

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 fanned 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 of the Rank and File; Dodge Local 140 President Arthur Hughes, National Secretary of the Committee; Briggs Local 212 President Ferrazza; and John Zupan, Secretary of the County Committee. Symptomatic of Detroit developments in the referendum struggle is the formation of a militant group inside the chief Stalinist stronghold, Tool and Die Local 155, which for years has been dominated by the notorious Stalinist whip, Nat Ganley. The Local 155 militants are presenting the Rank and File program to the 155 membership.

The Rank and File Committee has developed a program reaching the workers directly in the shops and plants. Its membership meets the workers daily and directly in the shops. Nor is the rank and file caucus neglecting all the other propaganda mediums for reaching the workers. Yost and Ferrazza last week engaged in a half-hour radio debate with two leading pledge advocates. The caucus publicized the debate widely through leaflets and stickers in the plants and at the plant

Allies Protect Italian Fascists

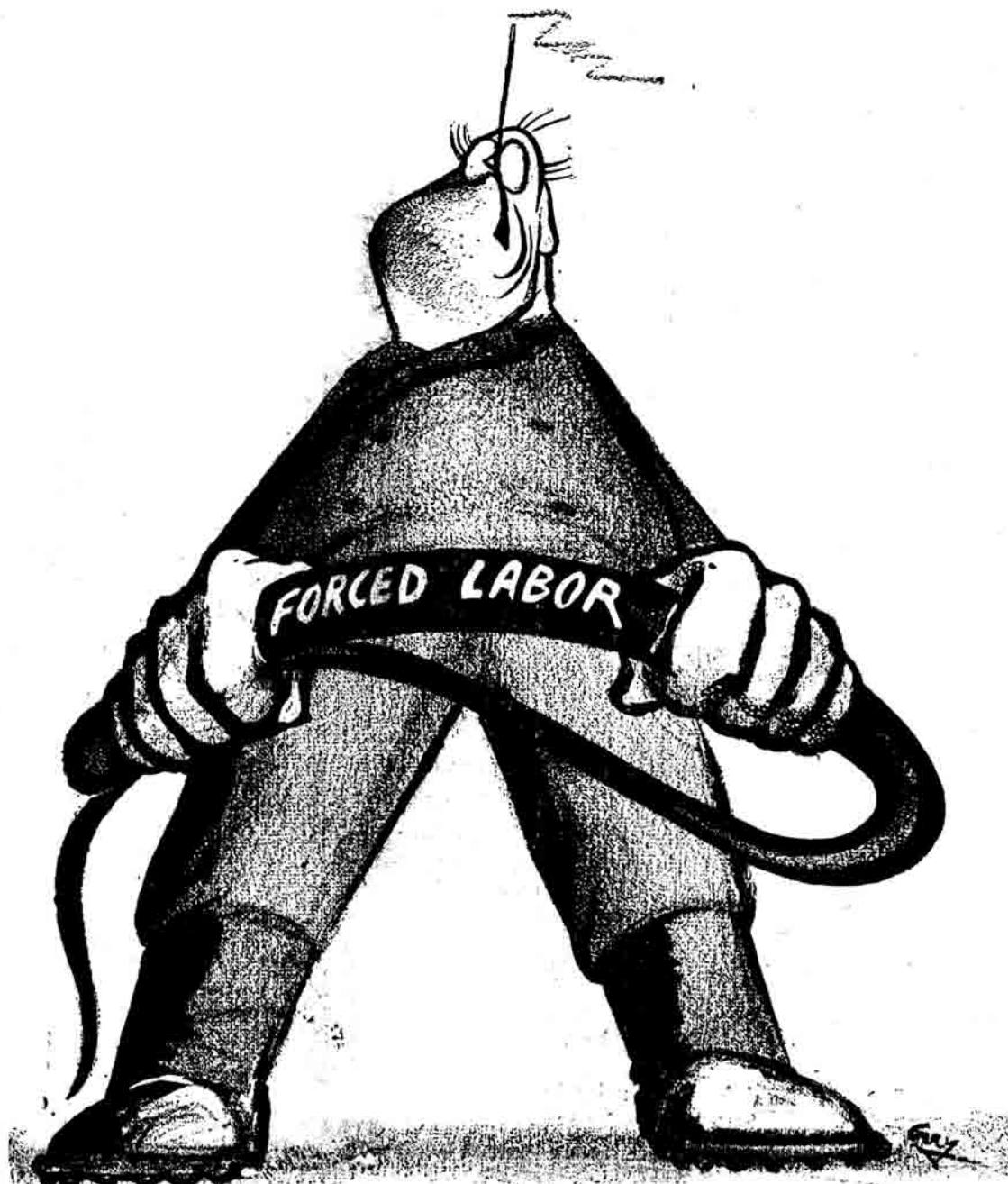
George Baldanzi, Executive Vice President of the CIO Textile Workers Union who recently returned from a visit to Italy, reveals who the present protectors of the Italian fascists are. In an article published in the January issue of Textile Labor, he states: "There should be no interference with the purge 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 plants.

These blows will continue and 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.

"The Greatest Liberal of Them All"



Released Trotskyist Leaders To Address New York Meeting

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Albert Goldman, Minneapolis Labor Case defense attorney, Farrell Dobbs, Editor of *The Militant*, and Felix Morrow, Editor of *Fourth International*, four of the 12 imprisoned Trotskyist and Minneapolis CIO Truckdrivers leaders who are being released January 24, will address a Welcome Home Mass Meeting in their honor in New York City. The meeting, sponsored by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, will be held on Friday, February 2, 8:15 P. M., at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street.

