Roosevelt And The Eighteen

By The Editors

On New Year's eve 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO were put behind prison bars.

They were put behind prison bars by a government which represents the interests, not of the broad masses of the American people, but of a small clique of the rich and privileged.

These real masters of America, who are coining gold out of the agony and havoc of the 2nd world war, have determined to silence every voice of labor opposition to their government of criminal misrule. They have determined to hamstring and throttle the powerful labor movement of America. No wonder they chose as their first victims eighteen individuals, who above all others, represent the Socialist consciousness of the awakening American working class.

The spokesmen of the American plutocracy dare accuse the honest and fearless fighters for a new socialist world of the crime of "conspiracy." The conspirators are all on the other side. The conspirators are not located in the national headquarters of the Trotskyists or the Minneapolis CIO Truckdrivers. No, they are located in the governmental offices of Washington and the counting houses of Wall Street. Here are the men, who behind the backs of the American people, hatched the gigantic conspiracy to plunge them into the slaughter of the second world war.

6

Roosevelt, who heads the list of these big conspirators, also stands at the head of the conspiracy that railroaded the 18 Socialist leaders and union militants to jail. Roosevelt, who signed the Smith "Gag" Act, personally initiated the prosecution of the 18 at the request of his labor flunkey, Daniel J. Tobin. Thus, the cogs of the machinery of capitalist prosecution and frameup began to turn. Soon Biddle, another Rooseveltian "liberal" and a former member of the American Civil Liberties Union, sent his G-men and prosecutors into action. Federal Judge Joyce, who watches over the interests of the plutocracy in the Minnesota Federal district put his seal of approval on the conspiracy. And now the nine begowned lawyers on the Supreme Court bench have permitted the conspiracy to run its course and the prison doors have closed on the 18.

The great socialist agitator, Eugene V. Debs spoke prophetically when he stated in his celebrated Canton speech during the last war: "It is extremely dangerous to exercise the constitutional rights of free speech in a country fighting to make democracy safe in the world." In this self-proclaimed war to establish the "four freedoms" all over the world, Roosevelt is trampling on the freedom of the American people here at home.

As the masters in Washington are plunging into the fifth year of the slaughter of the peoples, with no end in sight, their naked aims of conquest, subjugation and exploitation are becoming more obvious to millions of people at home and abroad. Is it any wonder that they lash out in mad hatred at men and women who are telling the truth?

Roosevelt and the American plutocrats are behaving as every predatory ruling class that is already doomed by history has behaved throughout the years. In this respect, he is behaving like Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Chiang-Kai-Shek who in their frenzied fear of the Marxist ideas, have executed, assassinated and jailed our Trotskyist comrades. They hope to silence the voice of truth; they hope to stifle and choke off the socialist message which alone points the way out of this madhouse of fascism, hunger and war. But their jailings are in vain. Debs said in Canton: "They may put those men in jail-and some of the rest of us in jail-but they cannot put the socialist movement in jail."

Every day the masses are learning more about the character of this ruling class, of its aims, of its war. All the repressions, all the prosecutions, all the jailings will not avail. The truth will prove more powerful in the long run than the hundreds of thousands of lies with which they are inundating the American nation. In the end the truth will prevail. For every one of the 18 that have been jailed, one hundred others will rise to take their place and carry on. The imprisonment of our eighteen comrades will become a damning accusation against this regime of repression and war. Our comrades walk into Roosevelt's "democratic" jails, with their socialist convictions undimmed and with their heads erect. They enter with the same revolutionary optimism as Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Eugene V. Debs went into jail in the first world war. The optimism proved justified. The first world war saw the eruption of the Russian revolution-the greatest revolution in human history-and the creation of a workers' state over one-sixth of the surface of the earth. The second world war will produce a conflagration far more widespread than that of 25 years ago. The American working class, organized into the most powerful trade union organization of its entire history, is already experiencing a new awakening. On the heels of the fourth miners' general strike, have come the struggles of 11/2. million steel and railroad workers. This gigantic labor movement, undefeated in battle, is every day absorbing more clearly the meaning of this war. Every day greater sections of this working class will come to realize that the jailing of the 18 is part and parcel of the campaign to outlaw strikes, to harass and throttle the trade unions, to freeze wages, to raise taxes, to exploit, starve and enslave the American people, and to saddle them with the full burdens and costs of the criminal war. Ever greater sections of labor will realize that the fight to free the 18 is the fight for the freedom of the labor movement, the fight for the needs and the rights of the whole working class. It is in that spirit and with that understanding that militants throughout the labor movement will take up the cry: Free the 18! This fight will be waged as part of the whole battle to hurl back the brutal anti-labor offensive of Big Business and its stooges. This fight will continue until the masses have driven from the seats of power all the representatives of the exploiters, the tyrants, the rich. The workers and poor farmers in taking over the government, will forever banish from the earth wars, oppression, exploitation and hunger. On a new socialist foundation they will build a world of opportunity, democracy, prosperity and peace. 1. A.w.

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L8 FRAMED SWP LEADERS O BEHIND PRISON BARS

Trotskyist Leaders Just Before Imprisonment



After assembling at SWP headquarters and marching two abreast to the U.S. Marshall's office, 15 of the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO are shown above at the Federal Courts building where they were taken into custody. They then marched around the block to the county jail to begin serving their prison terms. The other three prisoners were taken into custody in New York City. See pictures Page 5.

Rail And Steel Disputes Show Roosevelt Swing To Reaction By C. Thomas

A significant development of the rising lab or crisis is Roosevelt's pronounced swing to the right. Time magazine comments approvingly: "Behind the velvet glove technique of offering concessions, within the (Little Steel) formula, was Roosevelt's iron hand — and the iron hand was news.'

General Marshall's vicious attack from ambush upon the American labor movement has aroused tremendous indignaion among workers everywhere. The meaning of Marshall's declarations and the role of labor in the struggle against fascism are analyzed in the feature article on page 2: "General Marshall and the Fight Against Fascism. **Frenzied Plea for** epresent Trotskyism in America, **By Stalinist Finks** he only political opposition to Roosevelt's regime serious enough

By R. Bell

Stalinists are out to break their

during the coal strikes. In a

Daily Worker. article (Dec. 23)

entitled: "Even Talk of Rail

Strike Dangerous," the Stalinist

"labor expert" George Morris

unburdens himself on the rail-

way wage dispute: "That the

wage crisis in railroad was per-

mitted to reach its present

dangerous stage is a scandal

that should be laid at the doors

of narrow-minded stabilization

officials who cling to an out-worn

wage formula, and the railroad

companies who are now pocketing

unprecedented profits. The latter

group want to keep raking in

those profits under protection of

"This nonsensical wage form-

ula," under which the railroad

companies are "pocketing unpre-

this nonsensical wage formula."

In the current labor crisis, the

developed to its highest point Debs.

Demonstrate Solidarity As They Begin Jail Sentences

287

Minneapolis Workers Salute United March of 15 on Way to Federal Marshal's Office

By Joseph Hansen

MINNEAPOLIS, January 1.—At 3:10 yesterday afternoon, the jailer turned the key in the door of Hennepin County Jail, locking behind bars 15 of the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis case. The other three were imprisoned in New York City and then sent to Danbury, Connecticut

Headed by James P. Cannon and Vincent R. Dunne, the fifteen defendants formed ranks at 2:30 at the Minneapolis branch offices of the Socialist Workers Party and marched in a body through the

to the Federal Court tionary tendency in the Scan-dinavian flavoring of Minnesota House. There they were politics. He was born in Sweden received by the United on an ancient feudal estate where his ancestors had worked as serfs States Marshal. In custody as far back as records extend. When Carl was a boy, capitalism of two deputies, they then penetrated into this area with saw continued their closed mills and other entrprises based rank procession to the on cheap water power. Overnight, youths changed from serfs into County jail. proletarians.

The conflict with the older This morning at eight o'clock, Lutheran generation became according to the County Sheriff. peculiarly sharp. From devout beall were taken to Sandstone Penilief in witchcraft, charms and the tentiary except for Grace Carlson catechism, these youths were conwhose time of leaving for a Fedfronted with the ultra-modern eral women's prison has not yet scientific doctrines of Karl Marx. been made public.

The feudal home broke up. At From the SWP branch offices to the age of 15 Carl created a local the County Jail, these revoluscandal by refusing to go through tionaries marched with great with confirmation in the Lutheran dignity, fully aware of the hischurch. toric significance of this imprison-

He spent three years in the ment. Theirs had been the first Swedish army. trial in the United States of re-

volutionary socialists in the MET COOVER

second world war. They are the In 1911 he came to the "land

During the coal miners' dispute, the workers' struggle for higher wages was pictured as a personal feud between John L. Lewis and Roose velt, with the miners being used as pawns. The real grievances of the miners were for a long time dismissed as a pretext seized upon by Lewis Strike Curbs Made to embarrass the President. The Stalinists contributed to this union-baiting campaign by adding the note that Lewis was ac- \mathbb{P}

Hirohito.'

The poison-pen artists find it an inkling of what happened. impossible to employ the same REFUSE OFFER propaganda in the rail and steel In a conference with the rail

situations. Roosevelt is only too officials on December 23, Rooswell aware of the spinelessness evelt "layed down the law." Three and subservience of the rail and of the railway union representasteel bureaucrats. He is also tives rejected his arbitration ofaware that the rail and steel by the three union officials, prot- hour. Despite the jubilation of fer. The public statement issued workers stand far to the left esting Roosevelt's action revealed of their official leadership.

It was this knowledge, together with General Somervell, Dec. 29, with his experience in the coal the Administration arranged no with the "velvet glove technique strikes, that prompted Roosevelt meeting with the chosen repres- of offering concessions" to the to modify his previous technique. entatives of the three organiza-He tested his labor prestige in the tions involved in an effort to coal strikes when he appealed to reach a peaceful settlement" Roosevelt had lost confidence in the miners over the heads of their official leaders, to return to work. his own and the labor bureauc-So devastating was the rebuff of rats' ability to "peacefully" res the miners that Roosevelt did not strain the workers. He declared: dare repeat the experiment with "I cannot wait," and issued or the rail workers. For the first ders for the army to proceed with time. he ordered the army to take the seizure of the railroads. A over an industry, before the the same time, he announced his

WAR PRODUCTION CUT-BACKS MENACE WORKERS' SECURITY

plants, especially small, independ-By Miriam Carter ent firms. have been closed down There has been a lot of talk in entirely, and many are operating the past few months by the at only a fraction of their capabosses and their spokesmen in city. In the aluminum industry Washington about the post-war the proportion of cutbacks is even world. Many grandiose promises greater. Five "pot line" plants have been made in an effort to in Queens, Burlington, New Jerpaint a rosy picture of the sey, and Borden, North Carolina, future for the workers who are fighting, dying, and paying for the war he war. down. Other plants are op- height. The showdown, however,

The real future planned by the erating at 10-50 per cent capacity posses is revealed in the recently with big shutdowns in Massena, initiated cutback program of the New York, a big aluminum prod-War Production Board. ucing center, in the offing.

They have shown their readiness Many large scale layoffs have These shutdowns in basic industo back their demands by milibeen taking place in the steel and tries, that handle materials at an tant action. The capitalists are aluminum industries. In Penn-

sylvania and Ohio some steel (Continued on page 2)

tually an "agent of Hitler and start of a strike. The three rail arbitration award in the case officials who refused Roosevelt's the two rail unions which had arbitration offer have given us accepted his arbitration offer. In order to skirt around the Little Steel formu'a, Roosevelt's award grants a four cents per hour increase in the basic wage scale, plus five cents per hour, "in lieu of overtime and travelling expense," plus two cents per hour in lieu of vacations with pay, a

> the Time publishers over Roosthat, "from Dec. 23 until we met evelt's "iron hand," Roosevelt was constrained to temper his iron

> > railway workers.

ROOSEVELT'S DILEMMA

These latest wage concessions highlight in the most graphic manner the dilemma of the Roosevelt administration. The Roosevelt administration depends for its political support primarily upon the organized trade union movement. Without its labor base, the Roosevelt administration cannot survive. Despite re-

technique.

cented profits," is none other than peated attempts, Roosevelt has Roosevelt's notorious Little Steel failed to regain significant supformula, now under attack by the port among other sections of the rail and steel workers. Hard on population. Besides, the temper the heels of the rail crisis, the of America's mass production steel workers, turned down workers is rising and some small their retroactive pay demand by concessions must be made to hold Roosevelt's WLB agents, began them in line and preserve their walking out of the plants when support for the war program. It their contracts expired on Christs this contradiction which ex-

plains his 'iron hand-velvet glove' mas eve. The Stalinists were horrified! They suddenly discovered that "the steel and all other work-Thanks to the craven attitude

of Murray and Co., Roosevelt suc- ers are asking no more than a ceeded in postponing the show- restoration of the 'Little Steel down with the steel workers, formula balance." (Daily Worker while the rail crisis was at its Dec. 28).

NEW DISCOVERY will not be long in coming. The

This discovery occurred after steel workers are expecting to Roosevelt, compelled to intervene receive substantial wage increases. in the growing crisis, had sent the trade union and political leadtelegrams to Murray and the ers, about to be railroaded to Steel operators. To the operators prison because of their devotion o the working class.

on

first to be incarcerated in "demo of freedom." Working on the railcratic" America for expression of opinion as to the character of the second World War. DEBS' MANTLE

LAST HOURS IN

MINNEAPOLIS

us a taxi.

road, he met Oscar Coover. "We hardly worked," said Carl reminiscently; "we had such good arguments about socialism."

They marched proudly, for they But the freedom Carl sought in America seemed to have been somewhat exaggerated in the advertisements of the steamship companies. Because he played a in its advocacy of socialism to prominent part in building the receive treatment like that accorded the revolutionary socialists labor movement of the Northwest. in the first World War. As they Roosevelt's regime decided to imstrode through the streets, they prison him. Still worse they inprevious strikebreaking record, wore the mantle of Eugene V. sulted him by offering a bribe ...

if he were to stand on the side of Tobin's stool pigeons in the trial, then things might go easier for him. . .

It was dark when the Hiawatha He faces 16 months in prison. pulled into Minneapolis. Carl When he gets out, he does not Skoglund and Oscar Coover met know his fate-perhaps deporta-Cannon and myself at the station. tion to Sweden, a country he left They had a little difficulty getting so long ago it is completely alien to him now. Thus two ages as

From the hotel we went to a well as two continents, are restaurant. On the way, walking blended in this union man. He was along the dark street, I became born into the last remnants of better acquainted with Skoglund.

