply opened a very cautious discussion. We began a very patient explanation, a political discussion, a political education.

Budenz Sells out to the Stalinists

I think the political education which we conducted on the Budenz question in that period, was a model in our movement. The results of it were shown when Budenz later drew the logical conclusions from his philistine "Americanization" program and sold out to the Stalinists who at that time were waving the Star Spangled Banner with both hands. He had expected to split the party and carry with him all these experienced and valuable militants in the field. He counted without his host. He underestimated what had been accomplished in the preceding patient discussion and cooperation in common work. At the showdown Budenz found himself isolated and went over to the Stalinists virtually alone.

The field workers remained loyal to the party, and were gradually transforming themselves from militant mass field workers into genuine Bolsheviks. That takes time. Nobody is born a Bolshevik. It has to be learned. And it cannot be learned solely from books either. It is learned, over a long time, by a combination of field work, struggle, personal sacrifices, tests, study and discussion. The making of a Bolshevik is a long-drawn-out process. But in compensation, when you get a Bolshevik, you have got something. When you get enough of them you can do anything you want to do, including making a revolution.

We had various difficulties and internal squabbles, all of which were simply sparks from the main fight over the question of the Socialist Party Left Wing. That was the focal point of all interest. At the National Committee Plenum of June 1935 we had a grand battle over the issue. This "June Plenum" is outstanding in the history of our party. This was no longer a disorganized scramble as at Pittsburgh in March. We came to the June Plenum ready for a fight. We came organized and determined, prepared with resolutions, to make the plenum discussions the springboard for an open fight in the party which would clarify the issue and educate the membership.

We demanded more emphasis on the Socialist Party. Evidence was accumulating before our eyes that our party was not attracting the unaffiliated radical workers, as we had hoped. We gained a few, but the bulk of them were joining the Socialist Party, under the impression that the future revolutionary party would take shape out of its Left Wing. Workers don't like to join a small party if they can belong to a bigger one. They can't be blamed for that; there is no virtue in smallness in and of itself. We saw that the Socialist Party was attracting such workers and barring the door to recruitment for the Workers Party. Even though the Socialist Party Left Wing wasn't consciously competing with us, by weight of their large numbers they were drawing prospective recruits to the Socialist Party, and away from us. The Socialist Party was in our way. We had to remove that obstacle from our path.

At the June Plenum the old alignments were broken up. Burnham joined us in support of the Cannon-Shachtman resolution on the question of the Socialist Party. Muste and Oehler found themselves together on the other side. At the March Active Workers Conference, Muste had been in a bloc with us, but the political issues there had not been clearly drawn. By the time of the June Plenum Muste had become more and more suspicious that we might possibly have some ideas about the Socialist Party that would infringe upon the integrity of the Workers Party as an organization. He was dead set against that, and he entered into a virtual, though informal, bloc with the Oehlerites. In part, he was pushed into this ill-advised combination by Abern and his little clique; they do not deserve the dignity of the name of faction because they had no principles. These unprincipled internal clique fighters jumped into the situation, and the combination—Muste, Oehlerites and Abernites—constituted a majority at the June Plenum.

(To Be Continued)

"Sit-Down" -- Epic Of Flint, 1937

By Bill Morgan

The 225,000 General Motors workers who this week began the greatest labor struggle of auto history are carrying forward the glorious traditions of their sit-down battle of nine years ago. Then 140,000 GM unionists in Flint, Detroit, and other cities first brought the world's largest industrial open-shop corporation to its knees and won union recognition and sole collective bargaining rights.

When the going gets toughest today, let the GM strikers remember how the union fought and won in 1936-37. And above all, let them remember the underlying story of the Flint sit-downs.

On November 15, 1936, a strike began at the Fisher Body plant in Atlanta, Georgia, when four workers were fired for wearing union buttons. A month later, the Kansas City plant went down, followed by a walkout of 7,000 at the Cleveland Fisher Body plant.

In Flint, at Fisher Body No. 1, were important dies that might become the instruments for breaking these strikes if moved to a less organized place. On December 30, 1936, night-shift workers saw these dies being loaded on trucks bound for Pontiac and Grand Rapids. The men took one look and realized the danger. They walked out and set up a picket line, placed guards in the clock-houses, took possession of the gates and occupied the plant.

So opened one of the most inspiring chapters in American labor history.

INHUMAN CONDITIONS

For years the unorganized workers in the automotive industry had been ground down under long, back-breaking hours of labor at low pay and inhuman conditions of work. They had been spied upon by countless stool-pigeons and professional fiends. GM stood as the fortress of entrenched exploitation and the open-shop. It was now or never, and the workers of Flint said, "Now!"

"Sit down!" became the battle-cry. Soon 17 GM plants in the country were occupied by the workers.

In Flint, on January 11, 1937, at Fisher No. 2, where the sit-down had spread from Fisher No. 1, the bosses shut off the heat, and police announced that no food deliveries would be permitted. The strikers faced an

UAW Sitdown Scene In '37



Sit-downers inside one of the struck GM plants during the great '37 struggle for union recognition.

effort to freeze and starve them out of the plant. If this succeeded, Fisher No. 1, the most strategic strike fortress, would face a similar threat.

Outside the Fisher No. 2 gates the union rallied its forces and directed activities with a sound truck. At 7 p. m. the sit-downers, by a surprise attack, removed the police from the main entrance and allowed supplies of coffee and bread to enter.