Biddle Accused Of Helping Trust Laws Violators

Former Assistant Attorney General Norman M. Littell last week submitted to the Senate War Investigating Committee a devastating 18,000-word memorandum detailing charges against his old boss Attorney General Francis Biddle for complicity in aiding anti-trust law violators to evade full prosecution.

Littell was recently "fired" for "insubordination" by President Roosevelt. Evidently the former Justice Department official proved too zealous in uncovering and prosecuting big business criminals who had secured the protection of government agents.

A Senate committee spokesman, hastily informed the press that his committee would take no action on the charges. One of the most serious charges involves the Justice Department's "settlement" of the Sterling Drug anti-trust case, where the company and its officers got off with a consent decree enjoining further violations and chicken-feed fines.

Littell's report declared that Sterling Drug had "intimate connections with I. G. Farben-Industries of Germany" and that "facts in Mr. Biddle's possession conclusively established" that the company "became an effective arm of German policy... even to the end of subsidizing Gestapo agents."

He characterized this case as "beyond all shadow of a doubt... one of the most significant in the history of the country, and its settlement... marks the lowest point in the history of the Department of Justice since the Harding administration."

The other eight imprisoned Trotskyists, who were framed under the anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act, Grace Carlson, Vincent Dunne, Max Goldman, Carlos Hudson, Emil Hansen, Carl Skoglund, Oscar Coover and Jake Cooper, will be greeted and honored in Minneapolis by a Homecoming Banquet on Sunday, January 28, 6:30 P. M., Labor Lyceum, 1800 Olson Memorial Blvd.

In Chicago, the Civil Rights Defense Committee will hold a Mass Meeting in honor of the 12 on January 25, 8 P. M., at the Ashland Auditorium, Ashland Blvd. and Van Buren St. Albert Goldman, whose conduct of the legal defense at the Minneapolis Trial made labor defense history, will be the principal speaker.

Prominent labor and civil liberties leaders who will speak at

the New York Mass Meeting include: Osmond K. Fraenkel, Counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union; James T. Farrell, noted novelist and CRD National Chairman; Benjamin S. McLaurin, International Field Organizer of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; B. A. Gebiner, Assistant General Secretary of the Workmen's Circle.

MAE POSTAL

PORTLAND, Ore., Jan. 11—Mae Postal, wife of Kelly Postal, died here today at the Oregon City Hospital. She was fifty-two years old. She had suffered for some years from stomach cancer, which was the cause of her death.

Mae Postal married the Secretary-Treasurer of Minneapolis Truckdrivers' Local 544-CIO in 1926. They lived in Minneapolis where both were well known to the workers of the Twin Cities. When in 1941 the government, the employers and Tobin moved in to crush the militant teamsters' movement in Minneapolis, Kelly Postal was one of their main targets. He was involved in three separate court trials before the authorities finally succeeded in framing him up on the charge of "embezzlement" of union funds. Postal was sent to Stillwater Penitentiary, Minnesota, for a term of 1 to 5 years. This inflicted great hardships upon his family. His sick wife was forced to break up and sell their home and go to Oregon to live with their daughter. Kelly Postal was released from prison on parole May 30, 1944, but only on condition that he go to Oregon to live.

Shortly thereafter, owing to the aggravation of her illness, Mae Postal was obliged to return to Minneapolis for treatment. Although doctors certified that she was mortally ill, the parole authorities refused for months to grant Kelly Postal permission to be at the side of his dying wife. In the very last weeks of her life Mae Postal decided to leave Minneapolis so that she could spend her last days with her husband in Oregon.

Throughout Postal's imprisonment and his persecution as a working class leader, Mae Postal was a staunch and loyal companion who never faltered in the fight against injustice.

Roosevelt And Brass Hats Incite Union-Busting Drive

Alleged Manpower Shortage Used As Pretext To Regiment Workers For Benefit of Bosses

By C. Thomas

The advocates of a forced labor law are trying to rush legislation through the House Military Affairs Committee before the widespread opposition to labor conscription can be mobilized against the measure. Top ranking spokesmen of the Roosevelt administration have appeared before the committee urging speedy enactment of a national service law. The N. Y. Times, authoritative spokesman for Wall Street, has been clamoring editorially for more speed.

Discrimination Exposes Manpower Shortage

The reactionary drive for a national service law conscripting labor for work in private industry is being conducted under cover of an alleged manpower shortage. The top estimate of the "shortage" quoted by the slave labor advocates is 300,000. The total labor force is approximately 55 million with 1 million unemployed. Proponents of a labor draft do not even pretend that a national service law will increase the total manpower available for employment.

The argument is advanced that nothing less than total regimentation of the whole working population is required to accomplish a shift of workers from non-essential to essential industry. The flagrant disproportion between means and end—total labor conscription to effect a relatively minor shift in the labor force—exposes this man-

(Continued on page 2)

The bulk of the capitalist press has been calling on Roosevelt for "leadership" in pushing the legislation through Congress. The ruling capitalist circles seek to take full advantage of the atmosphere of hysteria created following the recent military reversal in Europe in order to strike this new blow at labor. They fear that a sober analysis of the so-called "manpower" and "munitions" shortage, used as a pretext for demanding forced labor laws, will expose the labor draft ballyhoo as a fraud.