Continued on page 5)

Minneapolis Holds Farewell Banquet

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Dec. 28. - Two hundred and fifty St. Paul and Minneapolis workers, including many truck drivers who had participated in the historic drivers' strike of 1934, attended the farewell banquet given here tonight in honor of the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Motor Transport Workers Union Local 544-CIO, who will surrender to the Federal Marshal here on Friday.

Prominently displayed in front of the hall of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters, where the banquet was held, was a huge Honor Roll, bearing the names of the 18 class-war victims. Ten of the eighteen were

acted as toastmaster.

Skoglund represents the revolu-

The popular working class song, "Solidarity", which opened the program, was sung with especial feeling by the audience of working men and women who had come to pay their respects to

seated at the speakers table, the case, Miles Dunne, who was along with Miles Dunne who himself acquitted on a frame-up charge in 1941, showed that the

imprisonment of the 18 under the reactionary Smith "Gag" Act was a great blow to the whole labor movement. "There will be other cases and other victims unless the reactionary law under which the 18 were convicted is repealed through the organized pressure of the labor movement," he warned. Opening the speaking program,

(Continued on page 5)

(Continued on page 5) _____ Sketching the background of (Continued on page 6)

TWC -

Gen. Marshall And The Fight Against Fascism

By William F. Warde No sooner did the railroad and steel workers begin their fight against the vicious wage freeze, than all the star spangled stewards of Big Business began to hurl the filthiest abuse at the labor movement.

The millionaires, who are piling up superprofits out of the war, pushed forward none other than Gen. Marshall to launch the antilabor barrage. America's Army Chief of Staff took time out from his military duties to denounce to a special news conference the workers fighting for a living wage. The railroad wage controversy, he said, is "the damnedest crime that was ever committed against America." It would give Goebbels, he predicted, "a psychological lift," It will prolong the war in Europe and cost hundreds of thousands of American lives. Marshall then called upon the wives and mothers of servicemen to make their voices heard. Now comes White House secretary Early to inform us-that Roosevelt is "thinking along the same lines."

Here we have a real preview of the sinister designs and the black reactionary aims of American Big Business. They want to saddle the labor movement with responsibility for the horrors and deaths of Wall Street's war. They want to convert the army into a hate-labor weapon to eventually destroy the labor movement and all democratic rights. The highest military officer of the army is proven to be nothing but a soulless tool of the billionaire corporations.

Who Is Responsible?

Who is responsible for Hitler? Why, it was these same monopolists, whose mouthpiece Marshall is, who boosted Hitler into power and helped the Nazis to rearm. These monopolists make secret cartel agreements with the German and Japanese capitalists,

ment is a well-known and influe- planters.

The "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN-NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" - KARL MARX.

Negro Struggle

By David Ransom _

In The Deep South

A. Phillip Randolph, President | These agents are under the con-

of the Brotherhood of Sleeping trol of the American Farm Bur-

Car Porters and head of the eau, an organization of million-

March - on - Washington - Move- aire form operators and cotton

ential figure in the Negro and According to the Southern Ten-

trade union movements. But to ant Farmers Union, the 1944 farm

Democrat Ed Crump, political boss labor supply bill, passed by the

of Memphis, Randolph is just an-- House of Representatives, and

other trouble maker from up now before a Senate Appropria-

On Nov. 6, 1943, the day be- farmers who wish to maintain an

fore Randolph was scheduled to abundant labor supply in the

Memphis, Crump's stooge, Sheriff fact that workers are employed

brought to his office. The sheriff levels." Farm wages in the South

tween the devil and the deep blue

Treasury and hold up production until they extort guaranteed gold-lined contracts from the government - and all remains quiet along the Potomac. But let a million workers demand a few cents more an hour in an attempt to catch up with the rising cost of living - and immediately the capitalist press, the politicians and Brass Hats howl that they are "saboteurs" and "traitors." The mouthpieces of the monopolists slandered the miners in the same fashion, charging that the coal strikes were grist to Hitler's mill. In reality Hitler and Goebbels did not dare to advertise the miners' strikes among the German people. The first task of the Nazis when they took power, was to smash the labor movement because the militant working class is everywhere the deadliest foe of Nazis and fascism. Hitler understood that news of worker's struggles and strikes would only reawaken the militancy, the independence and the spirit of international solidarity which permeated the German labor movement before Anglo-American Big Business helped him to take power. That is why his publicity machine never called attention to the min-

ers' struggle. Exactly the same thing is true in the present railroad and steel struggles. Goebbels gives full publicity to the anti-negro riots, but he remains silent as the grave about the present militant struggles of the American working class. An analysis by government agencies of the recent Nazi broadcasts proves that they gave no notice to the steel and railroad controversies, other than a few perfunctory references.

Aims Of Big Business

Big Business would like to throttle the labor movement in this country the way Hitler did in Germany. The struggle of

pile up billions in war profits, plunder the the American workers for their rights against these would-be Hitlers is therefore not only the best insurance against the rise of native fascism: it likewise serves to encourage the German workers to lift their heads and to initiate their own fight against fascism and Big Business.

These superpatriotic Wall Street scoundrels who are vilifying the workers give even today direct aid to Hitlerism. In their messages to the German people on New Year's day Hitler and Goebbels themselves presented irrefutable proof of this fact.

After four and a half years of war the Nazis are fighting with their backs to the wall. In addition to the external military pressure tightening around them and the revolts in the occupied countries, they are alarmed by the growing unrest of the masses within Germany. Large sections of the German workers hate the murderous dictatorship; the army is probably seething with discontent; the people unquestionably want an end to the endless destruction and death. Conditions are ripe for the German masses to move against Hitler's regime with the same revolutionary power that enabled the Italian workers to topple Mussolini. Through a successful German workers' revolution millions of lives could be spared and peace brought to Europe.

They Fear Revolution

The Anglo-American capitalists however dread the consequences of a workers' revolution almost as much as Hitler and the German capitalists. The Teheran Conference did not even issue a call to the German people to revolt. Roosevelt and Churchill pursue an entirely different course toward Germany. The Allied leaders arrogantly boast that they are conducting a war of revenge and extermination, not against the

Nazi criminals and their capitalist accomplices, but against the entire German nation. They have adopted the philosophy of Vansittart and advocate the brutal subjugation of the German people modeled upon Hitler's enslavement of the European peoples. They not only propose to enslave the German people but to dismember the country, strip it of machinery, railroads, and power plants. They propose to inflict upon the defeated German nation all the crimes the Nazis committed against the conquered nations of Europe. These frank avowals of the predatory

Anglo-American program have become Hitler's chief propaganda trump. The fear of a new and more savage Versailles is what temporarily keeps the German people from overthrowing the Nazi regime. Roosevelt and Churchill are temporarily helping to bolster Hitler's weakening dictatorship.

Chief Trump

"The dominant theme of Hitler's New Year's proclamation to the German people was that times were hard but that worse was to come if Germany lost," cables the AP.

Here are Hitler's own words: "In the end there will be no victors or losers but only survivors and annihilated . . . They would be delighted if they could destroy ten or a hundred times as many men. They even say so brutally and openly — and we note it just as openly. It shows us that this is a struggle without mercy, a struggle for existence that unfortunately we must and will carry on just as unmercifully For, however great the terror may be today, it cannot be compar.ed with the horrible misfortune that would afflict our nation and the whole of Europe if this coalition of criminals should ever be victorious."

The German workers, the first victims of conscripting millions of Germans to beof Hitlerism, must burn with impatience to settle accounts with their Nazi oppressors. But they must also be asking: why should we undergo the colossal dangers and sacrifices involved in overthrowing the Nazis if we can expect nothing but enslavement, savage punishment, starvation and super-exploitation at the hands of the invading Allies?

Remember Versailles

The German people remember the terrible consequences of the Versailles Treaty. Hitler carefully reminds them that they cannot trust Roosevelt after Wilson's hypocrisy.

To transform their anti-Nazi impulses into action, the German workers need a program which offers them a realistic road out of their present desperate situation. which can organize and arouse them for revolutionary struggle.

Here is where Stalinism perpetrates its greatest crime against the working class.

When the Bolsheviks conquered power during the first world war, Lenin and Trotsky issued a revolutionary summons to the German workers to rise up against the Hohenzollerns and join the Soviet and European workers in common struggle against imperialism. This call received its response in the German November 1918 revolution which brought the first world war to, an end. This same revolutionary policy could overturn Hitlerism and stop the imperialist war.

Stalin instead calls for the same kind of war of revenge against the German people as his imperialist allies. The Stalinist propaganda is even more ferocious and vindictive. In show trials, the Stalinists try to prove every German guilty for the sufferings caused by the war. They speak

come "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for Stalinist taskmasters. And in his New Year's speech Hitler stressed every one of these terrible threats.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1944

This infamous, reactionary program of the Kremlin helps Hitler. These menacing, chauvinist declarations seek to drive the Soviet and German workers farther apart instead of drawing them together in fraternal solidarity and struggle against the Nazis and the capitalists. Stalin too seeks to close the door to the German workers and bar to them the road of socialist revolution.

Reactionary Alliance

All the rulers are conspiring to paint the German workers as International pariahs. From the west approach the Anglo-American imperialists are bent upon reducing them to vassals and destroying their country, their culture, their lives. Turning toward the east where the red dawn of the October Revolution blazed they see in front of the Red Armies the features of the Stalinist bureaucracy baring its teeth and brandishing its whip. At home, they have Hitler and his Nazi cut-throats.

But the Anglo-American imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucracy are not the only powers in Europe. There exist in Europe also the workers and peasants, the overwhelming majority of the population. In their desperation and agony, they will organize their own forces and begin to act in their own name and interests. On that day, Hitler will be swept aside as was Mussolini. And the grandiose plans of Roosevelt. Churchill and Stalin will be junked. Only the workers in alliance with the peasantry, following the road of Lenin and Trotsky, will rescue Europe from this devouring war, from starvation and ruin.



15,000

13,000

11,000

9,000

14,000

12,000

10,000

6,000

4,000

2000

(opp. STERN'S)

NEW YORK

now on."

NEW HAVEN

MILWAUKEE

SAN DIEGO

New York

Los Angeles

Twin Cities

Members-at-Large

and friends

Cleveland

Reading

Chicago

Youngstown

Detroit

Boston

Newark

Buffalo

ALLENTOWN

SAN FRANCISCO

By Rose Karsner, Director

Last week, before the New York contingent of the 18 classwar prisoners left for Minneapolis to surrender to the United States Marshal, I spoke with several of them about the progress of the 15th Anniversary Fund Campaign.

Today I want to report what they said. Vincent R. Dunne: "The way the comrades are responding is no surprise to me. I always

new that special circumstances would call forth special sacrifices from them. The example San Diego branch set in fulfilling its quota so far ahead of the time set is especially gratifying to me, because when we were discussing the quotas to be assigned, some of us thought \$100 was too high for so small a group. I felt sure

they would do it. They have now justified my appraisal of them." Farrell Dobbs: "I have been watching the mercury of the scoreboard thermometer with North who has to be put in his tions committee, is the same as the 1943 law. It will aid the "big great interest. The way it has been shooting up from week to week is phenomenal. Tell the comrades throughout the country who have made address a mass meeting in Southern states regardless of the this possible, that I am proud to be a member of the same party they belong to, and that I shall Perry rounded up 18 to 20 lead- only four to six months each carry this thought with me into prison." ing Negro citizens and had them year at below subsistence wage

8000 James P. Cannon: "This campaign was con-

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			í.		

Quota Paid Percent 50.00 65.00 130 25.00 27.50 110 1,000.00 1,050.00 105 100.00 100.00 100 25.00 25.00 100 2.500.00 2.049.0082 2,000.00 1,624.50 81 300.00 211.00 70 2,000.00 1,337.16 67 300.00 190.00 63 300.00 189.50 63 1.000.00 620.00 62 200.00 100.00 50 800.00 348.00 4475.00 30.00 40 2,000.00 713.13 36 200.0070.0035 1,000.00 300.00

Production Cut-Back Menace To Workers

(Continued from page 1)

a regular pay check.

early stage in their manufacture, mean future cutbacks in fabricatlion workers will be "freed from fight for provisions that will war p'ants" by the third quarter avoid the bitter misery of unemof 1944. (N.Y. Times, Dec. 14). ployment. Workers who have a chance to

elsewhere are not allowed to quit The demand made by CIO presibecause of Rocsevelt's job freezdent Philip Murray for an annual ing order. They just have to stay | wage is one for which the whole on the job until the bosses have labor movement must fight. The no further use for them. No guarcorporations bloated with huge reantee is given that though they serves squeezed from war profits, stick to the job they can expect can well afford to provide an annual wage. This demand cannot In fact, the corporations utilize be achieved, however, by followthese cutbacks in production to ing Murray's policy of pleading, further undermine wage stand begging and depending on the ards. In McKeesport, Pennsylva good nature of the Roosevelt adnia, on December 13, the pouring ministration, while destroying the cranemen of the National Tube effectiveness of the labor move-Company went on strike in protest ment with the no-strike pledge.

[unemployment, the "grim reaper"

ANNUAL WAGE

of the depression, may once agair ravage the working class. Now is the time, while the majority ing plans. Government spokes- of the workers are employed and men estimate that about one mil- the trade unions are powerful, to

get steadier or better paying jobs

warned them Randolph wouldn't average between, four and five be allowed to talk and predicted dollars a week. "race riots" if the meeting was

held. Though the meeting was cancelled, Randolph did speak before two small gatherings of Ne-groes in Memphis that week.

place.

In spite of the government dec Crump's loud talk about Northern agitators simply reveals that rees and the threats of physical violence more than half a million Negroes in the South are follow-Negroes, one paper says, have ing the lead of their brothers in the North and pressing forward migrated to the North during the for their rights in a militant course of the second world war. What is going to happen to the fashion. Of course Crump and the whole parasitic crew of landmillions of Negroes who remain lords and politicians who have in the South? Although more lived off the Negroes for genera- than 2 million have left the South tions won't yield an inch without since 1920, it is impossible for all of them to migrate to the putting up the most violent resistance. They are demonstrating North. Economically, says Charles S. Johnson, noted Negro writer, that it will require a merciless the Southern Negro is caught bestruggle to win concessions.

