

HOW LENIN SPOKE

BY LEON TROTSKY

— SEE PAGE 3 —

THE MILITANT

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FORCED LABOR LAWS ENDANGER UNIONS

Anti-Labor Front Aids UAW 'No-Strike' Group

By Art Preis

A nation-wide united front of reaction, both outside and within the CIO United Automobile Workers, has been mobilized for an attempt to propagandize and pressure the 1,200,000 organized auto workers into reaffirming the no-strike pledge in the union's referendum which began January 4.

Every agency which the corporations, the Roosevelt administration and their bureaucratic CIO lieutenants can muster is being used to bolster the UAW-CIO leadership's defense of the no-strike surrender policy. Big Business views the referendum, which provides the militant auto workers with an opportunity for scrapping the no-strike pledge, as a tremendous threat to its wartime program for shackling the unions and paralyzing labor militancy.

In Detroit and Michigan, center of the upsurge against the no-strike policy, the capitalist press has unleashed a strident campaign, threatening dire consequences to the auto workers if they dare to revoke the pledge. The Detroit Free Press, voice of the auto corporations, led the attack with an editorial stink-bomb against the rank and file militants for opposing "labor's solemn vow," saying nothing, however, about Roosevelt's "solemn vow" to curb war profiteering. The Stalinist Daily Worker, January 10, which quotes most of this anti-labor diatribe approvingly, nevertheless complains because the Free Press "editorial is weakened by the fact that it goes all out to champion management."

In their attack on union militancy, the profiteering corporations and the labor bureaucrats are even seeking to enlist the churches. The Detroit Council of Applied Religion, whose co-chairmen are the Reverend Ellsworth Smith, emergency chaplain of the Detroit Council of Churches, and Shelton Tappes, Stalinist secretary of Local 600, has issued a public appeal to all clergymen to "use their influence to convince" the auto workers to vote for the no-strike pledge.

ROOSEVELT INTERVENES
Roosevelt himself has intervened to use the power and prestige of his office to influence the vote of the auto workers. He sent a letter recently to UAW president, R. J. Thomas ("congratulating" the latter on pushing through, at least temporarily, a continuation of the no-strike pledge at the last auto convention and expressing the hope that the pledge "will always be reaffirmed by responsible men of labor." The CIO and UAW flunkies of Roosevelt promptly featured his letter in the official CIO and UAW organs.

The Murray-Hillman bureau
(Continued on page 3)

Auto Militants Make Gains In Fight To Scrap Pledge

The frantic no-strike agitation of the CIO auto workers' top officialdom, supplemented by the howls of the big business press, government spokesmen, CIO heads and the Stalinists, has been inspired by the mounting and opposing roar from the auto union ranks seeking to scrap the no-strike pledge in the union's current referendum.

The UAW Rank and File Committee to revoke the No-Strike Pledge has been growing steadily in strength and influence. At the January 4 Wayne County Rank and File meeting at the Local 157 hall in Detroit, over 24 key locals were represented. Many militants from locals never previously contacted joined the caucus. The meeting was addressed by Chrysler Local 490 President William Jenkins, chairman of the County rank and file Committee; Larry Yost, President of Ford Aircraft Unit of Local 600 and National Chairman; Dodge Local 140 President Arthur Hayes, National Secretary of the Committee; Briggs Local 212 President Ferrazza; and John Zupan, Secretary of the County Committee.

There should be no interference with the purge of fascist elements. Every time a fascist is arrested, the most strenuous protests against the arrest come from American and English sources."

Allies Protect Italian Fascists

George Baldanzi, Executive Vice President of the CIO Textile Workers Union who recently returned from a visit to Italy, reveals who the present protectors of the Italian fascists are. In an article published in the January issue of Textile Labor, he states:

"There should be no interference with the purge of fascist elements. Every time a fascist is arrested, the most strenuous protests against the arrest come from American and English sources."

gates. The caucus and local unions have also distributed numerous pieces of literature on a wide scale.

Conditions themselves are working ever more strongly in support of the militants. The corporations grow more arrogant and provocative every day. Lay-offs—in the midst of the anti-labor campaign about production "shortages" — increase daily. Thousands have been released in the past few weeks and days at Murray Body, Briggs, Ford, Chrysler, Packard and other r

plants. These blows will continue to grow more fierce. And the auto workers will not take them lying down. Whatever the outcome of the referendum, the struggle against the policies of retreat and surrender will not be halted.

The referendum fight will have served to educate the ranks and to rally and cement the forces of the leading militants.

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Two UAW-CIO Specialists in Deceit

If the CIO auto workers need any additional arguments for discarding the policies of their top leaders, are they heading the campaign for retaining the no-strike pledge in the current referendum, let them turn to page 29 of the Wednesday, September 13, 1944 Proceedings of the Ninth Annual UAW-CIO Convention. There they will uncover an argument provided by UAW Secretary-Treasurer George Addes in the wind-up of his speech pleading with the delegates not to scrap the pledge.

"I say to this convention," Addes exhorted, "that if we go out and do the job on November 7th we will be able to secure from this Congress all of those things that the workers are entitled to. If we fail, if we mislead the American public by revoking the No-Strike Pledge, I am convinced in my mind we will have failed to elect a friendly Congress."

This statement contained two deliberate deceptions. One was that the workers would help to elect a "friendly Congress" by retaining the no-strike pledge.

The other is that, if they elected a pro-Roosevelt Democratic Congress, they would secure "all of those things that the workers are entitled to." Then, of course, the workers would not "need" the strike weapon.

Events since the election have made Addes' lies — which were also those of the whole labor bureaucracy — much more transparent. That new Congress hailed as the "triumphant" CIO-PAC leaders as a "progressive Congress" has gone into action.

Its very first "friendly" deed was to establish a permanent anti-labor Dies Witch-Hunt Committee. Before the opening week of the new session was ended, a flood of anti-labor bills was already pouring into the legislative hoppers. This "friendly," this "progressive" Congress looms up today as one of the most brazenly reactionary ever to convene under the Capitol dome. The pro-Roosevelt labor flunkies themselves are wailing: "Who won the election?"

Yet this is the very Congress the CIO-PAC campaigned for and even boasted of electing. Addes beat the UAW convention delegates over the head with the argument that they dared to revoke the no-strike pledge only under pain of not electing this very Congress. He trumped this argument — how fantastic it must seem now to every auto worker who heard him! — with the claim that by renouncing the strike weapon and electing the Congress now in session "we will be able to secure from this Congress all of those things that the workers are entitled to."

The UAW leaders used this now obviously false political argument as a primary reason for advocating that the auto convention continue the no-strike policy. Now these leaders must substitute other and even cruder lies for those pre-election ones which they would be grateful to have left buried and forgotten. For Addes and his henchmen would be laughed out of court if they reminded the auto workers how they were once more swindled into giving up their most powerful economic weapon, the strike, in return for receiving the present PAC-elected "friendly" Congress.

Thus, the UAW leaders per-

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SWP Branches Boost Fund Drive Totals As Date Of Release For Comrades Nears

\$18,000 Party Expansion Fund

A Fitting Welcome to Our 18 Class-War Prisoners

By Rose Karsner, Campaign Director

All the branches, members-at-large and friends of the Trotskyist movement are rushing in their funds to the \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund so as to make the most imposing showing possible on the Scoreboard of the January 27th issue of The Militant. They are doing this as a concrete expression of their solidarity with the comrades who are to be released from prison on January 24th.

FROM THE BRANCHES

St. Paul, R. Wadsworth: "With the exception of one comrade who has just gone to work and won't get paid till after the 22nd, all agreed to pay up their pledges before that date. The Twin Cities comrades are counting the days when our comrades will be back in our ranks. It will be a big day for all of us. Words cannot express how we have missed them."

Reading, Rose: "Enclosed find check which fulfills our quota 100%. Later we will send in for the cartoon — as soon as the comrades agree on which they want."

Los Angeles, Dan Roberts: "We would like to have our payments recorded for the issue of The Militant of January 27th by wiring you how much money is on the way. We have to do this because of the distance and because our collections come in Tuesdays through Fridays." And a wire from Janet Bowers says: "We are sending \$350 for this week's Scoreboard. Still plugging."

Buffalo, P. White: "Enclosed find check. All the comrades here are going to make every effort to meet their pledges by the 23rd of January."

Cleveland, Dave Lands: "We are taking steps to get in our complete quota so it can appear in the January 27th issue of The Militant Scoreboard."

New York, George Grant: "All our members have promised to make substantial payments on their pledges so as to score a minimum of 70% on the Scoreboard of the January 27th Militant."

Milwaukee, N. Burns: "An effort will be made in our branch to get the final subscription to our quota mailed in by January 20th."

Chicago, J. Michaels: "We are putting special emphasis on a drive during the next ten days to collect as much as possible of the pledges so as to help the showing we all want to make upon the release of the 12. We hope to be able to send you a good payment next week."

Boston, F. Daniels: "Enclosed find check. This brings our total to 81% of our quota. Whatever additional sums we collect before the 23rd, we will send in ' pronto'."

Allentown, Leona: "Enclosed find a part payment toward our quota. We are all planning to come into New York for the 'Welcome Home' party. The very thought of the day really soon arriving when our comrades will be with us again is so good it almost makes one cry with joy."

San Diego, Bill Plain: "Enclosed find check which completes our quota 100%."

San Francisco, Anne Alexander: "The enclosed check brings our total to 57%. We will try to hit 70% by next week with which to greet our comrades upon their release."

Pittsburgh group: "We are going to try to go over the quota we have undertaken so that we can in that small way ease the hard time of our returning comrades."

Dayton, member-at-large: "There are only a few days remaining before the 12 comrades come home. Enclosed find another \$10. I will be happy to receive the Gray cartoon." This brings the comrade's percentage to 140.

Flint, a friend: "I hope this small contribution will help you in your work and aid you in getting The Militant into the hands of more people who should be reading it. Please extend my best wishes to the prisoners already released, and to those coming out this month."



Jerry Kirk of Detroit sent us the following report of the reaction of UAW workers to V. Grey's column in The Militant: "I went into the plant the day before New Year. Half asleep I walked past the bulletin board. I thought I saw some familiar print so I turned back and looked it over closely. Sure enough it was an article from The Militant, one of Grey's recent Shop Talks on Socialism. It has been up there for three days now. In the meantime the workers have underlined certain punchy lines and added comments such as 'Read it and weep,' 'A Hudson man,' 'Ain't it the truth.'

I thought I knew every one who read the paper in the department but evidently other militant workers appreciate the usefulness of The Militant as an educational force as much as we do."

He added hastily, however, "I still support the no-strike pledge even if I won't be associated with such people." Reuther prefers to associate himself only with their policies of betrayal!