PROPOSED PENALTIES
Meanwhile, witnesses appearing before the Military Committee who favored a national service law differed over the type of penalties to be imposed. Representatives of the Army and Navy, "wanted the penalties against those who refused to obtain or remain in essential war jobs to be civil ones (fines or imprisonment) rather than inductions into special Army or Navy service units." Both the Army and Navy, their spokesmen said, "had all the special and limited service men they

(Continued on page 5)

BUDGET REPORT SHOWS STAGGERING WAR COSTS

In the cold statistical figures of his annual budget message to Congress, President Roosevelt last week revealed the monumental costs and crushing burden of debt which Wall Street's war for world domination has placed upon the American people for generations to come.

At the same time, he gave an intimation of the conditions which will confront labor in the "re-conversion period" and his plans to continue wartime restrictions against the labor movement even in the "postwar" era.

By June, the end of the fiscal year for which Roosevelt seeks additional military appropriations, the cumulative government war expenditure will total nearly half a trillion dollars, approximately \$450,000,000,000 (billions!).

In spite of a tremendous wartime increase in taxes, falling heaviest on low incomes, the federal debt by next June will mount to \$252,000,000,000. By June 1946, it is expected to reach the neighborhood of \$300,000,000,000.

That debt—owed mainly to the big bankers and industrialists—will be stripped from the flesh of the workers and poor farmers for decades to come, if the capitalists and their government succeed in their plans.

To get a faint comprehension of what this war has cost and will cost the American masses—aside from the slaughter and mutilation of their loved ones—we need only compare the \$300,000,000,000 war debt to the assessed valuation of the whole United States, estimated at \$144,000,000,000 by the U. S. Department of Commerce.

This debt is four times greater than the high peacetime total national income of approximately \$71,000,000,000 in 1939. All the farm lands and buildings in the country, valued at about \$34,000,000,000, could pay off only a tenth of this gigantic war debt! That is why, while cynically palavered in his budget message,

about "60,000,000 postwar jobs" based upon a "50 per cent" increase over the 1939 national income, Roosevelt hinted at the real course of the workers' incomes in the coming period.

"The reduction in war expenditures... will result in somewhat lower wartime incomes, even if wage ceilings are adjusted upward to avoid reduction in average hourly rates when overtime is curtailed." This means that the total earnings of the workers must fall.

Thus, while dishing out demagogic promises, Roosevelt is preparing for a different state of affairs—a period of unemployment and wage-slashing, with rising class struggles by the workers. He wants his wartime program for shackling labor, binding it to compulsory arbitration and breaking strikes, to be permanent. "We must also see to it," Roosevelt stated, "that our administrative machinery for the adjustment of labor disputes (War Labor Board) is ready for the strains of the reconversion period. We must apply some of our wartime lessons..."

While the workers face continued regimentation and heavier taxes, Roosevelt holds out a fairer prospect to the capitalists. "We must attack the employment problem on every front. For instance, we must overhaul the wartime tax structure to stimulate consumers' demand and to promote business investment." "Free enterprise" must be stimulated, business men must feel "confident of profitable markets." In short, Roosevelt is paving the way for reducing taxes on corporation profits,

Allies Impose "Truce" In War On Greek People

By Joseph Hansen

A truce between the Allied military command and heads of the ELAS (Greek National Liberation Army) went into effect January 15, bringing at least a temporary cessation of hostilities in the Greek civil war which was provoked by the British on December 3. The terms made public conceded the Allied demand that ELAS withdraw from the Athens area but did not specify that ELAS fighters lay down their arms. Exchange of war prisoners was also agreed upon. The ELAS began releasing hostages.

The truce is a victory for Allied counter-revolution. This is demonstrated clearly by the character of the demonstration which occurred in Athens upon the withdrawal of the ELAS. Royalists collected in the streets January 14, shouting slogans against communism and in praise of General Scobie and King George as well as Churchill and Roosevelt. Just a few days earlier, on January 11, the Greek Military Government of Athens banned all public meetings, prohibited the publication of leaflets, the painting of signs or slogans, and the spreading of news "likely to cause uneasiness." The order declared full details of a press censorship and the suspension of certain newspapers was to be announced later. Thus have Churchill and Roosevelt established the Four Freedoms in Athens. The severity of Allied regula-

Plastiras cabinet announced 25 three-judge committees would soon begin reviewing cases of persons arrested in order to release all except those who had borne arms against the state.

The regency established by the British is carrying out Churchill's brutal counter-revolutionary policy to the letter. The regent, Daskinos, is "profoundly shocked" that ELAS retains hostages taken as a defensive measure against the seizure of hostages by the forces of counter-revolution. Plastiras announced on January 12 that his cabinet is not at all bound by the terms of the truce since it was signed by the British general and not by the Greek Government. Plastiras thus prepares to act the role of butcher for the British.

Meanwhile in London the Tribune charged that King George II of Greece had sent a telegram to Athens royalists declaring he had received British assurances that the current regency is purely temporary and that he would be returned to the throne.

The Tribune's charge confirms our analysis made when the regency was set up. "The shift from king to regent," declared the Jan-

(Continued on page 4)

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, who are 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 U A W 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 much Congress hailed by 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 trumpeted 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-

Buy "The Militant"

IN MILWAUKEE
at the newsstand on the northwest corner of Wisconsin Ave. on Third St.

petrated one more little fraud in the truly monstrous swindle used to put over the no-strike policy from the beginning—the promise that the War Labor Board would "impartially" protect the workers' interests, that the corporations would "bargain in good faith" and refrain from provocations, that Roosevelt would enforce "equality of sacrifice" from the rich and "take the profits out of war."

