

Ford's River Rouge Is Aflame With Union Men

**Ford Drive At Crucial Turning Point;
Now Is The Moment For Real Action!**

DETROIT, Mich., Jan. 21— Ever since the great union victories of the United Automobile Workers of America in General Motors and Chrysler, the hope and dream of every auto worker has been to organize Ford. It can now be done!

The auto workers first demanded this of Homer Martin. And he sold out to Ford.

They demanded it of their new leaders at Cleveland when Martin was put to rout. These new leaders fiddled around with Ford and that "Ford drive" frittered away.

The auto workers demanded again at St. Louis at their most recent convention that a serious attack be planned and carried out against Ford.

At St. Louis the first real step was made. A drive was begun. There was much publicity. Organizers were put to work.

And with this little preliminary sign from the UAW that it was out to do battle with Ford, the Ford workers began to pour into the UAW.

They came in because the overwhelming majority of the Ford workers were ready to fight to the finish. They were fed up with the terror and speed-up of the Ford regime.

An overwhelming majority of the workers at the Lincoln plant joined the UAW!

Michael Widman, sole director of the Ford drive, an appointee of the CIO, was in charge. Money was available. The UAW and the CIO had contracted to pay an initial sum of \$50,000 each into a Ford Drive Fund.

Widman's drive was chiefly propaganda and publicity. But the results of even this two-cylinder drive were tremendous.

At Christmas time 90% of the workers at the Lincoln plant were signed up.

A TIDAL WAVE!

At River Rouge a tidal wave of unionism swept the plants. Not tens, not hundreds, but thousands upon thousands of Ford men joined the UAW!

When these formerly cowed and terrorized Ford workers poured in by many thousands into union ranks it meant only one thing: the black Bastille of Harry Bennett was crumbling.

With a courage and crusading zeal equalled only by the sitdown wave of 1937, the Ford workers were sweeping aside all obstacles on the road to unionism.

The Ford drive came to a head Christmas at the Lincoln plant. Everyone expected a strike. The men expected it. The management expected it.

Union organization was at its peak. Then Harry Bennett, the czar of the Ford army of thugs and gangsters, laid off 200 Lin-

GRACE CARLSON IN NEW YORK

Grace Carlson, Trotskyist candidate for U. S. Senator from Minnesota in the last election, arrived in New York this week on her national lecture tour. Her speaking dates are:

FRIDAY, January 24, 8 p. m., Lenin Memorial Meeting, Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, New York City.

SATURDAY, February 1, 8 p. m., at the banquet tendered her by the New York Local of the S.W.P., Germania Hall, 160 Third Avenue, corner 16th Street, New York City. Admission \$1.

(See page 2 for complete schedule of her tour.)

Grace Carlson Reports Negro Audiences

By GRACE CARLSON

BOSTON, Mass., Jan. 20.—Perhaps the most stimulating aspect of this tour for me has been the opportunity to meet and talk with the militant Negro workers of the steel mills, auto factories and other mass production industries of the Ohio, Michigan and upper New York areas. These Negro workers have found equality with the white workers in the great CIO unions of these industries. And now they are more than ever determined to establish equality for Negroes in other fields and to drive Jim Crow out of the country.

I want to pay a special tribute to our Buffalo (N. Y.) branch; though a newly-formed branch, our comrades there have not only distributed literature and discussed political problems with Negro workers, but have also done unusual work in fighting at union meetings for the Negroes' right to jobs. It was natural, then, that in my Buffalo audience there were 25 Negro workers.

Good work in this field is being carried on in Toledo also. Our friends there were able to arrange to have me address a meeting sponsored by the Toledo Discussion Group at the colored Y. M.C.A. and 30 of the 40 persons present were Negroes. The question and discussion period showed that they are anxious to abolish Jim Crowism in the army, and are impressed by our program of trade union control of military training. What stands in the way of wholehearted acceptance of this program by the Negroes is the reactionary, lily-white AFL unions. We must make clear, in explaining our military program, that it goes together with a fight against the lily-white policy in the unions.

From the reports of Akron rubber workers, Cleveland auto and Youngstown steel workers, I am confident that Roosevelt's "all-out" program will meet with difficulties. These workers know of the huge profits of the bosses in the war industries, and they are militantly opposed to the plan of one-sided sacrifices for the workers.

The mass distribution of the APPEAL in these areas and the excellent propaganda work of our comrades has played its part in building this militant attitude of the mass-production workers. And we're just beginning!

Last night my first Boston meeting was held, with approximately 70 present, and Comrade Antoinette Konikow presiding. What a wonderful old fighter she is!

The Kept Press And Henry Ford

It is interesting to recall, in connection with the complete willingness of the capitalist press to run Ford's lying full page advertisement, "Does Ford Pay Good Wages?", that when Upton Sinclair's novel on Henry Ford, "The Flivver King," was published a couple of years ago, all the leading newspapers, including the NEW YORK TIMES and NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE, completely boycotted it, did not review it, and refused to accept paid advertisements for it.

A special edition of 200,000 copies of Sinclair's book was bought by the United Automobile Workers Union, a singular piece of unusual news copy in itself. But the boss press would make no mention of it.

Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

VOL. V—No. 4

NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1941

267

FIVE (5) CENTS

CHURCHILL'S ANTI-LABOR ACTS FOLLOW U.S. 'AID'

On the Strike Fronts: Are Inspired By War Power Bill

RYAN AIRCRAFT ALL SET TO BE SHUT DOWN

BULLETIN

Just before the strike deadline, Ryan Aircraft signed up. The contract, union officials said, was equivalent to that won by the Vultee strike.

SAN DIEGO, Calif., Jan. 19.—The test case in the aircraft industry now is Ryan Aircraft here. The company has offered the UAW-CIO 54 cents starting, with an increase in four months to 58 cents. This offer was flatly rejected by the union and in its place was demanded a 75-cent minimum.

The union membership voted some 700 to about 20 to empower their negotiating committee "to call a strike if and when necessary." The outcome will determine pretty much the way the Solar aircraft men will vote on the 24th of this month, and will also affect the future of the huge Consolidated plant that will employ 35,000 men when completed. At present the AFL holds the contract at Consolidated, but is doing little to organize it.

Incidentally, the Fish Cannery workers under the militant Seafarers' International Union, working next door to the aircraft companies in San Diego, start at 65c. an hour and require no previous training. It cannot be said that the aircraft industry is under effective union organization until they pass the fish-cannery scale.

LOS ANGELES, Calif., Jan. 17.—A peacetime version of the "Work or Fight" decree made by President Wilson during World War I was issued to workers considering a strike at the Ryan Aeronautical Company in San Diego, California.

Lieut. Commander Maurice Sparling, Naval Reserve officer attached to California draft headquarters, declared that, in event of a strike, workers available for selective service must be reclassified.

In effect, this means that workers otherwise liable for training but placed in deferred status because of the essential nature of their work: "Continue work or face the possibility of being drafted."

Babcock-Wilcox Strikers Hold Their Lines

BAYONNE, N. J., Jan. 20.—The Babcock and Wilcox Company, which has a practical monopoly on the manufacture of boilers for the U. S. Navy, after years of paying out lush profits to its wealthy stockholders and starvation wages to its workers has been confronted with a determined demand for a new set-up since January 3, when its 450 workers went out on strike.

The workers, members of Local 429, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO, have shut production down cold with a 24 hour a day picket line.

The strike was called after the company had refused every single major concession asked by the workers. While the company had a reported "earned" surplus of \$4,024,473 at the end of 1929, and showed a profit of \$1,474,905 for the first half of 1940 "less dividends declared in six months to June 30, 1940," the management turned down a request of the union for a 10 cent hourly raise from the present 55 cent minimum. The average unskilled wage in the entire industry during the depressed year of 1938 was 69 cents an hour.

The company, of course, is yelling "sabotage of national defense" all over the lot. The strikers are blowing away this patriotic smoke-screen with a splendid organized picket-line, divided into 12 squads of about 20 men each, which operate in scheduled shifts. Every morning and at 4 P. M., all the strikers picket in mass to show the bosses their full strength and determination.

Organized labor in Bayonne, including a number of AFL locals, is backing the strike 100 percent. Over a dozen local unions, representing 10,000 workers, established the Labor Committee in support of the B & W Strikers at a meeting in the Labor Lyceum on January 10.

Besides the wage demands, the strikers are asking the union shop; eight legal holidays a year; seniority on a plant-wide basis; paid vacations of from one to two weeks; guarantee of the return of their jobs to draftees and Company payment to draftees during training with the money to come from a fund set aside from profits from war orders.

SHIPYARD MEN IN FRISCO GET QUICK RESULTS

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 19.—3500 shipyard workers knocked the "no strike" policy of the bigshots of the AFL Metal Trades Council into a cocked hat when they tied up the S. F. plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co. for over four hours last Friday.

The strike, occurred as a result of the refusal of six machinists to join the AFL Machinists Union. Their obstinacy was undoubtedly instigated by the labor-hating corporation, for after the brief tie-up five of these men joined the union and the sixth quit the job.

Had there been a real industrial union set-up in the shipyard the walkout last Friday might have been utilized to completely unionize the plant and gain other conditions as well. As it is, electrical workers face the same problem just settled by the machinists and are now threatening to walk out to obtain one hundred percent unionization.

TOP LEADERS SCARED

To be sure, the leaders of the metal trades unions were more frightened than the management at the militant action and solidarity of the workers. Instead of pushing the advantage gained by last Friday's demonstration for new demands and the preparation of a struggle for higher wages, they are already relegating "future disputes" to the "conference table."