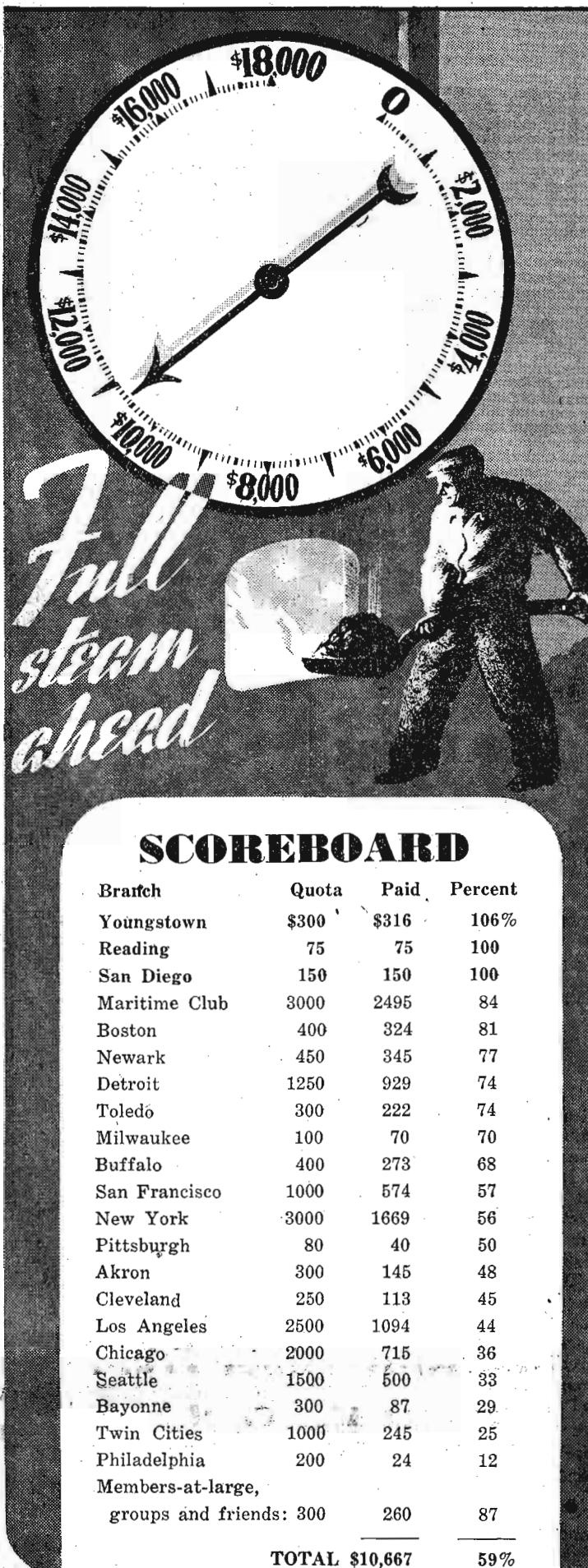
One of our agents, Jack P. of

St. Paul, wrote us as follows about a subscription he obtained: "I had a good experience at the shop on a Militant subscription. I sold it to the Treasurer of our Local and after the first few issues I asked him how he liked the paper. His answer was that he thought it should be suppressed because of its anti-war propaganda. Now, however, after reading the paper more, he agrees with us. He said, 'Maybe I am a red and didn't know it!'"

E. Brent of Detroit kept up her record of good work while visiting in Philadelphia. She wrote: "Last night one of the Philadelphia comrades and I covered the CIO Council and passed out The Militant. We sold two new subs and I've turned in the names and addresses to the branch."

San Francisco has planned a three-Sunday campaign to obtain 6-month trial subscriptions to The Militant, according to a letter received from our agent R. Haddon: "Beginning Sunday, the 14th, we're having a little local sub campaign for three consecutive Sundays, so we would like the new six-month trial sub blanks as soon as possible. We will try to combine our renewal work with getting new subs. The twelve subs sent in today were secured in the main by Bob. He went out trying to see some contacts and not finding any of them home, circled around a few blocks and came home with ten new subs, some Negro pamphlet sales and a sale of the trial pamphlets."

Bill Crane of Milwaukee wrote us about two excellent subscriptions sold there: "Enclosed are two subs. They are from brothers who are active in the Packinghouse Union. One is a trial sub and the other is a renewal. (He used to subscribe a long time ago but has regained interest in us and is thoroughly disgusted with the Stalinists whom he has left.)"



N. Y. Forum Hears Talk on "What Is Trotskyism?"

NEW YORK, Jan. 14 — Oscar

Shoenfeld, one of the Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners released from prison in October, spoke at the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place, on "What Is Trotskyism?"

Comrade Shoenfeld discussed the program of the Socialist Workers Party at length, countering it to the present policies of the Communist Party and other so-called working-class parties which claim to stand for socialism.

Akron: "It is very attractive — beyond our expectations."

The audience showed deep interest in the speaker's explanation of Trotskyism and bought a large number of pamphlets after the lecture for further study.

The February forums will be announced next week, the School reports. No further forums are scheduled for January.

Socialist Youth Forum Expands

NEW YORK, Jan. 12 — Twenty-five young people from the American Youth for Democracy swelled the attendance at tonight's meeting of the Socialist Youth Forum to fifty-five. Louise Leslie spoke on "The Civil War in Greece."

Comrade Leslie's exposure of the Stalinists as betrayers of the working class struggle for socialism stimulated a lively discussion in which two members of the A. Y. D. arose to defend the Stalinist policy in Greece. At the conclusion of the meeting, two dollars worth of literature and twenty-nine tickets to the Feb. 2nd Civil Rights Defense Committee mass meeting were sold.

The Socialist Youth Forum meets every Friday at 8 P. M. at the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place. All young readers of The Militant are invited to attend.

Pioneer Notes

Every branch ordering or re-ordering the new pamphlet, "American Workers Need a Labor Party" by Joseph Hansen makes some comment on it.

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DETROIT Sunday Lectures

Roosevelt and Congress have endowed with almost supreme power over the lives and welfare of the people. Naturally, "Simon Legree" Byrnes favors a slave labor law.

When Roosevelt demanded a national service law in his recent message to Congress, he gave as his main argument the necessity of having "the right numbers of workers in the right places at the right times." He neglected to add, "with the right color and religion."

If, for the sake of argument, we should admit that there actually is a manpower shortage of 300,000 workers, the only kind of legislation required to relieve it would be a law making it a crime to discriminate against workers for race, color or creed. But the ruling capitalist class which constitutes a tiny minority of the population, maintains its power by applying the axiom, "divide and rule." The rotting capitalist system is a stinking cesspool of race discrimination, prejudice, exploitation and oppression. War

"In war plants of St. Louis and Cincinnati, practically no Negroes are employed in production jobs."

"The Western Cartridge Co., of Alton, Ill., across from St. Louis, has not one Negro among its 10,000 employees."

"The Houston Shipbuilding Corp., of Houston, Tex., imports white welders from other parts of the country, while Negro graduates of a Houston welding school must go to the East or West Coast to find jobs."

"The railroads, which are crying for manpower continually, are railroading Negro firemen out of jobs — which must be taken by whites who could be doing other jobs."

These examples could be multiplied a hundredfold. Many big corporations erect a color bar, not only against Negroes, but against Mexicans, Filipinos, Chinese, etc. Others discriminate against Jews and Catholics. Those who scream the loudest about the manpower "shortage" are the most diligent in fostering race discrimination and religious prejudice. James F. Byrnes, the manpower "czar" is a leading exponent of "white supremacy." As a poll-tax Senator from South Carolina he led the Jim Crow contingent in Congress, at one time conducting a filibuster against an anti-lynch bill which he threatened to carry on for 100 years. This is the man whom

COMRADE JAMES POWELL

SEATTLE, Jan. 9 — The Seattle local of the Socialist Workers Party today held funeral services for Comrade James Powell, who was killed while at work at the Todd Drydock in Seattle.

Jim Powell was an old-timer in the revolutionary working class movement, having joined the Communist Party in 1924 in Louisville, Kentucky. Employed on the streetcar system there, he was a leader in an unsuccessful attempt to organize these workers. While engaged in this task he was summarily fired by his own brother, one of its largest stockholders. Thus, in his very first days as a revolutionary socialist, Jim held the bond of working class solidarity tighter than the bond of blood. This devotion he carried with him throughout his life.

He was the outstanding leader of the Omaha, Nebraska unemployed workers during the depression. This brought him into conflict with the Communist Party leadership who at that time were engaged in falsely depicting Roosevelt as the friend of the unemployed. Refusing to betray his trust as leader of the unemployed Union, he soon became aware of the corruption and cynicism of the Stalinists and severed his membership in the Communist Party.

It was then, in 1936, that Jim joined the Trotskyists in the task of building a new revolutionary party in the United States.

In 1939, while the Department of Justice was busy gathering "evidence" against our comrades in the Minneapolis labor movement which was later used in the prosecution against them, Jim was interrogated by FBI agents for 9 hours. True to the banner that he carried, Jim remained firm and steadfast. As a reward for being a man instead of a stool-pigeon, he was fired from his miserable WPA teaching job.

He was killed as a result of the greed of the capitalist class, the class he hated and despised. While he was working on a staging, some defective equipment broke and he was thrown to the dock where he was killed instantly.

His last commitment to his Party was a pledge of \$100 towards the current Socialist Workers Party Expansion Fund. His widow not only made sure that his wish was carried out, but joined the Party "to take Jim's place."

Comrade L. P. Trainor spoke at the funeral services and paid the respects of the Seattle comrades to the memory of our fallen comrade. He closed his remarks with words fitting for the occasion: "Well done, comrade. We who will carry on will see to it that you did not fight and die in vain."

How Lenin Spoke On The Platform

(We reprint on this 21st anniversary the following article which Trotsky wrote shortly after Lenin's death. Trotsky's article was published in Moscow in 1924 by the State Publishing House, as part of a volume, "On Lenin, Materials for a Biography.")

By Leon Trotsky

After the October revolution many photographs of Lenin were taken and movies were also made. His voice was recorded on the phonograph. His speeches were transcribed by stenographers, and were then published. All the elements of Vladimir Ilyich are thus available. But they remain only—the elements. The living personality consists of the unreproducible and always dynamic combination of these elements.

I am trying to evoke Lenin in my mind with a fresh eye and fresh ear, as if seeing and hearing him on the platform for the first time, and I see a strong, pliant figure of medium height and I hear an even fluent voice speaking very rapidly, with a slight lisp, without interruptions, almost without a pause, and in the initial stages, without any special inflection.

The introductory phrases are, as a rule, general, the tone is that of probing; the speaker's entire figure seems not to have found its equilibrium as yet; the gesture has yet to take shape, the eyes seem to gaze inwardly; the features of the face appear sullen and even exasperated—the idea is probing for an approach to the audience. This introductory phase lasts for a longer or shorter period of time, depending on the audience, the topic, the speaker's mood. But now the speaker has found the trail. The theme begins to unfold. The upper part of his body tilts forward, the thumbs slide under the armpits into the vest. And this twofold movement immediately causes the head and the hands to jut forward.