The labor bureaucrats, who have been correctly called the "labor lieutenants of capitalism," frequently employ "Judas goats" to help lead their memberships into policies which are against the workers' interests. These "Judas goats" use "left" phrases in order to gain leadership over the militant ranks. At the crucial moment on every decisive issue, the "Judas goat" leaps openly into the camp of reaction, luring some of his followers with him and leaving the rest disoriented, leaderless and disorganized.

This special role of "Judas goat" in the UAW-CIO has been played traditionally by Walter Reuther, one of the two vice-presidents. Under cover of the bitter unprincipled factionalism and power politics among the leadership, Reuther has posed as a "militant." But on every key issue in the struggle of the militant ranks against the bureaucratic officials, Reuther has always wound up in an embrace with his "opponents" and voted with them in support of sell-out policies.

The latest struggle in the UAW over the no-strike pledge proves to be no exception. Now that the referendum has posed for decision the basic question—for or against the no-strike surrender policy? — Reuther has leaped nimbly into the united front of reaction within and outside the union which is trying to brow-beat the auto workers into retaining the no-strike pledge.

As usual, Reuther waited until the very last moment before revealing fully his treachery. This was done to permit the militants who have lured behind him no time to reorient and reorganize themselves. When the ballots for the referendum finally were being sent through the mails, then Reuther was compelled to take a position. He lined up publicly with the entire top leadership and called on the auto workers to vote "Yes" on the referendum motion to reaffirm the no-strike pledge.

Together with UAW president R. J. Thomas, Addes and Richard Frankensteen, another vice-president, Reuther last week spoke over a Michigan radio hook-up and told the auto workers to vote for the no-strike pledge. This radio program was sponsored by the Stalinist-organized and dominated UAW Committee for Retention of the No-Strike Pledge.

Subsequently, Reuther gave a special demonstration of hypocrisy. Having solidified himself with the position of the Stalinists on the referendum and spoken under their auspices, Reuther self-righteously sought to disassociate himself from their committee because it contains "communists." By descending to the sewer-level of red-baiting, he took a factional thrust at those he joined in principle, thereby still hoping to differentiate himself from more forthright reactionaries.

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!

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.

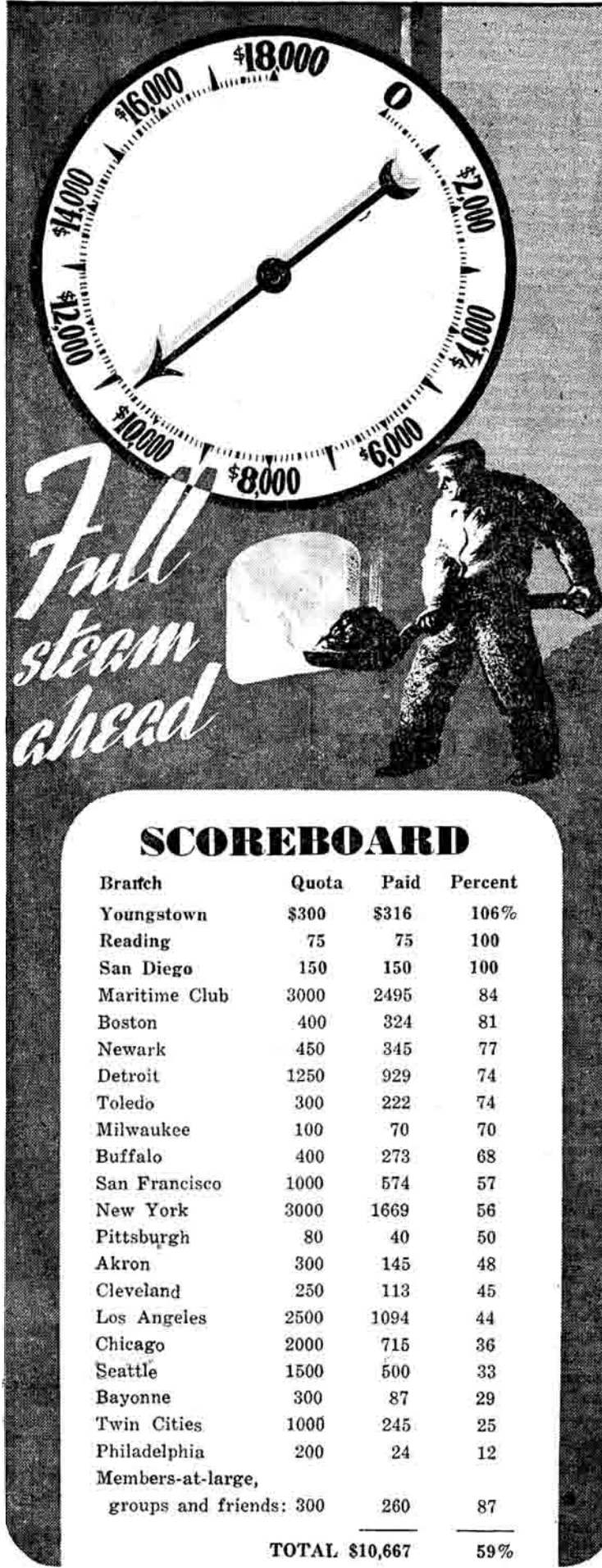
Flint, a friend: "I hope this small contribution will help you in your work and aid you in getting *The Militant* into the hands of more people who should be reading it. Please extend my best wishes to the prisoners already released, and to those coming out this month."



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."

One of our agents, Jack P. of



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 corruptness 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 Drive. 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."