Al Wynn, secretary of the AFL Metal Trades Council whined: "There will be no more work stoppages."

The 3,500 shipyard workers will have plenty of opportunity in the near future to express their opinion on Mr. Wynn's surrender policy.

The Bethlehem shipyard has been experiencing a small-scale boom working on \$32,000,000 worth of Maritime Commission, and Navy Department shipbuilding contracts.

All Sailors Union members of crews working on ships docked at the yards were called off their jobs in a solidarity move with the strike after SUP officials had determined that the "beef" was legitimate.

**Similar Reactionary Events Take Place
In China, Mexico, Cuba, Uruguay
They Mirror Coming Events Here**

Britain's ruling class has already demonstrated what kind of results will follow from the passage of Roosevelt's "all-out" aid bill.

Churchill and his associates waited just long enough to be sure that Roosevelt's War Powers Bill will be adopted. They waited for Wilkie to endorse it on behalf of the Republican high command, and for Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the great Chase National Bank, to endorse it on behalf of Wall Street. They waited long enough to see that William Green endorsed it in the name of the AFL, and that the CIO top leadership weren't going to fight it.

Then, assured of the passage of the bill, the British rulers began to move:

1. They announced that the British government will conscript men and women for "national defense" factories, making it a criminal offense for a worker to leave his job without governmental permission.

2. The same day—January 21—that this decision was promulgated by the British government, it also announced the suppression of the London *Daily Worker*, organ of the British Communist Party.

SETS A PRECEDENT

The suppression of the *Daily Worker* was obviously designed to set a precedent under which the government will outlaw other newspapers—such as the *New Leader* of the Independent Labor Party, and numerous trade union organs which have been critical of the government—and prevent workers' gatherings and meetings.

Undoubtedly, the first paper to be suppressed was the *Daily Worker* precisely because it and its publisher, the Communist Party, are in exceedingly bad odor among the great masses of the British workers. The Stalinists are tarred with the brush of the Stalin-Hitler pact and its further implementation this month by the renewed Stalin-Hitler trade agreement. The Stalinists are hated as agents of the Stalin who overran Poland and Finland by prior agreement with Hitler.

That is why the *Daily Worker* was the first paper to be suppressed; the government was calculating that the mass hatred of Stalin would lead to acceptance of this gag move. But the British workers will learn to their sorrow in the coming months that the suppression of the Stalinist paper has opened the door to suppression of every section of the labor movement which does not knuckle down to Churchill.

Systematic suppression will take place. In no other way will the Churchill government smother the aroused resentment of the British workers. That resentment has already made itself heard, on the very day the conscription of factory workers was announced. Even the pro-British United Press was constrained to report, on January 21, that the decree had "roused a storm of protest." And, indeed, only men reconciled to slavery would remain silent while they were chained to the factories. Especially so when their conscription contrasts with the complete freedom of the British capitalists to profligate as they please.

ELSEWHERE TOO

What has happened in Britain is not an isolated case. It is happening wherever Washington comes to an understanding with the rulers of a country for close collaboration. In China, since

the Chiang-Kai-Shek government received a big loan from the United States, with a pledge of still bigger ones to follow, Chiang has thereby been encouraged to turn and rend the Chinese labor movement. In Mexico, since Camacho came to a complete understanding with Washington, he has turned sharply to the right, ven- sefully striking out at the trade unions. In Cuba, having made a deal with Washington, Batista now refuses to carry out his election promises to give full legality to the trade unions. In Uruguay, President Baldomir dictatorially overrules the vote of the country's Congress against ceding bases to the United States; to hell with the popular will, he says, for he has the support of Yankee war-ships.

Thus "aid" from Washington produces reactionary fruits everywhere. And all this even before the War Powers Bill is adopted by Congress! The reactionary consequences that have already occurred are but grim harbingers of what is to come after Roosevelt has wrested those powers from Congress.

HERE NEXT

And in these reactionary consequences abroad are mirrored what is to come here in the United States.

Churchill undoubtedly came to an understanding with Roosevelt before he made the drastic moves of January 21. London and Washington collaborate as closely as two war allies, and at the least Roosevelt must have indicated no disagreement with these Draconian moves against the British working class. Thus Churchill's anti-labor moves pave the way for similar, and worse, moves here.

The full reactionary meaning of this war is beginning to unfold! The millions of workers and farmers who passively accepted the march toward American participation in the war will now awake, with each day's news, to ever deeper misgivings about the role of the American capitalist government.

These misgivings are already vocal in many places. The "isolationism" of many workers and farmers is not at all like the pseudo-isolationism of demagogues like Senator Wheeler. The "isolationism" of the masses has a solid healthy core: distrust of the capitalist rulers.

That healthy core, during the coming days, will provide the foundation for the only real alternative to Roosevelt: it will develop into proletarian internationalism.

Not by turning our backs on the rest of the world, but by uniting the workers of this country with the workers of the rest of the world—that is the road out; Workers of the world, unite! You have only your chains to lose. You have a world to gain!

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

The long-simmering tension between Chiang Kai-shek and the "Communist" armies has come to a boil again. Chiang's troops and the Stalinist-controlled Fourth Route Army have clashed in Central China and General Yeh Ting, the Communist commander, has been arrested and is being held for court-martial.

This is by no means the first heavy strain on the Kuomintang-Communist Party alliance. Similar clashes occurred in Shansi province, some time ago, although on that occasion the conflict was presented as one between the Communist forces and local Shansi provincial troops, with Chiang Kai-shek intervening as a "mediating" force. That Chiang this time has gone so far as to arrest one of the most prominent Communist Party leaders is an indication that the present strain is much greater and is linked to developments of broad international significance.

For the present incident necessarily bears a direct relation to the Soviet-Japanese negotiations now in progress in Moscow. Stalin is "demonstrating" how useful he can be to the Japanese in China. For such demonstrations he uses the Stalinist-controlled forces in China with characteristic cynicism. The Chinese national struggle interests him only as a function of Kremlin policy. If tomorrow the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy should require hamstringing that struggle, he and his minions would act accordingly and without hesitation.

Chiang Kai-shek has continued, however, to hold the whip hand in his deal with the Chinese Stalinists and through them with the Kremlin. He has kept the main Communist forces in the arid wastes of the Northwest and it was his effort to send Yeh Ting's forces to the same area that precipitated the current clash. Meanwhile in the area under Chiang's control, Communists enjoy little more freedom than they did in the years that

Chiang waged ruthless terror against them. And now that he is emboldened by the growing weight of American support, Chiang is tightening his hold still further and is daring an actual test of strength with Joseph Stalin.

It is curiously ironic that Yeh Ting the arrested commander, should be the central figure in the immediate foreground of this development. For Yeh Ting was one of the Army commanders who revolted in 1927 when Chiang broke his alliance of that time with Stalin. Yeh became one of the first "Red" army commanders in Central China and in December, 1927, he was the military leader of that fatal three-day insurrection known to history as the Canton Commune.

Thus Yeh Ting in a way symbolizes the successive cycles of Stalin's twisting policies in China. He fought under Chiang Kai-shek in 1926-27, against him in the years that followed, under him again in 1937-40, and last week against him once more. And each of these military-diplomatic maneuvers has left the Chinese revolution deeper each time in the morass. Each cycle has moved the Chinese Communists still farther away from the aims and policies of a Chinese proletarian revolution. The Stalinist-controlled armies of today bear no positive relation any longer to that revolution. They are merely military pawns that Stalin moves around in accordance with the oft-changing requirements of the Kremlin's near-sighted and criminal policies.

The armed clash and arrest of Yeh Ting is apparently to be followed by a fresh attempt at conciliation. Chou En-lai, the Communist Party representative in Chungking, expressed "regrets" over the occurrence and promised an end to friction. But Chou En-lai too had to flee Chiang Kai-shek's executioners in Shanghai fourteen years ago. It looks as though he too is reaching the turn of still another cycle in the ironies and the tragedies of the class struggle in China.

IN NEW YORK!

LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING

Hear GRACE CARLSON

FRIDAY, JANUARY 24th
8:30 P.M.

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 15th Street

New York City

AUSPICES: Socialist Workers Party

Admission 25c

WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

A Socialist Party Member Insists We Magnify Differences

Editor:

In a recent issue of the Appeal you ask for criticism or comment on your editorial policy. O. K., here goes.

In the first place let me say that I am in hearty agreement with practically everything that you print; but for the life of me I can't see where the real difference comes in, as you try so hard to make a difference, between your editorial policy, especially on the War question, and the position of the Socialist party (Thomas) on that problem. For instance, you overemphasize the fact that the regular Socialist party and its leaders and press oppose peace-time conscription but do not seem to oppose war-time conscription as well.

But what are the real facts, as they come to us from the historical background?

Eugene V. Debs, our great leader, served three years in a Federal prison for opposing conscription and the hellish World War No. 1, even while that war was going on. And most of the other prominent Socialist leaders were "convicted" for the same thing. Then too, all of our papers, even including the *Milwaukee Leader* and the *Appeal to Reason*, were suppressed for opposing that war in time of the war. Have you forgotten all of this?

And also how can you ignore the plain well-known fact that our party and its leaders and press, in season and out of season, oppose all wars—for of course all modern wars are inspired by the old capitalist order and Big Business. The big outstanding fact is that we do oppose them at all times, and for that very reason—that capitalists favor them.

