

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.

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 flunkies, 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 1½ 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.

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18 FRAMED SWP LEADERS GO BEHIND PRISON BARS

Trotskyist Leaders Just Before Imprisonment



After assembling at SWP headquarters and marching two abreast to the U. S. Marshal'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 labor 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 new."

During the coal miners' dispute, the workers' struggle for higher wages was pictured as a personal feud between John L. Lewis and Roosevelt, 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 to embarrass the President. The Stalinists contributed to this union-baiting campaign by adding the note that Lewis was actually an "agent of Hitler and Hirohito."

The poison-pen artists find it impossible to employ the same propaganda in the rail and steel situations. Roosevelt is only too well aware of the spinelessness and subservience of the rail and steel bureaucrats. He is also aware that the rail and steel workers stand far to the left of their official leadership.

It was this knowledge, together with his experience in the coal strikes, that prompted Roosevelt to modify his previous technique. He tested his labor prestige in the coal strikes when he appealed to the miners over the heads of their official leaders, to return to work. So devastating was the rebuff of the miners that Roosevelt did not dare repeat the experiment with the rail workers. For the first time, he ordered the army to take over an industry, before the

start of a strike. The three rail officials who refused Roosevelt's arbitration offer have given us an inkling of what happened.

REFUSE OFFER

In a conference with the rail officials on December 23, Roosevelt "laid down the law." Three of the railway union representatives rejected his arbitration offer. The public statement issued by the three union officials, protesting Roosevelt's action revealed that, "from Dec. 23 until we met with General Somervell, Dec. 29, the Administration arranged no meeting with the chosen representatives of the three organizations involved in an effort to reach a peaceful settlement."

Roosevelt had lost confidence in his own and the labor bureaucrats' ability to "peacefully" restrain the workers. He declared: "I cannot wait," and issued orders for the army to proceed with the seizure of the railroads. At the same time, he announced his

arbitration award in the case of the two rail unions which had accepted his arbitration offer. In order to skirt around the Little Steel formula, 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 total increase of eleven cents per hour. Despite the jubilation of the *Time* publishers over Roosevelt's "iron hand," Roosevelt was constrained to temper his iron with the "velvet glove technique of offering concessions" to the 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 repeated attempts, Roosevelt has failed to regain significant support among other sections of the population. Besides, the temper of America's mass production workers is rising and some small concessions must be made to hold them in line and preserve their support for the war program. It is this contradiction which explains his "iron hand-velvet glove" technique.

Thanks to the craven attitude of Murray and Co., Roosevelt succeeded in postponing the showdown with the steel workers, while the rail crisis was at its height. The showdown, however, will not be long in coming. The steel workers are expecting to receive substantial wage increases. They have shown their readiness to back their demands by militant action. The capitalists are

General Marshall's vicious attack from ambush upon the American labor movement has aroused tremendous indignation 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 Strike Curbs Made By Stalinist Finks

By R. Bell

In the current labor crisis, the Stalinists are out to break their previous strikebreaking record, developed to its highest point during the coal strikes. In a *Daily Worker* article (Dec. 23) entitled: "Even Talk of Rail Strike Dangerous," the Stalinist "labor expert" George Morris unburies himself on the railway wage dispute: "That the wage crisis in railroad was permitted 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 formula."

"This nonsensical wage formula," under which the railroad companies are "pocketing unprecedented profits," is none other than Roosevelt's notorious Little Steel formula, now under attack by the rail and steel workers. Hard on the heels of the rail crisis, the steel workers, turned down on their retroactive pay demand by Roosevelt's WLB agents, began walking out of the plants when their contracts expired on Christmas eve. The Stalinists were horrified! They suddenly discovered that "the steel and all other workers are asking no more than a restoration of the 'Little Steel' formula balance." (*Daily Worker* Dec. 28).

NEW DISCOVERY

This discovery occurred after Roosevelt, compelled to intervene in the growing crisis, had sent telegrams to Murray and the Steel operators. To the operators

Demonstrate Solidarity As They Begin Jail Sentences

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 crowded streets of the city to the Federal Court House. There they were received by the United States Marshal. In custody of two deputies, they then continued their closed rank procession to the County jail.

This morning at eight o'clock, according to the County Sheriff, all were taken to Sandstone Penitentiary except for Grace Carlson whose time of leaving for a Federal women's prison has not yet been made public.

From the SWP branch offices to the County Jail, these revolutionaries marched with great dignity, fully aware of the historic significance of this imprisonment. There had been the first trial in the United States of revolutionary socialists in the second world war. They are the first to be incarcerated in "democratic" America for expression of opinion as to the character of the second World War.

DEBS' MANTLE

They marched proudly, for they represent Trotskyism in America, the only political opposition to Roosevelt's regime serious enough in its advocacy of socialism to receive treatment like that accorded the revolutionary socialists in the first World War. As they strode through the streets, they wore the mantle of Eugene V. Debs.

LAST HOURS IN MINNEAPOLIS

It was dark when the Hiawatha pulled into Minneapolis. Carl Skoglund and Oscar Coover met Cannon and myself at the station. They had a little difficulty getting us a taxi.