* * *

The Interstate Commerce Com-For ten years before the war, mission has just handed down a machines were at a rapid rate redecision which declares that segplacing farm workers in the regation of races on railroad South. And Jim Crow plus the trains does not constitute "unlawdepression kept these Negroes out ful discrimination." The ICC of the factories. Even under the made this ruling in dismissing comparatively favorable employthe complaint of 18 colored seament opportunities during the men against the Atlantic Coast war, the Southern negro is still Line Railroad Company. The barred by the capitalists from railroad officials refused to feed any kind of skilled jobs. the colored seamen while white But the Negro masses are not passengers were in the dining taking things lying down. In an So long as they received alliance with white workers who car. equal though segregated service, also suffer from the backwardness the ICC says, there was nothing of the South, they have found a wrong. Segregation itself, the way of fighting Jim Crow. Last ICC said, is a social question which it cannot rule upon. and white tobacco workers of

The attempt of one federal agency, the Interstate Commerce CIO to represent them at the Commission, to pass the buck on Reynolds plant. There were the the issue of segregation only usual rumors of "race riots;" a emphasizes the point that the government itself supports the Jim Crow system of the South. papers accused the union of incit-Through its many agencies, the ing racial trouble. But this didn't armed forces, and the courts, the government enforces the Southern going ahead and joining the CIO. pattern of segregation. The struggle of the unions in

the South is not confined to just The Southern capitalists and economic questions. A short while landlords have used Roosevelt's ago 20 local unions of the CIO, job and wage freezing laws to AFL and the Railroad Brotherforce Negro and white farm hoods in St. Louis went on record workers into a new system of demanding the abolition of dispeonage. A law passed in 1943 criminatory clauses in the state prevents farm workers from leav- constitution, passage of a federal ing their county without the con- anti-poll tax bill and the abolition sent of the Agricultural Extension of anti-Negro practices in in-Services agent of that county. dustry.

eived as a 15th Anniversary Fund—as a special effort in honor of the 15 years of American Trotskyism which developed through splits and unifications and splits again to the final con-One way in which Negroes have solidation of a Marxist cadre: a cadre which can

struck out against oppression has withstand the shocks of war and repression withbeen by migrating to the North. out hysteria, without faltering. "When we initiated this Campaign we did not

know our imprisonment was so imminent. We set a ninety-day time limit for fulfillment of the quotas so the comrades could make their pledges with the knowledge that they would have three months in which to complete them. We thought then that we would be here with you all throughout the campaign and watch its steady progress to full completion. The Supreme Court decision changed matters.

"We will not be here to see the mercury mount from week to week. But we go off to prison confident that this Campaign will be completed before the deadline.

"Tell the comrades that we accept the manner in which they have been rushing in the funds since the Supreme Court decision as an active

demonstration of their solidarity with us. The phenomenal speed with which the thermometer has been shooting upward surprised even an old timer like myself."

Last week we printed a very poignant note from a Miss M in Minneapolis. She said "I send \$1 of my poverty hoping others will do the same."

Today we received another dollar like that from a Mr. S of Long Island. He says: "Although I am not a party member I feel that I have been affected as much as you have by the railroading to prison of the defendants. I am doing what I can, that is donating a dollar now, with the promise of giving that much every month. Please forgive the modest size of the sum involved but that is my present limit determined by my income."



leaving. With the completion of their quota, the comrades of Central Branch pledged themselves to go over the top and are now aiming at the \$2,000 mark.

Carries full stock of Pioneer Pub-The Militant lishers Pamphlets; also other U.S. may now be purchased at 242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.



"You have sent me reminders shown by the following letters that my subscriptions have expir- from our agent there:

ed. I have already missed a few "Enclosed are seven subscripissues and at the same time, I tions. Please note that one blank have missed the Marxist interpre- is only a notice to you of a tation of the news, which inter- change in address of a recent pretation is the only one that has sub." "Enclosed are four more subs a real meaning.

to The Militant. They came in "I must continue to read our press since its clarity cuts through fifteen minutes after we mailed all the confusion created by the you the other seven subs. "Incidently, eight of the eleven capitalist radio and press, as well subs were brought in by one as that of the social democrats. "Enclosed find \$4. for The member who works in the ship-Militant and Fourth Interna- yards."

tional. Our agent in Toledo, Ohio, "P. S. I'm sending \$4 in place realizes the importance of keep-\$3 as a season greeting." ing financial obligations paid. He states: "Enclosed is money for my The house-to-house work done combination subscription renewal by our San Francisco comrades and also enclosed is money for is bringing excellent results. applying on future literature bill. both in subscriptions and con-We want to start the new year tacts. Our agent there writes: with a credit balance." "Enclosed find money order for attached five subs. "When we began our house-to-In Detroit, Mich. house work it was with the idea You can get that if we made only one good contact we would consider our THE MILITANT work successful. To date we at the have done just that and more. We FAMILY THEATRE have contact now with three very NEWSSTAND fine Negro families and will keep and foreign Marxist Literature. in close touch with them from

opposite the theatre



SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1944

THE MILITANT

Farewell Speeches Of James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs At Banquet In New York City, Sunday Dec. 26, 1943

[Following is the complete text of speeches delivered by James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs at the Farewell Banquet held Dec. 26, 1943 in New York City. Other speeches at the Banquet were printed in last week's issue of *The Militant*.]

SPEECH OF JAMES P. CANNON

This last opportunity to speak to you for a period, comrades, is also the first opportunity I have had to thank you all for the gifts that were presented to me and Rose on the occasion of the 15th Anniversary of our movement. We were both given gold watches by the comrades of Local New York. While I will not be able to take the watch with me to Sandstone penitentiary—as the saying goes, they figure you are not going anywhere and don't need to know the time—I will, nevertheless, be able to take something even more valuable than the watch or any other material gift. That is the memory of your kindness and your friendship.

N

It is always the most important thing in a new situation to understand what it is, to know exactly what has happened and why. Trotsky taught us that, among many other things. He frequently repeated his favorite motto from Spinoza: "neither to weep nor to laugh, but to understand."

The new situation is very clear to us and I think our understanding is accurate. As the United States began to gear all its machinery for entry into the new imperialist war, it became necessary again to fool the people. Here, as throughout the world, a tremendous, world-wide mechanism of deception, falsification and misrepresentation was turned loose on the people. It was once said that in every war the first casualty is the truth, and surely the truth was the first casualty of this war. The world is flooded, inundated by lies. We are living, you might say, in the epoch of the lie. Natalia Trotsky, in a letter she wrote to us not long ago, said that the lie has entered like a geologic layer into the spiritual life of the people of the world, but even geologic layers are not indestructible. The coming social revolution will blow the stratum of lies to bits, as a volcano blows up a geologic stratum.

We Alone Told the Truth

In this time, when the people of the world, and the people of America among them, needed one thing more than anything else—to know the truth—they were fed on lies. All those in public life, all the political parties, all the preachers, priests and rabbis, the intellectuals who had promised to instruct and educate and inform the youth—they all betrayed the people of America, they sold them out and went over to the camp of the liars and deceivers. Our party alone did not betray, did not sell out. We Trotskyists told the truth. That is the reason, and the only reason we are on our way to prison. We obeyed the first commandment in the decalogue of Trotskyism, which reads: "Thou shalt not lie."

We are not criminals, as you know, and as all of the others know. We are not going to prison for any fault or injury committed against unoffending people. We didn't kill, we didn't steal, and we didn't lie. On the contrary, we have been just and truthful. All the criminals are on the other side. And all the liars are on the other side, beginning with the judge and prosecutor in Minneapolis and ending with the highest court in the land. That is where the criminals are. I say that those nine black-gowned justices of the Supreme Court in Washington are just as criminal as any of them. They are on a level with Roosevelt and Biddle who started the prosecution and the lesser figures who carried it through. The august Court did not pass judgment upon us. They



Fourteen of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO leaders are pictured together at the party headquarters, 919 Marquette Ave., Minneapo'is, where they gathered before going to jail. Standing (left to right): FarreM Dobbs, Harry DeBoer, E. Palmquist, Clarence Hamel, Emil Hansen, Oscar Coover, Jake Cooper. Sitting (left to right): Max Geldman, Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, James P. Cannon, Vincent Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Grace Carlson.

Cruel Punishment Inflicted

And then, also, it is no light matter that we have to be separated from our families and they from us. True, we don't cry and, as Rose said so magnificently in her speech here tonight, our women don't mope. But, nevertheless, we are human tco. If we are struck a blow, we hurt, and if we are stabbed we bleed. Separation from those whose lives are bound to us in an intimate personal way is no less cruel a punishment for us than for others. Perhaps it is even more cruel, because our personal intimate associations are bound up with a complete community of ideas and activity in every element of life. Such associations are perhaps a little closer, even a little dearer, if you will, than those of ordinary people who don't value ideas very much and who, consequently, don't attract to themseives personal associations such as ours. But even if it hurts a little more, we can stand it better than the others because we are doing it in behalf of a cause that is more important than our personal lives. It is the cause that lifts us up and gives us strength. Socialism is greater than a mother and dearer than a wife. Knowing that, and knowing that our separation is forced upon us because of our devotion to the higher cause, is what makes it possible to bear and to withstand.

leaving behind us capable men and women who are qualified to take our places in the leadership of the party. They have not been selected in a hurry. When the decision of the Supreme Court was announced, we did not need an emergency meeting and a hurried search for comrades to take our places in the leading positions. That had already been decided by the 15th Anniversary Plenum of our party. But even the Plenum decision was only a formality. In reality the substitute leadership had been decided by the fifteen years of work and struggle in which certain individual comrades had been sifted out. They had shown their calibre. They had come forward, and by common consent they were designated to step into the places vacated by the 18.

Comrades:

I have never been in jail. But some of my best friends have been in jail. And therefore I have had a great deal of kindly advice and feel amply prepared to meet all of the exigencies of the period ahead.

One of our comrades who was imprisoned at the time of e trial in Minneapolis in 1941 — in the penitentiary where some of us are now going - told us a very interesting story about the reactions of the men in the penitentiary during the trial of the 28 in Minneapolis. He said that these men in the prison followed closely the reports of the trial in the Minneapolis press, and they were absolutely convinced that it was only a matter of hours or days at most, as the trial proceeded, until at least one of the many defendants would testify on behalf of the government and, in prison parlance, put the finger on the others. He related how they watched with absolute disbelief, as the trial unfolded, day after day, and they read the accounts in the paper. They saw the prosecution present its case. They saw the prosecution witnesses, the Tobin stool-pigeons, the FBI college boys, and the rest of their stooges, take the stand one after another to testify against the defendants, and, finally, in amazement, they saw the prosecution rest its case without putting a single one of the defendants on the stand to testify against the others. They saw the defendants go forward with the defense testimony, standing solid. Everyone who testified, held to his convictions, refused to waver or weaken in the face of the prosecution. And when the judge passed sentence, the 18, who finally were convicted, stood absolutely firm, looked the judge in the eye when he passed sentence and walked out of the courtroom with heads erect. And these men in the penitentiary couldn't believe this. They asked our comrades in the penitentiary, "What kind of people are these comrades of yours?" They knew the time tried method of the prosecution - to lump together a mass of defendants, figuring with absolute certainty that, under the law of averages, there would be at least one weakling in the group who will break down and give aid and support to the government in its case against the others. "What kind of people are these?" They couldn't understand. And they are not the only ones who couldn't understand.

The Spirit of Our Party

Our party is built on correct ideas and therefore is indestructible. But, in addition to that, I believe there is in this party of ours an intangible power which reinforces the power of its ideas. That is the spirit of the party. Its comradeship, its solidarity. You know the word "comrade" has been so long abused and so badly defiled by self-seekers and pretenders that honest people sometimes shrink from using the word any more. But in the movement that has been created under the inspiration of Trotsky, with his example always before us, the word "comrade" has acquired a new, fresh meaning that animates the members of our movement, not only in their political work in the class struggle, but also in all their daily lives and in their associations . with each other. It is not any more, not with us, a formal and conventional word, but a bond of unity and solidarity. Our comrades are devoted to each other and trust each other. That is an intangible source of power that will yield great results in the days to come.

'Duty Takes Us There'

The grandest figure in the whole history of America was John Brown. In John Brown of Osawatomie the word and the deed were always in harmony with each other, never in contradiction, never in conflict. When the old warrior went to Harpers Ferry, to "interfere," as he said, against the abomination of chattel slavery, he took a small group of young men with him, among them some of his own sons. They went to Harpers Ferry where they perished, because like Luther they could do no other. They felt required to do it. When Watson Brown, the son of the old man, lay dying in the firehouse, bleeding from his wounds, with his head resting on an old pair of overalls, the great governor of the slave State of Virginia came in to see him. He said to Watson Brown, "Young man, what brought you here?" Watson Brown answered him in two words: "Duty, Sir."

I believe that is the case with us. I believe that we have been under the same compulsion as John Brown's young men were. We were obliged to tell the truth. We saw the abomination of the imperialist war and we were under compulsion to tell the people the truth about it. We saw the vision of a Socialist society and were under compulsion to fight for it at all costs and despite all hazards. We have done our duty. And that, to me, on the eve of departure for Sandstone, is the important thing. That is why we go to the next stage of the struggle with a sure selfconfidence and a self-assurance.

We are historically minded. We know that in the great scale of history our personal fate is a trifle, our lives are a trifle. But the socialist goal of our struggle, that is no trifle. To serve that goal, as we have served it, that is enough. Let the consequences be what they may. Whether we participate in the final victory of the struggle of mankind for its socialist future, or whether it has to be built on a foundation of our bones, it will still be good for us that we took part in it, and we will have our justification and our reward. No liars and conspirators, no Supreme Court and no prison, can take that satisfaction away from us. We were obliged to do what we did. As a consequence of our truth-telling and our struggle we are now obliged to go to prison. We go there, however, not as criminals but because duty takes us there.

SPEECH OF FARRELL DOBBS

Now our case, — the case of the 18 — perhaps seems more dramatic than the struggle, the life, the work, the role of other comrades in the party. But, in truth, that is not so. We are the kind of dynamic organization that we are because each and every member of the party stands in his appointed place and serves as best he can in accordance with his capacities and serves in a greater capacity as he or she, develops in the course of his or her training and experience. Collectively as a party, we march forward with the working class, in the ranks of the working class, standing in the vanguard of the working class. And while it may seem a great sacrifice for some of us to go to prison, risks just as great are taken, sacrifices just as great are made by other comrades every day in carrying our struggle forward. The comrades fighting shoulder to shoulder with the workers in the unions, in the factories, on the picket line are always in the forefront of the struggle, taking all the necessary risks. We have in the hall here tonight a picture of Kelly Postal, one of our trade union fighters, now serving a sentence in the Stillwater penitentiary in Minnesota. Kelly Postal was framed up by Tobin in the same fight in which we were framed up.

played the ignominious role of Pontius Pilate who washed his hands.