Moreover if we have an undeclared war soon against Germany, which we are almost sure to have, look out for the *Appeal* and *Call* and all Socialist papers. Don't try to make a "distinction with-

out a difference" between the Socialist Workers Party and our party on the war question. There may be some minor difference as to details but no real difference in principles, that is if you are, as we believe you are, a real Socialist.

Yes, the *Appeal* is a fine little paper, and we love to read it, and you are right in opposing war.

Cordially and fraternally,
Memphis, Tenn.
DANIEL C. GIBSON

Our Answer

Dear Comrade Gibson:

Of course Gene Debs fought against the war; of course the better among the socialist papers were suppressed in 1918. But what do these uncontestable facts—which we have cited many times—have to do with the party of Norman Thomas and the *Call*? What makes you think the party of Gene Debs is the party of Norman Thomas? Gene Debs was a proletarian revolutionist; Norman Thomas is a middle-class reformist. Where do you find the heritage of Gene Debs? Not in the pages of the *Call*!

Do you think Debs would ever have endorsed Matthew Woll's committee to "aid British labor"—i. e., Churchill—as the *Call* has done? Do you think Debs would have hailed the "Green" (i. e., British) victories, as the *Call* has done? We could mention a hundred more examples.

We Trotskyists, and not the theological students and shopkeepers of the *Call*, represent the heritage of Gene Debs. With this difference: thanks to the experience of Debs and the other revolutionists during the last war, we are able to go further than they. By and large, they did no more than courageously protest against the war. We shall do much more than that, as we have indicated in our proletarian military program; for we are certain that in the course of this war the socialist revolution will be successfully achieved.

THE EDITORS



SOWING GOOD SEED

Each Sunday morning finds a veritable army of our comrades, from one end of the country to the other, travelling from house to house spreading the APPEAL among working-class families. More than that, it is hard to think of a single moment of any day, from early in the morning to late at night, when a crew of our comrades does not stand at some factory gate, some union hall, some political meeting—some point of proletarian employment or concentration—with a bundle of APPEALS.

As the active comrades in Minneapolis put it, "We know we are carefully sowing good seed, and are not impatient because we do not often see open manifestations of phenomenal success for our point of view. Our seeds may appear largely to lie dormant, but that is because it is early in the season and not because the soil is barren. We know we are on the eve of great historical events and we know our program is sound. This is what fills us with inspiration and this is what keeps us going. In three, two or even in less than a year from now, we can be sure that revolutionary seeds will sprout in the most unexpected places."

In Minneapolis the major APPEAL work is house to house. This work in the past period was not merely doubled, or even quadrupled, but was increased tenfold, and has been steadily maintained at that level. Mass APPEAL work is credited by the Minneapolis comrades with having contributed essentially to the large vote rolled up by Comrade Carlson in the recent Minnesota elections.

GOOD WORK IN BOTON

BOSTON, Mass.—"We get our paper into the hands of many hundreds of workers each Sunday. We send out four crews that cover four different sections of Boston's working class districts. Each group meets at a certain place at a given time and stays

out an hour or two. We have been able to get some of our close contacts to go out with us.

"We have two crews that cover different Negro sections and the results are very good. We are getting contacts in these sections, one an old time C. P.'er who is a good militant, and who introduces us to others. Money is scarce but, still the Negro workers will always give something, even a couple of pennies that they prize highly. These lowest paid and most exploited workers are the easiest to talk to. They frequently ask you to come back the following week. The Negro articles and the Jim-Crow pamphlet by Parker have been well received.

"One thing we must do in our press is hammer on the question of Negro and white workers fighting side by side, and explode the notion that the whites will always exploit the Negroes. "Our paper is getting into the hands of more workers than ever before and is really being read by them. Many say on being visited for the second or third time that the paper was fine or a certain article sure gave the real true story.

"The paper itself is changing in style and make-up, articles more simply written, shorter stories of interest to workers. More stories of the every day struggles of workers and the conscripted soldiers and we will advance further in our work."

"PITTSBURGH COURIER"

We are pleased to note the following comment which appeared on the front page of the Jan. 11 *Pittsburgh Courier*, leading Negro weekly:

"Great publicity has been given to the discrimination against Negro sailors by the SOCIALIST APPEAL each week. It has not only scored the discrimination in news articles and editorials, but has issued a pamphlet 'Defend the Negro Sailors' by Albert Parker, selling for two cents. The *Appeal* is published at 116 University Place, N. Y. C."

N.A.A.C.P. Sets January 26 As Protest Day Against Jim Crow

Day's Activities Are Confused By Name, "National Defense Day" Program

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has set aside Sunday, January 26, as a day for the arousing of public opinion to concrete action against the Segregation and discrimination against Negroes in the Army, Navy and Air Corps, and the barring of Negroes, adult and youth, from jobs in national defense industries.

And certainly, if ever there was a need for such action, this is the time.

In the Army, the Negro is segregated into separate regiments, by special approval of the President of the United States. He is being trained for the same dirty jobs he got in the last war:

to fill labor battalions, digging trenches and latrines, despised and looked down on by the brass hats. In nine cases out of ten, he is officered by white men, not colored, and no colored officer can be in charge of white soldiers.

In the Navy the Negro "belongs" in a kitchen, washing dishes, preparing meals, or in the officers' quarters, cleaning their shoes and making their beds. This means that his pay is the lowest, his chance of learning a trade eliminated. And when Negro sailors speak up against this—only to the extent of writing a letter to the newspapers—they are kicked out of the Navy as "undesirables."

In the war industries, there is the same picture. Either the Negro can get no job at all in these key industries paying the highest wages, or he can get a job only as laborer or porter doing the most back-breaking work at the lowest pay. When he goes to a boss for a job, he is told he can't be used because he isn't skilled. When he goes to the government training school, he is told there is no use wasting instruction on him because he won't be able to get a job anyhow. Caught in this vicious circle, he is still the last to be hired, still restricted to the lowest paying, dirtiest jobs or the relief rolls.

Discrimination by the officers in the armed forces, approved by the government, sets a pattern for the rest of society. Such discrimination implies that Negroes are inferior and should be separated from other people, treated differently, that is, worse. A Negro who will approve such example by the government is worse than Uncle Tom.

Why, then, have the NAACP leaders set January 26 aside under the title, "National Defense Day"?

WHAT 'NATIONAL DEFENSE' REALLY MEANS

When the bosses and their government talk about "the necessity for national defense to preserve democracy," they don't include the colored man as part of their democracy. They are willing to treat the Negro as cannon fodder as much as the white worker, but they aren't willing to give him equal rights and equal status in the armed forces. By direct and indirect taxation and a rise in the cost of living, they are squeezing the billions for the war program out of the Negro as well as the white worker, but they are not willing to provide equality in hiring in the war industries.

By democracy, the bosses mean Jim Crowism, segregation and discrimination, and unlimited profits. These are the things they want to defend. By national defense, they mean preparations for a war to preserve these conditions, with the Negro used to pay for the bullets and to stop them.

Since this is what the bosses mean by the nice-sounding phrase "national defense" which they are popularizing, why do the NAACP leaders attach the same phrase to a struggle which is presumably aimed against these practices of the advocates and exponents of the "national defense program"? All the NAACP does by giving it such a name is to confuse the issue and mix up the question as to who and what is responsible for the conditions which the Negro people want changed. In this way the NAACP weakens the fight against Jim Crowism in the armed forces and the war industries.

But it is not the name alone which is to be criticized in the NAACP plans for "National Defense Day." In its call to its members and sympathizers, it points to the need for "concrete action." Let us see what "concrete action" the NAACP leaders plan. "Mass meetings will be held in key cities. . . . National groups (which supported the anti-lynch bill) will be asked to cooperate. . . . So far so good. "Calling upon ministers to set aside part of their Sunday services on Jan. 26 for the voicing of protests. . . . That can't do any harm. "The plan calls for flooding Congress with postcards, letters and telegrams. . . . And—that's about all of the "concrete action."

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THIS "CONCRETE ACTION"? Our criticism of this plan of

British Air Raid Shelters Report Is For Jim Crow!

CHICAGO, Jan. 18—The CHICAGO DEFENDER, leading American Negro weekly, today published the following story from England:

"LONDON—The actual status of the Negro under British domination, despite England's lip service to 'democracy and the freedom of the people' in her present dire hour of need, was sharply brought out in a report on air raid shelters in London, just released.

"Viscount Cranley, 27-year old heir of the Earl of Onslow, who has made a tour of 30 of London's public air raid shelters, in reporting his findings to the London Sunday Times, came out flatly for segregation, stating:

"Division of white and colored shelters should be of mutual benefit."

"Thus, even while the rich blood of Negro troops is staining the sands of African deserts in 'defense of the Empire', plans are underway to further discriminate against Negro civilians."