BATTLE BEGINS

A battle followed that will long be remembered. Police were twice driven off despite the buckshot they fired into the pickets' ranks. Tear gas and gunfire were met with sticks, bolts, nuts, metal pipes, soda bottles, coffee mugs and two-pound steel door hinges. The sheriff tried to drive his car into the picket line but it was overturned. Its still-burning lights revealed a battlefield littered with broken glass, rocks, door hinges, and clubs.

After three hours of fighting, the last charge of the police was routed by a solid stream of water from a firehose directed by strikers. Under a barrage of ice-cold water and door hinges, the police were driven from the plant. Fourteen strikers wounded by gunfire were taken to the hospital but the plant was still in the hands of the union and daylight heard the battle song of the UAW, "Solidarity For-

ever," ringing in the frosty dawn. Thus ended the "Battle of the Running Bulls."

The next day, January 12, 1937, 1,500 national guardsmen were marched into Flint. Negotiations were begun between UAW officials and management, with Governor Murphy acting as mediator. A truce was agreed upon, but before it could be effected union leaders detected a planned double-cross and exposed the GM plot to trick the union men out of the plants.

Workers in Flint were extending the fight and strengthening their hold upon the plants. On February 1, 1937, by clever and careful organization, aided by a diversionary struggle of militants and the Women's Emergency Brigade, at the Chevy No. 9, the unionists occupied strategic Chevy No. 4, tying up the assembly of all Chevrolets. In this plant, too, the workers built heavy barricades of steel, armed themselves with improvised weapons. Ball bearings became ammunition for sling-shots made of spring steel; clubs and pikes were fashioned from various materials.

ISSUE ULTIMATUM

The next day, GM officials hastily conferred with leaders of the National Guard and the police. Sheriff Wolcott marched up to the main gate of Fisher No. 2 and read off a court order demanding the men leave the

plant. He read a similar order to jeering strikers in Fisher No. 1. The strikers were given until 3 p. m., February 3, to vacate or suffer imprisonment and heavy fines.

At meetings called in the plants the strikers prepared to meet the threatened attack. "We, the workers in the plant," said a message wired to Gov. Murphy by the strikers in Fisher No. 1, "are completely unarmed and to send in the military, armed thugs and armed deputies... will mean a bloody massacre of the workers."

"We have carried on a stay-in strike over a month in order to make General Motors obey the law and engage in collective bargaining... We have decided to stay in the plant. We have no illusions about the sacrifices which this decision will entail. We fully expect that if a violent effort is made to oust us, many of us will be killed and we take this means of making it known to our wives, to our children, to the people of the State of Michigan and the country that if this result follows from the attempt to eject us, you Gov. Murphy are the one who must be held responsible for our deaths."

In the Durant Hotel the cops and bosses gathered to make their plans while they drank expensive booze and whipped up their courage. The militia set machine guns pointing at Fisher No. 2 and Chevy No. 4. "Everything was set for a 'showdown' with the union."

But the roads to Flint were slowly filling with cars and trucks loaded with union reinforcements. From far away thousands of union men and women were coming to swell a picket-line around Fisher No. 1. By noon delegations had arrived from Detroit, Lansing, Toledo and Pontiac. Akron sent rubber workers, shock-troops of the CIO. Dodge workers from Detroit marched up in solid phalanxes. A huge banner appeared over the heads of another great Detroit contingent, "Kelley-Hayes workers never forget their friends!"

SOLIDARITY FOREVER

By three o'clock, the deadline for the sit-downers to get out, there was a five-mile picket line in front of Fisher No. 1. The red and green berets of the Women's Emergency Brigade were the only colors to be seen in that grim, gray mass of determined workers. Men and women with clubs and sticks, crow-bars and stove-pokers, lead pipes and even clothes hangers with protruding hooks, massed their strength and raised their voices in "Solidarity Forever!"

Strikers took over the direction of traffic as more and more carloads of union men and women arrived. Not a single policeman was in sight. At plant windows 2,000 strikers waited with improvised gas masks and homemade weapons. Windows were systematically barricaded and hoses laid out ready for instant use. Around a street valve which controlled the plant's water supply, pickets had built a shanty in which a goodly supply of gasoline was stored for a protective wall of fire should an effort be made to cut off the water system.

At Fisher 2 and Chevy 4, completely cut off by machine guns, 37-millimeter howitzers, and troops shouldering rifles, the sit-down strikers refused to budge in the very face of death.

UNION HAD WON

The bosses looked and decided to wait. The police and militia looked and decided to wait. The 3 p. m. deadline passed. GM officials and the government labor "experts" began to blame one another. The sheriff was ordered to take no action.

The picket lines and sit-downers began to celebrate. In Fisher No. 1 they played hill-billy songs and on the streets the pickets danced square dances and sang. The union had won.

The strike ended February 11, 1937 when General Motors was forced to sign an agreement to rehire all workers despite union membership and strike activity. The UAW was recognized as the bargaining agency for all its members, and in the 17 struck plants, as the sole bargaining agency. A five per cent pay raise was announced. The corporation agreed to discuss the union's demands, and subsequently to sign its first union contract.

picketing to begin after the Thanksgiving holiday. Speakers were Willis Marrer, local UAW-CIO president, and Ed Hellcamp, bargaining chairman in Chevrolet, whom management had tried and failed to fire during reconversion.

Hellcamp passed on some of his personal pleasure in breaking the news of the strike to Don Zimmerman, GM plant manager, at 10:50 a. m. "I had the privilege of telling Zimmerman this was an authorized strike," Zimmerman replied he hoped the strikers had good shoes — because the rain might turn to snow and the last strike lasted 44 days.

"I told him this strike might take six months but we'll still be on the picket line because our international union has the economic power to challenge this greatest corporation in the United States."