From the hotel we went to a restaurant. On the way, walking along the dark street, I became better acquainted with Skoglund. Skoglund represents the revolu-

tionary tendency in the Scandinavian flavoring of Minnesota politics. He was born in Sweden on an ancient feudal estate where his ancestors had worked as serfs as far back as records extend. When Carl was a boy, capitalism penetrated into this area with saw mills and other enterprises based on cheap water power. Overnight, youths changed from serfs into proletarians.

The conflict with the older Lutheran generation became peculiarly sharp. From devout belief in witchcraft, charms and the catechism, these youths were confronted with the ultra-modern scientific doctrines of Karl Marx. The feudal home broke up. At the age of 15 Carl created a local scandal by refusing to go through with confirmation in the Lutheran church.

He spent three years in the Swedish army.

MET COOVER

In 1911 he came to the "land of freedom." Working on the railroad, he met Oscar Coover. "We hardly worked," said Carl reminiscently; "we had such good arguments about socialism."

But the freedom Carl sought in America seemed to have been somewhat exaggerated in the advertisements of the steamship companies. Because he played a prominent part in building the labor movement of the Northwest, Roosevelt's regime decided to imprison him. Still worse they insulted 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...

He faces 16 months in prison. When he gets out, he does not know his fate—perhaps deportation to Sweden, a country he left so long ago it is completely alien to him now. Thus two ages as well as two continents, are blended in this union man. He was born into the last remnants of

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 seated at the speakers table, along with Miles Dunne who acted as toastmaster.

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 the trade union and political leaders, about to be railroaded to prison because of their devotion to the working class.

Sketching the background of

the case, Miles Dunne, who was 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)

WAR PRODUCTION CUT-BACKS MENACE WORKERS' SECURITY

By Miriam Carter

There has been a lot of talk in the past few months by the bosses and their spokesmen in Washington about the post-war world. Many grandiose promises have been made in an effort to paint a rosy picture of the future for the workers who are fighting, dying, and paying for the war.

The real future planned by the bosses is revealed in the recently initiated cutback program of the War Production Board.

Many large scale layoffs have been taking place in the steel and aluminum industries. In Pennsylvania and Ohio some steel

plants, especially small, independent firms, have been closed down entirely, and many are operating at only a fraction of their capacity. In the aluminum industry the proportion of cutbacks is even greater. Five "hot line" plants in Queens, Burlington, New Jersey, and Borden, North Carolina, which have been producing aluminum from alumina, the raw material, have been shut down. Other plants are operating at 10-50 per cent capacity with big shutdowns in Massena, New York, a big aluminum producing center, in the offing.

These shutdowns in basic industries, that handle materials at an

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued on page 6)

(Continued on page 5)

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 super-profits out of the war, pushed forward none other than Gen. Marshall to launch the anti-labor 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 damndest 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,

pile up billions in war profits, plunder the 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 miners' 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

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 compared 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 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 Stalin perpetrates his 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

of conscripting millions of Germans to become "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.

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.

The Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

In The Deep South

A. Phillip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and head of the March - on - Washington - Movement is a well-known and influential figure in the Negro and trade union movements. But to Democrat Ed Crump, political boss of Memphis, Randolph is just another trouble maker from up North who has to be put in his place.

On Nov. 6, 1943, the day before Randolph was scheduled to address a mass meeting in Memphis, Crump's stooge, Sheriff Perry rounded up 18 to 20 leading Negro citizens and had them brought to his office. The sheriff warned them Randolph wouldn't be allowed to talk and predicted "race riots" if the meeting was held. Though the meeting was cancelled, Randolph did speak before two small gatherings of Negroes in Memphis that week.

Crump's loud talk about Northern agitators simply reveals that Negroes in the South are following the lead of their brothers in the North and pressing forward for their rights in a militant fashion. Of course Crump and the whole parasitic crew of landlords and politicians who have lived off the Negroes for generations won't yield an inch without putting up the most violent resistance. They are demonstrating that it will require a merciless struggle to win concessions.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has just handed down a decision which declares that segregation of races on railroad trains does not constitute "unlawful discrimination." The ICC made this ruling in dismissing the complaint of 18 colored seamen against the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company. The railroad officials refused to feed the colored seamen while white passengers were in the dining car. So long as they received equal though segregated service, the ICC says, there was nothing wrong. Segregation itself, the ICC said, is a social question which it cannot rule upon.

The attempt of one federal agency, the Interstate Commerce Commission, to pass the buck on the issue of segregation only emphasizes the point that the government itself supports the Jim Crow system of the South. Through its many agencies, the armed forces, and the courts, the government enforces the Southern pattern of segregation.

The Southern capitalists and landlords have used Roosevelt's job and wage freezing laws to force Negro and white farm workers into a new system of peonage. A law passed in 1943 prevents farm workers from leaving their county without the consent of the Agricultural Extension Services agent of that county.

These agents are under the control of the American Farm Bureau, an organization of millionaire farm operators and cotton planters.

According to the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, the 1944 farm labor supply bill, passed by the House of Representatives, and now before a Senate Appropriations committee, is the same as the 1943 law. It will aid the "big farmers who wish to maintain an abundant labor supply in the Southern states regardless of the fact that workers are employed only four to six months each year at below subsistence wage levels." Farm wages in the South average between four and five dollars a week.