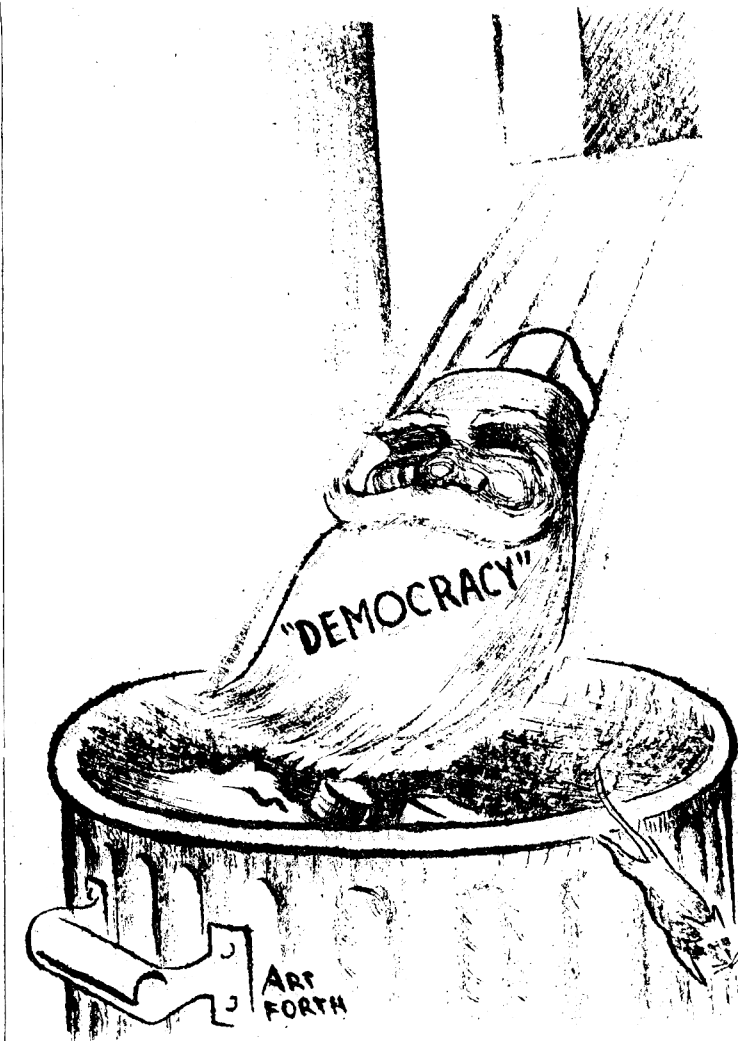
"concrete" action to abolish Jim Crowism is that it will not accomplish anything by itself. Mass meetings, protests, postcards, telegrams and letters are necessary, but they are not enough. The bosses' stooges in Congress will not pay much attention to them, any more than they did to the anti-lynch bill. The most they will do is appoint an extra Negro or

Republic Rubber Contract Includes Raise, Concessions

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio — After more than two months of negotiations, the Republic Rubber Company of Youngstown, Ohio, a subsidiary of the Lee Tire and Rubber Corporation, finally agreed to a signed contract with Local 102 URWA (CIO).

Under the terms of the contract all workers are to receive a three-cent an hour increase and time and a half for overtime. The contract contains provisions which will guarantee a certain amount of job security to the workers.

D. F. Doran, president of the union, who was fired by the company last July, was reinstated



IN ROOSEVELT'S GARBAGE CAN

two as a front in the offices of the Secretaries of War, Navy and Labor. These Negro "fronts" will then be used to quiet down the others and to explain to them that nothing further can be done at this time, that things should be left in their hands and that they will take care of things.

Mere protests and letters will not change the present situation at all. The brass hats have unlimited control of the armed forces, and the bosses have complete control of the factories. As long as they have this control, they'll do just about what they please. Any serious plan to wipe out Jim Crowism must include the demand to take control of these institutions out of the hands of these Negro-haters.

Those who are serious about

fighting to change the conditions to which the NAACP has called attention will say with us of the Socialist Workers Party:

Against Jim Crowism in the armed forces and the war industries!

Instead of "national defense" of the bosses' right to exploit and Jim Crow the Negro, we want mass defense of the Negro's right to full equality in industry and in the army!

Instead of idle talk, we want a program of "concrete action." Against the bosses' control of the armed forces and the factories! Take that control away from them! Put it into the hands of the workers themselves!

Fight for workers' control of military training and workers' control of industry!

SCHEDULE OF CARLSON TOUR

Thurs.	Jan. 23	New York
	to Feb 1	
Sun.	Feb. 2	Newark
Mon.	Feb. 3	New York
Tues.	Feb. 4	Trenton
Wed.	Feb. 5	
Thurs.	Feb. 6	Allentown
Fri.	Feb. 7	Reading
Sat.	Feb. 8	Quakertown
Sun.	Feb. 9	Philadelphia
Mon.	Feb. 10	
Tues.	Feb. 11	
Wed.	Feb. 12	Baltimore
Thurs.	Feb. 13	
Fri.	Feb. 14	Pittsburgh
Sat.	Feb. 15	
Sun.	Feb. 16	Indianapolis
Mon.	Feb. 17	Indianapolis
Tues.	Feb. 18	
Wed.	Feb. 19	St. Louis
Thurs.	Feb. 20	
Fri.	Feb. 21	Memphis
Sat.	Feb. 22	
Sun.	Feb. 23	Arkansas
Mon.	Feb. 24	Arkansas
Tues.	Feb. 25	Texas
Wed.	Feb. 26	Texas
Thurs.	Feb. 27	
	to Thurs. Mar. 13	
Fri.	March 14	Los Angeles
Sat.	March 15	and vicinity
Sun.	March 16	"
Mon.	March 17	"
Tues.	March 18	"
Wed.	March 19	"
Thurs.	March 20	"
Fri.	March 21	"
Sat.	March 22	San Francisco
Sun.	March 23	"
Mon.	March 24	"
Tues.	March 25	"
Wed.	March 26	"
Thurs.	March 27	"
Fri.	March 28	"
Sat.	March 29	"
Sun.	March 30	Portland
Mon.	March 31	
Tues.	April 1	Seattle
Wed.	April 2	
Thurs.	April 3	
Fri.	April 4	Plentywood
Sat.	April 5	Williston
Sund.	April 6	
Mon.	April 7	Fargo
Tues.	April 8	"
Wed.	April 9	Twin Cities

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

(Continued from Page 1)

coin situation. He is waiting for an NLRB vote. He is bowing and scraping at the door of the labor board. He is plunging the union into drawn-out litigation against Ford, which will take months and years to come to a decision.

If Widman thus continues to play into Ford's hands the drive will dissipate like steam out of a boiler.

THE UNION HAS ALREADY FORCED PLENTY OF LABOR BOARD DECISIONS AGAINST FORD! He has already been pilloried and exposed before the public as a labor law violator. All this was useful but it didn't achieve organization. It didn't get Ford's name on a union contract.

The Ford union is now at the critical crossroads of its history. Either forward to victory, or another defeat at the hands of Ford and his grisly band of cutthroats and blackjacks. The tens of thousands of River Rouge men are watching and waiting to see what the union will do. They are champing at the bit.

THIS DRIVE MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO FAIL!

THE STAGE IS SET

It means too much to American labor; it is too crucial a fight.

Thousands upon thousands of men in Ford are now union. Union men under union instructions have entered the hellish gates of the Ford empire wearing union caps and union buttons! The service department has been challenged as never before.

Ford is jittery. He has dished out thousands of his dollars for newspaper advertisements, and he has tried his best to get public sympathy by blaring about his support of "National Defense."

How different things are now than six months ago!

NOW the wave of unionism has so engulfed River Rouge, that service men ARE OFFERING THEMSELVES FOR SALE TO GO TO WORK FOR THE UNION! They feel the ship will soon change hands!

There are about 8,000 service men in Ford. Most of them have criminal records. As befits the petty larceny criminals they are, they hold no loyalty to Ford.

The Ford unionization drive has so demoralized these rats that their forces are being dispersed, and they are crying "surrender."

Union men now give out leaflets without fear. The plant gates of the Rouge empire are no longer the portals to an impenetrable anti-union hell.

When a service man does dare to attack a union man, many union brothers are ready and able to protect their union brother. . . . and to exact a little revenge for past brutalities.

There is enough steam up in the Ford empire among the men to blow the anti-union lid off for all time.

Now is the crucial stage. The men are awaiting action. WHAT NEXT?—that is on every Ford worker's lips.

What is now most necessary, and in fact determines the life or death of the Ford drive, is a program of militant action to establish union conditions in Ford.

A UNION PROGRAM:

1. A great series of mass meetings. BRING THE FORD WORKERS OUT INTO THE OPEN FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY. SHOW YOUR FORCES. THROW OFF ALL SECRECY AND FEAR AND COME TO GRIPS WITH THE FORD DYNASTY IN THE OPEN! There is nothing to fear now. The Ford workers have the strength and the power to do what they wish. This barrage of mass meetings will do two things. It will solidify the Ford workers, bring in those who are waiting to see what strength there is, and it will raise the morale to great heights.

2. At such mass meetings a committee should be elected to represent every plant in every zone.

3. This committee in turn should draw up a union contract and present it to the Ford workers for consideration and approval.

And this agreement should provide for at least the same conditions and wages as prevail in GM and Chrysler and should abolish the service department for all time.

4. THEN THIS FORD COMMITTEE SHOULD CALL ON HENRY FORD AND HIS MANAGEMENT TO MEET WITH THE UNION AT ONCE!

If Ford refuses—Ford will then be exposed before all the people of America as a flagrant violator of all the laws and all the rights established for generations by workers in this country.

5. THE UNION MUST PREPARE TO USE ITS ECONOMIC POWER! THERE IS NO ALTER-

Ford Knows His Patriotism Pays; It Did in 1918

There is nothing ulterior in Henry Ford's current super-patriotism—oh, no!

The Flivver King gave a radio address Jan. 15, at the dedication of his new "Navy Service School" on the grounds of his River Rouge plant.