The head does not, in and of itself, seem large on this well-knit, strong, not-tall and rhythmic body. But the forehead and the ridges on the bald skull appear enormous. The hands are very agile, but not fidgety or nervous. The wrists are broad, chunky, "plebian," strong. They, like the entire body, denote dependability and virile good nature. Before this can be perceived, however, the speaker must catch fire internally, as he exposes an opponent's cunning ruse, or succeeds himself in laying a trap.

Then from beneath the mighty canopy of forehead and skull the Leninist eyes appear (which were just barely caught by a lucky photograph taken in 1919). Even an indifferent listener, catching this glance for the first time will become on guard and sit up in expectation. In such moments the angular cheek bones were illuminated and softened by a profoundly shrewd indulgence, behind which could be sensed a vast knowledge of men, of inter-relationships and situations—down to nethermost subsoil. The lower part of his face with its reddish-gray growth seemed to remain in the shadows. The voice became softer, more flexible and—at times—slyly ingratiating.

How Lenin Answers His Opponents

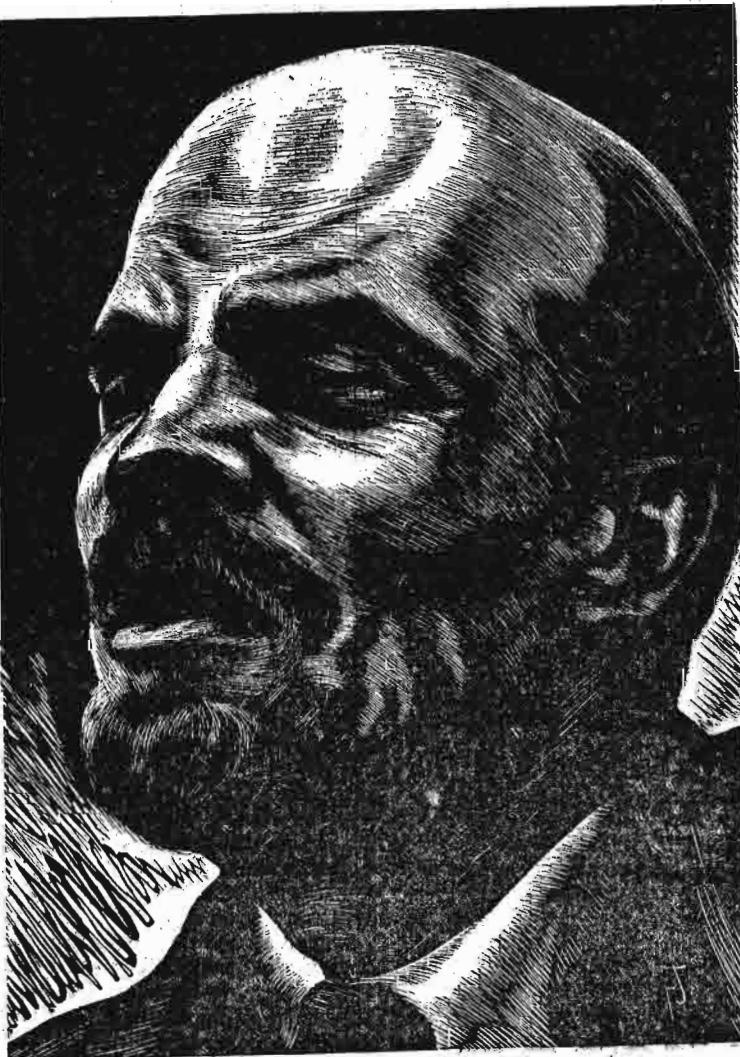
But now the speaker is bringing up a possible objection of an opponent or citing a vicious quotation from an enemy's article. Before he proceeds to analyze the hostile idea, he gives you to understand that the objection is groundless, superficial or false. He disengages his fingers from behind the vest, tilts his body back a little, retreats a few short paces, as if to make room for a running start, and—either ironically or with a look of despair—shrugs his steep shoulders, spreads his hands with the thumbs expressively extended. He always prefuses a refutation by condemning his opponent, deriding or disgracing him—depending on the opponent and the circumstances. It is as if the listener were forewarned what sort of proof to expect, and how to attune his mind.

Then the logical offensive is launched. The left hand either seeks out again the vest, or more frequently the trouser pocket. The right accompanies the logic of the exposition and beats off its rhythm. Whenever necessary, the left hand lends assistance. The speaker heads toward his audience, strikes to the very edge of the platform, leans forward and with rounded gestures of his hands moulds his words. This means that the central idea, the main point of the entire speech has been reached.

If opponents are present in the audience, the speaker is greeted from time to time with critical or hostile heckling. Nine times out of ten these remain unanswered. The speaker intends to say what he has to say: say it to those whom he is addressing; in whatever way he feels it must be said. He is not to be sidetracked by chance remarks. Hasty wit is alien to his concentrated thought. Following hostile exclamations his voice only becomes more harsh, his sentences more compact and aggressive, the formulations grow sharper, the gestures more abrupt. He catches up the hostile heckle only if it coincides with the general trend of his ideas and can aid him to reach the necessary conclusions more quickly. Then his answers are entirely unexpected and annihilating in their simplicity. Pointblank he lays bare a situation which, according to all expectations, he should have sought to camouflage.

The Mensheviks went through this experience more than once during the initial period of the revolution when charges of violations of democracy still had a ring of novelty. "Our newspapers have been shut down!" "Of course! But unfortunately not all of them as yet. They will all be shut down presently. The dictatorship of the proletariat will destroy at its very roots this shameful traffic in bourgeois opium!" The speaker has straightened up. Both hands are in the pockets. There is not even a hint of posing, in the voice not a trace of oratorial modulation—instead the entire figure, the angle of the head, the compressed lips, the cheek bones, the slightly hoarse timbre of the voice, all radiate an indomitable confidence in his correctness and his truth. "If you want to fight, then come on, let's really fight."

Whenever the speaker lashes out not at an enemy but at one of "his own," it can be felt both in the gestures and the voice. The most frenzied attack in these cases preserves the character of "bringing to reason." Occasionally the speaker's voice breaks off on a high note. This happens whenever he swoops down on "a friend,"



V. I. Lenin 1870-1924

exposes him, tries to put him to shame, proves that the opponent understands exactly nothing and is unable to adduce so much as a scintilla in support of his objections. It is on these "exactly nothings" and "scintillas" that the voice now and then rises to a falsetto and breaks off, and this unexpectedly invests the angriest tirade with a semblance of good nature.

He Thought Out Problems to the End

The speaker has completely thought out his idea in advance down to the ultimate, practical conclusion—the idea, but not the presentation, not the form of presentation, with the exception perhaps of the most succinct, most pertinent and juiciest expressions and coined words which thereupon enter into the political life of the party and of the country as the ringing medium of exchange. The construction of the sentences is as a rule massive, clause accumulates on clause like geological strata, or on the contrary, a clause imbeds itself in the previous one. These constructions are a trial to the stenographer.

United Anti-Labor Front Aids UAW No-Strike Group

(Continued from page 1.)

cracy is throwing the CIO's resources and prestige behind the hard-pressed UAW leaders. Dipping generously into the CIO treasury, the CIO officials have rushed to the auto workers hundreds of thousands of copies of the January 8 CIO News, a special no-strike pledge edition including an extra four-page two-color insert demanding "patriotic" adherence to the no-strike policy and replete with pictures of Roosevelt and his leading generals. State and local CIO councils, dominated primarily by the Murray machine or the Stalinists, have been confronted simultaneously with resolutions calling on the auto workers not to "violate" the "sacred pledge."

Earl Browder's Communist (Stalinist) Political Association, the only group within the labor movement to attack the Montgomery Ward strike and publicly endorse Roosevelt's National Service forced labor demand, is attempting to curry further favor in the eyes of the American capitalists, Roosevelt and the CIO "labor statesmen" by taking the lead in the slanderous campaign against the auto militants. What the Stalinist Daily Worker lacks in influence among the auto workers, it seeks to make up by the volume and hysteria of its attacks on the militants and its fawning support for the anti-strike CIO and UAW leaders.

UAW HEADS

While a convention motion prohibits them from using the union's resources or institutions for propagandizing their partisan position in the referendum, the UAW heads have uncovered enough loop-holes to evade the intent of the motion. Under the technical heading of "news," the United Automobile Worker, official UAW organ, has printed huge slugs of CIO President Philip Murray's speeches for the no-strike policy, CIO resolutions, Roosevelt's anti-strike letter, etc.

This is but a minor example of the ability of the leadership to get around the restricting motion. All the payrollees and porkchoppers of the international, beholden to the officialdom for their cushy jobs, are being pressed into service—or else. Under the pretext of performing union "business," and travelling at union expense, the officials find time to do a "little" anti-strike caucus organizing "on the side."

Treasuries of unions under Stalinist control are being utilized to finance this committee. Stalinist Joseph Curran, head of the CIO National Maritime Union, has publicly announced his donation of \$500 from union funds which he has sent to George Addes, UAW secretary-treasurer and "honorary" secretary of the UAW anti-strike committee. Every Stalinist-dominated union local or CIO council is rushing through

strophers, and then to the editors. But through these massive phrases the intense and imperious idea cuts a strong and reliable highway for itself.

Is it really true that the speaker is a profoundly educated Marxist, theoretician and an economist, a man of enormous erudition? Why, it seems, at least every now and then, that some extraordinary self-taught man is speaking, who arrived at these conclusions through his own efforts, pondered all this in his own brain, in his own way, without any scientific equipment, without a scientific terminology and is now presenting it in his own manner. Why? Because the speaker has thought out the problem not only for himself but also for the mass, he has carried his mind through the experience of the masses and has completely removed from his presentation the theoretical scaffolding, which he had himself utilized when first approaching the problem.

It so happens, by the way, that on occasion the speaker ascends too swiftly on the ladder of his thoughts, skipping two and three rungs at a time. This happens whenever a particular conclusion is all too clear to him, is of great practical urgency and the audience must become acquainted with it as quickly as possible. But now he has sensed that the listeners cannot keep up with him, that the bond between him and the audience has been disrupted. He immediately takes himself in hand and with a single leap descends in order to begin his ascent anew, but this time with a more tranquil and measured stride. The voice itself, free of any extra strain, becomes altered and subtly persuasive. The construction of the speech naturally suffers from the duplication. But is a speech designed for its construction? Is there any worthwhile logic in a speech other than the logic which compels action?

And when the orator arrives for a second time at his conclusion, this time bringing all his listeners along, not losing a single one on the way, a rejoicing at the satisfactory culmination of the intense labor of the collective mind can be physically felt in the hall. It remains to tap the conclusion twice or thrice more in order to reinforce it; give it a simple, lucid and pictorial expression for memory's sake; and then it is permissible to take a breathing spell, joke and laugh a little, so that the collective mind is better able in the interim to absorb its new conquest.

Lenin's Humor and Purposefulness

Lenin's oratorical humor is as simple as all his other devices if it is possible to speak of devices in this connection. In Lenin's speeches there is no self-sufficient wit, nor word-play, but there is the joke, a sally, accessible to the masses, in the real sense of the term, a folk-joke. If there is nothing too alarming about the political situation, if the audience is predominantly "his own" then the speaker is not averse to a little "horse-play" in passing. The audience heartily welcomes the sly-simple adage, the good-natured merciless characterization, sensing that this, too, is intended not as a flourish but to serve the self-same goal.