One way in which Negroes have struck out against oppression has been by migrating to the North. In spite of the government decrees and the threats of physical violence more than half a million Negroes, one paper says, have migrated to the North during the course of the second world war. What is going to happen to the millions of Negroes who remain in the South? Although more than 2 million have left the South since 1920, it is impossible for all of them to migrate to the North. Economically, says Charles S. Johnson, noted Negro writer, the Southern Negro is caught between the devil and the deep blue sea.

For ten years before the war, machines were at a rapid rate replacing farm workers in the South. And Jim Crow plus the depression kept these Negroes out of the factories. Even under the comparatively favorable employment opportunities during the war, the Southern negro is still barred by the capitalists from any kind of skilled jobs.

But the Negro masses are not taking things lying down. In an alliance with white workers who also suffer from the backwardness of the South, they have found a way of fighting Jim Crow. Last week, for instance, 12,000 Negro and white tobacco workers of Winston-Salem, N. C. chose the CIO to represent them at the Reynolds plant. There were the usual rumors of "race riots;" a mysterious citizens' committee sprang into existence; the town papers accused the union of inciting racial trouble. But this didn't stop the tobacco workers from going ahead and joining the CIO.

The struggle of the unions in the South is not confined to just economic questions. A short while ago 20 local unions of the CIO, AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods in St. Louis went on record demanding the abolition of discriminatory clauses in the state constitution, passage of a federal anti-poll tax bill and the abolition of anti-Negro practices in industry.

Branches Speed Fund Campaign

By Rose Karsner, Director

Last week, before the New York contingent of the 18 class-war 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 great interest. The way it has been shooting up from week to week is phenomenal. Tell the comrades throughout the country who have made this possible, that I am proud to be a member of the same party they belong to, and that I shall carry this thought with me into prison."

James P. Cannon: "This campaign was conceived 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 consolidation of a Marxist cadre; a cadre which can withstand the shocks of war and repression without 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."

N. Y. Central Branch Fills Fund Quota

As a demonstration of solidarity with the 18 comrades railroaded to prison, the members of Central Branch, Local New York, completed their \$1,500 quota of the \$15,000-15th Anniversary Fund Drive at the Farewell Dinner held for these comrades prior to their 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.

The Militant

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

Buy 'The Militant'

at
BRYANT PARK
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SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Paid	Percent
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MILWAUKEE	25.00	27.50	110
SAN FRANCISCO	1,000.00	1,050.00	105
SAN DIEGO	100.00	100.00	100
ALLENTOWN	25.00	25.00	100
New York	2,500.00	2,049.00	82
Detroit	2,000.00	1,624.50	81
Boston	300.00	211.00	70
Los Angeles	2,000.00	1,337.16	67
Newark	300.00	190.00	63
Buffalo	300.00	189.50	63
Twin Cities	1,000.00	620.00	62
Cleveland	200.00	100.00	50
Members-at-Large and friends	800.00	348.00	44
Reading	75.00	30.00	40
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A reader of The Militant in Belview, Minnesota, expresses the need of receiving the paper regularly each week. He writes: "You have sent me reminders that my subscriptions have expired. I have already missed a few issues and at the same time, I have missed the Marxist interpretation of the news, which interpretation is the only one that has a real meaning."

"I must continue to read your press since its clarity cuts through all the confusion created by the capitalist radio and press, as well as that of the social democrats."

"Enclosed find \$4. for The Militant and Fourth International."

"P. S. I'm sending \$4 in place of \$3 as a season greeting."

The house-to-house work done by our San Francisco comrades is bringing excellent results, both in subscriptions and contacts. Our agent there writes: "Enclosed find money order for attached five subs."

"When we began our house-to-house work it was with the idea that if we made only one good contact we would consider our work successful. To date we have done just that and more. We have contact now with three very fine Negro families and will keep in close touch with them from now on."

The hard work and effort of our Seattle comrades during the past period is now resulting in many valuable subscriptions, as is shown by the following letters from our agent there:

"Enclosed are seven subscriptions. Please note that one blank is only a notice to you of a change in address of a recent sub."

"Enclosed are four more subs to The Militant. They came in fifteen minutes after we mailed you the other seven subs."

"Incidentally, eight of the eleven subs were brought in by one member who works in the shipyards."

Our agent in Toledo, Ohio, realizes the importance of keeping financial obligations paid. He states: "Enclosed is money for my combination subscription renewal and also enclosed is money for applying on future literature bill. We want to start the new year with a credit balance."

In Detroit, Mich.

You can get
THE MILITANT
at the
FAMILY THEATRE
NEWSSTAND
opposite the theatre

Production Cut-Back Menace To Workers

(Continued from page 1)

early stage in their manufacture, mean future cutbacks in fabricating plans. Government spokesmen estimate that about one million workers will be "freed from war plants" by the third quarter of 1944. (N.Y. Times, Dec. 14).

Workers who have a chance to get steadier or better paying jobs elsewhere are not allowed to quit because of Roosevelt's job freezing order. They just have to stay on the job until the bosses have no further use for them. No guarantee is given that though they stick to the job they can expect a regular pay check.

In fact, the corporations utilize these cutbacks in production to further undermine wage standards. In McKeesport, Pennsylvania, on December 13, the pouring cranemen of the National Tube Company went on strike in protest against the downgrading of two cranemen after a furnace had been shut down.