"During this crisis our organization wants to do everything possible to help America and the President," said Ford. "The Navy being our first line of defense, I feel that the training of these young men will vitally benefit our nation."

"And," he added, "when the crisis is over, we can then reclaim these mechanically trained young men in our industries."

Ford showed similar altruism when he took advantage of the last post-war depression to build up his labor force out of unemployed veterans anxious for jobs at any wages because of the glutted labor market.

Now Ford is making a patriotic virtue—out of getting together a group of jobless youth, training them under military discipline and feeding them the pap of Fordism so that "we can then reclaim these mechanically trained young men in our industries."

NATIVE BUT TO MAKE THE PREPARATIONS FOR A STRIKE!

If the union shows in this way that it means business, that it seriously is preparing to strike, so great will be the public antipathy toward Ford that he may even be forced to sign an agreement without a pitched battle on Miller Road.

BUT DON'T BLUFF! Ford Workers and members of the UAW! Don't play with the Ford situation! Don't allow your leaders to play with it.

STRIKE MACHINERY

Be serious about it and you will win. SET UP STRIKE HEADQUARTERS and field kitchens; get a supply of cots and bedding; prepare field hospitals; in other words, get down to serious work. This kind of serious preparation will send the cold chills down the back of Henry Ford and Harry Bennett and every one of their strikebreaking hirelings who will cringe before the union's strength. This kind of serious program will bring results!

If these steps are followed by the CIO, the union will be supported actively by all the workers of the UAW, and in fact by all the layers of the population outside of the few plutocratic parasites who are Ford's friends. He is hated by the people. That hate which the people justifiably have for Ford is the greatest insurance for a union victory in any great battle.

If Ford won't deal with the union, the National Defense Council and Hillman's department especially will rush into Detroit and try to stop the Ford Strike.

If you show you will not back down an inch, that you will either get a union contract or strike—THEN THESE WASHINGTON STRIKEBREAKERS WILL BE UNABLE TO SAVE FORD AND HE WILL HAVE TO SETTLE!

The entire working class will rally to the support of the striking Ford workers.

Every union militant should speak up now.

Every local union should go on record now.

It is time for the auto workers to take this drive into their hands and write a great victory at Ford into the glorious pages of the history of American labor.

SAVE THIS DATE!

Saturday, January 25, 1941 for the

JANUARY JAM SESSION

of the

Boro Park Branch SWP

Entertainment Refreshments

Dancing Games

Swing Interpretations by

MLLE. MIMI

3623 15th Ave., Bklyn, N. Y.

Subscription 25c

The "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF. WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS 'BRANDED'" — KARL MARX.

Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

Lenin and the Negroes

Those who are interested in the struggle of the Negro people for full equality have special reason to remember Lenin on this anniversary of his death.

For Lenin, more than any other man of our time, contributed toward an understanding and solution of the problems facing the Negro people. And his contributions were not only in a general sense, but in a specific sense as well: not only on a national, but on a world scale; not only in the sphere of general politics, but in the internal sphere of the revolutionary movement.

It is the general program of Leninism which will guide the workers, colored and white, to their victory over the capitalist system and put an end to its wars, fascism, unemployment, racial discrimination. Lenin taught that the workers must take power away from the bosses: take away their power to hire and fire, their power to control the factories and discriminate against Negroes in hiring and classification of work; take away their control of the armed forces through their mercenary hirelings, the officer caste, whom they train to Jim Crow the Negro; take away their control of the press, the schools, the church, the movies, all of which they use to perpetuate the system of "white supremacy," and thus keep white and colored workers divided and the bosses in power.

Workers, said Lenin, take power into your own hands. Set up your own government, run it yourselves in your own interests. That is the only way to do away with war, unemployment, racial and national divisions.

And the Soviet Union of Lenin's time showed that this was true, that it was only under workers' power that the many different racial and national groups of that country could live together in peace and equality.

Lenin's greatest contribution in this field was in connection with the colonial and national question, that is, the solution of the world Negro problem.

What Lenin Taught Us

In his famous theses on this task, adopted at the Second Congress of the Third International, he analyzed the failure of the radical movements of the past to understand this problem. "The Second International failed to appreciate the importance of the colonial question. For them the world did not exist outside of Europe. They could not see the necessity of co-ordinating the revolutionary movement of Europe with those in the non-European countries. Instead of giving moral and material help to the revolutionary movement in the colonies, the members of the Second International themselves became imperialists."

Lenin pointed out that as long as the capitalists in the imperialist countries could squeeze and bleed super-profits out of the natives in the colonies, they would be strong enough at home to resist the workers and remain in power and that, consequently, the workers in these advanced countries must help and strengthen the struggles of the colonies against their joint enemy and oppressor, the imperialists.

It was Lenin's teachings, therefore, which developed the comradely attitude of the revolutionary workers toward the millions of oppressed colored peoples throughout the world, and made them understand the necessity of assisting in every way the struggle of the colored peoples for independence.

Stalin and the Negroes

The Communist International, which has degenerated under Stalin from the vanguard of the revolution to the watchdog of the bureaucrats in the Kremlin, still pretends to honor the memory and carry out the teachings of Lenin. There is no better yardstick for measuring the hypocrisy of the Stalinists than contrasting their practice on the colonial question with Lenin's teachings.

During the period 1935-39, when they were wooing the democratic imperialists to get a pact with Stalin, they dropped the colonial peoples overboard. "Instead of giving moral and material help," they ignored or sabotaged the struggles in the colonies, because they wanted to get the good will of the capitalists who oppress these colonies. In the quotation above, Lenin used the strongest terms in denouncing the Second International for doing this. We can be sure that his language would have been no more gentle about Stalin's shipping of oil to Italy during the invasion of Ethiopia.

For All Races!

Just as Lenin clarified the attitude of the revolutionary movement toward the colonial people, so did he revolutionize its attitude toward the colored people in the capitalist countries. Here is what he said on it in the Statutes, adopted by the Communist International's Second Congress.

"The Communist International once forever breaks with the traditions of the Second International which in reality only recognized the white race. The Communist International makes it its task to emancipate the workers of the entire world. The ranks of the Communist International fraternally unite men of all colors: white, yellow, and black—the toilers of the entire world."

This was of especial significance for us here in the United States, where the Negro people, who form so large a proportion of the exploited population, had been completely overlooked or only formally recognized in the propaganda and organizational work of the Socialist Party, in much the same way that its parent body, the Second International, had treated the colonial question.

It is necessary to support the movement for real equality among the American Negroes, Lenin pointed out in the theses on the colonial question, and thereby he opened the eyes of the American revolutionists to the unbreakable connection between the struggle of the Negroes for equality and the struggle for the social revolution.

Lenin On The Platform ---- By Leon Trotsky

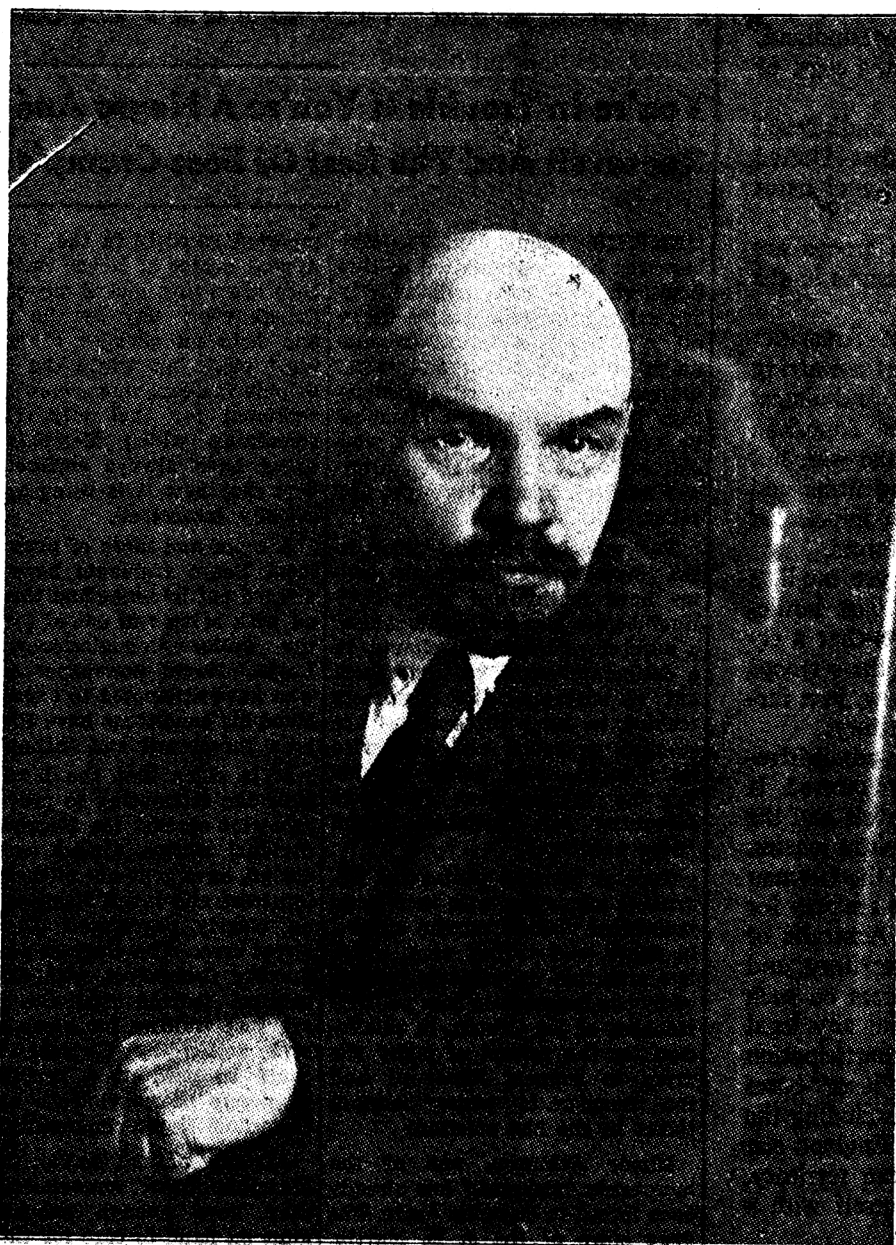
This is the first anniversary of Lenin's death that Trotsky is not alive to commemorate. Trotsky wrote the following article shortly after Lenin's death, during Trotsky's convalescence from a serious illness. Trotsky's article was published in Moscow in 1924 by the State Publishing House, as part of a volume, "On Lenin, Materials for a Biographer".