When the speaker is about to jest, the lower part of his face becomes more prominent, especially the mouth capable of infectious laughter. The lines of the forehead and skull seem to soften, the eyes stop boring like gimlets and twinkle with a merry light, the lisp becomes more pronounced, the intensity of the virile idea is softened with a love for living and humanness.

In Lenin's speeches, as in all his work, the outstanding trait is purposefulness. The speaker is not engaged in constructing a speech but in guiding toward a specific conclusion—action. He approaches his audience in diverse ways; he explains, he reasons, he shames, he jokes, again he reasons and once again explains. What unifies his speech is not a formal plan but a clear, practical goal, rigidly delineated for the current period, which must imbed itself in the consciousness of the audience as a splinter enters the flesh. His humor is likewise subordinated to this. The joke is utilitarian. The editorially newly-coined word "has its practical purpose: to spur on some, to curb others. Among these are Khvostism (tail-endism) and peredyskha (breathing spell), and Smychka (alliance with the tsarist) and drachka (inner-party squabble) and komchavstvo (communist snobbery) and scores of others which have not been perpetuated. Before he gets to such a word the speaker circles around as if in search of a suitable spot. Once that is located he affixes the nail, gauges the distance properly, takes a full swing and brings the hammer down on the head once, twice, ten times until the nail is driven in so firmly that it becomes difficult to dislodge it once the necessity for it no longer exists. When that occasion arises, Lenin will, uttering an adage, have to tap this nail from the right and from the left in order to loosen it, and tear it out and cast it into discord among the archives—to the great sorrow of those who had grown accustomed to it.

At the Close of His Speech

But now the speech draws to its conclusion. The balance sheet has been taken, the conclusions have been driven home securely. The speaker looks like a worker who is tired but whose job has been completed. From time to time he passes his hand over the naked skull-headed with perspiration. The voice loses its intensity like a fire dying down. The speech may now be concluded. But one need not expect a peroration, without which it would seem hardly possible to leave the platform. Others could not do it, but Lenin can. He does not conclude his speech oratorically. He finishes his work and puts a period. "If we understand this, if we do it, then we shall surely conquer!"—such, not infrequently, is the closing phrase. Or, "This is what we must set as our goal, not in words but in action." And sometimes, simply: "This is all I wanted to say to you." And nothing more. And such a conclusion is in complete harmony, with the nature of Lenin's eloquence and with Lenin's own nature, and it in no way chills the audience. On the contrary, it is precisely after such an "ineffective," "drab" ending that the audience seems again to grasp in a single eruption everything that Lenin gave in his speech, and bursts into stormy, grateful, ecstatic applause.

But having quickly picked up his slips of paper Lenin has already left the platform in order to escape the inevitable. His head is slightly drawn into his shoulders, chin down, the eyes withdrawn behind the brows, the moustache bristling almost angrily on an upper lip which curls upward in dissatisfaction. The applause mounts wave upon wave. Long Li... Lenin... Leader... Ilyich... The never-to-be-duplicated head shimmers in the electric light amid the wild waves of applause. And when it seems that the whirlwind of enthusiasm has reached its highest intensity, suddenly through the roar, the tumult and the handclaps, some youthful, shrill, happy and ecstatic voice cuts like a siren through a storm: Long Live Ilyich!

And somewhere from the profoundest, palpitating innermost depths of solidarity, love and enthusiasm, a veritable cyclone rises in answer, a universal, indivisible, roof-splitting shriek-shout: LONG LIVE LENIN!

Big Business And The "New Deal"

By R. Bell

During the "roaring twenties" following the last world war, the United States was "blessed" with a Big Business administration... The Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era was profiteer's paradise. Direct representatives of America's Sixty Families occupied key positions in Washington. The plunderbund bled the country of its wealth. The apostles of the "free enterprise" system proclaimed that humanity had entered an epoch of unending capitalist "prosperity." The industrial and financial "wizards" promised to perform miracles. They were given a free hand. The resources of the government were placed at their disposal. In addition to juicy profits, Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, opened the sluices of the public trough and fed the profit-hogs millions in tax refunds.

They were given every opportunity to produce the "miracles" they promised. They produced—the greatest economic crisis in history!

Roosevelt rode to power on a popular wave of revolt against government by Big Business. He promised the people a "New Deal." He promised to "drive the money changers from the temple." He promised to inaugurate an era of the "common man." He promised a government of social reform... and other like promises too numerous to mention. But above all, he promised to wrest political power from the clutches of America's richest Sixty Families! He had twelve years to make good his promises. What has Roosevelt accomplished?

The January 6 issue of Business Week draws up a balance sheet of the "New Deal." The magazine asks the questions: "Where is the New Deal? Where are the New Dealers?" Where are the social reformers whom Roosevelt brought to Washington to "run" the government. Business Week answers: "They are not running the show in Washington today. There is not an old New Dealer at the top level of policy administration or in the President's intimate counsels. While there are plenty of New Dealers still in Washington, their wires to the White House have been dead for a long time."

Roosevelt still keeps a few relics of the "New Deal" around for window dressing. Henry Wallace is still trotted out on various occasions to make a speech about the "common man" but the professional reformers are "reforming nobody and nothing."

ASSISTANT PRESIDENT

Who have replaced the high priests of social reform? Among Roosevelt's new cronies, the most influential is James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, more commonly known as the "Assistant President." Byrnes is a symbol of the present administration. Thanks to the poll-tax system Byrnes spent 24 years in Congress as a representative from South Carolina. His whole political life has been devoted to upholding Jim Crow race discrimination, defending the profits and privileges of sweat-shop operators and Wall Street tycoons, and venomously attacking the labor movement.

At the CIO convention following the recent national election Sidney Hillman proclaimed the fourth term as an historic "victory" comparable to the victory at Stalingrad. Victory for whom? The workers are still waiting for the promised statement from Hillman and Murray on: "who won the election."

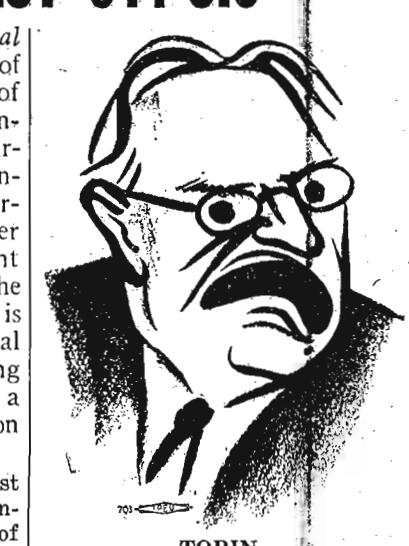
TOBIN PAYS OFF TO STASSEN FOR AID AGAINST 544-CIO

The January International Teamster, personal organ of Daniel J. Tobin, president of the AFL Teamsters International, proposes ex-Governor Harold Stassen for Minnesota senator in 1946. Tobin's sponsorship of Stassen's political career includes more than benevolent concern for the welfare of the people in Minnesota. Tobin is applying Gompers' traditional political policy of rewarding those in public office who do a good turn for the trade union bureaucrats.

In 1941 in their fight against Tobin's dictatorial and reactionary policies, the membership of Truckdrivers' Local 544 voted to leave the AFL and join the CIO. Tobin sent goon squads to the Twin Cities to "educate" the membership while he appealed to Roosevelt for additional aid. Roosevelt gave the word to Attorney General Biddle and the FBI. The famous Minneapolis Labor Case resulted in which eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and members of Local 544-CIO were railroaded to prison. The Republican Governor Stassen worked hand in glove with the Democratic Roosevelt administration. When Local 544-CIO petitioned for an election among the truck drivers to let the membership decide democratically what organization they wanted for their bargaining agent, Stassen denied them this right. The head of the State Mediation Board, appointed by Stassen to administer the Minnesota "slave labor" act, arbitrarily ruled that the AFL should continue as the bargaining agent of the truck drivers despite the wishes of the membership to belong to the CIO. This defiance of democratic procedure was hailed with great satisfaction by Tobin and the employers.

Tobin began to pay off his debt to Stassen in 1941. At that time the Republican governor was invited to address the national convention of the AFL in Seattle, "the first time any governor had been so honored." Now Tobin backs Stassen for senator.

Prison for the organizers of the Northwest teamsters; a Senatorial seat for the governor who helped deny democracy to the Minneapolis transportation workers. Tobin gives an instructive lesson in how a labor lieutenant of Big Business rewards his political friends and punishes his political and trade-union opponents.



NEW YORK

Lenin - Liebknecht - Luxemburg

Memorial Meeting

Sunday, Jan. 21

IRVING PLAZA

Victoria Hall

Speakers:

M. STEIN, Acting National Secretary, SWP

HARRY FRANKEL, Trotskyist Youth Group

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party, Local N. Y.

15th St. and Irving Place (near Union Sq.) - 8 P. M.

NEW YORK

Socialist Youth Forum

FRIDAY, JANUARY 26 - 8 P. M.

"AMERICA'S ROLE IN EUROPE"

Speaker: JERRY ALBERTS

Questions

Discussion

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
(corner 13th St., between Broadway and Fifth Avenue
near Union Square)

Free Admission

Refreshments

Who Told The Truth About Second World War?

By Ruth Johnson

"We saw the abomination of the imperialist war and we were under compulsion to tell the people the truth about it," said James P. Cannon in his farewell speech delivered in New York shortly before the 18 Trotskyist leaders were imprisoned. "As a consequence of our truth-telling and our struggle we are now obliged to go to prison. We go there, however, not as criminals, but because duty takes us there."

In the thirteen months since their imprisonment, world events have confirmed the Trotskyist explanation of the war, and proven that Roosevelt, who railroaded them to prison, brazenly deceived the people.

On the witness stand in November 1941 James P. Cannon explained the Trotskyist view of the Second Imperialist World War.

"What kind of a war would you consider a war waged by the present Government of the United States?" he was asked.

"I would consider it a capitalist war... Because America is today a capitalist nation... We (Trotskyists) do not want to conquer any other country. We do not want to gain any colonies. We do not want bloodshed to make profits for American capital."

WAR AGAINST FASCISM?

"What is the party's position on the claim that the war against Hitler is a war of democracy against fascism?"

"We say that is a subterfuge, that the conflict between American imperialism and German imperialism is for the domination of the world... We do not think that the Sixty Families who own America want to wage this war for some sacred principle of democracy. We think they would only use the opportunity of a war to eliminate all civil liberties at home, to get the best imitation of fascism they can possibly get."

What did Roosevelt, as spokesman for America's richest Sixty Families, say about the war? "This is a war for the four freedoms"—freedom supposed to be "guaranteed" by the Atlantic Charter. Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and fear. "A war to end fascism." "A war of free labor against slave labor."

The United States has been in the war now for over three years. During this time the real aims of the American imperialists in this war have become increasingly clear and the fictitious claims of their spokesmen exposed.