The number of layoffs is still proportionately small. But when war production comes to a halt,

unemployment, the "grim reaper" of the depression, may once again ravage the working class. Now is the time, while the majority of the workers are employed and the trade unions are powerful, to fight for provisions that will avoid the bitter misery of unemployment.

ANNUAL WAGE

The demand made by CIO president Philip Murray for an annual wage is one for which the whole labor movement must fight. The corporations bloated with huge reserves squeezed from war profits, can well afford to provide an annual wage. This demand cannot be achieved, however, by following Murray's policy of pleading, begging and depending on the good nature of the Roosevelt administration, while destroying the effectiveness of the labor movement with the no-strike pledge.

* A program of action, based on militant struggle, must be prepared by the labor movement now to avoid the grim consequences of future unemployment.

Sunday Open Forum

Subject:

"THE STEEL AND RAIL CRISIS"

Discussion Leader:
C. THOMAS

Sunday, January 9, 1944

Auspices: New York School of Social Science
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE (Cor. 13th Street)
NEW YORK CITY

Aid Labor's 18

Political Prisoners and Their Families
They Are Counting On YOU!

JAMES T. FARRELL, Chairman
CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
160 Fifth Avenue, New York City 10, N. Y.

Here is my contribution of \$..... to the Fund
for the relief of the 18 political prisoners in the
Minneapolis "Gag" Law case and their families.

Name
Address
City and State

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.

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 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.

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.



Fourteen of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO leaders are pictured together at the party headquarters, 919 Marquette Ave., Minneapolis, where they gathered before going to jail. Standing (left to right): Farrell Dobbs, Harry DeBoer, E. Palmquist, Clarence Hamel, Emil Hansen, Oscar Coover, Jake Cooper. Sitting (left to right): Max Goldman, 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 too. 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 themselves 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.

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 genius-leader 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

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.

SPEECH OF FARRELL DOBBS

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 the 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.

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 frame-ups 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.

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 Osawatimie 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 self-confidence 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.

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.

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.

Biographies Of The Imprisoned Trotskyists

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 truth 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 proletariat, Cannon helped to organize the Left-Wing Group in Kansas City, 1918. This group defended the Bolshevik Revolution,

fought for the concept of a centralized, 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 campaign 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-bourgeois 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.

That is his magnificent historic achievement. That is what the capitalist jailers cannot take from him. That is his triumph.

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 beginning 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 early 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 soul, 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 Seattle 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 Bogalooosa, 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 make-work 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 organizer—this 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 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 well 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

free Tom Mooney and in the Friends of Soviet Russia. As a delegate to the Minneapolis 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 club, from which he was expelled in 1928 for his opposition to Shipstead and the other labor political fakery.

Three days after this expulsion, he was bureaucratically expelled, with Oscar Coover and Carl Skoglund from the Communist Party, in which he had held many district posts for a number of years. The

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

reason—they had dared to demand a democratic hearing for Leon Trotsky's views in 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 to every blow hurled at him. He has already earned a place in American labor history as an incorruptible working class leader and fighter, an intransigent Bolshevik.

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 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.

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 militant labor tradition.



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

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 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 famous 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 working-class 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 Relief Administration and WPA.

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 Penitentiary for his militant leadership during the 1939 Minneapolis WPA strike.

In addition to his Local 544 membership, Ed was an active member of the Hod Carriers union, served as a delegate to the Minneapolis Central Labor Union and was a delegate to a number of State Federation of Labor conventions.

From the beginning of his activity during the rise of Local 544, Ed grasped the 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 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 stature 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 harassed 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

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 federal governments, you'll find the answer in men like big, genial Clarence Hamel.



Clarence 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 at 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

JAKE COOPER

When the fighting got toughest, when the cops and deputies started roughing up the picket line and the strikebreakers and scabs started crawling through the gates, that's when embattled Minneapolis 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 fakery and bureaucrats or kissing the soft spots on the bosses. 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.

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

Ed has two young children under 10, Barbara and Michael, and a grown-up daughter, Violet. His wife Rose has been a loyal comrade, standing shoulder to shoulder with him in the class struggle. She was one of the ten acquitted in the trial of the original 28.

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 12-state 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 workers in the battle for socialism.

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 fashions-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 the bosses when his prison term ends.

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 goons and severely beaten.

Danbury Jail Gates Close On Three

The three of the 18 Minneapolis political prisoners pictured above, Karl Kuehn, Alfred Russell and Oscar Schoenfeld, were taken into custody by the U. S. Marshal in New York City on Thursday, Dec. 31 and placed in the House of Detention pen-

and our confidence in their work for the future. This is for us a sort of preparatory school for Danbury and we think we are getting acclimated. Among those also present here are a good number of Bundists and the further away from them we can stay, the better we like it. Also here are several C.O.'s.



KARL KUEHN

AL RUSSELL

O. SCHOENFELD

ing their transfer on Jan. 3 to the Federal Penitentiary at Danbury, Connecticut where they will serve their year and a day sentences.

The following letter was received from Oscar Schoenfeld by George Novack, Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee: "Karl, Al and I send you our best greetings. Once again we want to express our deep appreciation for the work done by our friends

"If you write to our friends in Minnesota, send our best regards and tell them that we are doing very well and hope they are getting on as well."