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 unrepeatable 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 upon 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, "plebeian", 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.

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. When ever necessary, the left hand lends assistance. The speaker heads toward his audience, strides 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,

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 stenographers, 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

and can aid him to reach the necessary conclusions more quickly. Then his answers are entirely unexpected and annihilating in their simplicity. Pointblank he lays bare a situation which, according to all expectations, he should have sought to camouflage. The Mensheviks went through this experience more than once during the initial period of the revolution when charges of violations of democracy still had a ring of novelty. "Our newspapers have been shut down!" "Of course! But unfortunately not all of them as yet. They will all be shut down presently. The dictatorship of the proletariat will destroy at its very roots this shameful traffic in bourgeois opium!" The speaker has straightened up. Both hands are in the pockets. There is not even a hint of posing, in the voice not a trace of 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", 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.

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

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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 this duplication. But is a speech designed for its construction? Is there any worth-while 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 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 salty, 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 forehead and skull seem to soften, the eyes stop boring like gimlets and twinkle with a merry light, the lisp becomes more pronounced, the intensity of the virile idea is softened with a love for living and humaneness.

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 *Khovostism* (tail-endism) and *peredysshka* (breathing spell), and *Smychka* (alliance with the peasantry) and *drachka* (inner-party squabble) and *komechvanstvo* (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.

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 once 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 reaches 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!*

April, 1924

Lenin's "Secret Weapon"

By FELIX MORROW

V. I. Lenin died on January 21, 1924, at the age of 54. He left behind him the most gigantic heritage ever bequeathed by one man. Nor is that heritage only in the Soviet Union and in his books and the minds of revolutionists; it is also in the minds and hearts of hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist world whom one would not ordinarily call revolutionists.

Yes, there are hundreds of millions under capitalist rulers who know that Lenin was opposed to the World War and branded as traitors to the working class those "socialists" who sup-

ported it; that he and Trotsky successfully led the October revolution and founded the Soviet Union as a workers' state. And, without being able to formulate it, these hundreds of millions know that the socialist revolution led by Lenin put an end to the first World War; in the midst of the hopelessness of the second World War they are hoping for another Lenin to lead them in putting an end to this war.

Let us keep clearly in our thoughts these hundreds of millions of the people as we commemorate the 17th anniversary of Lenin's passing. Our Memorial to Lenin is no empty ritual; that kind of mummery we leave to those who keep the dried mummy of Lenin on display in Moscow. We have much more pressing work. We have the profound responsibility of finding our way to the minds and hearts of those hundreds of millions who remember Lenin in their own way. We must ask ourselves: "What would Lenin have said to them today?" And equally important: "What would Lenin have learned from them today?" For Lenin could teach so richly precisely because he learned so fully from the masses whom he taught how to overthrow their oppressors.

"Say what is." Lenin never lied to or flattered the masses. In 1941 as in 1914 he would have told them the truth. Lenin wrote on November 1, 1914: "Imperialism has placed the fate of European

culture at stake. After this war, if a series of successful revolutions do not occur, more wars will follow—the fairy tale of a 'war to end all wars' is a hollow and pernicious fairy tale." And so it has come to pass. The workers did not achieve "a series of successful revolutions" and are paying the price of that failure. That price includes the Stalinist degeneration of the isolated USSR.

"Say what is." Those who flattered the working class and endowed it with all possible virtues were bitterly exasperated by Lenin. He shocked the sentimental "lovers of the people" out of their wits by setting down as a fundamental proposition that the working class by itself could develop no further than trade unionism; revolutionary socialism is brought to the working class "from outside." This was his iron-firm way of insisting that the working class could get nowhere without the leadership of a revolutionary party. All attempts to define the party and the working class as one and the same thing, Lenin resisted as the root of all evil. He began this fight in 1903 as a Russian struggle; after 1914 he conducted a world-wide struggle against it.

This was Lenin's "secret weapon": his profoundly original conception of the revolutionary party. It is Lenin's greatest contribution to revolutionary theory and action. Lenin's conception of the party is not easy to grasp in all its ramifications; it is not the first

WHY THE GERMAN REVOLUTION FAILED

Yet the terrible record of history tells us that there were great revolutionists who failed to grasp Lenin's conception and, because of that, led into the abyss revolutions which had every objective possibility of success. The German revolution of 1918 was thrown back because Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and their associates, Leo Jogiches, Frank Mehring and Clara Zetkin failed to understand the Leninist concept of the revolutionary party. I make this statement not on my own authority but on that of our German comrades, who have had many bitter years to ponder the causes of the defeat of the German working class. All other causes they trace back to the mistaken notion of the role of the party held by the German left.

As early as 1904 Rosa Luxemburg saw that the leadership of the German Social Democratic party were conservatives and not revolutionists; as early as 1910, she and Liebknecht saw that Kautsky, leader of the "center" wing of the party and the international theorist of socialism, was made of the same stuff as the conserva-

tives. It is from 1910 that the German left begins. In all this they saw more clearly than Lenin, whose illusions concerning Kautsky were not shaken until the war began.

The German left was equal to the Bolsheviks in revolutionary courage in the struggle against the imperialism war. As a matter of historical fact, the most inspiring revolutionary act of the first three years of the war was Liebknecht's May Day speech of 1916. Neither Lenin nor Trotsky (though he had been President of the Petersburg Soviet in 1905) were as widely known or beloved among the great masses as were Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

Yet Lenin and Trotsky made the revolution, while Karl and Rosa and their comrades of Spartacus were without representation of any kind in the first German Congress of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils (soviets) and were murdered with impunity by Junker officers. Why? Superficial historians and anti-Leninists have tried to find the explanation in the difference between Russian and German conditions.* The truth is quite simple. The German left did not begin to build a party in 1904, when Luxemburg realized the degeneration of the official leadership; nor did the German left begin to build a party in 1910, when she and Liebknecht correctly estimated Kautsky's degeneration; nor did they begin to build in 1914, when the full scope of that degeneration

became clear; nor even in 1918! Lenin called the revolutionary party "Jacobins bound up with the working class" but separate and apart from it in their own organization. The German left defined it entirely differently: in Luxemburg's words the party was "the self-movement of the working class." In other words, in 1904, 1910, 1914, 1918, she admonished the Social Democratic leadership with the threat, "The working class will overrule you." Instead, however, the workers, even when gritting their teeth, followed the leaders, i. e., the party. Only through another party could the workers be led in the correct path; that party did not exist, thanks to the terrible error of the German left. But the Bolsheviks had built their party, and by it led the Russian masses to victory.

A note of asperity, of irritation and harshness toward the masses, creeps into Luxemburg's writings during the war. She can speak of them as having "succumbed to the chauvinistic madness." Lenin, who never minced words, nevertheless could never write like that. That was precluded in advance by his conception of the working class and its relation to its parties. He could pour vitriol on the reformist and centrist leaders; never on the masses. Had he not said that the working class would get nowhere without a revolutionary party? He was not one to scold the workers with a failure which was not theirs but their leaders'. Out of his thorough realism, therefore, flowed his deep faith in the masses: Give them revolutionary leadership and they will storm the heavens.

That, then, would be the first thing that Lenin would tell the thinking workers: "Help the revolutionists to build the vanguard party. Join them in building it. That comes first. All other things follow."

* Max Shachtman, for instance, in *New Internationalist*, May, 1938. The German comrades appropriately answered him, *New Internationalist*, February, 1939. The reader interested in the roots of Shachtman's later degeneration will find them, in part, in his failure to understand the fundamental difference between the party conceptions of Lenin and Luxemburg.

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SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. V—No. 4 Saturday, January 25, 1941

Published Weekly by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASSN.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-5647

Editorial Board:
FELIX MORROW ALBERT GOLDMAN
General Manager:
RUTH JEFFREY

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.
Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle
orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents
per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Reentered as second class matter December 4,
1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 3, 1879."

FIGHT WITH THE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.
2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
6. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces—Down with Jim Crowism.
7. An end to secret diplomacy.
8. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.

AT HOME:

For:

1. A job and decent living for every worker.
2. Thirty-thirty—\$30 weekly minimum wage—30 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
3. \$30 weekly old age and disability pension.
4. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.
5. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
6. A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unemployed.
7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

No Secret Diplomacy!

There are facts that, were they known, would turn the American workers and farmers irreconcilably against the war and the Roosevelt government which promotes the war.

But the American people are not permitted to learn these facts.