Freedom of speech? In Italy, AMG prohibited meetings of more than five people. The first act of Eisenhower in Paris was to "divert two divisions" of troops "to quiet the nervous population" (Militant, Sept. 9). In Belgium, mass meetings were instantly prohibited. The events in Greece are too fresh, the repressions too brutal, to need restatement here. Even the American army has been deprived of freedom of speech; American soldiers are to be fined \$65 for the heinous offense of speaking to German civilians!

Freedom from want? In Italy the masses starve while the black market thrives; the rich alone are "free from want." In Greece, relief ships were withdrawn, so that hunger would drive the masses to surrender their arms to Roosevelt's British partners-in-crime. In France, it is reported that poverty is "worse than under Hitler."

Freedom from fear? Thousands of Greek members of the ELAS, who heroically drove the Nazi troops from Athens, have found freedom from fear—in streets sent them there?

HEAR

New York

MASS MEETING

To Greet the Defendants in the

MINNEAPOLIS LABOR CASE

On Their Release From Prison

Labor's First Victims of the

Smith 'Gag' Act

Labor and Fraternal Organizations representing over 4,000,000 men and women demanded freedom for these 18 Members of the Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union - 544 CIO and of the Socialist Workers Party.

Other Speakers

Henry Fruchter

Educational Director
United Retail, Wholesale
& Dept. Store Employees—
CIO

Benj. F. McLaurin

International Field
Organizer
Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters

Benj. A. Gebiner

Asst. Gen. Secretary
The Workmen's Circle

James T. Farrell

Noted Novelist
Chairman

George Novack

Secretary, Civil Rights
Defense Committee

O. K. Fraenkel

Amer. Civil Liberties Union

Auspices: CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

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All Quiet on the Athens Front



How Britain Established The Monarchs In Greece

By Joseph Hansen

Is the Damaskinos regency set up by the British in Greece the first of its kind? The New York Times on December 16 stated that "a regency in this realm has no historic precedent and requires a constitutional amendment." The Times is either lying or grossly ignorant of Greek history. The truth is, the appointment of the Damaskinos regency is only the latest application of an imperialist policy consistently followed by Britain in Greece since the disintegration of the Turkish empire.

A century and a quarter ago British imperialism, then consolidating itself as the world's leading power, looked greedily at the holding of the sick Turkish empire. When the Greeks in 1821 began their war for independence from Turkey, the political heads of Britain recognized a favorable opening. In 1827 they pulled a Pearl Harbor type attack. Taking advantage of the fact Britain was at peace with Turkey, the British navy anchored its ships among the Turkish and Egyptian ships at Navarino. Then the British opened fire, virtually annihilating the Sultan's fleet.

Together with the Russians and French, the British sent troops to Greece. Britain's attitude toward Greece was not cast, however, in the mold of disinterested benevolence. Although the Greek people had established a republic with a president, the imperialists in London were arguing among themselves whether to establish a British Dominion in the Balkans or to utilize an indirect form of control.

They decided to set up a monarchy in Greece. They did not consult the Greek people at all. Britain's success against Turkey was held justification enough for her concern over Greece's form of government. And so they passed word along the European monarchical grapevine they had

KINGS AND REGENTS

As a concession to the Greek revolutionists, who had been inspired by the great French Revolution, the British promised that Greece would be provided with a constitution as sugar coating for the bitter pill of monarchy. Since the king was too young and inexperienced to draw up a suitable constitution, however, they announced that it was best to wait until he came of age. Meanwhile a regency of three men would rule with dictatorial powers.

In token of their concern over the healthy development of the newly created dynasty, the British granted it a loan of some 60 million francs. This loan was guaranteed by the regency and payment of interest on the loan was made the primary obligation of the Greek treasury. 300,000 francs of this interest was given to the king as yearly subvention. Besides anchoring their Mediterranean line in Greece, the British thus laid the basis for the profitable national debt now amounting to \$400,000,000 held by London capitalists.

The new dynasty sat well in the saddle. By 1893 the country had been bled so white national bankruptcy was declared. After a disastrous war with Turkey, Greece was still further squeezed. She was forced to pay a huge indemnity to the Turks. Great Britain, France and Russia set up an International Finance Commission which was given absolute control over the collection and employment of the revenues of Greece in order to pay this indemnity "without prejudice to the interests of her creditors."

Thus history reveals that long before the First World War British imperialism ruled Greece as a sphere of influence, setting up puppet regimes directly on the British pay roll and intervening with armed force in internal affairs whenever the masses grew too restive. Churchill, in sending troops to Greece today, is simply following the traditional policy of the government he heads.

But the British again intervened. They succeeded in charming the heads of the revolt with the British pound. The charm worked so well that these interim heads, who had first offered the

Allied Guns Force "Truce" in War On Greek People

(Continued from page 1)

uary 6 Militant, "changes nothing politically. Regency is a classic device of monarchy to save itself during times of stress. The regent takes over the functions of government until the mass struggle subsides or is smothered. Thereupon the regent retires and the king again steps to the forefront, sometimes with the formality of a rigged plebiscite."

The Stalinists in Greece bear full responsibility for the truce. After the British commander had withdrawn his original terms, two heads of ELAS with their aides appeared at Scobie's headquarters suing for new terms. These two were Dimitri Partsalides and Jean Zevgos, both officials of the Greek Communist Party.

STALINIST ROLE

From the beginning, the Stalinist role in Greece has been one of perfidious treachery. They sought leadership of the Greek workers in order to utilize them as pawns in Stalin's counter-revolutionary deals with world imperialism. They have acted as servants of Allied imperialism, sending Churchill congratulations and greetings again and again. They took posts in Churchill's puppet Greek government. They welcomed Allied troops in Greece. Their apparent differences with Churchill's policy, as when they resigned from the Papandreou cabinet, arose only from their need to avoid compromising themselves so seriously as to lose all claim to leadership of the mass movement.

Churchill followed a brutal and avowed policy of naked counter-revolution. Confronted with an armed people, Churchill did what the imperialists always do in such situations. He set out to disarm and subdue the masses. To be sure, he was willing and even eager to utilize agents able and willing to betray the masses. The Stalinists acted as this auxiliary agency within the ELAS forces.

But in the Greek situation he relied primarily on armed might. In the final analysis arms decide all questions of great political importance. Thus the imperialists, who know this fact very well, always and everywhere follow the consistent policy of arming themselves to the teeth while compelling the workers to give up arms.

The great indignation of the world working class over the use of Allied troops in Greece has given rise to a deep political crisis in England. The effect of the working class pressure was clearly visible in Churchill's flight to Athens which he made as a demonstrative reply to his critics, hoping thereby to ease the pressure on his cabinet.

This pressure was again reflected in General Scobie's declarations during the past week. Scobie tried to make out that the Greek workers really favor the Allied intervention. When heads of the "Greek Federation of Labor" called on General Scobie on January 8, in "gratitude" for the "liberation" of Athens, Scobie replied: "I am particularly moved by your visit because you represent the workers. In other countries they seem to think the measures I have taken are contrary to Greece's spirit."

Neither the Greek Federation of Labor nor its heads are known in labor circles either in England or the United States. It appears to be another puppet created by the Allies.

Scobie, however, fools no one. The tanks, airplanes, artillery and rifles he turned against the Greek workers give the lie only too clearly to his utterances.

Although the truce went into effect January 15, the British are still mopping up in the Athens area. When they have consolidated their positions, they will probably move against the areas to which ELAS retreated. The civil war provoked by the Allies is far from ended.

"We Will Return"

No sooner had news of the American invasion of Luzon ticked off the wires than Big Business began digging out its trunks for the trans-Pacific trip. The Cincinnati Post, Jan. 10, reports:

"Judge John W. Haussmann said Wednesday he'd be back in the Philippines in 'six or eight months.' The New Richmond millionaire operated iron, copper, gold and chrome mines on Northern Luzon before the war.

"He said Wednesday that he expected to be one of the first industrialists to return. About 10,000 Filipinos depend on his mines for their livelihood."

SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V. Grey

"When you stop to think of it," said Shorty out of the blue, "How much organizing and managing do the big shots do themselves?"

"They manage well enough to give you a job," Scissorbill Sam (the bosses' man) shot back in swift and brilliant repartee.

"A few years back in peacetime, I was carrying the bucket two and three days a week. Looks like this war is giving me the job—not the big shots. Course you could always say they gave me the war, too—so it all evens up."

"Don't change the subject," said Scissorbill, "First you guys think you can get along without a foreman. Next you'll be saying that the whole of Bethlehem Steel could run by itself. If you had your way, there'd be no one responsible at all. What would you do without leaders? One plant would make too many beams and not enough plates. Another wouldn't make enough bars. One shipyard would be clogged up and the next one empty. Why, the railroad trains would be piling up on the tracks if you didn't have a BRAIN to direct them," he said with a final burst of eloquence.

"Yeah," Slim said, "Scissorbill's got something there." The bosses' man looked surprised. "You've got to have organization all right. You've got to have brains to direct things."

"There's a high price on brains too," Pop broke in. "About 38 million a year for the owners during the war... They only made 18 million before the war."

"Well, they're usin' their brains twice as much now on account of the war," said Shorty.

"Must be. Can't be the cost of living, because that's only gone up 15 percent."

"You got to remember the cost of living for brains may go up faster than for stomachs."

A FANCY PRICE FOR BRAINS

"I don't know why you fellows should kick about payin' for a little brainwork," Slim said. "Although I admit that 38 million bucks ought to buy you some pretty fancy brains. It does seem like a pretty high price to just for them tellin' you how many plates and I-beams to roll, too. But I can't see where they are tellin' you that, anyway. They've got the government orders now and the pushers are all pushing like hell. As soon as an order is finished they put a bunch of guys back in the labor gang, or lay some off. Then the government or some admiral reorders, and the bosses yell at the War Manpower Commission because they can't get enough workers. That's 38 million dollar brainwork for you."

"You've been doin' okay, anyhow, Slim. You haven't missed a day out of six for a year and a half. So what if we do all kick in a little bit to give them that 38 million. We're livin', aren't we?"

"Sure, for today, we're living. But what about tomorrow? And the next year? I have to live 'til I'm sixty or seventy years old—if the flue dust and coke gas don't get me first. How do I get through all those years yet? Live on the interest?"

"We're living today because we're rolling the steel," he went on. "Can all their brains tell you how long it'll keep rolling? Do their brains know how to sell steel when the war's over and Liberty ships are being sold at a dime a dozen for scrap metal? It might not be so bad if they knew what they were doing—these brains, if they could keep the mills percolating as well as the furnaces, make the stuff and roll it out all the time, you wouldn't kick at the 38 million bucks."

"Not much, anyway," said Shorty.

"But the trouble is, they don't do it."

"I don't see anything so brainy about that," mused Shorty. "If they want to keep making that 38 million a year, why don't they have enough brains to keep things rolling?"

"Because they can't," said Slim. "They can't do it and make a profit."