JOB DISCRIMINATION AND THE "MANPOWER SHORTAGE"

(Continued from page 1)

Roosevelt and Congress have endowed with almost supreme power "shortage" ballyhoo as a patent fraud. What are the facts? The author of a study on the manpower question published in PM, Jan. 5, discloses that a huge reservoir of manpower "is not being fully tapped for war production because of racial or religious prejudice." There are over 13,000,000 Negroes in this country, the overwhelming majority of whom are laboring people. But the dollar patriots consider it more important to perpetuate the myth of "white supremacy" than to utilize Negro workers in war production. The following are a few examples cited by the author to illustrate this attitude.

BAR NEGRO WORKERS
"In the huge cotton textile industry in the South, almost no Negroes are being used except in custodial jobs—and a lot of GI's are sleeping beneath tin tents because there is not enough canvas being produced in this country."

"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—jobs which must be taken by whites who could be doing other jobs."

These examples could be multiplied a hundredfold. Many lily white 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

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

NEW YORK, Jan. 14 — Oscar Schoenfeld, 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 Schoenfeld 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.

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.

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

Los Angeles: "The response to 'The American Workers Need a Labor Party' has been very good. The workers in a few of the plants locally have been grabbing them up. In one plant alone 26 copies were sold by friends of ours in the first week and all our comrades are eager to take them into their plants. Because of its content and attractiveness this pamphlet gives a good opening wedge alongside *The Militant* subs and the sets (the four pamphlets of the Minneapolis trial which are being sold as a 25c special). Please send us another 200 of them."

After reading "The History of American Trotskyism" by James P. Cannon, a reader orders a copy for a friend:

"I sincerely hope you will find it necessary to publish a second, third, fourth and even more editions of 'The History of American Trotskyism,' for it is a book not only of value as an historic document, but also as a guide to the future."

"In a delightfully readable manner it shows how, from small beginnings, equipped only with purpose and a correct program and despite factional struggles and hostile outside forces, a movement can grow into a real social force for progress."

"The honesty and forthrightness of the author in telling of the events of the early years of its development impressed me, and its political lessons, I am sure, will leave their stamp on all who read this book."

This Coupon and 25 Cents Entitles You to a 6-Month Subscription to

THE MILITANT

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

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

You may start my subscription to THE MILITANT with your INTRODUCTORY OFFER of 26 issues for 25c. I enclose 25c (coin or stamps).

Name (Please Print)
Street Apt.
City Zone
State



SAN FRANCISCO Sunday Forum

"LESSONS OF GREECE"

Sunday, February 4

8 P. M.

305 Grant Avenue, 4th floor

Auspices: The Militant, and

San Francisco School of Social

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

Science

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 illumined 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 prefaces 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 opinion!" 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 oratorical 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 stenog-

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 strikes and publicly endorse Roosevelt's National Service forced labor demand, is attempting to carry 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.

STALINISTS TAKE LEAD

The Stalinists, regarding the referendum struggle as a golden opportunity for strengthening their position in the CIO and UAW bureaucracy, have mobilized their resources behind the UAW leadership. They are rallying all their forces within the union movement to defeat the auto militants. Much of the finances for the UAW Committee to Uphold the No-Strike Pledge, formed by the Stalinists and adopted as the official caucus of the UAW no-strike forces, comes from Stalinist sources.

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

resolutions in support of the UAW no-strike caucus.

Propped up by outside forces of reaction and spurred by the referendum's threat not only to their cowardly policies but ultimately to their posts of leadership, all the international UAW officials have united to resist the offensive against the no-strike pledge. They have thrust to the background their secondary differences of factional power politics. Feeling the rising cold wind of militancy at their backs, Thomas, Addes, Reuther and Frankenstein are huddled together for mutual warmth and protection.

This protective alliance was formally acknowledged last week when the four spoke jointly under the auspices of the Stalinist Committee to Uphold the No-Strike Pledge over a Michigan radio hook-up. Thus the auto workers were treated to the spectacle of Addes, Frankenstein, Thomas and Reuther—bitter factionalists in the struggle for posts—joining hands under Stalinist sponsorship to hold the line for the no-strike policy in the referendum.

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 payrollers 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."

Last week, they called a National UAW Educational Conference in Milwaukee. The assembled local and district officials and porkchoppers, after going through the motions of a formal session, adjourned to an anti-strike caucus meeting in the same hotel. This meeting was openly announced by leaflet. Addes himself flew to Milwaukee to address this pet meeting for the no-strike pledge.

graphers, 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, a 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 lips become 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 colorful newly-coined word has its practical purpose: to spur on some, to curb others. Among these are Khvostism (tail-endism) and peredyska (breathing spell), and Smychka (alliance with the peasantry) and drachka (inner-party squabble) and komchvanstvo (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 discard 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 beaded 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 Live 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 a 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 has 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 councils. 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.

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 Comper's 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, simply rejected the petition. He arbitrarily ruled that



TOBIN

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 this 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' 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"—freedoms 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 partner-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

lined with their riddled bodies. Churchill revealed, and Washington has yet to deny, that Eisenhower ordered troops in Belgium to shoot down demonstrating workers. In France, one section of the population is achieving freedom from fear—de Gaulle, with the State Department's blessing, rescues from prison the wealthy capitalist collaborators.

Freedom of worship alone remains of the vaunted four freedoms—so that the Pope can exert the influence of the Vatican in Europe to back up the monarchists and capitalists and to urge the people to "shun Bolshevism," the only road out of their misery.