Women's Brigade In '37 Strikes



The above scene was typical of the UAW sit-down strikes in 1937 when wives and mothers brought food and encouragement daily to the men in GM plants, and fought on the picket lines. The picket sign carried, above, demands equal pay for equal work.

"Dynasty Of Death" Rules GM's Empire

(Continued from Page 1)

1800's out of the munitions racket. Just prior to the first World War (1913) the assets of the Du Pont Company were \$74,817,826.

But when the war was over (1918) the company was worth \$308,846,297—quadrupled in four years! That's how they earned the title of "Dynasty of Death." In the first World War, the Du Pont war dividends equalled 485 per cent on the par value of its original stock. During 1939, before America officially entered the second "war for democracy," the Du Pont company made a net profit of \$93,218,664; by the end of 1940 that figure was increased to almost \$97,000,000.

No conclusive figures are yet available as to the amount of additional blood profits these merchants of death have coined out of this latest war for "democracy," but it is certain that it runs into the hundreds of millions.

DU PONTS AND NAZIS

The Du Ponts are great "patriots." They are ready to sacrifice millions of lives in wars for both "democracy" and U. S. Government contracts. But they

haven't hesitated to get business from any "legitimate" source—including the Nazis.

Thus, in 1942, Du Pont and its subsidiaries were indicted by the U. S. Department of Justice in several anti-trust suits, involving international cartel deals with the Nazi I. G. Farbenindustrie, chemical trust. It was shown that the Du Ponts have maintained world monopolistic agreements with the Nazis on war-vital plastics, dyes and other chemicals. They exchanged patent information, limited American production, fixed world prices, divided the world markets into spheres of control, etc.

One of the most scandalous of these deals was brought to light in April, 1942, when it was revealed that Remington Arms, Du Pont subsidiary, had made a patent-pooling agreement with the Nazi corporation, I. G. Farbenindustrie. This included an arrangement for paying royalties to the Nazi interests on ammunition sold to the American government, even in time of war. Remington obtained the patents on tetraene from the Nazi corporation on condition that it would not license the U. S. government to make this best type of ammunition priming, without consent of the German company. These agreements, it was charged, continued in effect even during the war. These "Armaments to the Republic" weren't averse to being also Armaments to Hitler, as long as their profits continued to roll in.

HOW DU PONTS LIVE

Now, how do the Du Ponts spend their blood-stained millions?

In the Du Pont domain of Delaware are dozens of Du Pont country estates, their palatial splendor making pale by comparison the fabulous Arabian Nights magnificence. The 10-million-dollar Henry F. du Pont estate has 150 rooms; 40 bedrooms each with radio installations and costly antiques. Nearby, the Pierre du Pont country estate has 200 rooms, and employs more than 100 servants. This "little cottage" contains a pipe organ that cost \$250,000 and took 14 railroad freight cars to move its 10,000 pipes. Things like that cost money!

Then, too, the Du Ponts own more yachts than any other family in the world. They also own more swimming pools, more pipe organs, more bathtubs. The Du Ponts employ more servants than the royal family of Great Britain, not excluding the king himself! They have their own private railroads and railway cars. The family owns 500 private passenger cars! These things cost money!

The fantastically extravagant living habits of the Du Pont clan present a powerful contrast to the living standards of the hundreds of thousands of General Motors workers, who have been forced onto freezing-cold picket lines in a bitter fight to wrest from these parasites an infinitesimal portion of the unbelievable profits these "Merchants of Death" have coined from the flesh and blood of these same workers.

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

Solidarity in the UAW Struggle!

The current strike battles that are shaping up in the auto industry offer the Negro workers another excellent opportunity to demonstrate in action their granite solidarity with their fellow white workers, and to thereby strike another body blow at prejudice and discrimination.

It has been shown time and again that the only effective way to break down prejudice against racial or national minority groups is for the two antagonistic groups to become involved in real struggle, side by side against a common enemy. This is especially true when that enemy is one which threatens the basic existence or economic security of each member of both racial groups.

The pink-tea liberals have been telling us for years that the "race problem" will only be solved through "education." "Equality for all people will surely come," they say, "but it is a long, drawn-out process of 'education' which will probably take generations to accomplish." Well, no sane person could have any objection to education. But as far as race prejudice is concerned, there is education—and "education."

FALSE STRATEGY

It is perfectly ridiculous and utterly naive to think that a few hundred inter-racial discussion groups or a few hundred thousand pamphlets or articles on inter-racial good will, could possibly counter-balance or overcome the effect of constant race-hate fostering indoctrination that is poured out daily by the capitalist dominated press, radio, and movies. Without doubting the lofty motives of these liberal advocates of "education," it should be plain to all that the sheer overwhelming force of quantity in a capitalist society simply prevents any results from being obtained by this type of strategy.

On the other hand, as has invariably been proved through genuine working class strike action, life-long prejudices can be wiped away overnight when the white worker sees the Negro worker lined up on his side in a struggle against the forces that are threatening that same white worker's bread and butter.

COMMON STRUGGLE

In the current struggle every auto worker knows that the corporations have been fattened with record profits during the war. They know that the bosses have even piled up huge surpluses that will guarantee them further profit during the next period, come what may. They have seen millions of their fellow workers laid off as soon as "peace broke out." And they have seen the living standard of those that remained, driven steadily down by the rising cost

of living and the shorter working weeks. They have, themselves FELT the pinch in the last few months when it came time to pay the rent or to pay the grocery bill.