"Now that's pretty good," Pop said. "We pay them 38 million dollars worth of profits one year. And we're out on our ear the next. Brains is brains. But they don't look good to me."

"Oh, brains aren't so bad," Slim explained. "It even helps to have a few extra brains around. It depends a good deal on how they're used—and who they're used FOR."

PRODUCE FOR USE — AND NOT FOR PROFIT

But Shorty was warmed up to the subject now, and he said, "Nope. It wouldn't do a bit of good. The best brain work in the world don't stack up next to that 38 million bucks. No bloodsucker is gonna listen to your brains if it interferes with his profits."

"That's right, Shorty. So what's the answer?"

"What do you mean," said Shorty, "Have Socialism, or something?"

"That's the general idea," Slim replied. "If that 38 million dollars is the big obstacle between us and steady work with decent pay, I say let's eliminate it."

"Well, if you split up the 38 million among the boys, it would still be profits, wouldn't it? You'd still have a depression from over-production and all that, wouldn't you?"

"Not at all," said Slim. "The whole idea is we wouldn't be producing for profit—for sale on the market. That's the main thing. The 38 million is just an item."

The fellows whistled. "Sure, we could manage the whole industry ourselves—or pay a few brainy bookkeepers a couple of bucks to do it for us. We'd co-operate with other industries doing the same thing. We'd give them our steel. They'd give us their products. Automobiles, wash-machines, foods and all—that's all the stuff we can't get now because they're not making any, and probably won't get after the war either because the boss will lay us off on account of that 38 million dollars not coming in on tick."

"As a matter of fact," he went on, "we wouldn't need any super-brains either. We could use the same office force, the same accountants and bookkeepers they have now and double their wages. They get less than we do on the average, anyhow. We could put them to work calculating the amount of our products we can reasonably get out in a year—what we need from the other industries and all. That should be fairly simple.

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Tasks of the Negro Workers in the UAW

(ED. NOTE: This week's column was contributed by an auto worker, Jerry Kirk. Comrade Jackson's column will be resumed next week.)

In the last few months over a hundred thousand auto workers have been released in Detroit. Some of these workers have been absorbed by industry, but there are still thousands who can't find employment. Victor Reuther, an official of the UAW-CIO, released a statement to the press that 60,000 women cannot find jobs. Another significant feature of the cutbacks is the fact that thousands of unionists, when laid off, usually can't find work at the rate of pay before their layoff. In effect, a huge wage-cutting plan is being inflicted on the workers by the corporations.

With these facts known, the position of Negro men and women stands out in bold relief. They are the first fired and the last hired. With little or no seniority they are the first corps of workers to feel the brunt of the schemes of the auto magnates.

The problem of discrimination has always existed in the auto plants. But now under pressure of the layoffs the colored workers are responding to their rights as union members. Their equal status is provided for under the constitution of the UAW, which states, "To unite in one organization, regardless of religion, race, creed, color, political affiliation or nationality." During the height of production, when it was usually possible to find work, only too often did Negro workers, rather than stand up and fight through their problems in the plant, quit to find more suitable employment elsewhere. With the prospect of unemployment these workers are extremely conscious that now they must fight discriminatory practices in the shops to the finish.

Negroes have on their side the decisions of every policy-making body and of all the UAW Conventions and an industrial union built on the solid foundations of no discrimination. The structure and the program are invaluable assets to Negroes fighting for their rights in a Jim Crow country. This factor can never be underestimated.

OFFICIALS STALL

On October 5, 1944, the Executive Board of the UAW-CIO set up a Fair Practices Committee to safeguard the rights and interests of Negroes in the auto industry. The Executive Board of the Union also adopted procedure for handling grievances of discrimination. For some reason the higher you take your problem the more involved you become before you can possibly reach a settlement. Surely the international bureaucrats know and understand what is occurring in the shops today. They know that the Negro workers are being thwarted in their attempts to uphold the constitution of the UAW. They know that many stewards and committeemen violate the constitution of the Union. They know that if an appeal is made it is surely a sign that the problem can't be solved locally. Despite this the top bureaucrats are making it difficult to fight discrimination.

The top officials can no more solve this problem than they can solve any of the problems of the

Carlo Tresca, Labor Martyr, Is Honored Internationally On Anniversary Of Death

NEW YORK, Jan. 11—Over 1,200 friends of Carlo Tresca gathered tonight at Webster Hall to honor the memory of the great working-class leader and anti-fascist fighter, who was slain two years ago during a dimout in New York City. Vigorously protesting police inactivity in the case, the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that Tresca's assassins be brought to justice.

"Since 1943 the physical dimout in New York has been lifted," said Bertram Wolfe, chairman of the meeting, "but the moral and political dimout surrounding the mystery of his death remains."

In the two years which have elapsed since Tresca was shot down, the New York police have repeatedly demonstrated a desire to suppress the investigation. For months the case lagged in the hands of an assistant attorney known to be in sympathy with Italian Fascism. Forced by public indignation to take action, District Attorney Hogan finally turned the case over to a second investigator whose court assignments have thus far managed to keep him "too busy" to work on the Tresca case. Two months ago, a \$5,000 reward was posted by a group of Tresca's friends for information leading to the arrest and conviction of his murderers. No police circular broadcasting the reward offer has yet been issued.

Every speaker of the evening branded the murder of Carlo Tresca as a political assassination engineered either by Fascists or by Stalinist GPU agents.

TRESCA'S CONTRIBUTIONS

The great contributions made to the working class by Carlo Tresca were described by Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union. "First, he helped lead the great struggles of the underprivileged, overworked employees of some of the most powerful corporations, who found in the Industrial Workers of the World their champion and in Tresca one of its most brilliant leaders. The great strikes on the Mesabi iron range in Minnesota, and in the textile mills of Lawrence, Mass., and Paterson, N. J., to mention only a few, were marked by his imaginative, buoyant and colorful leadership. And they have learned it from the many excellent publications of the UAW exposing Jim Crowism for what it is—boss-inspired propaganda to divide the working class and weaken it."

STRUGGLE IN THE SHOP

This struggle of the Negro and progressive white workers goes on every day in the shop. It must be extended, it must be broadened, for this is the real way of educating those white workers whose minds are still warped by race-supremacy ideas.

The foremost point that Negro workers must keep in mind is that the solution of this huge problem of discrimination in industry can't be undertaken outside of the ranks of the union. There is no resigning from this struggle or running away from it.

That colored workers are aware of this fundamental point is evidenced by the fight against Jim Crow that is taking place in such large Detroit locals as Packard, American Blower, and Hudson.

Further layoffs are inevitable. It took a world war to provide full employment enabling millions of Negroes to find jobs for the first time. The struggle for economic, social, and political equality is the struggle for an economy that can provide jobs for every worker willing and able to work. Even before this war is concluded, capitalism, the supporter and manufacturer of poison prejudice, proves itself incapable of providing jobs for all. The struggle of the Negro worker is the struggle against capitalism and for socialism which will provide all workers with jobs and destroy every bit of barbaric discrimination.

We salute the memory of a loyal friend and are inspired by the struggles of this proletarian fighter and labor martyr.

American and foreign-born workers in the pioneering days of industrial unionism, rights, gains, self-confidence and a dignity they had never known.

"Second, after the decline of the IWW following World War I, Tresca kept alive among Italian-American workers the spirit of militant trade-unionism. He aided the rank and file in one union after another to maintain their democratic rights against their own officialdom. He was one of the pioneers in trade union democracy . . .

"Third, with the conquest of the Italian people by Fascism, he became at once one of the few really militant anti-Fascist fighters in the United States, through his paper *Il Martello* (The Hammer), his encouragement of active anti-Fascists, and his relentless attacks on Italian-American Blackshirts. He never compromised; he never yielded."

The meeting in Webster Hall was preceded by ceremonies at the scene of the murder of Carlo Tresca, where red carnations were strewn over the spot on which he fell after three shots had been fired into his back and head. At the meeting greetings were read from many American cities, from Mexico and Havana. In Sulmona, Italy, his birthplace, a main street is being renamed in his honor. A bronze head of Tresca which was unveiled at the New York meeting, will be sent as a gift to the people of Sulmona by Mrs. Margaret De Silver, his widow.

"Whenever and wherever human beings face the great problem of all time, which prevails above all others—the aspiration of the underprivileged to liberty and equality, Carlo's name will be recalled," said Angelica Balaboff in the closing address. "He always stood with the poor and the underprivileged; he always fought with and for them."

Socialist Workers Party Message To Carlo Tresca Memorial Meeting

On this second anniversary of the death of the great fighter for labor, Carlo Tresca, we wish to express along with our sorrow at his loss to the labor movement and our determination to oppose unyieldingly those forces of reaction against which he strove all his life.

We do not know whose was the hand that struck him down. We do know who were his enemies and those who were grateful for the act of the assassin. They were the capitalist class, the Fascists, the Stalinists.

We hold Carlo Tresca's memory particularly dear because he never placed partisan politics above the duty to his class. In the struggle by our own party against the wartime repressions of the Roosevelt Government, which railroaded 18 of our comrades to prison, Carlo Tresca was among the very first who came forward to fight for their civil rights and to lend his assistance generously to the defense of the imprisoned Trotskyists. In this, one of the last acts of his life, he was true to the class loyalty that marked his every deed and word throughout his lifetime.

We salute the memory of a loyal friend and are inspired by the struggles of this proletarian fighter and labor martyr.

Socialist Workers Party
New York Local

Pioneer Paragraphs

1934 MINNEAPOLIS STRIKES SHOWED WAY TO ALL LABOR

Minneapolis was the highest point of the second strike wave under the NRA. The second wave surged higher than the first, as the third wave was destined to transcend the second and reach the peak of the CIO sit-down strikes. The giant of the American proletariat was beginning to feel its power in those years, was beginning to show what tremendous potentialities, what resources of strength, ingenuity and courage reside in the American working class.

In July of that year, 1934, I wrote an article about these strikes and the strike waves for the first issue of our magazine, the *New International*. I said:

"The second strike wave under the NRA rises higher than the first and marks a big forward stride of the American working class. The enormous potentialities of future developments are clearly written in this advance."

"In these great struggles the American workers in all parts of the country are displaying the unrestrained militancy of a class that is just beginning to awaken. This is a new generation of a class that has not been defeated. On the contrary, it is only now beginning to find itself and to feel its strength, and in these first

Unveiling Bust of Carlo Tresca



This bronze head of Carlo Tresca, which was donated to his birthplace, Sulmona, Italy, was unveiled during the memorial meeting held in New York on January 11. Standing beside the sculpture are Mrs. Attilio Canzani, daughter of Carlo Tresca, and his widow, Mrs. Margaret DeSilver Tresca.

Forced Labor Laws Pushed In Drive Against Union

(Continued from page 1) could use." In opposing a conscripted "works corps," Undersecretary of the Navy, Bard admitted "such a group would be a landing place for strikers." Members of the committee supporting the stand of the brass hats have drafted amendments providing for "civil prosecution, with penalties ranging to \$10,000 in fines and up to five years' imprisonment."