A blackout has descended over this nation, a blackout which conceals vast pitfalls of misery, death and destruction. A man-made fog increasingly beclouds the diplomatic moves and activities of the Administration. The cozy intimacies of the fire-side chats of Roosevelt are inconsequential tid-bits and generalities which hide the basic facts.

The facts exist. *The New York Times*, January 21, reported:

"The State Department will reject legislative demands that the department make public the diplomatic reports of Joseph P. Kennedy and William C. Bullitt, according to rumors on Capitol Hill..."

"One legislator told reporters that the State Department would decline to release the reports, even to Congressional committees, on the ground that they were confidential documents of the Executive branch of the government."

What are the ultimate commitments which the administration has secretly given Churchill? What are the true details about the downfall of that one-time friend and "democratic" ally, France? What are the real conditions prevailing in that present "Fortress of Democracy", England? What are the war aims of the British rulers? And what are the war aims of Roosevelt himself?

These are the decisive questions to which the common people are denied answers. The answers are the guarded property of that tiny handful of conniving politicians, statesmen and diplomats of the ruling classes who manipulate the destinies of nations and peoples.

What is contained in these reports of the State Department that those who are to fight, suffer and die in the coming war dare not know? What sordid deals and mercenary horse-trades do they reveal? What are these awesome facts about the inner-springs of this war for "democracy" which the masses may not have?

We have an idea what facts are lurking in this diplomatic blackout. They are such facts whose publication would blow aside the silken drapings of "democracy" and "liberty" beneath which are hidden the festering sores of imperialist ambitions motivating the British participation in the war, as well as the Nazi, and which are the sole determinants of America's participation.

That is why we say the American masses must demand light in this ominous blackout, must demand a full and open accounting from the government. The future victims of the war must raise the hue and cry now: AN END TO SECRET DIPLOMACY!

Yanks Have Gone

On the afternoon of January 15, a 21,329-ton Army transport vessel, the Edmund B. Alexander, steamed quietly and without any attendant fanfare out of New York harbor. The port of destination of this ship was St. Johns, Newfoundland, island possession of Great Britain off the coast of Canada.

Aboard this troop-ship were an undisclosed number of American soldiers, the first United States military forces assigned to the naval bases leased from Great Britain.

Very shortly, additional American troops are to be sent to seven other British possessions in the Western Hemisphere.

By this time, therefore, the first American troops will have set foot on the soil of a warring nation in World War II. Thus, quietly, and almost without any direct knowledge of the American people, the United States has joined the war, not merely in the indirect sense of giving arms and war materials to one of two belligerent imperialist powers, but of lending direct armed forces.

It is true that these forces are as yet small, a mere symbol and token offering of vast hordes soon to follow. And it is likewise true, that a sly legal fiction is being maintained that these troops have been sent to territory which is now, in a far-fetched technical sense, American territory.

But it is a fiction maintained by the administration with a wink of the eye and fingers crossed. It is a Foxy Grandpa game which Roosevelt and the ruling-class are playing with the American masses.

The British Empire is at war with the German Empire. Every section of these empires are prey for attack. Whether it be Newfoundland, Australia or South Africa, British territory is war territory, and the presence of American military forces on such territory cannot be interpreted, despite any legal dodges, as other than direct military participation in the war. Tomorrow, Roosevelt will "lease" bases elsewhere in the British Empire, not excluding the British Isles themselves. An attack on England can thus be termed an attack on American territory, and the United States will "defend" itself with a super-fleet of bombers over Germany.

In this wise will America join the second war for "democracy." In cunning guises, in secrecy, behind the backs of the people.

More Competition

We commented recently on the spectacle of AFL and CIO leaders strenuously competing to establish which were the more respectable and worthy of the patronage of the government and the employers. We cited the example of the AFL Metal Trades Department, swearing off strikes in the hopes of currying favor with the Navy and its contracting shipowners; whereupon the CIO shipyard workers' union countered by adopting a gag law to oust all "communists".

Another instance is provided by the race between the AFL Building Trades Department and the CIO United Construction Workers; they're still neck and neck, pounding down the home stretch; it's a toss-up which one will be teacher's pet at the War Department.

The AFL officials led off in this contest by surrendering the strike weapon: "There is no reason for strikes of any character on defense building projects," declared John Coyne, for the AFL Building Trades Department. But he couldn't get by with that, no sirree, not while A. D. Lewis (rubber-stamp brother of John L.) was head of the CIO United Construction Workers.

On January 11, Lewis sent a letter to Assistant Secretary of War Robert Patterson, demanding that the War Department immediately take action against the AFL. For what? Because the AFL policy "militates against efficient prosecution of the national defense program." And Lewis demanded nothing less than that the War Department adhere to its policy of "no discrimination against non-unionists"; in plain English he demanded that the War Department enforce its policy of outlawing closed shop contracts. All this larded with fulminations against the AFL building trades for exacting "tribute" from the workers (i.e., dues)—you'd think you were reading a letter from the National Association of Manufacturers, instead of one from a CIO leader.

Lewis' finky letter, all other things being equal, would have won the race for him; however, the AFL building trades unions have far more members than his "construction workers" union, and hence their "no strike" policy can do more damage. But the competition is close enough between these two contestants for the good-will of the War Department.

Fortunately, the workers have still to be heard from. They never gave their leaders any mandate for grovelling before the powers that be.

A Word Of Caution

Just when Stalin will switch from the Nazi orbit to the "democratic" orbit cannot be predicted. The switch will certainly not take place so long as Hitler is in a position to punish Stalin for the change. A word of caution to those who seek signs of Stalin's switch in the *Daily Worker's* twists and turns: don't forget that the Communist Party was still shrieking for the war of the "democracies" against fascism the day the Stalin-Hitler pact was announced, and went on shrieking the same tune for several weeks afterward. The Communist parties of Britain and Canada were even permitted—in accordance with what the GPU calls its "disinformation service"—to issue manifestoes supporting Britain's war, before the Comintern finally swung over and adapted itself to the Stalin-Hitler pact. The turn in Stalin's foreign policy the next time, too, is likely to precede by weeks or months the corresponding turn in Comintern propaganda.

In Memphis, Domain Of
FDR's Comrade, Crump

You're In Trouble If You're A Negro And Didn't Vote For
Roosevelt And The Rest Of Boss Crump's Bourbon Ticket

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Jan. 18.—The harassed Negro population of this Southern Jim-Crow, poll-tax city are attempting to organize themselves to resist a deliberate campaign of police terror and racial indignities. A federal investigation into conditions in Memphis by Colonel Amos Woodcock, special assistant to the U. S. attorney general, has not brought any relief.

For months, starting prior to the November 1940, elections, police have maintained a "picket-line" before the establishments of a number of Negro merchants, in a deliberate effort to force them out of business. All customers seeking to enter these stores are stopped, searched and otherwise intimidated. The police are using the pretext that they are searching for "criminals" and "dope peddlers."

Tension between whites and Negroes is mounting, with increasing individual clashes on the streets, in shops and trolley cars. This is a situation deliberately provoked by the Democratic boss political machine of Ed Crump, in retaliation for the refusal of many Negroes to support Roosevelt and the Democratic white-bourbon ticket in the last election.

Elmer Atkinson, one of the merchants "picketed," has already been forced to close his doors. The drug store of Dr. J. B. Martin, against whom the drive originally opened, when he refused to call off a rival political rally under the threats of Boss Crump's tools, is still running.

Meanwhile, paralleling the mass arrest of Negroes in Philadelphia,

reported recently in the *Socialist Appeal*, scores of Negro residents, here are being picked up off the streets every day by the police and held on charges of "loitering," etc. But while the Philadelphia incident was somewhat exceptional for that city, this is something which Memphis Negroes have always suffered, except that now it is being systematically intensified.

A score and more of prominent local Negro residents have been singled out by name and threatened with being run out of town by the Police Commissioner, Joe Boyle, Negro newspaper editors who have attempted to expose the Memphis conditions have likewise been threatened and intimidated.

It is clear that the local officials are attempting to provoke a race riot against the Negroes. Individual whites, almost as if by design, have gone out of their way to accost and insult Negroes, even on clearly segregated Jim-Crow street cars. The Negroes are conducting themselves with extreme caution, fearing that the police are just waiting for some defensive action by Negroes which could be used as a pretext for wholesale police violence against the whole Negro community.

Already official authorities in Memphis have announced that they have enough sub-machine guns on hand to care for the "situation." The police here have a long tradition of being quick on the trigger-finger in dealing with the defenseless Negroes.

This campaign of incitement against the Negroes goes beyond the local political situation, how-

ever. The CIO is attempting to organize in Memphis, and is building up working-class solidarity between the Negro and white workers. Among the plants which the CIO is organizing is that of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. The Crump machine has close ties with this corporation as well as other big-business outfits. No where in the country is there such an obvious working arrangement between the politicians and the corporations as here in Memphis. And nowhere is there more open hatred of organized labor.

The Memphis boss class is trying to smash the CIO organizing campaign by inciting conflict between the Negro and white workers. Little is expected of the federal investigation. Weeks have already gone by since its was instituted, and nothing has been done. The Democratic national administration will not interfere with its local machine, it is felt, especially as this may antagonize the Democratic white boss machine throughout the "Solid South."

The only real defense which the Memphis Negro workers have is to join with the white workers in the trade union movement, and by organized labor action to drive back the police terror. More and more Negro workers are joining the CIO and other labor organizations with the growing awareness of where their real strength lies.