The Supreme Court of the United States, many of whom were once members of the American Civil Liberties Union—democrats, if you please, and liberals who frowned upon the morality of the Bolsheviks and the Marxists—showed us what their morality consists of. They were not concerned if honest people had been condemned. They were not concerned if the treasured Bill of Rights had been trampled into the mire. They didn't see the act. They turned away. They washed their hands.

In the Camp of the Liars

I say they are all liars and conspirators. They are all on the side of the rich and the privileged, and their actions, from beginning to end, have been entirely consistent with this position. Everything, from the time when Roosevelt gave Biddle instructions to start the prosecutions against us, up to the trial, up to the verdict and the condemnation, up to the sentencing in the Federal Court of Judge Joyce, up to the Pontius Pilate action of the Supreme Court of the United States, everything is consistent, everything is in order in the camp of the liars, the friends of the rich and privileged.

But how do matters stand with us? Are we consistent too? Yes, indeed. Everything is in order on our side. We neither laugh nor weep; we understand. We have understood from the beginning what might be the consequences of our undertaking. All people pay for their ideas what they think the ideas are worth. If some men are not prepared to pay with the sacrifice of one day's liberty or the missing of one meal or a little inconvenience for the sake of his ideas, they are only saying thereby that they set no serious value upon them. But we think our ideas are the most important thing in this world, that they represent the whole future of mankind. That is why, if we have to pay even a high price for the sake of those ideas, we pay it without whimpering. We are Trotskyists, you remember, and that means we are political people of a different breed. The Trotskyist party is not like the other parties. It is a different kind of a party, different not in degree, but in kind, in quality. Other parties and other politicians set limits to what they will do. But the Trotskyists set no limit on what they will do for their ideas and, in the last analysis, they set no limits on the price they are prepared to pay for them. The others play for pennies, but the Trotskyist stakes his head. Therein is the difference. Therein is the chasm that separates the vanguard of the coming proletarian revolution from all politicians and parties who merely dabble with the idea.

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I am not one of those who take lightly the iniquity that has been perpetrated against us. It is a severe and cruel punishment. We who love freedom, and live for the idea of freedom, are condemned to lose it for ourselves. We will not be free to come and go as we please. Our days and nights, through the long months leading up to the end of our sentence, will be regulated and all our movements circumscribed by others. That will not be easy for rebels to bear. We will be forced into inactivity. What can be more cruel to a revolutionary activist than to be deprived of the opportunity to take part in the movement which means life to him—the very breath of life.

We haven't been taken by surprise. We have not been suddenly pulled up short and required to make a decision whether we are prepared to pay this price. Our decision was made in advance. We knew to begin with that to tell the truth, to take up the cause of the poor and the persecuted against the rich and the mighty, to tell the truth in the face of all the liars in the world-we knew that course entailed risks. I knew that more than thirty years ago when I entered the socialist movement as a youth. Socialism lifted me out of the drab surroundings and meager life of the poor town of Rosedale, Kansas, and showed me the vision of a new world. I thought it was good. I thought it worth fighting for. I was ready, more than thirty years ago, to fight for it at all hazards. Nothing has ever changed my sense of proportion and of values in that respect. Neither persecution, nor poverty, nor hardship, nor the long days of internal struggles and factional quarrels that sear the souls of men in the political movement-not all of that was able to change me or break me because I never forgot what I started out to fight for. I kept undimmed my vision of the socialist future of mankind. Having that attitude, as all of the 18 do, we can put so-called sacrifices in their proper setting and attribute to them their right place with a due sense of proportion.

The Rewards of Socialism

Ben Hanford, one of the best loved of all the early socialist agitators in this country, once objected to a comrade's statement that he had made great sacrifices for the movement. He said, he had received from the socialist movement something far greater and far better than he had ever been able to contribute to it. He had only been able to give time, effort and material means, but the socialist movement had given him a cause that was bigger than self. Therefore, he had a warrant for living in a world of poverty, hardship, discrimination and injustice. "So please don't speak of my sacrifices," said Ben Hanford. "Socialism made a man of me, and I can never repay the movement for that."

We have not been idle in our time of comparative freedom. We have labored and we have created something that we can leave behind, very sure that it will not fall apart. A movement that is built upon ideas is a power that is hard to destroy. Indeed, it cannot be destroyed. You remember the tragic time three years ago last August, when Trotsky fell victim to the assassin. Many people speculated, that now with the great geniusleader dead, the movement he had created would be scattered to the four winds and soon disappear. We knew it was not so because the ideas Trotsky left behind were a mighty cement to keep the ranks together. The party didn't fall into disintegration. Far from it, the party continued to live and to grow. That will be the case now too. We go to prison confident that we are

Our Cause Is All-Important

But these comrades who stood before the court are typical of the kind of people that make up the membership of the Socialist Workers Party. We are a party of one-hundred percenters. 'We have made up our minds that the great cause to which we have dedicated our lives is more important than anything else in this world. We place it before every other consideration. Nothing else is dearer to us. And we laugh with disdain at the capitalist tyrants who try by their persecutions, by their legal frameups and their prisons to swerve us from our path, try to frighten us away from the fight for the great goal for which we struggle. We understand — everyone of us — that nothing is more important than the working class cause to which we dedicate our lives.

Some of the newer comrades, now coming into the party, are only just beginning to assimilate this knowledge. But, comrades, as you live, as you learn, as you go forward in our party waging the great struggle, you will draw to yourselves strength and reassurance and courage and confidence from the comrades who will be standing at your side, fighting shoulder to shoulder with you. And each of us draws from our group collectively, our party as a whole, that strength to stand in the face of all persecution, that strength to go forward and fight against all obstacles and against all odds.

Each Stands in His Place

Day after day, week after week, the comrades do their duty, stand in their place in the ranks of the working class and carry forward their tasks regardless of risks. We have comrades who every day, rain, snow or shine, are on the streets and before the factory gates, distributing The Militant, distributing the Fourth International, running the mimeograph machine, getting out leaflets, advertising the meetings, keeping the party headquarters open and in order, doing office work, filling organization posts, performing the myriad tasks that go to make up the day-to-day life and activity of our party. Everyone of these comrades is contributing to the cause. Everyone of these comrades is a hero in the struggle of the working class.

Only a few days ago we received word that one of our comrades in the armed forces is in a hospital with both his legs shot off. His is another sacrifice. But significantly, and typical of a Trotskyist, he tells in his letters of his confidence in the future. He writes that he expects to get artificial legs; he expects to learn to walk on them; and he is looking forward to getting these new legs and getting out so that he can again serve the party and the cause to which we all have dedicated ourselves. Others of our comrades in the course of the war have lost their lives at sea in carrying out assignments in mass work. We are a party of professional revolutionists who put service to the party before all other considerations. We answer the call of the party without reservation or qualification. That is the kind of party we have. That is the kind of people our party is made of. With that kind of party, no matter what persecutions are leveled against us by the capitalist class, no matter what obstacles they throw up in our road, we are going to march steadily ahead.

We are absolutely confident, Comrades, not only that you will carry on without us while we are away; we are confident that we will make gains, that the party will go forward, grow in strength, penetrate more deeply into the ranks of the working class and move a certain distance closer to the ultimate goal. In a few months we shall be back with you again to take our places beside you to carry forward in the struggle for the victory of socialism. We have absolute confidence because we know that the future is ours.

THE MILITANT

Biographies Of The Imprisoned Trotskyists Ed has two young children under 10, free Tom Mooney and in the Friends of reason-they had dared to demand a demo-

The following personal sketches complete the roster of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners. Biographies of 10 of the 18 were published in last week's MILITANT.

JAMES P. CANNON

Over 35 years ago, James P. Cannon determined to seek the truth about the capitalist social system. Through struggle and travail he found that truth in Marxism. And he has defended that



FOUR-

t.uth against all the liars, corrupters, cheats, scoundrels, watch-dogs and sycophants of capitalism ever since.

Cannon was brought up in the prairie town of Rosedale, Kansas, where he was born in 1890. His father, a foundry-man.

was an old Debs socialist. Like all the workers' families, the Cannons lived in grinding poverty.

When he was 12, his mother died, and he had to go to work, 60 hours a week at a packing plant. He worked 70 hours a week in a railroad yard when he was 14. He yearned for education, for the ability to express himself and his ideas, and painfully scraped his pennies together until he could enter high school at the age of 16. For a while, he studied law at nights. But finally he abandoned it. He could not find the truth he sought in law books.

Another road beckoned, the road of class struggle. In 1908, he joined the Socialist Party in Kansas City. He adopted the life of the migratory worker, traveling around, getting what jobs he could, preaching the gospel of socialism.

In 1911, he joined in the militant upsurge of the IWW. He met and worked with the great figures of that dynamic movement --Vincent St. John, Frank Little, later murdered by a bosses lynch mob at Butte, Mont., Big Bill Haywood.

During this period, he participated actively in many of the historic IWW struggles. as organizer in the first 1913 Akron Rubber Strike, in the Peoria Metal Workers and Duluth and Superior Ore Dock Strikes. In the 1913 Peoria strike he received his first indictment for "conspiracy." Later, in 1919, he was indicted by the federal government for his activities in the Kansas coal miners strike.

Cannon opposed the first world war, and following the tactics of the most serious opponents of the war, the followers of Debs, he listed himself as a "conscientious objector." He was blacklisted, hounded, ostracized, starved, along with his wife and child.

The Russian Revolution was a turning point of his whole life. Inspired by the victory of the Russian

fought for the concept of a centra'ized, disciplined, combat party of the American workers. He edited the Left-Wing weekly, The Workers' World, in 1919, and was a delegate to the Left-Wing national conference.

He was a foundation member of the Communist Labor Party, one of the groups which formed the American Communist Party, and was the first District Organizer of the St. Louis-Kansas City District, 1919-1920. He organized the first communist groups in the Kansas and Southern Illinois mine fields. He was elected to the Central Executive Committee at the first convention of the Communist Party in 1920, and re-elected at every subsequent convention until his expulsion for Trotskyism in 1928. He was a delegate to both the Fourth and Sixth World Congresses of the Communist International in 1924 and 1928, and also to the sessions of the enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern. As National Secretary of the International Labor Defense from its foundation in 1925 until 1928, he organized the defense campaigns that made the Sacco-Vanzetti and Mooney cases worldwide issues.

It was while a delegate at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern that Cannon came to the next great turning point of his life. He had the opportunity of reading Leon Trotsky's Criticism of the Draft Program of the CI, which Trotsky had sent from exile, and which Stalin had suppressed from the Congress.

Cannon was so impressed with Trotsky's program that he determined to fight for it inside the Communist Party.

Cannon returned to America with this precious document. That is all he had 'to go by, but it was enough. When he attempted to have it discussed in the Central Committee — just discussed — he was brought up on charges of Trotskyism and summarily expelled.

Then began the long, desperate struggle to build the genuine Bolshevik party in America. The history of that struggle, against all the forces of Stalinist slander and terrorism, against the petty-bourgedis elements who wanted to revise the Leninist principles of the party, against the blows of the government and bosses, is an epic contained in "The History of American Trotskyism," the book completed by Cannon just a couple of days before he left for prison.

The truth, that is what Cannon fought for, and when other men faltered, gave way to despair, succumbed to alien class pressure and defeatist moods, he stuck firm to principle. And before he went to jail he could say that he had left behind a genuine proletarian combat party, a Bolshevik party.

Soviet Russia. As a delegate to the Min- cratic hearing for Leon Trotsky's views in neapolis Central Labor Union, 1922-1924, he fought for class struggle policies, and in 1924 was removed and expelled because he was a communist, by order of the AFL National Executive Council. He was secretary for four years of the Minneapolis 12th Ward Farmer-Labor Party c'ub, from which he was expelled in 1928 for his opposition to Shipstead and the other labor political fakers. Three days after this expulsion, he was

bureaucratically expelled, with Oscar to every blow hurled at him. He has already Coover and Carl Skoglund from the Com- earned a place in American labor history munist Party, in which he had held many as an incorruptible working class leader district posts for a number of years. The and fighter, an intransigent Bolshevik.

EMIL HANSEN

Emil Hansen, "The Big Dane" as he is affectionately known, has been called a "tower of strength" in the building of the Minneapolis labor movement.

Over six feet tall and more than 225 pounds in weight, Emil has stood out among his fellow workers not merely in size, but in courage, fighting spirit and working-class loyalty. He was born in Denmark in 1906. All his life

he has been a militant defender of the workers' interests.

Emil joined the Minneapolis drivers union back in 1928. That was before the great upsurge of American labor. The Minneapolis unions were woefully weak, ridden with bureaucracy, and the town was notoriously open shop.

Emil plugged along, spreading the message of unionism through the bleak era of Hooverism. And when the opportunity came, when the Minneapolis drivers began step-sons, both in the Army.

ALBERT GOLDMAN

Albert Goldman's masterful conduct of the defense in the Minneapolis trial made American labor defense history. Arrayed against the 28 defendants were

the ablest prosecutors of the Department of Justice, a hostile, reactionary judge, a venomous capitalist press and a hand-picked jury of business-men and farmers soaked with prejudice against organized labor, particularly "Reds." And Goldman, for more than two decades

an outstanding revolutionary socialist, was himself on trial, facing a sentence, if convicted, of up to 16 years.

Poised and dignified, yet passionate and dynamic, Goldman annihilated the prosecution's clumsy thrusts and frameup "evidence." Before the trial was over, the accused had become the accusers.

the Communist International. At that time, Vincent had not even had the chance to learn Trotsky's opinions. In 1929, he, along with Oscar Coover, Carl Skoglund and others, became pioneer members of the American Trotskyist movement.

Once more, the bosses and their government have thrown Vincent Dunne behind prison bars. But they will never silence nor crush him. For almost 40 years, he has fought for the working class, and stood up

their historic struggle, Emil was right in the thick of the battle from the word, go. He swung the organization of cab drivers which he helped organize behind the 1934 strikes.

Solid as a rock, dependable, a seasoned union militant, Emil commanded the respect of his fellow unionists. He proved to be one of the most formidable fighters against the Minneapolis bosses.

Emil ranks high in the affection of the Minneapolis workers, not merely because of his splendid record of union militancy but also because, of his lovable personal qualities, above all, his warm, big-hearted friendliness. He never pushed himself, never did a lot of loud talking, but in every battle and union crisis he was right where he was needed most, doing a man-size job cheerfully and capably. That is why he was selected year after year as an organizer and trustee of Local 544.