A war to end fascism? Darlan and Giraud were Roosevelt's first choice in Africa. Badoglio, Mussolini's chief of the Ethiopian campaign, was appointed to head the government in Italy. Nazi mayors were immediately reappointed to office by Eisenhower, when the first German towns were taken. Elsewhere in this issue of The Militant is an eyewitness report by the CIO representative George Baldanzi condemning the support of Italian fascists today by the Allies.

IMITATING FASCISM

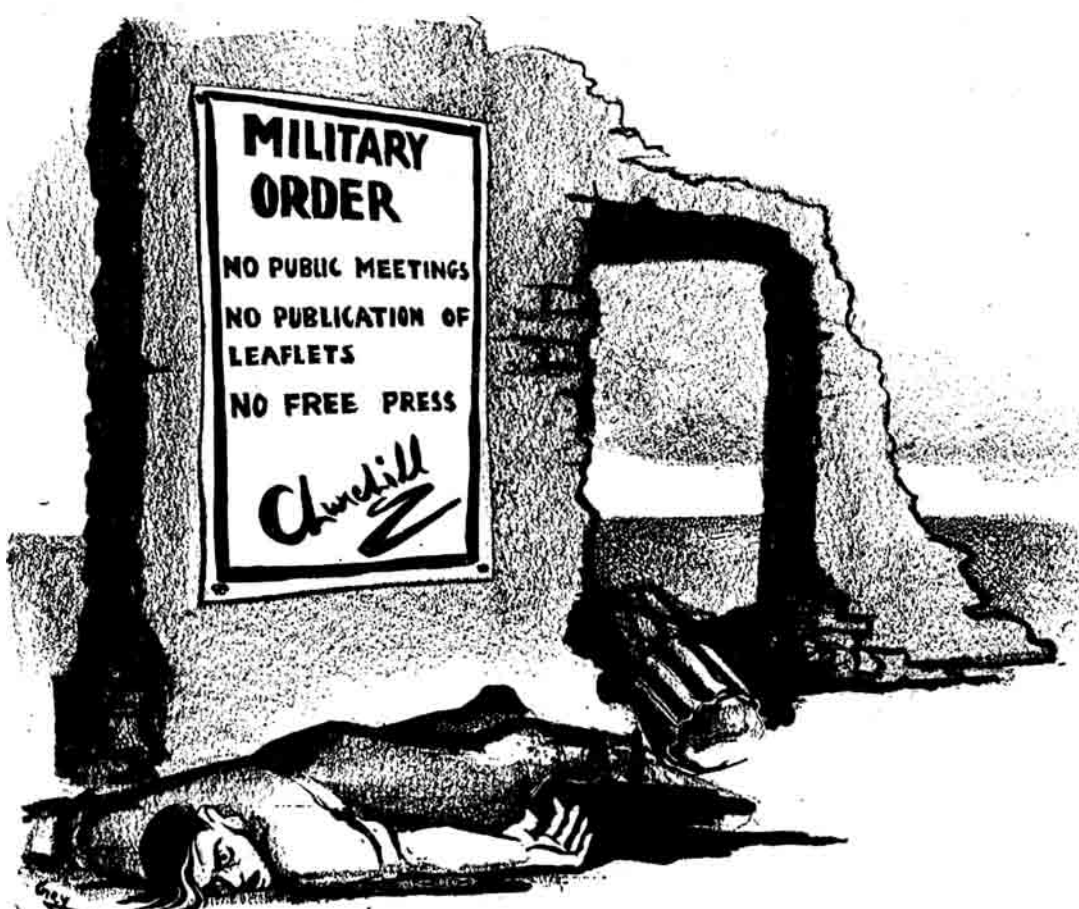
What about the workers here at home in this so-called "war of free labor against slave labor?" The Smith "Gag" Act remains a constant threat over the heads of the American working class. The Smith-Connally Anti-Strike bill has helped shackle the union movement. A permanent Dies Committee has been set up by the new Congress. Now Roosevelt himself has indicated how he intends to give to American capitalism, the "best imitation of fascism they can possibly get." He has demanded nothing less than total conscription of the American working class for the benefit of the employers chaining men and women to their jobs at frozen wages, determining where they shall live and work and under what conditions, striking new blows against labor.

"What do we mean by characterizing the war on the part of these countries (England, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, the United States) as imperialist?" said Albert Goldman in his summation to the jury. "We mean that ruling classes which are responsible for the war and which lead the masses into the war are fighting to protect or acquire markets, colonies, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence."

Today the fight over the spoils of war is apparent to everyone. England sinks claws into Greece. American businessmen flock into France to grab up its industries by "dollar diplomacy." Struggles over oil concessions in the Middle East and over control of the airways of the world have already caused bitter hostility between British and American capitalists. And the "peace" table is not yet laid.

Who told the American people the truth about the war? The 18 Trotskyists who went to prison—or the agents of Wall Street who sent them there?

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 10 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

an opening for an unemployed king.

They offered the crown of Greece to Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Leopold sized up Greece as too small and too unstable to suit his royal ambitions. He turned the offer down. Leopold's later career, however, proved his astuteness. When the Belgians revolted in 1830-31, the British set him up as king of Belgium.

After Leopold's refusal, the British offered the kingdom of Greece to Otto of Bavaria. Otto was too young to exercise the independent judgment of a Leopold. But his father thought the post not bad and accepted in behalf of his son.

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 the king as yearly subvention. Besides anchoring their Mediterranean life-line in Greece, the British thus laid the basis for the profitable national debt now amounting to \$400,000,000 held by London capitalists.