Oscar Schoenfeld 41343

P. S. The number after my name is not my Social Security number. Al Russell writes: "We are all in the same cell block, with Oscar and I sharing one of the four 2-man cells in the block. Regards to all."

GAETANO SALVEMINI ON ITALY

On December 6 the Badoglio regime threw the first unit of Italian soldiers against the Nazis. Most of them were massacred in this suicidal assault. Gaetano Salvemini comments on this engagement in the *New Republic* (Dec. 27): "The commanding general who chose to make the frontal attack was surely both incompetent and brutal. But as Badoglio in one of his recent interviews told us, Mussolini attacked France in June, 1940, because he needed a few thousand dead in order to get a seat at the impending peace conference. In December, 1943, Badoglio needed a

few hundred Italian dead to enhance the prestige of the royal house."

The so-called "Italian war of liberation" is being fought under a King and an ex-fascist Marshal who are rubber stamps for the Anglo-American powers. "Until September 8, 1943, the Italians had to fight against the Allies for Hitler and Mussolini," writes Salvemini (*The Nation*, Jan. 1). "Now they have to fight against the Germans for the King and Badoglio. They will never, it seems, be permitted by the Allies to fight for an Italy belonging to themselves."

Minneapolis Workers Bid SWP Leaders Farewell At Banquet

(Continued from page 1)

Grace Carlson pointed out the significance 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 suffering and slaughter on a scale that the world has never before seen, the fate of 18 people is relatively unimportant. But the 18 represent the future socialist society which will inevitably replace the decadent capitalist system."

"The spirit in which we Trotskyists have lived and worked," she went on to say, "is one of absolute conviction that one day in the not too distant future the workers of the world, many of whom have been imprisoned and have died for revolutionary ideas, will replace this rotten system which breeds war and fascism with an international society of the free and the equal."

The toastmaster then introduced each of the other defendants who were present and called on them for a statement.

SPEECH OF COOPER

"This is a real occasion and one that I shall never forget," declared Jake Cooper. "Look at the friends we have here tonight, the dinner we have had here tonight, the way it has been served. This is my idea of the way people should live. Fighting humanity can march forward and the people can have the best of all things that this world has to offer. When we come back we aim to fight for this very thing. This is the kind of a world I want to fight for."

Oscar Cooper said: "Since the rejection by the Supreme Court of the right of our people to have a review of the constitutionality of the Smith Law, I have found very few people who have not felt that our party was going forward. Eighteen of our party leaders are going away but I am confident tonight that when we come back our party will be a better one than it is now."

Harry DeBoer said: "They are sending us to jail for our ideas and opinions. I think this is the best time and place for me to say that the time we spend in jail will not change our opinions as they did not change those of our great leader Leon Trotsky."

Clarence Hamel and Ed Palmquist briefly gave thanks to all their friends and fellow-workers for their solidarity and support.

A similar sentiment was expressed by Emil Hansen who concluded with these words: "I can say this for all 18 defendants. We go with our heads high and with a clear conscience."

SPEECH OF GOLDMAN

Max Goldman said: "This world is now not fit for human beings to live in and it is necessary to build a new and better society. We are convicted of conspiracy, even though we openly publish our views, sell our papers and pamphlets, hold public meetings, and try in these and all other possible ways to disseminate our program. The real conspirators in the world today are Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin and the other big-wigs who meet behind closed doors, and never tell the people what they discuss and decide."

"There will be other trials and then these culprits will be put on trial. I hope to work with the majority of the people and with my comrades against this real conspiracy."

The veteran Carl Skoglund predicted that "although the workers may delay doing away with capitalism for one, two, three or fifty years, in the end a socialist 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 be ruled by fascism. I can guarantee you that we are not the last ones that will go to prison for their political opinions. Many of the best thinkers in the past have gone but I hope that such sacrifices will be reduced to a minimum."

A generous collection was given by the audience in response to the toastmaster's appeal for aid for the families of the prisoners. Telegraphed greetings from Detroit, Chicago and New York branches of the Socialist Workers Party were read. A telegram of solidarity from James P. Cannon was also read as well as one from George Novack, Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. The banquet closed with the singing of *The Internationale*.

Following the banquet a social hour was held.

and that the working class will come to understand and to prevent them."

Carlos Hudson, who was scheduled to appear at the banquet, was absent because of illness.

SPEECH OF DUNNE

V. R. Dunne was introduced as the main speaker of the evening. Pledging himself and the other 17 to a continuation of the struggle for socialist principles, Comrade Dunne pointed out that today only the Trotskyists are revolutionists and internationalists. "Most of us who are going away to prison have been long-time members of the revolutionary movement," he said, "and we are especially proud to be the followers of one of the greatest working-class leaders the world has ever produced, L. D. Trotsky."

He emphasized the fact that if the program of Lenin and Trotsky, which has succeeded in taking power away from the capitalists and landlords of Russia, had been followed by working class leaders of other countries, there would not have been a second world war.

"We are being railroaded to jail," said Comrade Dunne, "because the American capitalist rulers want to demoralize and terrorize workers who will come to believe as we do now, that only the program of Lenin and Trotsky will lead them out of this blind maze of capitalist anarchy."