Thus the enemy, the auto corporations, in this fight for a 30 per cent wage increase to maintain a decent standard of living, is obviously one which threatens the immediate, basic needs of every worker. For this very reason, when a white worker who has been miseducated all his life and told to hate the Negro, walks and fights beside the Negro worker on the picket line, it will dawn on him that those ideas he has had for years and years are just a lot of bunk.

If the workers win this fight and their immediate security for a living wage is attained, this white worker will have a different conception of the Negro. He will know that the two are in reality on the same side of the barricades. That is the real education, the education of necessity and the education of action. That is the only way that race prejudice will ever be broken down and we will have many more chances to demonstrate that we are willing to go to bat in common struggle against the real oppressor of all working men, the whole rotten capitalist system.

Those Negro workers who are in auto must be in the forefront of this struggle. They must show that they are more than willing to fight for the security of all workers, white as well as black. Now is their chance. By militant fighting and valor in leadership, they can do their glorious part in wiping out the cruel injustices of boss-class fostered prejudice, discrimination and segregation.

Ask Your Shopmates to Subscribe to THE MILITANT

Socialist Workers Party Branch Activities

AKRON—Visit The Militant Club, 405-E Everett Bldg., 39 East Market St., open Tues. and Thurs. 2 to 4 p. m.; Mon., Wed., Fri. 8 p. m. Campaign mobilization every Sunday at 2:00 p. m.

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

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

HUFFALO—Every Saturday night, Current Events Discussion and Open House; Lectures every second and fourth Tuesday, at Millant Forum, 639 Main St., 2nd floor.

HICAGO—Visit the Chicago SWP headquarters 160 N. Wells, R. 217, Open 11 a. m. to 8 p. m. every day except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 7582.

DETROIT—SWP Open House every Saturday at 3613 Woodward. Forums on topical questions every Sunday, 8 p. m. Refreshments.

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

LOS ANGELES—Buy The Militant, 4th in Southern and other Marxist books and pamphlets and get information about the SWP at the following places in the Los Angeles area: LOS ANGELES, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms 200-205, 212 S. Hill St., VA-7956. SAN FRANCISCO, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 Pacific, Room 214.

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

MINNEAPOLIS—Visit the Labor Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a. m. to 8 p. m. daily. Attend the Twin Cities Sunday Forum held every Sunday, 3:30 p. m.

NEWARK—Open forum every Friday at the Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30. Nov. 30—"Program for Trade Unions." Sat., Dec. 1, 9 p. m., International Package Party, Supper, Games, Entertainment.

NEW YORK—Sun., Dec. 3, 10:30 a. m., meet at 116 University Place for Militant Subscription Campaign. Sat., Dec. 1, 9 p. m., International Package Relief Social, 116 University Place. Classes: Every Monday 8 p. m., at Chelsea Branch, 13 W. 23rd St., third floor on Principles of Marxism. Also every Monday 8 p. m. at 116 University Pl. on Public Speaking and Parliamentary Procedure. Harlem Discussion Group meets every Sunday night 7:30 p. m. to discuss "Labor and Negro Struggle," at 103 West 110 St., Room 25. Office open day and evening 10 a. m. to 3 p. m., also 7 to 8 p. m.

PHILADELPHIA—SWP Headquarters, 405 W. Girard Ave. Open forums every Friday, 8 p. m. on current topics. Socialist Youth Group meets on alternate Saturdays, 8 p. m.

PITTSBURGH—Millant Reading Room, Seely Bldg., 5605 Penn. Ave., corner Penn. Ave. & Beatty St., E. Liberty. Open Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday 7-9 p. m. and Saturday 2-8 p. m. Circulating library.

PORTLAND, Ore.—Visit SWP headquarters, 124 S. W. Washington, 3rd floor. Tel. ATwater 9-3925. Open 12 to 4 p. m. daily except Sunday, and 6 to 9 p. m. on Tuesday and Friday.

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

SEATTLE—Study groups every Friday, 7:45 p. m., at Seattle School of Social Science, 1913 1/2 Second Ave., 1. Internationalism; 2. Introduction to Socialism.

ST. LOUIS—Visit our headquarters, 1023 Grand Blvd., Room 312, open Monday through Saturday from 12 to 3 p. m.; Monday, Wednesday, Friday from 8 to 10 p. m.

TOLEDO—Forums every Tuesday, 8:45 p. m., 301 Davis Bldg., Room 304, 905 Jefferson Ave. Open evenings, 7-9 p. m.

YOUNGSTOWN—Youngstown School of Social Science, 225 N. Phelps St., open "public Tuesday and Saturday afternoon from 2 to 5; also 7:30 to 9:30 p. m. Monday through Thursday. Sat., Dec. 1, Open House. All constant readers invited.

Public Funds Finance GM's Union Busting

How General Motors Corporation's union-smashing campaign is being underwritten with public funds to the tune of at least \$160,000,000 a year, was disclosed by the N. Y. Times, November 4, and again by PM, November 11.

No wonder GM so arrogantly rejects the UAW-CIO demand to maintain take-home wage standards, but instead calls for price increases and a 45-hour price week to further which the workers and the public. GM President Charles E. Wilson, whose own salary and bonus were boosted 94 per cent from 1939 to 1943, refuses even to arbitrate a 30 per cent raise for hourly workers.

The N. Y. Times, organ of the Morgan interests, pointed out that if General Motors doesn't turn a wheel for a year it can collect \$160,000,000 "tax rebates" from the public treasury. GM would also receive about \$12,750,000 profits "from investments in other companies."