Colonel Keesling, legislative representative of Selective Service and author of the May bill now before the House Military Affairs Committee, is spokesman for those who favor the establishment of "labor battalions." A year ago he sponsored a bill advocating that 4-Fs and men over 38 "who left their jobs" be "inducted and assigned to such tasks as kitchen police, hospital work and fatigue duty." This type of duty is customarily assigned to prisoners.

Now Keesling proposes that those inducted under his "law" and assigned to "workers battalions" should "receive uniforms sufficiently distinctive to remove confusion as to who was serving regularly and who was being punished." Such uniforms would probably be adorned with a distinctive "P" painted on the back to denote "prisoner." One Congressman referred to the Keesling proposal as "Keeslings Koncentration Korps."

The forced labor advocates are vying with each other in proposing the most savage penalties against the workers who violate their compulsory labor laws. They differ only as to the kind and degree of punishment to be inflicted. They are having a field day in thinking up more brutal forms of exploitation.

Representative Lacarde, Louisiana, introduced a bill "to establish an Army Agricultural Corps," which would "place thousands of farm and dairy workers in uniform." "In my district," said Lacarde, "had it not been for prisoner-of-war labor, we would never have been able to save the rice, sugarcane, and other food crops; and this year this problem will be more acute than ever."

Therefore, Lacarde wants American workers drafted into a "corps" to supplement "prisoner-of-war" labor for the greater profit of Louisiana's absentee landlords.

ANTI-LABOR MEASURES

Representative Russell of Texas introduced a measure to solve the "manpower shortage" by extending the standard work week from 40 to 48 hours, thus eliminating the payment of overtime after 40 hours. Representative J. Parnell Thomas wanted to be sure that a national service law contained a provision "for making strikers go back to work."

Representative Colmer, Mississippi, submitted a bill to set up a labor corps. "The Colmer corps," comments PM, "as a component of the Army, could be marched into war plants, furnishing labor service for private con-

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

Somehow the wreath made old Ben's house look particularly run down. The flowers were white and still quite fresh and clean, but the wall to which they were fastened was shabby and old. The clapboards were warped from many hot summers and bitter winters; the paint had long been peeling off; and for years the nearby blast furnaces had been systematically coloring the house a drab brown-red. It looked especially drab and shabby next to the flowers.

The door had no latch, but the warped frame held it in place. I pushed through and made my way up the dark stairs, which creaked dimly at each step. As my hands brushed by the walls, I could feel tattered shreds of wallpaper and the naked plaster. I wondered how they would ever get the coffin down those dark, narrow steps.

A home had meant a certain measure of security for poor old Ben, and he had worked and skimped most of his life to own one. But this was the result of all his labor and painful thrift—a shoddy, tumble-down, two-story firetrap of a shack in a neighborhood which the bosses had reserved for Negroes.

I knocked. Ben's old wife let me in, surprised, after her decades of Jim Crow training, that a white man should want to pay his last respects to her husband. I saw what was in her mind, but at such a time I couldn't very well explain to her that a class-conscious worker color meant nothing, and that old Ben and I had mutually respected each other as men, workingmen and union men.

The master of the house was in the parlor. Dignified and expressionless, he lay in a too-expensive coffin surrounded by flowers, his black hands neatly crossed on his stomach. Ben didn't look like Ben. For years I had seen him walking out of the locker room in his furnace rags, carrying an old whisky bottle filled with coffee; or I had seen him at union meetings and on the picket line in a baggy, threadbare overcoat and a cap with ear-flaps.

But here lay old Ben in a neat black suit and a neat white shirt and a dark blue necktie with a knot that was just right. There was neither a scowl nor a grin on his dark face. Only the burn scar on his right cheek (from one day when he had tried to plug up a burnt "monkey") and the numerous little scars on his calloused old hands showed that here lay an old furnace man who would never again have to sweat and shiver and strain his reluctant old muscles up there on the floor.

More white workers came in with the colored. I looked: one of them was Gus Miller, who came over and spoke in a low voice, the way people always talk at funerals. "The poor old guy," he said. "He won't work any more doubles."

"No," I said. "He can rest for a change."

"Just like old Pete," Gus murmured, looking at the body. "He kept working and wore himself out, and they found him dead in bed in the morning just like they found old Pete." He was silent a moment and then added thoughtfully, "Just like they'll find us some morning, too."

Jimmy and Reuben came in and joined us. "I guess maybe he's better off now," Reuben said.

"He'll never catch hell inside that big gate again," said Tom, old Ben's nephew. "We'll catch it, but he won't have to."

Reuben said, "That coffin cost too much money. There won't be any insurance left."

Tom was serious. "I know. I told Aunt Liza it was too much, but she's all broke up. I don't know what she'll do. Johnny got killed in that explosion, and all the rest of us in the family got wives and kids. We can't afford to take care of her. Nobody makes no money nowadays."

That's the way it is. Ben worked all his life except when depressed and Jim Crow kept him out of a job. But his whole life of toil and danger, of hot, flowing sweat and rheumatic pains, of weariness and lurking insecurity and worry and desperation have earned him this—a new black suit and white shirt and neatly-tied dark blue necktie, a coffin, impressive with its shining handles, but too expensive for the little insurance he left his wife, and a clean, fresh white wreath on a drab doorway, on the wall of a run-down house in a Jim Crow neighborhood.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JANUARY 19, 1935

FRANCE—Leon Trotsky linked the GPU with the assassination of the Stalinist bureaucrat Kirov, basing his analysis upon extracts of the indictment printed in *L'Humanité*, Stalinist paper of Paris.

Among many other statements, the indictment charged that the murderer, Nikolai Kirov, was in contact with a consul of a foreign power who allegedly said he could "establish contact with Trotsky" if the murderer would "give him a letter to Trotsky." This was the first clear sign of the frame-up pattern in the Moscow Trials were later to follow.

Trotsky pointed out that only one explanation was logical: that the GPU itself through the medium of an actual or fake consul, was financing Nikolai Kirov and attempting to link him up with Trotsky. This version finds its indirect but very actual confirmation in the fact that all the responsible representatives of the GPU in Leningrad were kicked out immediately after the assassination, and the investigation subsequently kept marking time for protracted period.

SACRAMENTO—As the Criminal Syndicalism trial of 18 Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union leaders was resumed on January 16, presiding Judge Lemmon showed his intention of abetting the frame-up. Over the objections of defense attorneys, Judge Lemmon admitted as prosecutor former District Attorney McAlister, who had been defeated in the elections. McAlister, responsible for the arrests of the militants, had campaigned unsuccessfully on a red-baiting platform.

SAAR BASIN—By a vote of ten to one—476,089 to 46,613, the Saar Basin voted in a nation-wide plebiscite to return to the control of Germany. "How is that to be explained?" asked The Militant. "Claims that these workers voted for the Nazi regime are preposterous and ludicrous. It is far more correct to assume that this vote represents a desire to return to what these workers still consider as their fatherland." The Militant pointed to the bankruptcy of the policies of the Stalinist and Socialist Parties in both Germany and France, as the "crime for which the workers of the Saar now have to pay the heavy price."

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HEAR

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noted labor lawyer

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

The Living Lenin

The twenty-first anniversary of Lenin's death occurs at a critical stage of the Second World War. The militant defense of the Greek, Belgian and Italian workers against Allied attempts to disarm them constitutes one important phase of the socialist revolution rising from the shambles of the imperialist conflict. Lenin was the herald of this revolution in the First World War. He was the great organizer of the only type of political party capable of winning victory for the workers in the socialist struggle against capitalist reaction.

At the close of the First World War the workers throughout Europe turned against their oppressors, the capitalists responsible for the terrible slaughter. Lenin led them to success in Czarist Russia. Now in the Second World War their sons and daughters are taking the road blazed by the older generation. In Greece, in Belgium, in Italy, in England and in Germany too, the workers are seeking to put a definitive end to an economic and political system that has given them chronic depression and two world wars in a quarter of a century.

They are striving for a new society, a society that can organize humanity's productive forces in such a way as to eliminate war and depression. They want to free the modern industrial machine for unlimited production of goods to benefit all the toilers of the earth. They know from practical experience that once the capitalist fetters on production are broken, the possibilities of progress and well-being are prodigious—far beyond anything the world has yet seen.

Lenin's teachings are thus just as vital today as they were during the First World War. He demonstrated to the workers they could achieve their goal of the new socialist society only by uniting in a disciplined, combat party. He rejected any compromise on the principle of ending capitalism and establishing socialism. The Bolshevik party he organized in Russia, was the first political party of the workers to succeed in crushing capitalist resistance and seizing power.

Since Lenin's death, capitalism has descended

deeper in the abyss. It has no future except savage reaction—a spiraling descent through a series of world wars far bloodier than the present one.

An untimely death deprived the working class of Lenin's leadership in 1924. Political power in the first workers' state was then usurped by one of the most sinister traitors in history. This traitor is Stalin, the Cain of the socialist revolution who murdered the leaders of Lenin's party. Stalin cast aside Lenin's principles and today is a counter-revolutionary agent for the imperialist bandits.

Lenin stands as a titanic historic figure. His program for the working class was shaped for our whole epoch of wars and revolution. But Lenin's program today is put forward only by the Trotskyists, organized in this country in the Socialist Workers Party. The Trotskyists have remained true to Lenin's principles. Whoever believes in Leninism is duty bound to join the Socialist Workers Party.

Lenin's program expresses the living reality of our times. Unless the workers march forward to socialism, then humanity will have to wade through the blood of a Third World War. Lenin has shown us the only alternative. Let us heed his teachings!

Class War

The current drive for a national service law to conscript labor for work in private industry aims to utilize the repressive machinery of government to chain workers to their jobs at frozen wages. Savage penalties for "violators" are designed to break any resistance to the imposition of slave labor. Under a forced labor law, the unions would be paralyzed; strikers would be jailed or herded into concentration camps, workers would be placed at the mercy of their exploiters.

Since the beginning of the war, the labor movement has been under constant attack. Anti-labor legislation has wiped away many of the social gains of the past decades. Anti-labor executive decrees have supplemented this legislative assault.

The resolution adopted by the recent convention of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists) on "The U. S. and the Second World War," pointed out that: "Prior to America's entry into the war, this reactionary trend was analyzed and forecast in the Manifesto of the Fourth International on The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution, published in June, 1940, which stated:

"Seeking to gain the advantages of a totalitarian regime, the imperialist democracies launch their own defense with a redoubled drive against the working class and the persecution of revolutionary organizations. The war danger and now the war itself is utilized by them first and foremost to crush internal enemies. The bourgeoisie invariably and unswervingly follows the rule: 'The main enemy is in one's own country.'

The workers do the fighting, dying and paying for the war, while the capitalists coin fabulous profits out of the agony of humanity. It is this system which the capitalist rulers are determined to preserve by crushing the organization's and institutions of the working class. This is their first aim in war and in peace.

Exile For Millions

The Allied deal to carve up Poland, assigning the eastern stretches to the Soviet Union, has aroused Imre Ferenczi, former population expert of the International Labor Office. Ferenczi is concerned about Churchill's proposal to transfer eight million Germans from their homes in order to compensate Poland with territory to the west at the expense of Germany.