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Trotskyism Grows In Italy, Reports From Europe Say

Despite the rigid censorship imposed in Southern Italy by the Allied Military Government on the political activity of the Italian workers and peasants some news does trickle through to the outside world.

The British Trotskyist paper, the *Socialist Appeal*, quotes from a despatch of the Berne correspondent to the *Svenska Dagbladet* (Oct. 16, 1943) which states that, "according to interviews with the representatives of the other political parties the Communist Party seems to have increased greatly."

The dispatch concludes with the statement that, "the Italian Communist leaders are followers of Trotsky and are thus ideologically opposed to the present (Stalinist) regime in Russia." This news release is confirmed by a dispatch in the *Evening Standard* (Nov. 27, 1943) which reports that the Communists who are growing in influence in Italy are divided into Trotskyist and Stalinist groups.

As late as 1931, three members of the Political Committee of the Italian Communist Party, Blasco, Feroci and Santini became Trotskyists and it is known that in the Lipari island many of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party were supporting the international communist policy of Trotsky as against the national "communism" of Stalin. Most of these revolutionists are now out of jail.

Tresca Memorial

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the assassination of Carlo Tresca — famous strike leader, anarchist and editor — a memorial meeting will be held at the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th St., New York, on Tuesday Jan. 11, at 8 P. M. Speakers will be Prof. Felice Guadagni of the Italian Labor Education Bureau and H. R. Cantine, editor of *Retort*.

The meeting will end promptly at 9:45, the hour of Tresca's death, with a mass scattering of red carnations on the sidewalk of 15th St. and Fifth Ave., where he fell.

STALINIST FINKS MAKE PLEA FOR STRIKE CURB

(Continued from page 1)

he promised a price adjustment in the event of a wage increase; to the union a retroactive clause containing the joker that any wage adjustment made would have to be "within the law." What is the law? The Little Steel formula! Roosevelt's "within the law" wage adjustment offer was interpreted by the Stalinists as converting into sense the "nonsensical wage formula" which is fattening the bosses and starving the workers.

The Daily Worker of Dec. 28, lays the greater part of the responsibility of the labor crisis, "on such of the President's aides as Economic Stabilizer Fred M. Vinson, War Mobilizer James F. Byrnes and Chairman Davis of the W.L.B. These men," says the Daily Worker, "view the law as a rigid mechanism." While praising Roosevelt's "flexibility" and damning the rigidity of his aides the Daily Worker also insists that "labor itself bears considerable responsibility," because, "there are too many cases when spokesmen for the workers allow themselves to be trapped into blaming the President for situations that are entirely the work of the President's opponents." And numbered high among the President's opponents are Vinson, Byrnes and Davis; men who were appointed by, carry out the orders of, and owe their jobs to — Roosevelt!

The Daily Worker does not only present an "analysis," it also hurls ultimatums: "Strikes must end immediately. Even talk of strike, is dangerous. True. . .

Threats of strike must end," the Stalinists editorialize, "as workers point out, the profiteers are having a Roman holiday, stabilization officials are unrealistic, provocations are unbearable. But it is under just these conditions that the railroad union should never have started a strike vote, because with this step they played into the hands of strike provocateurs." (D. W. Dec. 29)

It is informative in this connection to quote from the testimony of three of the "strike provocateurs," Robertson, Fraser and Cashen, the leaders of the three rail unions which rejected Roosevelt's arbitration offer. These three men have been consistent supporters of the Roosevelt administration 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 was a strike, they said: "More than 97% of our members voted to strike because that was the only way they and their chosen representatives could secure consideration for their extremely reasonable wage requests. And the strike vote did produce results."

Yes, the rail strike vote did produce results! Roosevelt was forced to make concessions to the rail workers just as he had previously been compelled to make concessions to the coal miners. In this "Big Boss" displays the "flexibility" of all bosses who are prone to lose their "rigid" conceptions when the workers use, or sometimes when they even threaten to use, the strike weapon.

The real provocateurs in the labor movement are the spineless Stalinist jellyfish whose flexibility is a chronic bureaucratic deformity. Every time a group of workers are compelled to fight for their rights against the bosses and their agents in the government, the Stalinists frantically wave the bloody shirt. Inside the labor movement they have achieved 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 to point where the 1934 strikers had their headquarters, how they had a picket line here, how the employers had trembled there across the street in their exclusive club.

"I am of the working class," he said, "and that class I'm going to stick with. I'm going to fight the class that's trying to cut us down."

JIM CANNON

During the hours that followed at the hotel I saw a side of Jim Cannon that was completely new to me. In New York he is a cosmopolitan, a politician of the working class dealing in world problems. The capitol of the warring powers seem to lie directly before his eyes as he calculates the diplomatic moves, the maneuvers, the next probable stage of development in the international class struggle. Now as his old friends and comrades-in-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 cropping up in a new form. These men all know Rosedale, Kansas 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.

The Minneapolis comrades undoubtedly would have felt bitter disappointment if their leader were forced to serve his term in a separate prison; they covered up their appreciation of his presence by ribbing him for ever having come to Minneapolis in

the first place. "You see where it got you to come to Minneapolis and open your mouth?"