(Since this article was written, the federal investigator, Col. Woodcock, has told the attorney general that the evidence he collected "will not stand up in court."—EDITOR.)

Just The Right People
To Rule On Textbooks

By LYDIA BENNETT

You would hardly believe it, but even political reaction has its funny phase. The Roosevelts, Bill Greens and Sidney Hillmans do the strong-arm job of clamping the leg-irons of capitalism on the workers; and that's not funny. But then come the little, cowardly, short-sighted, thick-skulled, moronic camp-followers who high-tail with their antics the whole vicious campaign of reversion which cannot be sated until mankind is pushed back into the cannibalism out of which it is just beginning to pull itself.

The National Association of Manufacturers, no less, is out to teach the teachers of America a thing or two, especially those who take modern science too literally. With \$1,600,000 in hand and a staff of stooges (including one from the Stalinite-dominated periodical *Science and Society*) this Association of Past Masters of the Arts of Swindling, Fraud and Adulteration has set out to censor and purify the textbooks of the country. Six hundred social science works have come under the eagle eye of Dr. Ralph West Robey and his associates.

The purpose of the scrutiny is to ferret out all books which either speak in favorable terms of the theories of socialism or communism or fail to paint a glowing-enough appreciation of the profound virtues of capitalist free enterprise, which parades in the lingo of N.A.M. as "the American way of life." These are to be consigned to the flames forthwith.

Dr. Robey should know about integrity and ethics and the deep virtue which underlies American business; he is assistant professor of banking at Nicholas Murray Butler's University and was at

one time part of the brains behind Alf M. Landon and his cohorts. He is one of the nation's chief snooper-outers of "socialism," having found a horrible amount of it in the New Deal.

Let us, however, live up to the high level of objectivity which Professor Robey and his N.A.M. display and observe the purposes announced by them. They are out to disseminate public information—that is all—on the content and philosophy of all the social science textbooks used in American schools. They should know about public information, too! Aren't they the inventors and promoters of advertising, that greatest of all historical swindles? Aren't they the ones who hail as the profoundest discovery of modern research, Barnum's declaration that there's a sucker born every minute?

The guiding lights of N.A.M. think the spirit of America is dying from want of a faith; and they have faith to give away, we gather. Maybe they want the kind of faith fostered by them—the kind that requires the capitalists themselves to set up a whole governmental department to look into the products marketed by members of N.A.M., in order to give some measure of assurance to a suspicious public that arsenic will be kept out of toothpaste, that horse-meat will not be sold as beef, that vermin and rats and filth will not be used to season canned soup, that chalk will not be advertised as flour. We suspect, however, that the kind of faith they really want to recapture and cultivate is that which leads a poor sucker to buy watered-down, flavored alcohol as a cure for cancer, or pink water at 69¢ a pint for antiseptic uses, or per-tumed machine-oil to restore lost hair.

What hurts N.A.M. is that the system of free enterprise in America is not being talked up in the schools as it should. Now, for our side, we say we have absolutely no objection to taking a scalpel to this famous free enterprise and, in the bright light of day—every day—disseminating it with care and scientific precision, provided when we get down to Hopson and Whitney and Insull we can hold them up in their reeking nakedness for all the students to see.

HOME WORK FOR THE MANUFACTURERS
Let it not be supposed, however, that the individual manufacturers are being let off easy by N.A.M. Dear me, no! They have a series of duties to perform. Each manufacturer "should read in full any book which seems of questionable merit." Since this means all the best books on social science writ-

ten in the last two decades, this phase of organizational activity in itself ought to cut the ranks of the Association by about 50%, putting half its membership into institutions for the mentally injured. Every member of the Association is further urged to "get in close touch with school boards and individual teachers," the closeness to the boards amounting, we suspect, to complete identity.

The final organizational directive is most subtle of all: N.A.M. members are to "encourage educators to realize the merit of the private enterprise system." Or else! What visions of persecutions and purgings, of private examinations, of classroom spyings, of bribes and threats! N.A.M. knows its power, and that power came in a flood of gold from all the billions of lies told on all the millions of billboards in America. There lies the sole educational instrument N.A.M. knows and can appreciate; it brings in dividends.

In 1815, after reaction had caught up temporarily with the great French Revolution, the Pope issued orders to tear down the street-lighting system introduced into Rome by the Napoleonic regime, to rip up the botanical gardens planted there in the interest of science, to burn and tear and cut out every index of progress to be found in the city. These things were done, and now we laugh at them. We know when we look at the past that history never marches backward. We sometimes forget that, when we look at our crazy contemporaries.

What Stalinists
Did At Their
"Lenin Memorial"

William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party, has slipped to a pretty low estate in C.P. life. At the "Lenin Memorial" meeting at Madison Square Garden, Jan. 13, Foster opened his remarks by saying "Lenin is dead!" then with a sigh of relief he devoted the rest of his remarks to plugging the latest books of the Dean of Canterbury, arch theoretician of Stalinist Marxism, entitled "Soviet Power."

Every speaker either started his speech with the phrase "Lenin is dead" or injected it into his remarks. No speaker spoke of Lenin's ideas or role, but spoke only of the "accomplishments" of the U.S.S.R. under Stalin.

A War Reporter
Lifts The Veil
For A Moment

No amount of canned propaganda can polish up the tarnished slogans for which the masses of the world cheered and died in World War I. The present war is being fought without illusions. On the Allied as well as on the Axis side the war is merely the final sufferance which the masses sullenly endure because they are not prepared as yet to write fins to this bloody end-product of capitalism in its death agony.

A startlingly frank admission of this fact is contained in one of a series of articles published in the *New York Post* and *Chicago Daily News*. Wallace R. Deuel, correspondent recently returned from Europe, wrote in the January 9th issue of the *Post*:

"Most of the peoples of Europe are like the victims of a nightmare today—dazed, numb, worn out, despairing and confused."

"The war itself is the monster of the nightmare, of course. But so many other terrors preceded it—so many other unbearable shocks and strains and disillusionments—that the peoples were worn out before the war ever came."

"There is a hopelessness, too, about the nightmare, as well as an almost unendurable fatigue."

"On the Allied side, there is the hopelessness of seeing Germany rise again only half a generation after it had been beaten 'for good.' How can the German problem be solved, if it was not solved in 1918? There are ways of solving it, of course, but the man on the street may be forgiven if he does not see them clearly. (Our emphasis.)"

"On the Allied side there is the further hopelessness of the appalling costs of the war in blood and treasure and freedom. Even if the Allies 'win,' what can be the fruits of their victory? Here, again, there are answers, but here, again the man on the street may be forgiven if he does not see them clearly."

"There is also on the Allied side the hopelessness of the failure to solve peoples' own problems, with the result that the peoples have lost much of their faith in their ideals..."

"But there is a hopelessness on the German side, too. It is true that Germany has risen again. But the price in wear and tear on the people's nerves has been appalling, and millions of Germans have ceased to believe, if they ever did, that it is possible to hope for rewards which would be worth the price."

"... The longer the war lasts, the more the Germans wonder if it is worth fighting."

An Admission of Bankruptcy

Why do the masses of Britain, Germany, Italy continue to fight this war in which none believes, a war for which the rulers can give no justification? asks Deuel, and attempts an answer.

"They fight it, though, most of them, not with the normal reactions of peoples who have fought wars in the past, but against their own wills and judgments which tell them that the war is not worth fighting and that therefore they do not want to fight it. Because they cannot see anything else to do, because they are the victims of a nightmare." (Our emphasis.)

No such admission of universal bankruptcy on the part of the ruling classes of every nation has ever before been uttered in the capitalist press. And it appears in a series of articles devoted primarily to convincing the American masses of the necessity for our participation in the war on the side of Britain!

Deuel, and the whole ruling class for which he speaks, say "Fight! Fight without reason, without cause, without hope. But fight!"

Unable to offer the masses even the shred of an answer to their problems, the capitalists and bankers of every nation, demand a messianic faith in a bloody mission whose sordid purpose they cannot—and dare not—admit.

What has wrung this damaging admission from Deuel? Not devotion to the truth—but fear! It is a hysterical warning to the masters of the world.

You have not long to travel, Deuel is saying. The historical road down which you have ridden over the tortured and broken bodies of the peoples is nearing its end. Save yourselves! Give the masses an answer, any answer, but give them an answer before it is too late.

The Rulers Have No Answer

But the ruling classes have no answer except more violence, more wars, more oppression. Only the masses themselves have an answer; born of their agony, despair and hopelessness, nurtured on desperation and disillusionment.

It is the answer which turns the bones of the master class into jelly. It is the answer which the prime ministers, presidents and fuhrers know today; and which the workers and peasants of every land will give tomorrow. It is the answer of proletarian revolution.

Who Backed Camacho?
Mexican Stalinists

"Camacho is seen swinging right toward reaction" and "New president putting foes of people into posts, encouraging reactionaries by slogan 'No Victors, No Vanquished'" read the headlines over a story dated Mexico City, in the January 4th *Daily Worker*.

Although the Mexican people, the workers and peasants, gave Camacho the election victory by their support, "they did not gain the real victory. And every day shows this more clearly," proclaims the *Daily Worker*.

When the Mexican Trotskyists warned the Mexican masses prior to the elections that Camacho represented the reaction, the Mexican Communist party called the Trotskyists everything from "counter-revolutionary dogs" to "agents of American imperialism."

It seems that the real agent of American imperialism turns out to be Camacho, the man whom the Stalinists supported and helped elect to the presidency.