In the New York *Times* of January 11, Ferenczi declares that "the mass repatriation would increase Germany's military potential and pressure for a new war." Should Germany survive "as the most populous European state except Soviet Russia neither demilitarization nor partition would suffice to change the bellicose spirit of a people still homogeneous and living in geographically contiguous areas." Moreover, the declining standard of living would be "resented." If overseas emigration is barred the Germans, Ferenczi asserts, "revolutionary explosions would continue in the Reich."

Ferenczi thus worries because transfer of the Germans from the territories handed Poland might further socialist revolution in Europe; and, in the event this revolution is crushed, provide the manpower for re-appearance of a strong Germany in the Third World War.

The Allies, consequently, seem to face an insoluble dilemma. If they take no reprisals against the Germans, they forego the type of peace imperialism wants. Reprisals, on the other hand, would incite revolution or prepare a fresh outbreak of war.

Ferenczi, however, has a novel solution. He proposes reducing the population of Germany to that of her neighbors. He does not advocate executing tens of millions of people. Probably he understands that would be impossible.

His solution, therefore, is to drive them out of Germany in what would be the greatest forced migration in history. But where ship them? Ferenczi spins the globe on his desk and pencils the barren areas that are still largely unpopulated because of their uninhabitable climate. These turn out to be northern Canada, parts of Alaska and Siberia.

What is this instance of capitalist "planning" in 1945 but a throwback to the system of the Czars? The Czars sought to solve their social and political problems by the simple expedient of exiling disturbing elements to the wastelands of Siberia. The Czarist expedient, nevertheless, could not halt the inevitable evolution of society toward socialism. The exiles turned out to be the leaders of the October 1917 revolution. Today exile of millions of people by the Allies would prove even more futile in halting revolution than was Czarist mass exile.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed — Editor

Mass Lay-Offs and The Labor Draft

Editor:

"I now call upon Congress to enact this measure for the total mobilization of all our human resources for the prosecution of the war." This treacherous recommendation to the incoming Congress is another blow to the very force that assured Roosevelt his re-election.

It is no secret that American labor has during a period of three years out-produced the combined production of the rest of the world. It is no secret that labor has sacrificed to the bone in tolerating the wage-freeze, exorbitant cost of living and high taxation. It is no secret either that American capital has never experienced lusher or higher profits, and in order to insure these profits now and after the war, has entered into international cartel agreements with Germany and Japan. But what Roosevelt intends to keep secret are the layoffs occurring in "vital production areas" every day. This in the face of "manpower shortages" which ostensibly provoked Roosevelt's appeal for manpower conscription.

On January 7, Cleveland Diesel Engine, a division of General Motors, laid off a substantial portion of its night shift. Workers with two and one-half years' seniority were hit. This plant, incidentally, still retains its priorities, and it continues to operate on a seven-day schedule.

In September 1944 Cleveland Thompson Products, "The largest producer of aircraft products in the world," laid off 1500 men because of over-production.

Meanwhile the bomber division of Fisher Body was busily preparing for 60 million post-war jobs by laying off approximately 1500 workers.

Have any of us forgotten the

mass lay-offs at Brewster Aeronautical, Long Island City, in May of 1944, where 21,000 workers were thrown into the streets to shift for themselves?

Or have we forgotten the shutdown of the big ammunition and arms arsenals (Remington Arms, for example) in Connecticut?

Roosevelt deceives least of all the workers who are faced with mass lay-offs even during the war, when he recommends "a national service act as the most efficient and democratic way of insuring full production . . ."

There can exist no better proof than this latest act of the President's that there are no "friends of labor" in Washington today.

A Diesel Worker

Cleveland

The Monopolists

Editor:

In the Basic Training Class of the Socialist Workers Party in New York a student asked whether our government would really fight monopolistic practices and invoke the Anti-Trust laws.

There are so many representatives of monopoly capitalism in the cabinet of the government how can it possibly be that anything will be done or can be done against monopolists?

One of the students was certain that monopolists are fought even now. Is it true? Could you say something about it? I depend a lot on The Militant. Thank you.

M. Freed

New York City

ED. NOTE: "Trust-busting" has been a common demagogic pledge of capitalist politicians in this country since the turn of the century. Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt all took the pledge. Today

in 1945, the trusts are more gigantic and powerful than ever.

Under pressure of labor, the

farmers and small business men, federal laws to curb the monopolies have been enacted from time to time. But these laws have proved completely ineffective. For one thing, they are full of innumerable loopholes. But more important, the capitalist government and politicians have no intentions of enforcing them.

The government will, in fact, abrogate these laws by decree if necessary, to protect the interests of the monopolies. During this war, in order to get the corporations to cooperate at all in war production, Roosevelt ordered the discontinuance of anti-trust prosecutions "for the duration" for most of the big trusts.

The imperialist war itself has served to reinforce the big trusts. The government is giving them billions in new plants and equipment. Because a handful of giant corporations have a monopoly on the prime war contracts, they have been able to get priorities on materials, rail transport, etc. Their assets and profits have pyramidized, while smaller competitive firms have been wiped out.

This is an inevitable process under capitalism in war and in peace. The development of mass production requiring huge aggregates of capital, the remorseless need of the capitalists to make profits on expanded capital in the face of narrowing markets and the ever more ruthless competition among themselves, drives them to monopoly practices.

The capitalist state and its government exist to protect the capitalist system. The capitalist system has inevitably bred monopoly. Monopoly in turn has bred imperialist war and fascism. To destroy these evils at their root the capitalist profit system must be eliminated. That can be the job of only a Workers and Farmers government which will build socialism.

Employers, as in the auto industry, who hope to weaken union seniority and security provisions by giving "preferential treatment" to veterans are warned that "it is by no means certain that industry will reap any enduring advantage from helping to divide the returning soldier and present labor leaders."

The present servile bureaucrats are more desirable union leaders from the corporation standpoint, Business Week indicates, than the worker veterans. "An undermining of established leadership . . . is a revolutionary act, the consequences of which are always unpredictable." In short, returning soldiers may become the backbone of a new fighting union leadership.

Monopolies Protected By Roosevelt Regime

The "free enterprise" chorus is swelling anew. In his message to Congress Roosevelt sings out for the "good old days" of unrestrained capitalist competition. Even the National Association of Manufacturers "deplores" monopolies and cartels!

But the trusts never thrive and prosper so well as when the capitalist politicians and agents are going in for a little verbal "trust-busting." Roosevelt's war program has elevated American monopoly to an all-time high of wealth and power.

Even a capitalist columnist like Scripps-Howard's Thomas L. Stokes admits that the administration's "anti-trust" propaganda is "a lot of lip service" and "there is beginning to creep in a tendency to rationalize, to compromise . . . cropping up in propaganda stressing the difficulties of doing away with cartels."

Just last week Roosevelt signed the O'Mahoney-Hatch Insurance Bill giving to the billionaire insurance corporations a "moratorium" from certain requirements of the anti-trust laws. And the same day, the Interstate Commerce Commission, in its annual report to Congress, questioned the value of the Sherman Anti-Trust law "in preventing the reprehensible practices" of the railway trust.

The Prospects For Jobs Under "Free Enterprise"

Few in their right senses really believe Roosevelt's airy promises of "60,000,000 postwar jobs." That figure, as one Washington commentator recently admitted, "was picked as a good round number which had a certain amount of political compass."

Nevertheless, Roosevelt's junk-peddlers of the labor bureaucracy are ready to sell the workers any of his ragbag promises. Both the AFL and CIO tops have just elaborated blue-prints endeavoring to show how "free enterprise" can materialize those 60,000,000 jobs.

AFL "economists," for instance, have recently tried to pump a bit of optimism into the skeptical capitalists themselves. They have projected the perspective of a "private enterprise" program which will employ no less than 52,000,000.

The remaining 8,000,000 are supposed to survive through government handouts. The government apparatus, federal, state and local, is to absorb 5,000,000 into political jobs. Then, 2,500,000 youth are to be siphoned off into the armed forces, under a permanent program of militarization. The odd million left over—"there will always be temporarily unemployed"—will be sustained by government "relief" handouts.

The National Association of Manufacturers, on the other hand, has no such faith in its own "free enterprise" system. Two recent issues of the NAM News express the conclusion that private industry will be able to provide somewhat less than the 52,000,000 jobs glowingly envisaged by the AFL sooth-sayers. 30,000,000 jobs less, as a matter of fact.

NAM News predicts that "free enterprise" alone can be expected to absorb only 22,000,000. The other 27,000,000 jobs must be provided by the government. Among these 27,000,000 "jobs" will be 5,000,000 in army uniforms. Still another 5,000,000 will toil on a gigantic public roads program, like Pharaoh's slaves of old. And if we read the spirit of the NAM aright, the new "Children of Egypt" would receive wages that, as the saying goes, "are not enough to live on, and just too much to die on."

Its own house organs, the NAM is frank because its job, first of all, is to give the straight facts to the capitalists themselves. The capitalists depend primarily on the labor fakers to make the unsavory system of "free enterprise" monopoly capitalism appear palatable to the masses.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

England

In the last presidential election the American trade unions, despite a membership of more than 13 million, did not succeed in putting forward a single independent trade union candidate for Congressional office, still less elect one.

The British workers in this respect are far ahead of the American workers. The newly organized National Union of Mineworkers, for instance, has more than 40 representatives in Parliament and controls an additional 100 Labor seats and constituencies.

Whenever the British miners are faced with an attack from some government bureau or official, they at least have their own men who can get up on the floor of the national legislature to renew the war only arouses the anger of the Italian people. What they want is peace, bread and a new social system that will end the entire capitalist order of chronic depression and chronic imperialist war.

The Italian workers have suffered greatly. But they have not thereby become pacifists. They are cast in a heroic mold. That is why they seized arms wherever they could get them to fight against the German armies of occupation. When the Allied command recently ordered the partisans in the north to lay down their arms, they protested bitterly.

The struggle of the partisans in the north and the Sicilians in the south proves that Italian workers are willing and eager to fight for aims that will advance the genuine interests of the Italian nation. Their hostility to the Bonomi draft proves that they are not willing to become docile cannon fodder in furtherance of the imperialist aims of the Allies.

Italy

In Italy the executive committee of the Committee of National Liberation, dominated by the Stalinists, is calling for a strong Italian army. This demand is part and parcel of the Stalinist line of "national unity" for the prosecution of the imperialist war. One Liberal paper has even proposed that the new Italian Army should plan to send an expeditionary force to join the Allies in the war against Japan in the Orient!

The feeling of the masses toward this demand is graphically illustrated in Sicily. There the attempt to draft troops has resulted in riots in which a number of persons have been killed. In Ragusa province a spokesman of the Bonomi cabinet declared a "serious situation" exists.

The official explanation for these anti-draft riots follows the traditional line. It was "stirred up by seditious elements," claims the Bonomi spokesman. These "rebels" were well armed and they told the people Italy was being "sacrificed for the