THURSDAY AT HEADQUARTERS

Thursday revolved about the Minneapolis branch headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. From morning until evening friends and well-wishers milled in and out to give their last greetings and expressions of solidarity to the defendants. As on all such occasions memories were jogged. Harry DeBoer and Emil Hansen, apparently engrossed in a pinhole game, sprinkled their conversation with reference to the many activities of the Teamsters Union, the strikes, picket lines, negotiations, the dangers they had encountered and the victories that had been won. Oscar Cooper, watching their cards, chipped into the conversation with this or that correction as to fact, sucking on his pipe and reminding them of characters in the labor movement. I told the comrades about Mexico; what respect Trotsky had for Emil when he was a guard there.

Max Goldman, the father of a baby boy born Christmas morning, spent little time being a proud father. He was busy describing the experiences of his previous incarceration in Sandstone for union activity, preparing his comrades for the things they 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 drive to organize the Teamsters Union into one of the most powerful in the nation.

FARRELL DOBBS

Farrell Dobbs, who had come up a few days earlier to be with the youngest of his three daughters, talked hour after hour with Ed Palmquist, Clarence 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 conjure with in the drive to organize the Teamsters. He could have reached a high place in the circle surrounding Tobin. Yet he spurned that career since it would have meant supporting the Roosevelt regime and the imperialist war. He instead chose to fight for socialism. That is why Tobin and Roosevelt decided to railroad him to prison.

Grace Carlson described how as

a child in a strict Catholic family she had been taught to regard a Socialist uncle as beyond the pale. But he had given her books about Eugene Debs when she was nine or ten years old, and she had read them. Now tenderly saying goodbye to her, proud of the fight she was making in the tradition of Debs, he had reminded her of that fact, "I never thought then your reading those books would come to this."

Jake Cooper told about the assault on Leon Trotsky's house in May 1940. How Stalin's assassins riddled L. D.'s and Natalia's bedroom with machine gun slugs. Justice has not yet caught up with Siqueiros, the Stalinist leader of that assault. He is free to work on fresh jobs for the GPU. But Jake Cooper who tried to defend the Old Man and his wife is being sent to prison.

Felix Morrow and Albert Goldman arrived. Circles of people eddied about them, saying "hello and goodbye."

LAST SUPPER

Vincent Dunne took Jim and a small group for the last supper before going to prison. We sat in a private room. The beams overhead, the copies of rich Renaissance paintings on the walls, gave that supper an unforgettable tone.

Vincent ordered wine—it seemed appropriate on this occasion, and poured a glass for Grace Carlson at his side.

They began talking about Trotskyism. "Our movement is historic," said Dunne. "Take our press for instance. The first volume of *The Militant* is a collector's item, worth I don't know how much. Compare it with other radical publications. Who cares about the first volumes of *The Call* for example. Or take the *Workers Age*, which at one time seemed imposing. Who cares about that? Our movement was real because it followed the long-range historical perspective."

The conversation brought the whole globe into that room—the fear of all the mighty rulers without exception before the power of socialist ideas. What was the Tehran conference of the "Big Three" but an unholy conspiracy against the awakening revolution in Europe? Who were the ghosts who walked the halls there but the ghosts of Lenin and Trotsky?

Reaction could not assassinate the ideas of Trotsky by sinking a pickaxe into his brain. Reaction will be as little able to confine within a strait-jacket the coming socialist revolution by locking its leading advocates behind bars. The masses of people throughout the world, surging irresistibly forward to the program of socialism, cannot be halted by anything within the arsenal of these parasites clinging to an

handshake—men taking off a few minutes from their jobs where they could, under one excuse or another, just to give the defendants moral encouragement. For the Minneapolis comrades are still the leaders of the labor movement there even though they no longer formally stand at its head.

Al Goldman worked on a press

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.

outmoded past. Ideas cannot be imprisoned or slaughtered.

REVOLUTIONARY TITANS

As I listened to these native American socialists, I could not help but conclude: When the history of our country is written by future historians, they will not look for material in the library at Hyde Park where Roosevelt employs a staff to file away minutiae about himself. They will dig painfully into scattered memoirs, accidental bits written in the heat of struggle, items preserved in the files of Trotskyist publications, to find out what the real titans of American history were like.

Then Jim told about Rose at the farewell banquet in New York. "She gave a magnificent speech. . . . No moping," she said. She spoke for all the women. How proud I was of Rose. That was a beautiful speech Rose made. The most beautiful thing I've heard in a long time. She stood up like a Spartan woman. I was very proud of her."

LAST DAY

On the last Day, December 31, the defendants gathered in the headquarters. A constant stream of workers came in for a final

handshake—men taking off a few minutes from their jobs where they could, under one excuse or another, just to give the defendants moral encouragement. For the Minneapolis comrades are still the leaders of the labor movement there even though they no longer formally stand at its head.

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release; Felix Morrow greeted people. Jim took a few small items out of his valise and wrapped them in a handkerchief to take to the county jail — tooth brush, etc.

"Looks like you're hitting the road, Jim" someone said. "Yes; made up my mind to get out of here. . . . I've been many a time on the road with a bundle no bigger than that."

A photographer sent down by the press, found his memory stirred about the great struggles in Butte, Montana where Frank Little was murdered. He related some of the incidents of those days; how his own father was something of a socialist for a while. "Everyone was something of a socialist then."