While Emil is in prison because of his devotion to the working class and socialism, his comrades and fellow workers are, going to miss him deeply, both as a lovable companion and a stalwart battler for labor. He has a loyal, hard-working wife and two

Deprived of his means of livelihood, Goldman had to seek a new field of work. He determined to become a labor defense attorney and devote himself to defending working-class victims of capitalist frameups and persecutions. He worked his way through the night law school at Northwestern University. Soon he became an outstanding labor defense attorney.

As attorney for the International Labor. Defense in the late twenties and early thirties, he defended hundreds of workers arrested in strikes and demonstrations. In 1932, he was attacked by a vigilante mob in Danville, Ill., for defending several unemployed workers.

Goldman, however, was not just a labor defense attorney. First and foremost he was a revolutionary Socialist, a Marxist. All his activities, such as labor defense, were subordinate to his chief task, the advancement of the struggle for socialist emancipation. He wrote and spoke continuously for

From the beginning of his activity during the rise of Local 544, Ed grasped the Barbara and Michael, and a grown-up need for a fundamental social and political solution of the workers' problems. He joined the Trotskyist movement and combined the struggle for day to day demands She was one of the ten acquitted in the with the battle for socialism.

FARRELL DOBBS

Sometimes, the force of a great idea, a noble cause bigger than self, seizes on a seemingly ordinary man, a worker, lifts up and transforms him, raises him to sta-

ture immeasurably higher than the stunted role bourgeois society had assigned him. Such a cause is the

emancipation of the working class. Such a man, lifted up and transformed by that cause, is Farrell Dobbs, depression victim, coal yard worker,

an ordinary guy harrassed by debt and insecurity trying to feed a wife and three kids back in the hopeless, dark days of 1933.

Farrell was born in Queen City, Missouri, in 1907, and lived in Minneapolis from the age of six. A year after graduating from high school he secured employment as a wire man for Western Electric, and learned in the course of his work, without formal education, enough about operations to qualify as a planning engineer. He was on the way "up."

The crash ended all that. Capitalism utilizes talent only when it is profitable to the capitalists. So Farrell went through the usual depression routine of tall, handsome young fellows with attractive personalities — he tried being an insurance salesman, at which, he modestly claims, "I was not very efficient" — that is, his heart wasn't in it.

Thus Farrell wound up, in 1933, as a coal yard worker, long hours of heavy toil, wages scarcely better than a relief allowance, pushed around by petty bosses, fearful of being fired if some foreman didn't like the way he parted his hair.

That is when he first began to realize what it means to be an unorganized worker. He saw insecurity poverty, misery all about him. He wanted an answer to this vile order of things. The labor movement gave him the beginning of that answer. He joined the union of coal yard drivers and workers then in process of organization. He met men like Vincent Dunne and Carl Skoglund. He knew what he was going to do — build a union and fight like hell for the working class.

By the time the great May and July 1934 drivers strikes occurred, Farrell was in the thick of the struggle. He had served on the organization committee prior to the strikes. He was now elected a member of workers in the battle for socialism.

daughter, Violet. His wife Rose has been a loyal comrade, standing shoulder to shoulder with him in the class struggle. trial of the original 28.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1944

the negotiations committee of the strikes, where he displayed exceptional talents cool judgment, attentiveness to details, uncompromising firmness, an analytical mind that cut through all the tricks and deceptions of the bosses and arbitrators.

In March 1934, he made the great turning point of his life, he joined the Trotskyist party. He wasn't asked to join. He himself asked for admission. For it is characteristic of him that he studies everything carefully, thinks things through to the very end, and when he comes to a conclusion, he acts upon it without hesitation. And then he gives everything - everything - to the duty and task at hand.

From 1934 to 1939, the Local 544 membership elected him repeatedly to the office of secretary-treasurer, except for a 10 months period when he was elected recording secretary.

In 1937, he was elected secretary of the newly formed council of drivers locals in the northwest area, the North Central District Drivers' Council. Out of this council. in which Farrell played the outstanding role, grew the Eleven State Area Committee, of which Farrell was also secretary. Farrell was chosen as spokesman for the committee in negotiations which won a 12state uniform union contract for 250,000 over-the-road drivers, one of the outstanding labor achievements.

In 1940. Farrell went to work for the party full-time. He was assigned the heavy responsibility of SWP National Labor Secretary. When Local 544 broke from the Tobin bureaucracy in June 1941, one of the unforgettable events of the famous meeting where the vote was taken to join the CIO was when Farrell stepped on the platform amid tumultuous cheers and applause that welcomed him back, a militant, dynamic leader fighting the battle through to the bitter end.

A few months before he went to prison, Farrell became editor of The Militant. This was no mean undertaking for a man who but 10 years ago was a coal yard worker. But he was worthy of this task; he was schooled in the class struggle, developed in knowledge and held a sure grasp on theory. He had come by it through steady application and study. He had learned. He learns from everything and everyone; from the humblest worker to the most advanced teachers of Marxism. With modesty and devotion, he has consciously trained himself to be fit for the greatest responsibility in all history, to be a worthy leader of





roletariat. Cannon helped to organize the Left-Wing Group in Kansas City, 1918. This ment. That is what the capitalist jailers group defended the Bolshevik Revolution, cannot take from him. That is his triumph.

That is his magnificent historic achieve-

VINCENT R. DUNNE

The life of Vincent R. Dunne, one of the great labor leaders to come out of the Northwest, has been bound up with the American class struggle since the begin-



ning of the century. Son of a railroad construction worker, Vincent was born in Kansas City, Kansas, in 1889. He spent his early years on his grandfather's farm in central Minnesota where his family lived while his father was employed in the construction camps.

Next to the eldest son in a family of seven, he had to leave home at an eary age to seek work in the harvest fields, mines and lumber camps of the west. This was a period when a great wave of labor struggle swept the western states, giving rise to the militant Western Federation of Miners and the Industrial Workers of the World.

Vincent participated in that bitter early struggle as one of its most active spirits. In 1905 he joined the Western Federation of Miners, and later became a foundation member of the IWW.

Missoula, Spokane, Seattle, Fresno, San Francisco-all the place-names then writ large on the pages of labor history-were the scenes of his early training in the class struggle. He learned to hate class oppression with all his sou", and he has never ceased to wage war against it.

He participated in the strikes and historic free-speech fights of the IWW in 1906-1908, when IWW members chained themselves to lamp-posts and defended free speech by publicly reciting the Declaration of Independence until they were beaten into unconsciousness. He served jail sentences in Seatt'e and Los Angeles for street-speaking.

After serving in 1908 as a strike committee member in a bitter strike of southern saw mill workers at Bogaloosa, Louisiana, Vincent returned north to live with his parents in Minneapolis and to work as an express wagon driver. Until 1917 he drove for the Northern Pacific, Wells Fargo,

Adams, Express. Discharged many times for attempting to organize the drivers, he was finally blacklisted and driven from the industry during the anti-labor drive of the

first World War. He then obtained work with a coal company, first as a yard laborer and then as a truck driver, weighman and superintendent. In 1931, when his efforts to organize the coal drivers and laborers began to meet with success, he was summarily fired. The company gave as the reason the fact that he spoke at public meetings warning the workers against the growing menace of Hitlerism in Germany.

Then followed years of unemployment, trying to maintain his wife and two children on starvation relief and government makework jobs. Still he worked untiringly to organize the truck drivers. And finally, in 1934, along with his brothers Grant and Mickey, Vincent became a leader of the historic drivers strike which broke the strangle-hold of the open shoppers and the Citizens Alliance, and inspired the organization of hundreds of thousands throughout the northwest.

In the years that followed, he continued to be what he always was-an organizerthis time for Local 544. The bosses and their press daily spat venom at the hated "Dunne boys."

But the workers increasingly recognized Vincent as a foremost leader, not by virtue of any formal titles or offices; but out of profound respect for his wisdom and experience, his cool courage under fire, his militant labor tradition. complete trustworthiness and selflessness. Under all the pressure and strain of his responsibilities, he revealed his finest qualities-an inexhaustible understanding of the rank and file workers, an infinite patience with them. He was never too busy to talk to workers about their personal problems, to encourage and aid them. He was attentive to their simplest as we'l as greatest needs. That is why he is loved.

What has made Vincent Dunne outstanding, given permanent worth to his achievements, is his political understanding. He never fought merely for crusts of bread, but for a whole new workers' world.

He was a pioneer member of the Communist Party. He was active in the fight to

In this scholarly- looking, grey-haired man, with his dark, sensitive face, even the prejudiced jury could sense an iron-clad integrity, backed by courage, intellectual brilliance and unshakable conviction in the revolutionary socialist ideas he so ably defended.

All Albert Goldman's life had been preparation for this magnificent defense. He grew up amid the poverty of the Chicago working class districts. He graduated from the Chicago public schools and later from the University of Cincinnati.

In 1919, at the age of 22, he joined the IWW, getting his first-hand lessons in the class struggle when the post-war terror against unionists and radicals was at its height. At this time he was working long hours as a tailor in Chicago's sweat-shop clothing factories.

He joined the Communist Party in 1920 as a pioneer member, and soon became leader of the left-wing section of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. He fought bitterly against the sell-out class collaborationist policies of Sidney Hillman. When Hillman's thugs failed to intimidate Goldman, Hillman trumped up slanderous charges against him and expelled him from the union.

EDWARD PALMQUIST

Edward Palmquist is the son of a charter member of Minneapolis Carpenters Local 6, and has worthily upheld his family's

> He was born in Minneapolis in 1897. He obtained his schooling in the Hennepin County grammar school and Hopkins High School. Ed has been a worker

all his life, and early learned what it means to toil for the parasitical bosses. He spent 15 years

as a machinist in a steel plant, until the bosses decided to toss him on the scrap heap during the depression.

But he didn't take it lying down. He plunged into the unemployed struggle for relief and jobs soon after the rise of Local

the communist movement.

When he witnessed the debacle of the Stalinists in Germany and the rise of Hitler, he broke with the treacherous Stalinist movement. In 1933, he joined the Trotskyists.

The following year Goldman again placed his great legal talents at the service of prosecuted workers. He defended Norman Mini in the famuos Sacramento "Criminal Syndicalism" trial which grew out of the struggle of the California agricultural workers.

In 1937 Goldman achieved international renown as Leon Trotsky's defense attorney before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry's hearings in Mexico City.

Goldman has written a number of excellent pamphlets, including the popular, "What is Socialism?" His historic speech for the Minneapolis defense, "In Defense of Socialism" is also printed in pamphlet form.

Now this brilliant fighter for the rights of labor, who has helped to save so many victims of capitalist persecution and frameup is in prison with his 17 comrades. The legal vultures in Illinois, the corporation shysters, are moving to disbar him. But before the bar of workingclass opinion he is honored as a great and courageous fighter for all who toil.

544. As Chairman of Local 544's Federal

Workers Section, organized in 1936, he

played an outstanding role in helping to

win thousands of jobs for the unemployed

and one of the highest WPA and relief

standards in the country. His fighting

leadership won him the confidence and

respect of his fellow workers, who elected

him as a representative of the organized

unemployed to the State Emergency Re-

In the July 1934 truckdrivers strike, Ed

was one of the scores of union fighters

herded into a military concentration camp,

the "local stockade." He was sentenced in

1940 to eight months in Sandstone Peniten-

tiary for his militant leadership during the

In addition to his Local 544 membership,

Ed was an active member of the Hod

Minneapolis Central Labor Union and was

a delegate to a number of State Federation

lief Administration and WPA.

1939 Minneapo'is WPA strike.

of Labor conventions.

CLARENCE HAMEL

If you want to know why it was that Local 544 was able to smash the open shop in Minneapolis and challenge the combined power of the Tobin bureaucracy, the bosses

and the local, state and f e d e r a l goverments, you'll find the answer in men like big, genial Clarence Hamel. Carence was born in 1909 in Hamel, Minn., a town named after his grandfather who settled there following the Civil

War. His schooling consisted of eight years af Notre Dame De Lourdes grade school and two years at Dunwood Trade School, Minneapolis.

During the bleak days of the depression, in 1933, Clarence joined the union of coal haulers, participating in the successful strike which paved the way for the later organization of Local 544. In all the subsequent great Minneapolis strikes, he was a tenacious and iron-hearted fighter. He the bosses when his prison term ends.

JAKE COOPER

When the fighting got toughest, when the cops and deputies started roughing up the picket line and the strikebreakers and scabs started crawing through the gates, that's when embattled Minnea-

polis unionists were mighty glad to have Jake Cooper around. Take a look at his face -he didn't get his cubistic nose from cuddling up to union fakers and bureaucrats or kissing

es. That's part of his permanent badge of honor as a union militant - the record he bears on his body of the many blows he has received in the class struggle.

Jake, the youngest of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners, was born in 1916 in St. Paul, Minn. His parents were poor, hard-working immigrants from Czarist Russia. Carriers union, served as a delegate to the

After graduating during the depression from the Chaska, Minn. High School, Jake finally found work as a truck driver. In goons and severely beaten.

and his bosom pal, Emil Hansen, were fondly termed because of their size the "600 Twins," a famous, hard-hitting grievance team.

After many years' service as a steward for the coal and grocery drivers, Clarence in 1939 was selected as a business agent for Local 544.

Like every great workers' movement, the rise of Local 544, which inspired the growth of unionism through the entire northwest, attracted its share of flashes-in-the-pan, big talkers, fellows who go along for the ride when the weather is clear and the road smooth. But not Clarence Hamel. He was at his fighting best when the going got toughest, when the storm of government persecution broke over the union, when it took real guts, stamina and honest devotion to working-class principles.

Clarence lived with his wife, Sally, in a duplex apartment above his folks' house. He is a lover of sports and outdoor life. Six-feet three, 220 pounds of militant unionism and socialist convictions, Clarence will be shoving his weight around plenty against

1936, he joined the General Drivers Union Local 544. He soon proved himself as a fearless battler on the picket lines and in the workers' demonstrations. His presence became anathema to the finks and scabs. Twice he was jailed for his participation in union struggles. As an organizer for the Youth Section of Local 544's Federal Workers Section he helped to organize and educate many young workers.

In 1941, he became a member of the Packing House Workers union, Swift Local 167, South St. Paul, serving as a steward and as delegate to the District PWOC Conference.

From his early youth, Jake took his stand in the front lines of the battle for socialism. He joined the Trotskyist youth organization in 1934. In 1940, he volunteered for the dangerous assignment of personal body-guard to Leon Trotsky, and stood guard at the hospital bed-side of the great revolutionist until the moment of his death.