Otto produced no constitution when his personal rule began. Instead, he ruled with a hand of iron. Graft, corruption, terror became notorious. By 1884 the discontent of the people became so great open resistance flared up. Time for the constitution, suggested the British overlord. King Otto produced the constitution but continued his rule without softening in the least its autocratic characteristics. However, he began to deviate the straight and narrow path of Britain's interests in favor of those of France. He even slipped up on payment of interest to Britain. The British straightened out the situation by sending a war fleet to collect the interest due on the outstanding loan.

In 1862, revolt again burst into the open. The Greek people have a long tradition of militant struggle. They wanted to end the hated monarchy.

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

throne to Duke Nicholas of Leuchtenberg, now proffered it to Prince, Alfred of England. Prime Minister Palmerston, however, followed the line of policy laid down in 1832 — no direct British rule. He vetoed Alfred as a possible candidate.

CROWNED PUPPETS

Far from renouncing the principle of monarchy, however, Palmerston planned to start a new dynasty in Greece which would serve the British as loyally as had the Bavarian prince. He took a keen personal interest in finding the right man for the job. Checking the stock in the royal stables of Europe, he settled on a young blue blood carrying pedigree papers of the House of Glücksburg. A Danish prince, thought Palmerston, would serve British imperialism best on the vacant throne. The new king, The Encyclopedia Britannica informs us, was William George "whom the British Government had designated as a suitable candidate." The title of the crowned puppet was changed from King of Greece to "King of the Hellenes."

The British agents heading the interim regime met in council and voted unanimously to petition the Danish house for a new king, their only condition being that his heirs embrace the Greek Orthodox faith. They sent a three-man delegation to Denmark to offer the throne to the Glücksburgs, who royally accepted this "democratic" expression of the will of the Greek people.

The discarded puppet, Otto, was not forgotten by the British. In 1868 the new monarch, George I, accepted as an added foreign obligation of Greece the payment of 4,500,000 drachmas to the heirs of King Otto in grateful remembrance for services rendered.

The new king was given four thousand pounds annually as a personal allowance from each of three "protecting powers," Great Britain, France and Russia. In 1864, a new constitution — the sixth in this brief history — was written to refurbish the democratic facade of British domination.

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.

The Militant

may now be purchased at 242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

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 Partalides and Jean Zevgou, 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 Papandreu 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. Haussermann 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."



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 pay just for them tellin' you how many plates and I-beams to roll, too. But I can't see where they are telling 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 are 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—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. Of course it would mean a sharp fall in the price of BRAINS," he added. "But you can't please everybody."

"Our Steel! Our products!" Scissorbill Sam (the bosses' man) was agast. "I've heard about enough," he said indignantly. "Don't you know this corporation belongs to the stockholders? There's laws in this country. You can't do anything like that. It wouldn't be right. That 38 million dollars belongs to them, not to you—even if you did make the steel."

"Oh is that so?" said Slim, all interest. "Well, in that case, just make out like I never said anything."

But all the same, the fellows thought, it might be a good idea, at that.

READ

'THE FOURTH

INTERNATIONAL'

HEAR

James P. Cannon
National Secretary, SWP

Albert Goldman
Attorney for Defendants

Farrell Dobbs
Editor, THE MILITANT

Felix Morrow
Editor,
4th INTERNATIONAL



FRIDAY
FEBRUARY 2
8:15
HOTEL
DIPLOMAT
108 WEST 43rd STREET
NEW YORK CITY



Admission 25c

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. A. Gebiner
Asst. Gen. Secretary
The Workmen's Circle

O. K. Fraenkel
Amer. Civil Liberties Union

Auspices: CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
160 FIFTH AVENUE

Benj. F. McLaurin
International Field
Organizer
Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters

James T. Farrell
Noted Novelist
Chairman

George Novack
Secretary, Civil Rights
Defense Committee

NEW YORK CITY

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 discriminating 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

workers. They have committed themselves to the task of supporting this war. They have promised Roosevelt that they will police the unions in return for a few paltry hand-outs. The struggle against discrimination is the struggle for full employment. The UAW officials have no conception of this task. Therefore they wish to delay, stall, drag out any final settlement of the broad problem of discrimination.

Let us make no mistake. The Fair Practices Committee of the UAW can be of real value to the union, provided it is used effectively. Now it is bogged down in a long drawn-out grievance procedure, which starts with the Secretary Treasurer who refers the appeal to the Regional Director. If no settlement is reached, he returns it to the Secretary Treasurer... where it is referred to the Fair Practices Committee... which in turn refers the dispute to the International President. It would be far more useful if this Committee educated the members of the Union in a method of struggle against discrimination. This fight must begin where it originates... in the plant, in the district, in the department.

With proper methods of fighting Jim Crowism in the shop the Negro worker will find the active support of thousands of white auto workers who have been educated by the UAW that discrimination is a sure way to destroy unionism. These white workers did not always think this way. They learned it by joint struggle with their colored brother unionist on the picket line. They learned it by practical experience in the department. 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.

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 underpaid, 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. He helped win for thousands of

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 Balabanoff 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 you 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 not 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 Internationalist*. 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

tentative conflicts the proletarian giant gives a glorious promise for the future. The present generation remains true to the traditions of American labor; it is boldly aggressive and violent from the start. The American worker is no Quaker. Further developments of the class struggle will bring plenty of fighting in the U. S. A."

The third wave, culminating in the sit-down strikes, confirmed that prediction and gave us ground to look forward with the greatest optimism to still greater, more grandiose demonstrations of the power and militancy of the American workers. In Minneapolis we saw the native militancy of the workers fused with a politically conscious leadership. Minneapolis showed how great can be the role of such leadership. It gave great promise for the party founded on correct political principles and fused and united with the mass of American workers. In that combination one can see the power that will conquer the whole world.