Out of the public's pocket the capitalist government guarantees GM its wartime "base profits" of \$220,800,000 yearly, even while GM fleeces the government labor negotiators.

The same government, however, refuses the workers any unemployment compensation when they are forced to carry negotiations onto the picket line. The government helps the world's most profitable corporation put the squeeze on the workers.

CAN PAY INCREASE

GM could easily pay the 30 per cent wage raise, without raising prices, and still could make enormous profit in 1945 according to its own doctored annual reports this was disclosed in part by Walter P. Reuther, UAW-CIO vice president, and in part by the press. The Congressional Record of October 24 and November 6 carries devastating revelations of GM profiteering.

GM could always have paid much higher wages and charged lower prices. Reuther cites indisputable figures showing that in 1941 the average GM worker "produced \$1.07 for his family

and \$1.09 for GM stockholders every hour he worked." Before the union it was even worse.

Every single original dollar of GM investment has since 1908 become \$500 in stockholdings and cash dividends drained out of the blood and sweat and tears of the automobile workers. This can be traced in GM annual reports. Little wonder the corporation refuses to open the books to union scrutiny.

By stock splitting and stock dividends, and without any additions by the original investor, a single original \$100 share of GM stock in 1908 has grown to 252 shares, today selling at \$81 each, or more than \$20,000 total. In the intervening 37 years this same original \$100 share has paid about \$30,000 in cash dividends—about \$750 a year the last several years. How is it done?

The N. Y. Times November 4, reported that GM "net working capital (quick or liquid assets) ... has increased by \$400,000,000 since 1941, reaching a total this year of \$1,100,000,000 hidden profits besides the huge dividends and everything else. That's how GM's own dollars grew 500 times in 37 years.

Three GM Plants Closed Tight In Cincinnati Area

(SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT) CINCINNATI, O., Nov. 21 — Three General Motors plants in this area, Fisher Body and Chevrolet at Norwood, and Delco at Cincinnati, were closed today by the solid walkout of 1,300 production workers at 11 a. m., on call by the CIO United Automobile Workers.

In 1935, the Norwood workers struck in support of the historic Toledo Chevrolet walkout that forced GM to bargain with unions for the first time. Norwood workers remember that tradition. Paid far less than GM workers generally, they have been further provoked lately by the company's discharge of the most militant unionists, under cover of "reconversion" cutbacks.

Marching in good order out of the plants and to the Plaza theater in Norwood the workers held a strike rally and planned the

Wilson Opposes Wage Raises—But

Charles E. Wilson is president of General Motors, the corporation which is bitterly fighting the efforts of the UAW to obtain a living wage and security for the 300,000 workers who labor for the corporation. Wilson is the leader of the General Motors wolf-pack of profiteers which refuses to even discuss the union demands with the UAW leaders.

How did Wilson fare during the war years? His fabulous earnings were:

In 1941, \$406,890
In 1943, \$502,000
In 1944, \$459,041

Translating these enormous earnings into hourly rates, we find that for a 40-hour week and 50-week year, which is a great deal more than Wilson actually works, he received:

In 1941, \$203 an hour.
In 1943, \$251 an hour.
In 1944, \$229 an hour.

From SPICER UNIT NEWS (Local 12, UAW-CIO, Toledo).



San Diego
Buy THE MILITANT
AT 242 BROADWAY

Diary Of A Steelworker By T. Kovalesky

LETTER TO A FELLOW STEELWORKER

Dear Tony:

Our first battle is won. The steelworkers of this country have gone to the polls and shown what they want.



The meetings and rallies that we held in our districts probably helped in getting the fellows pepped up to vote for a strike: but the rotten wages that the steelworkers are now making must have done a lot more to get them to go to the polls. What else could they do but vote for strike?

Of course we'd have had a much larger vote if all the polls had been easy to get to. Some of them, you know, were miles from the plants. God knows how many of the fellows went right on home after the day's work and took a badly needed nap instead of voting. You can't excuse a unionist for doing things like that, but you can understand how he happens to do it.

Still, Tony, the battle that we've won is only the first! It's the last battle that wins or loses the struggle.

We've been hearing in our local that a big strike vote will make it unnecessary to go out on strike, and I suppose you've heard the same story in your local. Do you agree with the reasoning? I don't, and I'll tell you why.

Here's the way I feel: If we don't have to strike to get our two dollars per day—and all of it—then... well! Who wants to fight just for the sake of fighting? If the companies will look at the results of our strike vote, turn pale, and then run (not walk) to the nearest bank to get the money to hand over to us, I'll be damn well pleased. In fact, I'll pull that stunt every time I go into the office on a grievance. I'll tell old Ellsworth that the boys are ready to walk out and then let him tremble and give the union everything we want.

Only, Ellsworth has never yet been that way since he's been superintendent, and I'll be sort of surprised if the strike vote has changed him any. And I'll be surprised if the vote has changed the companies, because they act pretty much like their superintendents.

No, Tony. If we want to win our demands, we'll have to fight for them. Did the capitalists ever give YOU anything free? We'll have to fight and fight hard for all that we want.

But, you know, Tony, that's just what all the fellows I know are expecting to do. They voted for strike, not because they planned to bluff Bethlehem and U. S. Steel, and the rest, but because they're sore. The steelworkers are flaming mad at the companies, and they're all set to shut them down tight. And that's reasonable enough: because when somebody sits on your neck and takes the very food out of your mouth, it's bound to make you angry.

Yes, all the fellows that I know are all set to walk out with a vengeance. They've got past the stage of wanting to scare the company. They want to fight back. They want action. They're sick and tired of following grievances through four steps and then listening to an arbitrator take sides with the boss.