When Jake returned to Minneapolis he helped in the defense of Local 544-CIO from the attacks of Tobin and the government. He was waylaid by a group of Tobin

the soft spots on the boss-

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1944

THE MILITANT

Danbury Jail Gates Close On Three Trotskyism Grows STALINIST FINKS MAKE

a sort of preparatory school for above, Karl Kuehn, Alfred Rus-Danbury and we think we are gettaken into custody by the U.S. present here are a good number Marshal in New York City on of Bundists and the further away Thursday, Dec. 31 and placed we like it. Also here are several from them we can stay, the better Grace Carlson pointed out the sigin the House of Detention pend- C.O.'s.



"If you write to our friends in ing their transfer on Jan. 3 to] Minnesota, send our best regards the Federal Penitentiary at Danbury, Connecticut where very well and hope they are getand tell them that we are doing they will serve their year and ting on as well." a dav sentences. Oscar Schoenfeld 41343

The following letter was re-

ceived from Oscar Schoenfeld by P. S. The number after my name George Novack, Secretary of the | is not my Social Security number. Al Russell writes: Civil Rights Defense Committee: "We are "Karl, Al and I send you our best all in the same cell block, with greetings. Once again we want Oscar and I sharing one of the to express our deep appreciation four 2-man ce'ls in the block. for the work done by our friends Regards to all."

GAETANO SALVEMINI ON ITALY

On December 6 the Badoglio few hundred Italian dead to enregime threw the first unit of hance the prestige of the royal Italian soldiers against the Nazis. house.'

The so-called "Italian war of for this very thing. This is the Most of them were massacred in this suicidal assault. Gaetano liberation" is being fought under | kind of a world I want to fight Salvemini comments on this en- a King and an ex-fascist Marshal for." gagement in the New Republic who are rubber stamps for the (Dec. 27): "The commanding gen- Anglo-American powers. "Until rejection by the Supreme Court pral who chose to make the fron- September 8, 1943, the Italians of the right of our people to have tal attack was surely both incom- had to fight against the Allies for a review of the constitutionality petent and brutal. But as Bad- Hitler and Mussolini," writes Sal- of the Smith Law, I have found oglio in one of his recent inter- vemini (The Nation, Jan. 1). "Now very few people who have not felt be ruled by fascism. I can guarviews told us, Mussolini attacked they have to fight against the Ger- that our party was going for-France in June, 1940, because he mans for the King and Badoglio. ward. Eighteen of our party leadneeded a few thousand dead in order to get a seat at the impending peace conference. In De-mitted by the Allies to fight for back our party will be a better gone but I hope that such sacrificember, 1943, Badoglio needed a an Italy belonging to themselves." one than it is now."

From Europe Say The three of the 18 Minnea-polis political prisoners pictured a sort of preparatory school for the future ... This is for us Minneapolis Workers Bid SWP above, Karl Kuehn, Alfred Rus-sell and Oscar Schoenfeld, were acclimated. Among those also

(Continued from page 1) nificance of the imprisonment of the 18 people for their revolutionary-socialist ideas. "It might seem," said Comrade Carlson,

"that in the midst of world-wide leader Leon Trotsky." suffering and slaughter on a scale Clarence Hamel and Ed Palmthat the world has never before quist briefly gave thanks to all seen, the fate of 18 people is reltheir friends and fellow-workers atively unimportant. But the 18 for their solidarity and support. represent the future socialist society which will inevitably replace A similar sentiment was expressed by Emil Hansen who con-

the decadent capitalist system." cluded with these words: "I can "The spirit in which we Trotsay this for all 18 defendants. skyists have lived and worked," We go with our heads high and she went on to say, "is one of with a clear conscience. absolute conviction that one day in the not too distant future the

SPEECH OF GELDMAN

workers of the world, many of Max Geldman said: "This world whom have been imprisoned and is now not fit for human beings have died for revolutionary ideas, will replace this rotten system to live in and it is necessary to which breeds war and fascism build a new and better society. with an international society of We are convicted of conspiracy,

even though we openly publish the free and the equal." The toastmaster then introour views, sell our papers and pamphlets, hold public meetings, duced each of the other defendand try in these and all other ants who were present and called possible ways to disseminate our on them for a statement. program. The real conspirators SPEECH OF COOPER in the world today are Roosevelt,

Churchill, Stalin and the other "This is a real occasion and one big-wigs who meet behind closed that I shall never forget," dedoors, and never tell the people clared Jake Cooper, "Look at the friends we have here tonight, the what they discuss and decide. dinner we have had here tonight, "There will be other trials and the way it has been served. This then these culprits will be put on is my idea of the way people

trial. I hope to work with the should live. Fighting humanity majority of the people and with can march forward and the peomy comrades against this real ple can have the best of all things conspiracy." that this world has to offer. When The veteran Carl Skoglund pre-

dicted that "although the workwe come back we aim to fight ers may delay doing away with capitalism for one, two, three or

fifty years, in the end a socialist. Oscar Coover said: "Since the form of society must be established. If the workers do not establish a socialist society within a comparatively short time this country and the whole world will antee you that we are not the last ones that will go to prison for ers are going away but I am contheir political opinions. Many of fident tonight that when we come | the best thinkers in the past have ces will be reduced to a minimum

sending us to jail for our ideas come to understand and to preand opinions. I think this is the vent them."

best time and place for me to say Carlos Hudson, who was schedthat the time we spend in jail will not change our opinions as they was absent because of illness. did not change those of our great SPEECH OF DUNNE

(Oct. 16, 1943) which states that. V. R. Dunne was introduced as "according to interviews with the main speaker of the evening. the representatives of the other Pledging himself and the other political parties the Communist 17 to a continuation of the strug-Party seems to have increased gle for socialist principles, Com- | great'y."

rade Dunne pointed out that to-The dispatch concludes with the day only the Trotskyists are revostatement that, "the Italian Comlutionists and internationalists. munist leaders are followers of "Most of us who are going away | Trotsky and are thus ideologicalto prison have been long-time | 1y opposed to the present (Stalmembers of the revolutionary inist) regime in Russia." This movement," he said, "and we are news re'ease is confirmed by a especially proud to be the follow- dispatch in the Evening Standard ers of one of the greatest work- (Nov. 27, 1943) which reports ing-class leaders the world has that the Communists who are ever produced, L. D. Trotsky." growing in influence in Italy are He emphasized the fact that if divided into Trotskyist and Stal-

the program of Lenin and Trot- inist groups. sky, which has succeded in taking war. Party were supporting the intern-"We are being railroaded to ational communist policy of Trotjail," said Comrade Dunne, "be-

cause the American capitalist sky as against the national "comrulers want to demoralize and munism" of Stalin. Most of these revolutionists are now out of jail. terrorize workers who will come to believe as we do now, that

> On the occasion of the first anniversary of the assassination of

Civil Rights Defense Committee. at 9:45, the hour of Tresca's The banquet closed with the death, with a mass scattering of red carnations on the sidewalk of Following the banquet a social 15th St. and Fifth Ave., where end immediately. Even talk of labor movement they have achhour was held he fell.

(Continued from page 1)

Despite the rigid censorship imposed in Southern Italy by the AlThreats of strike must end," the Stalinists editorialize, "as work-

It is informative in this con-

nection to quote from the testi-

mony of three of the "strike prov-

ocateurs," Robertson, Fraser and

Cashen, the leaders of the three

rail unions which rejected Roos-

evelt's arbitration offer. These

three men have been consistent

supporters of the Roosevelt ad-

ministration for ten years and

haven't led a strike since Hector

was a pup. In a circular letter

made public after Roosevelt had

demonstrated his "flexibility,"

when for the first time he directed

the army to take over an industry

- the railroads - before there

he promised a price adjustment ers point out, the profiteers are lied Military Government on the in the event of a wage increase; having a Roman holiday, stabilipolitical activity of the Italian to the union a retroactive clause zation officials are unrealistic, Harry DeBoer said: "They are | and that the working class will workers and peasants some news | containing the joker that any provocations are unbearable. But does trickle through to the out wage adjustment made would it is under just these conditions have to be "within the law." What that the railroad union should

is the law? The Little Steel form- never have started a strike vote, The British Trotskyist paper, uled to appear at the banquet, the Socialist Appeal, quotes from ula! Roosevelt's "within the law" because with this step they played wage adjustment offer was inter- into the hands of strike provocaa despatch of the Berne correspondent to the Svenska Dagbladet | preted by the Stalinists as con- | teurs." (D. W. Dec. 29) verting into sense the "nonsensi-

> STALINIST PRESS AT I WORK Carlo

cal wage formula" which is fatwas a strike, they said: "More tening the bosses and starving than 97% of our members voted

the workers. to strike because that was the The Daily Worker of Dec. 28. only way they and their chosen ays the greater part of the resrepresentatives could secure conponsibility of the labor crisis, "on sideration for their extremely such of the President's aides as reasonable wage requests. And Economic Stabilizer Fred M. Vin- the strike vote did produce resson, War Mobilizer James F. ults.' Byrnes and Chairman Davis of

Yes, the rail strike vote did the WLB. These men," says the Daily Worker, "view the law as produce results! Roosevelt was a rigid mechanism." While prais- forced to make concessions to the ing Roosevel t's "flexibility" and rail workers just as he had previdamning the rigidity of his aides ously been compelled to make the Daily Worker also insists that concessions to the coal miners. In "labor itself bears considerable this the "Big Boss" displays the responsibility," because, "there are "flexibility" of all bosses who are high among the President's op- Stalinist jellyfish whose flexibil-

by, carry out the orders of, and workers are compelled to fight for The meeting will end promptly owe their jobs to - Roosevelt! their rights against the bosses The Daily Worker does not only and their agents in the governpresent an "analysis;" it also ment, the Stalinists frantically hurls ultimatums: "Strikes must wave the bloody shirt. Inside the strike, is dangerous. True. . . | ieved top rank as strikebreakers.

Framed SWP Leaders Begin Prison Sentences

(Continued from page 1)

feudal economy; in his maturity he is pursued by a capitalism in its death agony.

As Carl told these things to me, he interrupted himself constantly HEADQUARTERS to point where the 1934 strikers had their headquarters, how they had a picket line here, how the of the Socialist Workers Party.

and open your mouth?"

THURSDAY AT

Thursday revolved about the Minneapolis branch headquarters employers had trembled there From morning until evening minded her of that fact, "I never

the first place. "You see where a child in a strict Catholic family tion will be as little able to con- handshake-men taking off a few Socialist Workers Party at 2:30, whole Trotskyist movement can as the defendants neared. In the it got you to come to Minneapolis she had been taught to regard a fine within a strait-jacket the minutes from their jobs where in formation like soldiers of the take pride in Grace as she march- canyon-like street, split by sun Social ist uncle as beyond the coming socialist revolution by they could, under one excuse or proletariat, a crowd quickly form- ed resolutely toward prison. The and shade, the great blocks of pale. But he had given her books locking its leading advocates be- another, just to give the defend- ed. The fifteen halted for a mo- only woman demanded as a vic- granite, grimey from years of about Eugene Debs when she was hind bars. The masses of people ants moral encouragement. For ment-a last minute check to see tim by the Roosevelt regime, she smoke and dirt, rose like an nine or ten years old, and she throughout the world, surging ir- the Minneapolis comrades are still that all was in order, for they faces 16 months alone. had read them. Now tenderly resistibly forward to the pro- the leaders of the labor move- intended to go two by two in Carlos Hudson and Max Geld- the ignorance, superstition and

saying goodbye to her, proud of gram of socialism, cannot be halt- ment there even though they no order of their length of service in man came in the next rank. cruelty of tens upon tens of the fight she was making in the ed by anything within the arsenal longer formally stand at its head. the ranks of the working class Hudson distinguished himself as thousands of years seemed to tradition of Debs, he had re-minded her of that fact, "I never _________ of these parasites clinging to an Al Goldman worked on a press ________ vanguard. When Trotskyists do something, they do it right. Then _______ edited the Northwest Organizer _______ architect in his design. Here in

Tresca Memorial only the program of Lenin and Trotsky will lead them out of this blind maze of capitalist anarchy." A generous collection was given Carlo Tresca - famous strike too many cases when spokesmen prone to lose their "rigid" conby the audience in response to leader, anarchist and editor - a for the workers allow themselves ceptions when the workers use, or the toastmaster's appeal for aid memorial meeting will be held at to be trapped into blaming the sometimes when they even for the families of the prisoners. the Rand School of Social Science, President for situations that are threaten to use, the strike weapon. Telegraphed greetings from the 7 East 15th St., New York, on entirely the work of the Presi-Detroit, Chicago and New York Tuesday Jan. 11, at 8 P. M. dent's opponents." And numbered labor movement are the spineless branches of the Socialist Workers Speakers will be Prof. Felice Gua-

Party were read. A telegram of dagni of the Italian Labor Educa- ponents are Vinson, Byrnes and ity is a chronic bureaucratic desolidarity from James P. Cannon tion Bureau and H. R. Cantine, Davis; men who were appointed formity. Every time a group of was also read as well as one from editor of Retort. George Novack, Secretary of the

singing of The Internationale.

As late as 1931, three members power away from the capitalists of the Political Committee of the and landlords of Russia, had been Italian Communist Party, Blasco followed by working class leaders Feroci and Santini became Trotof other countries, there would skyists and it is known that in not have been a second world the Lipari island many of the leaders of the Italian Communist

across the street in their exclusive club.

"I am of the working class," he greetings and expressions of said, "and that class I'm going to solidarity to the defendants. As stick with. I'm going to fight the on all such occasions memories class that's trying to cut us were jogged. Harry DeBoer and down." Emil Hansen, apparently en-

JIM CANNON

Cannon that was completely new to me. In New York he is a cosmopolitan, a politician of the working class dealing in world won. Oscar Coover, watching their problems. The capitols of the warcards, chipped into the conversaring powers seem to lie directly tion with this or that correction before his eyes as he calculates as to fact, sucking on his pipe the diplomatic moves, the and reminding them of characters maneuvers, the next probable in the labor movement. I told the stage of development in the incomrades about Mexico; what ternational class struggle. Now as his old friends and comradesin-arms came in to greet him, and bid him welcome-even though it be welcome to prison-he seemed the small town boy reporting back to the family how things are in the metropolis. Here was his past previous incarceration in Sandcropping up in a new form. These men all know Rosedale, Kansas ing his comrades for the things although they may never have been there. Jim speaks their language as they want it spoken. Jim is the home town boy who went out to champion their historic interests. What he accomplishes they also accomplish. They held him up when the going was tough, sent him support and encouragement; he is their ambassador in the court of world politics.