(From "History of American Trotskyism," by James P. Cannon, pp. 165-167. Pioneer Publishers, 1944; 268 pp., cloth \$2.75, paper \$2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.).

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 Canzanelli, daughter of Carlo Tresca, and his widow, Mrs. Margaret De Silver 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" pointed on the back to denote "prisoner." One Congressman referred to the Keesling proposal as "Keesling's 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 Lacerade, 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 Lacerade, "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, Lacerade 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 concern."

LOS ANGELES
SOUTH SIDE
Bookshop
8026 SEVILLE AVENUE
SOUTH GATE
Carries a Full Line of
Pioneer Publishers Works
All Marxist Classics

YOUNGSTOWN CRDC Banquet

Celebrating the Release of
The Minneapolis Prisoners

SUNDAY, JAN. 28

Central Auditorium, Red Room
7 P. M.
Dinner \$1.25 per plate

BOSTON

Friday Forums

JANUARY 26

"THE MYTH OF
60 MILLION JOBS"

Workers Center

158 Broadway - 8:15 P. M.
Auspices: SWP
Admission Free

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 to a class-conscious worker color meant nothing, and that old Ben and I had mutually respected each other as men, workmen 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 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 depressions 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'Humanite*, Stalinist paper of Paris.

Among many other statements, the indictment charged that the murderer, Nikolaiev, "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 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 Nikolaiev 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 a 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 militant workers, 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."

CHICAGO

Mass Meeting

HEAR

ALBERT GOLDMAN

noted labor lawyer

DEFENDANT AND ATTORNEY IN THE

MINNEAPOLIS LABOR CASE

Thursday, January 25

Ashland Auditorium, West Room

Ashland Blvd. and Van Buren Street

Admission 25c

8 P. M.

Auspices: Civil Rights Defense Committee

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

VOL. IX—No. 3 Saturday, January 20, 1945

Published Weekly by
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSN.
at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547
FARRELL DOBBS Editor

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

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.00 per year, \$1.00 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

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



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 organizations 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 reappearance 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 your 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 lay-offs 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 shut-down 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 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 pyramided, 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 imperialism and fascism. To destroy these evils at their root, the capitalist profit system must be eliminated. That can be the job only of a Workers and Farmers government which will build socialism.

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 publicize and fight for the miners' point of view.

It is time the American workers followed the example of the English workers and put their own Labor Party representatives in Congress to speak up for the cause of the trade unions.

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 benefit of other countries." Government troops were ordered out, but in some areas "nests of sedition" are still holding out.

The truth is the Italian people are weary of war. After decades of fascist terror and misery, they

France

The entire French press has begun preparations for a strike if the one-month suspension of France-Soir continues. France-Soir, which began as a clandestine publication under German occupation, was ordered suspended by the De Gaulle regime for alleged violation of censorship rules. The violation consisted of leaving blank spaces where articles were censored.

The French press charges that the censorship over military news has become a military censorship over news in general. This censorship is particularly galling since it extends to articles appearing in the British and American press which have already been censored by the Allied authorities.

The suspension of France-Soir is so glaringly a denial of the freedom of the press that all the publishers, editors, reporters, linotype operators and pressmen of France have united in protest despite the political differences among their ranks.

Belgium

Major General Erskine on January 10 made sensational charges of theft and dishonesty against the owners of the Belgian coal industry. The misdirection of coal by mine owners and industrialists in direct violation of orders issued by the Belgian Government and Allied military authorities has had a serious effect on military operations. Coal is being stolen in transit and systematically sidetracked into the lucrative black market.

More than five million Belgians are without any coal whatever at the opening of the bitterest weeks of the winter.

The fact that an Allied general is forced to level these accusations indicates the gravity of the coal crisis. The concern of the coal owners for profits at the expense of the Belgian people and even the Allied armies illustrates once again that the only solution to capitalist economic chaos is expropriation of the capitalists and organization of the planned economy of socialism. The Allied imperialists, however, refuse even to expropriate the industries vital to their own war. Instead they disarm the Belgian workers who might carry out such expropriation.

Returned Soldiers Display Union Militancy in Plants

Big Business has recently been warned by one of its most authoritative organs, Business Week, not to bank too heavily on its schemes for smashing the unions by pitting returning job-seeking veterans against the workers. The December 30 issue advises the corporations to "profit by discoveries made in some of the more realistic 1944 discussions of the subject."

"A significant section of business believes, or likes to believe, that there is a division of interests and outlook between veterans and union members. Little concrete evidence is at hand to support this belief," states Business Week.

On the contrary, "the facts are that in a number of cases where servicemen have returned to industry, they have immediately become the most militant spirits in union locals. The Ford Motor Co., to cite one example, found a group of ex-Marines demanding that the union short-circuit its regular grievance-handling machinery—and proceeding to wreck the plant personnel office when union stewards insisted on operating under contract provisions."

"Many thoughtful students of the labor movement freely predict that a new union militancy will develop after the war, led by working veterans," Business Week asserts. It reports that "soldiers had heard a lot of wild stories about wage rates, and when they got jobs and found pay envelopes thinner than they had imagined, they did not hesitate to whip up employee sentiment for going to management and demanding impossible wage boosts—backed by threats of direct action."

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 oomph."

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 hand outs. 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."

In 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 fakery to make the unsavory system of "free enterprise" monopoly capitalism appear palatable to the masses.