Today, Tony, we don't know what to expect. There'll be heroes and cowards. We'll just have to wait and see who'll be who. There'll be fellows with cold feet, who'll be running around to the hall asking, "When do we go back?" But these will be a damn small minority. There may be bloodshed. Ten men died at Republic to organize our union. Men died in 1919 and in all the other big strikes. Blood is the final price that labor always pays for a decent living; but it is a price that is paid willingly. And you'll see that the boys aren't going to let the labor movement down this time either.

So now there's just one thing to think about. We've voted to strike, and we're ready to go through with it. Let's make it big, make it 100 per cent. To do that, we've got to be prepared, and I think most of us are. Our machinery has to be well oiled, ready to be set into motion at any time. Our local has a strike committee already, has had for some time. We've got to get Ladies' Auxiliaries set up; we've got to have our picket captains ready. Our strike commissary, our first aid stations, all have to be waiting for the S-Day (Strike Day) of the steelworkers. The companies won't be caught flat-footed, and we can't be either.

Doesn't it make you feel sort of good, Tony? Doesn't it bring back the old days of fighting for unionism? The American labor movement has been sleeping these last years... but what an awakening it's having!

Best wishes to all the boys,
Fraternally,

Ted Kovalesky

Shoptalks On Socialism

By V. Grey

"Now you take this capitalist system," Pop was telling the boys. "It's supposed to be pretty slick. And I guess it is slick—for the slickers. But for us working people a socialist system would be the only thing."



"Aw, that would never work."

"You'd have the same grafters anyhow."

"A politician is a politician whichever way you look at him." Everybody was putting in his two cents worth.

"You fellows want to hear how it would work—or would you rather keep on talking about how wonderful capitalism is?" Pop asked. The fellows allowed they'd just as soon hear Pop's story. So Pop began:

"I'm not talking about people. I ain't saying whether people are good or bad. All I know about people is that most of them eat and sleep, raise families, and make friends. I'm talking about SYSTEMS. Some systems for doing things are better than others."

"Some of you boys may think they do things pretty slick and modern around here. You see these six blast furnaces turn out 30,000 tons of cast iron a week. You see the engines carry the ladles, full of 50 tons apiece, right over to the open hearth. You see them pour it out of the open hearth into the ingot molds and then they scoop it down the narrow gage to the blooming mill—and it keeps rolling along till it gets to the strip mill or the bar mill or the others. That's the assembly line stuff, conveyor belt stuff. But it ain't so modern as it looks."

"All big plants have assembly lines or conveyor belts of one kind or another—whatever

name they might go by. And those belts are longer than they look. They only seem to stop at the freight gate where the steel plates or autos hop off the line. They really go right on out the gate, only you can't see them. They go right on to the stores and people and other factories that need them."

"But there's a lot of old-fashioned kinks in that invisible belt. You'd think that the harder you worked and the more you produced, the more stuff would go down the belts to the folks who wanted it, meaning you and the wife and kids. But it don't work that way."

"Instead of doing that, the darn contraption has a lot of side belts that take things to the wrong places. When you produce like all hell the side belts empty the surplus into warehouses—and some more side belts empty it into the ocean, or take it underground. Then you get laid off to starve until there's a shortage again. That's the hard way of doing things."

"Socialism is a system with a MODERN belt line. The line goes right from the factory to your home. And there isn't any fork in the belt taking the 'surplus' to a warehouse to rot. What you make you get. And you don't make a depression either."

"Of course you wouldn't want all these plates, bars and rails to pile up in your back yard just because you made them. We'd fix the belts up modern so the steel went straight to the people who needed steel. And the steel products (like autos) went straight to the people who need them—that's you and me."

"The more we put onto the belt, the more we'll take off at the other end. We'll all be better off because we'll have a better system."

The fellows said it sounded too simple. But they sort of figured it might be worth a try.

Postwar Notes For Seamen By F. J. Lang

The Radcliff subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Commerce has approved a ship sales bill which makes even greater concessions to the ship operators than did a similar bill passed some time ago by the House.



The Senate bill provides construction differential subsidies for ships operating in the already protected Alaska trade. It knocks down the price on government-owned tankers to 75 per cent of their "depreciated prewar domestic cost." For dry-cargo vessels the new bill fixes the sales price at only 50 per cent of their "depreciated cost." (The joker here is that although "depreciation" of 8 per cent is allowed by the bill, this will be finally determined by the operators' own agents in the Maritime Commission.) Liberty ships, which are not wanted by American operators, will go for 31½ per cent of cost, or around \$500,000.

No restrictions on "use of vessels" is contained in the new bill. This allows American operators to buy the ships at cut-rate prices and to operate them under foreign flags or to immediately offer them for re-sale at a handsome profit to foreign companies.

The AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific and Sea-

farers International lobbied for a provision in the ship sales bill restricting use of these government-built ships. They wanted a guarantee that the American wage scale must be paid if these ships go under foreign-flag operation. The Senate committee ignored this demand of these maritime unions.

Present income of the ship operators is pretty good proof as to who is really befriended by the Democratic and Republican Congressmen. The Atlantic Gulf, & West Indies Steamship Lines is typical of the present financial condition of the shipping industry that in 1936 was broke. The net income of Agiline for the three months ending September 30 was \$354,289 after taxes and charges. This compares favorably with the \$344,840 clear profit for the corresponding period last year.

In nine months of this year this one shipping company—and not a very big one at that—showed a profit of more than a million dollars. This is what happened to big chunks of the \$25-billion which has been taken out of the public treasury by the Maritime Commission and poured into the maritime industry. During the war the shipping companies have been fattened up at public expense. Congress approves.