MINNEAPOLIS WIT

And so, because wit is a handy material with which to build a fence around such intimate friendships, wit encircled Jim. I think that is why Jim is so appreciative of Minneapolis humor -it is the humor of western America concentrated on him for the good of his soul. The deadly seriousness of the present situation discharged some of its energy in wit. Anything for a laugh, they say in Minneapolis.

up their appreciation of his is why Tobin and Roosevelt depresence by ribbing him for ever cided to railroad him to prison.

thought then your reading those friends and well-wishers milled books would come to this." in and out to give their last Jake Cooper told about the assault on Leon Trotsky's house in May 1940. How Statin's assassing riddled L. D.'s and Natalia's bed-

room with machine gun slugs. Justice has not yet caught up grossed in a pinochle game, sprinkled their conversation with | with Siqueiros, the Stalinist During the hours that followed reference to the many activities leader of that assault. He is free at the hotel I saw a side of Jim of the Teamsters Union, the to work on fresh jobs for the GPU. But Jake Cooper who tried strikes, picket lines, negotiations, the dangers they had encountered to defend the Old Man and his wife is being sent to prison. and the victories that had been

> * * * Felix Morrow and Albert Gold man arrived. Circles of people eddied about them, saying "hello and goodbye".

> > * * *

Vincent Dunne took Jim and

respect Trotsky had for Emil when he was a guard there. LAST SUPPER

tone

Carlson at his side.

Max Geldman, the father of a baby boy born Christmas morning, spent little time being a proud father. He was busy describing the experiences of his stone for union activity, preparthey could expect. Karl Kuehn, Oscar Schoenfeld, and Al Russell, the three sent to

Danbury, were present in spirit. Again and again their names came up in reminiscences of the roles they played in the great Union into one of the most powerful in the nation.

FARRELL DOBBS

Farrell Dobbs, who had come ence Hamel and the others. "They are men," he told me as we sat in the headquarters. "Every inch of them."

Farrell Dobbs was a name to The Minneapolis comrades un- | Yet he spurned that career since | Three" but an unholy conspiracy doubtedly would have felt bitter it would have meant supporting against the awakening revolution

disappointment if their leader the Roosevelt regime and the in Europe? Who were the ghosts were forced to serve his term in imperialist war. He instead who walked the halls there but a separate prison; they covered chose to fight for socialism. That the ghosts of Lenin and Trotsky?

Press Release Made on Behalf of the 18 Issued December 31 by Albert Goldman

Although our enemies, represented by Roosevelt, Stalin and Tobin are happy at the thought that we shall be 'behind bars, they should know that our trial and conviction have not done our cause any harm.

Hundreds of thousands of people who, before the trial, never heard of the Socialist Workers Party and what it stands for are now aware of our existence and know our ideas.

Because of the prosecution we have gained the support of thousands of people. We are of course not happy that we are going to jail but we are happy that in the process of putting us in jail our enemies have succeeded in spreading our ideas.

History proves that prisons and force have never destroyed progressive ideas. We go to jail confident that our socialist ideas will ultimately be adopted by the masses who have to suffer under a dying capitalism. We shall come out of prison ready to continue the struggle on behalf of the working masses.

people. Jim took a few small items out of his valise and wrapped them in a handkerchief to As I listened to these native take to the county jail - tooth

"Looks like you're hitting the tory of our country is written by road, Jim" someone said. look for material in the library out of here . . . I've been many a

A photographer sent down by

power of the socialist movement can suddenly expand: "When the revolution comes, hundreds of Farrell Dobbs, who came up out thousands and millions of people of the great 1934 Minneapolis will appear who previously had strikes like a flame seeking its some connection with socialism." Tension mounted as the hour drew near. Jim set 2:30 as the time to leave. bloodshed.

For a few minutes he sat, draining this last hour of freedom to

forward down Marquette Avenue from Ninth Street to Third.

HISTORIC MARCH

Friends and well-wishers met tivity, must now serve another. them as they marched. "Goodbye," one could hear again and LABOR ORGANIZERS again. "Good luck." The senti-Behind them marched Harry

ment of the advanced workers of DeBoer and Emil Hansen, union Minneapolis was expressed I beorganizers who fought labor's lieve by the truck driver who said fight with both hands from the to Skoglund shortly before the day they became conscious of the march began: "You've still got necessity to organize against the lots of friends, Carl. We won't bosses. forget you." Then Clarence Hamel and Ed

Jim Cannon and Vincent Dunne Palmquist, two other fighting ored the way, the two men who ganizers of Teamsters Local 544 have represented the main stream who could not conceive of of revolutionary socialism in the knuckling under to the employers United States for more than three or a reactionary international decades. Bulbs flashed as press union bureaucrat. photographers crouched at vant-Last, Jake Cooper, the youth age points in the march with who went down to Mexico to do their cameras — the capitalist everything he could to help guard press too is interested in the way Trotsky and Natalia from Stalin's victims of the class struggle act assassing. Trotsky loved Jake for climbed on stools, crouched low at such painful and dramatic mo- his devotion and his willingness. ments. But the faces of these two He would have embraced him veteran leaders expressed nothing again if he could see how Jake in that march which could com- marched. fort the class enemy. They were They crossed the street to living embodiments of the saying walk in the sun. As they strode

of Spinosa which Trotsky loved past a bank they made a reto quote: "Neither to laugh nor markable picture. That imposing to weep; but * understand." structure, representing all the

Behind Cannon and Dunne marched Carl Skoglund and the press, found his memory stir- Oscar Coover, those fine old warred about the great struggles in riors of socialism whose lives will Butte, Montana where Frank earn them immortality in the their hats, their shoulders, touch-

spent a lifetime speaking out the courts, a Trotskyist lawyer Goldman explained how the willing to stake far more than Minneapolis, the advance con- said: "Good; very good." career and comfort in defense of tingent of the army that will socialism. Beside him strode eventually destroy all the evil power represented by the bank in the background. MARCH TO JAIL way toward the final destruction of this whole archaic capitalist At the Federal Court they were

system of hunger, misery and met by deputies of the U.S. Marshal. Again a crowd of the Next Felix Morrow and Grace curious gathered while the ing this last hour of freedom to the last. Then he arose to lead Fourth International, whose writ-began the short march to the ings burn the bourgeoisie like a County Jail.

This grim building loomed having come to Minneapolis in Grace Carlson described how as a pickaxe into his brain. Reac- of workers came in for a final Minneapolis branch offices of the date for Minnesota Senator. The ever higher and more repellent

stone was the terrible lag of the -Tobin and Roosevelt decided human mind, particularly when that he must pay the penalty Geldman, who has already served it is ossified in the ruling class; the lag which resists blindly and one imprisonment for strike acferociously the next step in progress and demands on its altar the blood and lives of millions of the oppressed.

upthrust of primeval rock. All

ATMOSPHERE OF DECAY

The fifteen marched into the gloomy may of that monument of capitalism, disappearing two by two inside. Down the long corridors of the basement they marched. Already the atmosphere seemed to wash over them, that atmosphere of sterile, hopeless stultification and decay which is so characteristic of these institutions of oppression and which hard tile and glazed marble only heighten. The bulbs of the press photographers still flashed in the faces of these working class to find "interesting" angles.

At the elevator they halted for the last time. An elevator in a dungeon seems an anachronism, as if all the technique of modern industry, that could build a marvelous society of freedom, were subverted solely to the task of making more solid and imaccumulated wealth and power of pregnable the most savage instithe capitalist society they have tutions of the ancient Pharaohs.

challenged, stood coldly and The last man entered the forbidingly over them. But they elevator and so ended the hisdid not look at all like trapped slaves. The sun high-lighted toric march. In my mind I could hear the voice of Trotsky, that Little was murdered. He related hearts of the American working ed their swinging hands. In dark rich resonant voice welling up overcoats they seemed in uniform. from memory. I thought to Then Albert Goldman, who has They looked like a contingent of myself: If Trotsky could be here a powerful conquering army. In now to see how the leadership against reaction and injustice in truth that is precisely what they of our party conducted itself were, coming down the streets of under persecution, he would have

> **Buy THE MILITANT** SOUTH JAMAICA, N. Y. from H. L. ROBERTSON 108-49 New York Blvd. M. O'GORMAN 110-59 New York Blvd.

imprisoned or slaughtered. **REVOLUTIONARY TITANS** gave that supper an unforgettable

American socialists, I could not brush, etc. Vincent ordered wine-it seem help but conclude: When the his-

ed appropriate on this occasion, and poured a glass for Grace future historians, they will not They began talking about Trotat Hyde Park where Roosevelt time on the road with a bundle OLD WARRIORS employs a staff to file away no bigger than that." skyism. "Our movement is his-

drive to organize the Teamsters toric," said Dunne. "Take our minutiae about himself. They will press for instance. The first vol- dig paintfully into scattered meume of The Militant is a collec- moirs, accidental bits written in tor's item, worth I don't know the heat of struggle, items prehow much, Compare it with other served in the files of Trotskyist radical publications. Who cares publications, to find out what the

up a few days earlier to be with about the first volumes of The real titans of American history days; how his own father was the youngest of his three Call for example. Or take the were like. daughters, talked hour after Workers Age, which at one time Then Jim told about Rose at while. "Everyone was something

hour with Ed Palmquist, Clar- seemed imposing. Who cares the farewell banquet in New of a socialist then." about that? Our movement was York. "She gave a magnificent real because it followed the long- speech . . . 'No moping,' she said. range historical perspective." She spoke for all the women.

The conversation brought the How proud I was of Rose. That whole globe into that room-the was a beautiful speech Rose conjure with in the drive to or- fear of all the mighty rulers with- made..., The most beautiful thing ganize the Teamsters. He could out exception before the power l've heard in a long time. She have reached a high place in of socialist ideas. What was the stood up like a Spartan woman. the circle surrounding Tobin. Teheran conference of the "Big I was very proud of her."

LAST DAY

On the last Day, December 31 Reaction could not assassinate the defendants gathered in the the way. the ideas of Trotsky by sinking headquarters. A constant stream When they came out of the lash. And Grace, former candi-

small group for the last supper before going to prison. We sat outmoded past. Ideas cannot be release; Felix Morrow greeted in a private room. The beams overhead, the copies of rich Renaissance paintings on the walls,

"Yes: made up my mind to get

SIX -

THE MILITANT



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

- LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

problems can be solved only if labor adopts a broad and basic viewpoint encompassing the entire national economic and political scene. The first essential step in the direction of a sound solution is that labor break completely and unequivocally with the capitalist parties and all their agents. American labor must enter the road toward

which leading Michigan unionists today are pointing. That is the road of independent working class political action.

Only an independent labor party will be able to elaborate and effectively advance a program to nationalize the basic industries as the railroads, the steel mills, the coal mines under workers' control, wipe out the blood-drenched war profiteering, black markets and price gouging, and guarantee security wages based on adequate decency, comfort and health standards.

Such a program will light a flame of enthusiasm in the working class. It will signal a halt to labor's continued retreat before the onslaught of reaction. It will inspire a new forward march in the battle for labor's just rights and conditions.

The heads of two railway unions have challenged the statement of William Green, AFL president, that, "there never was the faintest possibility of an actual walkout on the nation's railroads." Green had rushed into print with this statement after an "anonymous" attack by "high official sources" on the rail and steel workers accusing them of prolonging the war by strikes and threats of strike.

David B. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and Harry F. Fraser, president of the Order of Railroad Conductors, contended that their unions were not parties to the no strike pledge of the AFL and CIO and that while "they wished it were possible for all labor organizations to settle their claims without resort to strikes in wartime" strike action has only been postponed while the railroads remain in control of the government.



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

light.

Miss Nina Smith, 163 Lefferts

Ave., Brooklyn, who was a student

operator, being instructed by Mr.

Allen at the time of the incident,

said on the witness stand that the

the trolley when it came to a stop

and said to Allen: "Do you know

you passed two red lights, you

seized the opportunity to get a summons for passing a red The Post Office cheap help. And Army Help There is no objection to soldiers

Editor:

soldiers.

was needed.

(Continued from page 1)

seriousness of the present labor

kept press underlines their ner-

deal with Hirohito gains momen- power."

tum. Taking his cue from recent

by the military." Grew declared

that the phase of Shinto, the na-

ful purpose at this time."

olution in Japan is regarded by

British experts as a possibility.

keep labor "in its place."

POWDER MAGAZINE

The

working in the post office if they received postal clerks' pay, but It was much publicized in the there is objection to their being newspapers during the Christmas used as coolie labor. rush in the Post Office that the

Carl Ford officers had been trying to tail army was being used to help the P. S. Practically identical letthe trolley from an automobile, post offices get out the mail due ters such as these were sent to so one of them could board it for to the shortage of available manto the shortage of available man-power. The authority to use the the capitalist newspapers and to his personal convenience. She date not one word has appeared. pointed out Sgt. Breenmeyer in soldiers was given by the Postcourt, as the officer who entered

master-General and the War Department. Apparently many post Cops Abuse offices availed themselves of the Negro Motorman "cheap labor." I know that New

g- d- dopey b-d, where the York Ctiy, Brooklyn, Los Angeles | Editor: hell do you think you're goin'?' Testimony in Magistrate Court, and Newark, N. J. called in the Coney Island, on Dec. 23, revealed Allen, under the impression the The soldiers received their reg- that Negro trolley operator Paul men were civilians on a binge, atular army pay plus \$1.20 per T. Allen, who lives with his wife tempted to answer but was cut day for meals. The facts about and five children, at 109-46, 167th short with a blow in the eye the shortage of manpower are: St., Jamaica, was repeatedly from the officer, and a remark: "You're nothing but a bum, 1. That the soldiers were called beaten by a civilian and two pol-You're one of LaGuardia's chilin despite the fact that there were | ice apparently on a binge, while waiting lists of several thousands he was operating his trolley De- dren. We're cops." of civilians eagerly anticipating cember 6th, at Brighton Beach Indignation is running high the opportunity of making extra Ave. and 4th St., Brooklyn. among the trolley and bus oper The officers who were off duty ators of the entire B.M.T. system Christmas money. 2. A month before Christmas there were signs and not in uniform subsequently and action is demanded against in the postmaster's office stating lodged a complaint of third deg- the offending officers.

that no more help for Christmas | ree assault against the trolley op-The B.M.T. Surface Operators erator after he refused to "for- Club, P. O. Box No. 12, Station 1 This clearly shows up the get" the mussin' up. After being New York, N. Y., which is handl-

fraud that there was a shortage held in a cell for two hours, one ing the case, requests contribuof help. The post office just of the officers served Allen with tions to help fight this case.

Trade Union Notes By Marvel Scholl

According to the latest report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, "prices of staple items which families buy in retail markets rose about 31/2% in 1943."