The pending legislation on ship sales is an additional gift by Congress to the ship operators of the more than 4,000 government-owned ships—if the ship operators can find use for them. At present there are so many excess ships that hundreds have been dismantled and laid-up for the duration of the "peace."

However, Congress is so concerned about profitable government contracts to ship builders that the fast disappearing ship construction work will not come to a halt until 94 more of the same type ships that are now being sent to the boneyards are completed and delivered this year, and 100 next year. These will probably be consigned directly to the boneyard without ever making a trip, as were many ships after World War I.

Stalinists Silent On French And Dutch Imperialist Butchery In Asia Colonies

By Felix Morrow

The November 22 *Daily Worker* publishes a powerful cartoon by Gropper. It shows British and U. S. imperialism shooting at China, Palestine and Java.

Very powerful, indeed. But there are two figures missing from that cartoon, nor will you find those two figures in any other cartoons these days.

We refer to Dutch imperialism and French imperialism.

In the case of Java, the British imperialists are simply lending a helping hand to reinstate the Dutch imperialist master. Dutch troops are shooting, side by side with the British. How could Gropper possibly leave the Dutch out of his cartoon?

The answer is not that the artist was absent-minded. The answer is that the Stalinist line is NOT opposed to Dutch imperialism.

LINE IN HOLLAND

In Holland, where the question is really crucial, for it is up to the Dutch working class to stop the Dutch imperialist slaughter of Indonesians, the Communist Party makes very plain that it is OPPOSED to the Dutch getting out of Indonesia. As we reported in this column last week, the Communist Party in Holland openly says that it has abandoned since 1937 the old revolutionary slogan, "Indonesia Loose from Holland Now," and continues to abandon that slogan.

The Dutch Communist Party's manifesto on the Indonesian struggle (which is NOT published by the *Daily Worker*) says:

"Our government must now without delay and unambiguously take measures to introduce democratic rule (in Indonesia); to form an independent Indonesian government; to convene a temporary parliament in collaboration with the democratic national parties, and institute similar governments in the municipalities and districts."

"If it fails to do this, if it continues to hesitate or attempts to play a double game, then it carries the full responsibility for the disastrous consequences which can lead to a complete loss of Indonesia for the Dutch Empire."

To the Stalinists the Queen's regime is "our government," which must preserve the Dutch Empire by finding native collaborators and setting them up as an "independent" government WITHIN THE EMPIRE.

Gropper also left out of his cartoon Indo-China. That too wasn't an oversight of the artist. Even in the sharpest moments of their recent spat with de Gaulle, the French Stalinists never mentioned the question of Indo-China. Now that they've patched it up with de Gaulle, the *Daily Worker* has stopped writing about Indo-China altogether.

Yet—if one is to make any distinction at all between imperialist crimes—the French imperialist blood-bath in Indo-China is already far more ruthless than anything that has yet happened in Java and China. Chiang Kai-shek and his U. S. advisors are negotiating with the Chinese Stalinists, likewise there are pretenses of negotiations in Java, but in Indo-China the French government is openly trying to wipe out the nationalist movement.

Obviously, then, it isn't the softer policy of the Dutch and French imperialists which moved Gropper to keep them out of his cartoon. What, then, is the explanation?

The explanation is that, just as until yesterday the Stalinists

Full Of Fight And Ready For The Showdown!



With great enthusiasm the workers in Chevrolet's Gear and Axle plant in Detroit pour into the streets as the 11 o'clock strike deadline is reached November 21. The plant was completely shut down as strong UAW picket lines took up their march.

\$6 Wage Boost Won By Illinois Telephone Workers Through Militant Six-Day Strike

Special To The Militant
CHICAGO, Nov. 24.—Winning their demand for a \$6 a week wage increase and other concessions, 8,700 long distance and toll operators of the Illinois Bell Telephone Company ended their militant six-day strike at 6:10 p.m. today.

The victory includes an immediate \$4 a week raise, retroactive to May 9, and \$2 more not later than February 1. The length of service necessary to reach the maximum rate was cut from nine to eight years. After February 1 new operators will start at \$26 a week, instead of the present \$21, and the minimum for those employed for eight years will be \$38, instead of \$33 for nine years.

The company also agreed to

reopen wage negotiations any time the union wants to. The Illinois Telephone Traffic Union has indicated it will demand further pay increases.

This settlement headed off a general sympathy strike of long distance operators in 42 states. J. J. Moran, president of the Federation of Long Lines Telephone Workers, had alerted all locals for strike "should the Illinois Bell... remain unreasonable..."

SUPPORT VOTED

The company provided cots, blankets and cafeteria meals to keep supervisors in exchanges 24 hours a day. Yet more than half Chicago's local telephone service had been shut down, as well as the long distance service, when local operators refused to cross picket lines. Also about 4,500 maintenance workers in the Illinois Union of Telephone Workers honored the picket lines. A unanimous decision of the ITUW pledged support to the operators "morally, physically and financially until the strike is won."

The Federation of Telephone Clerks of Illinois had advised its 2,000 members not to cross picket lines and had voted 1,405 to 4 to assess a \$50 fine against 33 Chi-

cago clerks who continued to work.

This solidarity and the militant determination of the operators won the strike, generally recognized as a test of strength of the telephone workers. The striking girls picketed exchanges throughout Chicago, with banners reading "We've Handled the Business For the Company's Take, Now We Want to Share

the Cake," "Ma Bell's Wealth Is Well Known, but Our Pay Is Never Shown," "There Will Be Some Delay 'Till We Get Enough Pay—\$6," and "The Voice With a Smile Will Be Gone for a While."

The girls stopped delivery trucks and cars entering the buildings, urged drivers not to enter and asked them, "Are you a union member?"

Typos Close Boss Press In Seattle

Special To The Militant
SEATTLE, Wash., Nov. 21.—Seattle is now without a daily newspaper as 250 members of Local 202, AFL Typographical Workers Union, are on strike. The struck newspapers are the *Post-Intelligencer* (Hearst), the *Star*, and the *Times*.

Typographical workers are asking for a 28 per cent wage increase over their present weekly average pay of \$54. The owners of the kept press have offered an increase amounting to only half of the union's demands. In addition the union is demanding vacations with pay and sick leaves, both of which the newspaper owners have turned down.

The typographical workers on the three daily papers have received no increases in wages since the beginning of the war because of the Little Steel formula. They rightly believe that they are entitled to a 28 per cent increase now.

GETS SUPPORT

The strike shut down the three boss dailies tighter than a drum. It is receiving the full support of the CIO Newspaper Guild and of every other union connected with the newspaper business. It is led by a rank-and-file strike committee.

Strike leaders predict that if the employers don't yield this

week for the sake of the Christmas advertising, the strike will last into February or March. A great number of the newspaper workers are finding employment in job shops, which have been short-handed throughout the war.

Now being discussed by the affected unions is a labor day to be put out by the labor movement in Seattle for the duration of the strike and to take this place of the capitalist press.

URWDSE Strikes Labor-Hating Avery Again

Special To The Militant
CHICAGO, Nov. 23.—The battle between the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, CIO, and Sewell Avery, labor-hating mogul of the Montgomery Ward empire, will be renewed Monday morning, November 26, when the union starts a one-week strike demonstration expected to involve some 80,000 workers.

In a statement issued in New York and Chicago, Samuel Wolchok, international president of the union, called for the demonstration "in order to demonstrate effectively the workers' restlessness over Avery's refusal to bargain in good faith and his refusal to submit to arbitration."

About 8,000 workers in Chicago, where the main mail order house is located, will participate in the strike. According to Leonard Levy, vice-president of the union, "nearly 70,000 other Ward employees will be involved throughout the nation."

In cooperation with other CIO unions, the URWDSE will set up picket lines in front of all the company's 631 stores and 215 catalog offices in the country.

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Noted Marxist Writer
Translator of Trotsky's
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Workers Solid As SKF Strike Enters 3rd Month

By Max Goldman

(Special To THE MILITANT)

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 22.—The bitter SKF strike, now over two months old, continues in full force with no settlement immediately apparent. The international roller-bearing trust, determined to smash the union, persistently refuses to meet with the union officials to arbitrate the dispute.

The latest attempt to break the solidarity of the picket lines was a paid advertisement in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* wherein the company repeated its die-hard attitude that the men must return to work before any negotiations take place.

SKF officials and attorneys continue to boycott attempts by

United States conciliators to settle the strike. The corporation continues to place its hope on coming court decisions.

This reactionary policy was given strength when Common Pleas Court No. 5 denied a motion of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, to dismiss a damage suit and injunction petition sought by the SKF Industries, Inc. Hearings on the suit and the injunction will resume on Monday, November 26.

Far from being demoralized, the strikers at a meeting last Tuesday, November 20, reiterated their determination to carry on until their fight is won and, furthermore, started proceedings to take a strike vote in support of the United Steelworkers' national policy for a two-dollar-a-day raise in pay.

Bristol Workers Out Solidly In First Strike

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

BRISTOL, Conn., Nov. 21.—Some 4,000 first shift workers at the General Motors New Departure bearing plant, members of Local 626, CIO United Automobile Workers, punched out in a matter of minutes as the 11 a. m. zero hour struck today for the UAW national offensive for a 30 per cent wage increase. This is the first time this plant has been struck, but the workers conducted themselves like veterans.

By nightfall, when the second and third shifts join the strike ranks, the plant, employing 12,000, will be sewed up tight. Two thirds of the town's working population are employed in the struck plant. The remaining third belong to other CIO unions which are solidly behind the strike.

Picket lines were quickly established at the plant's 12 gates and the main office entrance. These will be maintained on a 24-hour schedule, and will be strengthened during shift-change hours.

Union strike committees swung immediately into action. Plans were perfected for a strike commissary, picketing schedules, publicity, etc.

The local's most dependable men are organized in a special unit, and proudly wear on the back of their jackets the insignia, "UAW-CIO Local 626—Flying Squadron."

War veterans, in uniform and civvies, were among those doing picket duty. One bore a placard reading, "Yes! I risked my life overseas, but not to be pushed around by GM. I'm in favor of a 30% increase."

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THE MILITANT

Strike Upsurge May Soon Sweep To 1,250,000

(Continued from Page 1)

CIO Steelworkers numbering 640,000 will take an NLRB strike vote involving 766 steel companies, including Big Steel. They are demanding a \$2 a day wage increase to offset drastic loss of take-home pay.

Some 200,000 CIO Packinghouse Workers are scheduled to take a strike vote shortly UPWA Local 16, Kansas City, has already set a strike deadline for December 3.

Other strikes pending involve 16,000 Westinghouse Electric workers, in New York and New Jersey, taking a strike vote November 28; 4,000 Railway Express Agency employees of New York City and AFL teamsters of Newark, N. J. The latter dispute may involve 7,500 truck drivers and helpers in seven other major cities.

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