The real purpose of this astonishing announcement, made by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins on Jan. 1, is to smear in advance the report of the War Labor Board Committee which is studying the validity of the cost of living index, branded as phony by the labor movement. The N. Y. Times, which always toots the horn for Big Business, took up the cry immediately that "Secretary Perkins is authority for the statement that the American cost of living rose only 31/2%" so "why must more time be wasted? Are we to be afflicted with another political report designed to appease certain labor groups?"

Perkins "authority" notwithstanding, every housewife knows that this report is a phony, for every housewife knows that prices have gone up anywhere from 50 to 100% in the last year.

The Perkins statistics say nothing at all about quality deterioration, that has taken such a slice out of the workers' living standards. The Perkins statistics deal only with official OPA figures, which are always considerably lower than prices actually paid. The Perkins statistics disregard completely the Black Market.

Perhaps if Madam Perkins did a little shopping herself, on a shoestring, the way American housewives have to shop, she'd get a real eye-opener as to what the actual rise in the cost of living has been in the past year.

In an article in the January 1944 issue of his personal organ, the International Teamster, Roosevelt's labor valet Daniel J. Tobin carries forward his rabid campaign of persecution against the 18 Minneapolis prisoners and Kelly Postal. Frothing at the mouth Tobin savagely attacks and vilifies three of the national organizations which have come to the defense of the people he helped to frameup and imprison. In the style of the lowest gutter sheet his penman lies, falsifies and slanders.

Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, says Tobin's sheet, defends Kelly Postal not because an honest union leader was victimized for his loyalty to union democracy, but because of "the natural sympathy of an ex-convict for a convict."

Tobin, that peerless "democract" who imposed his dictatorship upon Local 544, has the gall to accuse the Workers Defense League of "promoting dictatorship" because that organization defends the right of free speech and free press for socialists. At the same time he accuses "The Trotskyites of attempting to destroy the American labor movement in Minnesota" which they were foremost in building and protecting from the bosses and their agents like Tohin.

Because the Fellowship of Reconciliation courageously defends the rights of Japanese-Americans thrown into concentration camps, Tobin depicts them as "Jap sympathizers." And Tobin who has assailed A. Phillip Randolph, head of the March-On-Washingon Movement, for fighting against Jim Crow, intimates that the Civil Liberties Union and The Workers Defense League aim "to promote bloody racial and religious conflicts inside the friendly framework of democracy."

Tobin concludes by "welcoming the 'severe blow' dealt this revolutionary movement by the supreme court. We trust the next blow will prove fatal."



The mere anticipation of the entry of the Red Armies into the border states has previously provoked grave crises in the relations between the USSR and the Anglo-American allies. Now a new and greater crisis develops as the victorious Red Armies are poised on the old Polish border.

Even though the leaders of the "United Nations" have just concluded a copper-riveted agreement and beat the drums about their concord at Teheran, the Red Army victories again expose the deep and irreconcilable antagonism which divides the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers.

The capitalist press openly expresses its alarm. What are they afraid of? If no more was involved in the successful Red Army offensive than the temporary strengthening of another state power, Roosevelt and Churchill could manage to reconcile themselves to the inevitable and arrive at a compromise agreement regarding territorial limits, spheres of influence, etc. But the conflict between Stalin and his capitalist allies arises out of the class opposition between Soviet and capitalist property relations.

Anglo-American Big Business and its representatives remember what happened when the Red Armies marched into Eastern Poland in 1939: how not kidding themselves about the crisis. The hysterical tone of the deceit and threats.

vousness and apprehension. Their general belief is that Roosevelt's policy of deceit has run its course rises to a shrill crescendo as the and that more direct and forceful time approaches for the reactionmeasures are now required to ary congress to reconvene. They

bor movement.

powder magazine is charged with an explosive ten- LABOR'S PERIL

iron." This ominous clamour dency.'

are howling for still more rep-

sion which is growing more Labor finds itself in this perilthreatening all the time. The ous position without one single three recalcitrant rail chiefs did authentic representative in con-gantic intellect about what the not call off the strike, they merely gress who can be counted on to "CIO Political Action Committee" postponed it for the period in raise his voice against the reac- will do in the event the "two which the government retained tionary mob. In this situation, major parties" reject his "specific control, pending final settlement of the labor bureaucrats continue to set of principles for the general he wage dispute. The showdown emulate the ostrich by burying welfare?" With the pronounced with the steel workers has only their heads in the sands of the swing toward reaction by both been temporarily postponed. The false and long discredited "reward major parties, with a reactionary International Executive Board of your friends and punish your en- congress hell bent on destroying he United Automobile Workers emies" policy. In an article pub- the American trade union move representing more 1,000,000 work-lished in the February issue of ment, the Murrays and Hillmans ers in the strategic war-converted The American magazine, Philip offer the workers the choice be automobile and aircraft industries Murray proves that he has acted tween the upper and nether millmeets in Chicago on January 7, Charlie McCarthy for the political stone! With that kind of a to press their wage demands parties of capitalism so long that "choice" the labor movement will against General Motors, Ford and he is organically incapable of be ground to bits. What is needed Chrysler. Aluminum workers, playing any other role. In outis a decisive break with both textile workers and other impor- lining the aims of the "CIO Policapitalist parties! The way out tant sections of the labor move- tical Action Committee" he says: ment are likewise demanding "We shall (then), before the na- of the swamp of political comwage increases. tional conventions of the two mapany unionism for the American The kept press makes clear that | jor parties, hold a national meet-Working Class is to launch its influential sections of the Amer- ing or conference of our own. ican capitalist class have lost con- We shall draw up and present to own political party with its own fidence in Roosevelt's ability to the American people a specific set labor program.

parties and the individual cand

NO LABOR PARTY

In order that there be no mistake about what Murray, Hillman ray insists: "This is not a 'Labor Party' or a 'Third Party.' There is no present intention to form such a party." We wonder if the thought ever occurred to that gi-

ressive legislation against the la- and Company intend to do, Mur-

Rail And Steel Disputes Show Roosevelt Swing To Reaction

"hold the line" against millions of principles for the general wel of workers advancing against the fare. Then, after the political ramparts of the Little Steel for- conventions, we can decide what mula, by his technique of cunning, action to take regarding the two

The whole mongrel pack is bay- idates, whether for state or naing for a regime of "blood and tional offices, or for the presi-

New Labor Crisis

The crisis in rail and steel coming on the heels of the mine strikes, is evidence of labor's growing dissatisfaction with Roosevelt's war regime.

Since the leaders of the rail and steel unions have been notorious captives of the war machine and consistent lackeys of Roosevelt, the conduct of their membership shows even more clearly than did the miners' actions that the rank and file of labor is ready to march on a new road.

Under these circumstances, it is nothing short of criminal that the union bureaucracy compels the working class to expend such tremendous reserves of energy for such miserly gains and short-lived objectives.

Even the militant miners had to strike four times to win small wage increases. The steel workers undoubtedly will have to wage a bitter and determined struggle to win even meagre gains. After more than 16 months of tortuous negotiations, strike votes and strike threats, the rail workers look forward only to very modest wage increases.

More ominous still is the full picture of labor's situation. The Big Business masters who rule this country now have made it clear that they do not intend to permit Roosevelt to continue yielding _out: "What happens when the Red Army crosses such grudging concessions as labor pressure previously compelled him to grant. The ruling class underlined its real objective when it pushed forward no less a person than Gen. Marshall, American Chief of Staff, as its mouthpiece in attempting to incite a veritable lynch spirit in the nation and armed forces against organized labor.

This anti-labor incitation, particularly of the soldier ranks, is a sinister prelude to the Big Business conspiracy aimed at beating down, strangling and exterminating the labor movement. Roosevelt's demonstrative concurrence in Gen. Marshall's labor-hating statement, proves how far he has already retreated before the ruling capitalist oligarchy, and gives warning that he is prepared to retreat even more precipitately in the future.

If the workers continue to submit to the servile policies of the Murrays and Greens, they will not only lose the present uneven race between prices and wages, but in the end, will lose all the gains wrested from capitalism in 50 years of labor struggle.

Labor's fundamental problems cannot be solved by fighting merely for dribs and drabs. These the poor peasants drove out the landlords and nobles and seized the land; how the workers took control of industry; how the ruling caste, the bankers, industrialists, landed proprietors fled in terror before the approaching Soviet forces. They also know what is going on in Yugoslavia where the insurgent workers and peasants, inspired by the ideas of the October 1917 revolution and the heroic stand of the Red Armies, have been fighting against the nazis, monarchists, landlords and capitalists for their own Workers and Peasants Republic.

What Washington and Wall Street dread is the impetus inevitably imparted by the Red Army advances to these revolutionary moods and movements of the masses and to an overturn in political and property relations. Nothing less is at stake than the fate of capitalism.

That is why the papers have hoisted alarm signals. The N. Y. Times warns Roosevelt editorially on Dec. 30 that, unless "there is a settlement in detail of the Polish-Russian problem before the swiftly moving Russian armies cross the old border into pre-war Poland". . . "there are Republican politicians who may find it profitable for purely partisan reasons, to champion the cause of Poland against Russia in the next election." Wm. Philip Simms in the N. Y. World-Telegram (Jan 4) banner bearer of the Scripps-Howard chain, cries into Poland will have epochal importance. . . will make or mar the chances of a lasting peace."

Simms also points out that neither Washington nor London is now in any position to "get tough" with Moscow. That is another reason why the capitalists are grinding their teeth in chagrin.

The renewed tension over the Polish question demonstrates the insuperable character of the antagonism between the Allied imperialists and the aims and aspirations of the European workers and peasants, including the Soviet peoples. This antagonism will prove more decisive in the final analysis for the fate of the Soviet Union than any understandings arrived at by Stalin with Roosevelt and Churchill. The revolutionary impulses animating the European masses are breaking through all barriers erected against them and will eventually accumulate explosive power enough to blow to bits the counter-revolutionary schemes of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin.

It is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party

Peasants Republic" in 1939, so Stalin is evidently grooming George Dimitroff, ex-Secy. of the Evidence accumu'ates that there buried Comintern, for a similar high post in Bulgaria.

At the Reichstag Trial anniversary meeting held in Carnegie Hall, Louis Adamic, president of the United Committee of South Slavic Americans linked Dimitroff leader.

Dimitroff has himself issued a sharp manifesto against Bulgaria's present rulers, printed in the Daily Worker of Dec. 30. He volves emperor-worship, "can be the Comintern and changed the stated in this declaration that "last March the government cam-Although cautioning Grew a continued belief that Sovietism paigned against the guerrillas with more than 20,000 soldiers officers, artillery and aircraft. The fight lasted throughout summer and autumn but failed to produce the results expected by the government

"Taking up arms, Bulgarian that "most British authorities ap- tober Revolution, learn the truth patriots armed numerous guerrilla detachments operating in the mountains of Central Southern Bulgaria. These detachments are public in defeated Japan, accord- was in 1917" is propagated today already several thousand strong and their ranks are growing despite the terror of Bulgarian

What next blow? Are Tobin and Roosevelt preparing new frameups? * * *

Labor, official publication of the railway unions writes in its current issue: "If the administration is going to insist on the little steel formula ... while prices keep soaring and profits break records, then a blowup is in the cards."

* * *

Hearings opened in Detroit on Jan. 3 before a special fact-finding panel on the demand of the United Automobile Workers Union for a 10 cent an hour increase for its 250,000 members in General Motors. * * *

Senator Wallgren, a member of the Truman committee urged last week that the conversion of Liberty ships to troop transports be halted immediately. "Structural faults have already caused five Liberty ships to crack in half," the Senator said. In addition to faulty construction, the Liberty ships are too slow to make safe troop transports.

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Liberty ships have a maximum speed of 101/2 knots per hour. That is too slow to outrun a submarine.

The Seamen's unions have pointed out this fact many times, and called attention to the tremendous number of merchant seamen who have as a result been drowned at sea. But the lives of the merchant seamen apparently are cheap.

Liberty ships could be equipped with faster motors. They could be built to withstand the pounding of the sea. But that would mean less profit for both the ship builders and the ship owners, and profit is what they are interested in. Better construction would mean spending more money on material and labor. Faster motors would mean that the ships which survive the war would be too costly to operate for profit after the war. So seamen die, cargo is lost and ships crack in half. The profits however, keep pouring in.

On December 14 and 15 the membership of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Local 425 (Ford Instrument, N. Y.) ousted its old, Stalinist-controlled executive board and put in office an entire new slate, pledged to fight the wage freeze, the incentive pay plan of the Ford Instrument Company and to build a strong shop steward system.

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The Stalinists, in their effort to maintain the status quo within this local, attacked UAW Brewster Local 365 and its officers, taking the same position as the reactionary House Naval Affairs Committee. They came out for incentive pay and made a concerted attack on the present negotiating committee which had been elected previously on a program of fighting the wage freeze and opposing incentive pay plans.

"peace-loving ruler not controlled with guerrilla bands say that confusion caused by German propaganda is so great that many refuse to believe that Russia has tional Japanese cult which in- announced her own divorce from

come an asset, not a liability." Internationale's words. There is against over-enthusiasm about the today is as it was before and as cult of the God-Emperor, the it was in 1917. Hence it has fol-N .Y. Times editors on Jan. 2 lowers, particularly in the northagreed "with Mr. Grew that a ern industrial regions, where, incampaign against the Japanese cidentally, Bulgarian influence is Emperor would not serve any use | said to be reasonably strong." Once these fighting workers

PM correspondent Fred. Kuh and peasants, inspired by the cabled from London on Dec. 25 ideas and traditions of the Ocpear to favor the continued rule about Stalinism, they will draw of the present Japanese dynasty." the necessary conclusions. They The British tories fear com- will find out through their own munism and even an unstable re- experience that Sovietism "as it ing to Kuh. "A communist rev- only by the Trotskyists. * * *

This spectre fortifies the wish of Just as the Kremlin appointed ruling circles and Gestapo agents."

In England and the United influential British people to see Otto Kuusinen head of its pro States the buildup for an Allied the dynasty in Japan remain in jected "Finnish Workers and

State Department declarations, exexists a vast difference between Ambassador to Japan Joseph C. the reactionary top Stalinist lead-Grew described Emperor Hirohito ers of the partisan movements in a speech at Chicago on Dec. and the revolutionary aims and 29 as a man who opposed war aspirations of the rank and file with the United States and Great workers and peasants. A N, Y. Times cable from Cairo on Jan. 1 Britain and suggested that postreports: "Most of those from with Tito, the Yugoslav Partisan war Japan might be run by a Greece who have been fighting

International Notes