Goldman explained how the power of the socialist movement can suddenly expand: "When the revolution comes, hundreds of thousands and millions of people will appear who previously had some connection with socialism."

Tension mounted as the hour drew near. Jim set 2:30 as the time to leave.

For a few minutes he sat, draining this last hour of freedom to the last. Then he arose to lead the way.

When they came out of the Minneapolis branch offices of the

Socialist Workers Party at 2:30, in formation like soldiers of the proletariat, a crowd quickly formed. The fifteen halted for a moment—a last minute check to see that all was in order, for they intended to go two by two in order of their length of service in the ranks of the working class vanguard. When Trotskyists do something, they do it right. Then forward down Marquette Avenue from Ninth Street to Third.

HISTORIC MARCH

Friends and well-wishers met them as they marched. "Good-bye," one could hear again and again. "Good luck." The sentiment of the advanced workers of Minneapolis was expressed I believe by the truck driver who said to Skoglund shortly before the march began: "You've still got lots of friends, Carl. We won't forget you."

Jim Cannon and Vincent Dunne led the way, the two men who have represented the main stream of revolutionary socialism in the United States for more than three decades. Bulbs flashed as press photographers crouched at vantage points in the march with their cameras — the capitalist press too is interested in the way victims of the class struggle act at such painful and dramatic moments. But the faces of these two veteran leaders expressed nothing in that march which could comfort the class enemy. They were living embodiments of the saying of Spinoza which Trotsky loved to quote: "Neither to laugh nor to weep; but to understand."

OLD WARRIORS

Behind Cannon and Dunne marched Carl Skoglund and Oscar Cooper, those fine old warriors of socialism whose lives will earn them immortality in the hearts of the American working class.

Then Albert Goldman, who has spent a lifetime speaking out against reaction and injustice in the courts, a Trotskyist lawyer willing to stake far more than career and comfort in defense of socialism. Beside him strode Farrell Dobbs, who came up out of the great 1934 Minneapolis strikes like a flame seeking its way toward the final destruction of this whole archaic capitalist system of hunger, misery and bloodshed.

Next Felix Morrow and Grace Carlson. Morrow, editor of *Fourth International*, whose writings burn the bourgeoisie like a lash. And Grace, former candidate for Minnesota Senator. The

whole Trotskyist movement can take pride in Grace as she marched resolutely toward prison. The only woman demanded as a victim by the Roosevelt regime, she faces 16 months alone.

Carlos Hudson and Max Goldman came in the next rank. Hudson distinguished himself as a champion of labor when he edited the *Northwest Organizer*—Tobin and Roosevelt decided that he must pay the penalty. Goldman, who has already served one imprisonment for strike activity, must now serve another.

LABOR ORGANIZERS

Behind them marched Harry DeBoer and Emil Hansen, union organizers who fought labor's fight with both hands from the day they became conscious of the necessity to organize against the bosses.

Then Clarence Hamel and Ed Palmquist, two other fighting organizers of Teamsters Local 544 who could not conceive of knuckling under to the employers or a reactionary international union bureaucracy.

Last, Jake Cooper, the youth who went down to Mexico to do everything he could to help guard Trotsky and Natalia from Stalin's assassins. Trotsky loved Jake for his devotion and his willingness. He would have embraced him again if he could see how Jake marched.

They crossed the street to walk in the sun. As they strode past a bank they made a remarkable picture. That imposing structure, representing all the accumulated wealth and power of the capitalist society they have challenged, stood coldly and forbiddingly over them. But they did not look at all like trapped slaves. The sun high-lighted their hats, their shoulders, touched their swinging hands. In dark overcoats they seemed in uniform. They looked like a contingent of a powerful conquering army. In truth that is precisely what they were, coming down the streets of Minneapolis, the advance contingent of the army that will eventually destroy all the evil power represented by the bank in the background.

MARCH TO JAIL

At the Federal Court they were met by deputies of the U. S. Marshal. Again a crowd of the curious gathered while the formalities were completed. Then began the short march to the County Jail.

This grim building loomed ever higher and more repellent

as the defendants neared. In the canyon-like street, split by sun and shade, the great blocks of granite, grimey from years of smoke and dirt, rose like an upthrust of primeval rock. All the ignorance, superstition and cruelty of tens upon tens of thousands of years seemed to have been embodied by the architect in his design. Here in stone was the terrible lag of the human mind, particularly when it is ossified in the ruling class; the lag which resists blindly and ferociously the next step in progress and demands on its altar the blood and lives of millions of the oppressed.

ATMOSPHERE OF DECAY

The fifteen marched into the gloomy maw 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 leaders as the camera men climbed on stools, crouched low 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 impregnable the most savage institutions of the ancient Pharaohs.

The last man entered the elevator and so ended the historic march. In my mind I could hear the voice of Trotsky, that rich resonant voice welling up from memory. I thought to myself: If Trotsky could be here now to see how the leadership of our party conducted itself under persecution, he would have said: "Good; very good."

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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

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 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 Murphys 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

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.

Stalin And Poland

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 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 out: "What happens when the Red Army crosses 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

WORKERS' FORUM

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

The Post Office And Army Help

Editor:

It was much publicized in the newspapers during the Christmas rush in the Post Office that the army was being used to help the post offices get out the mail due to the shortage of available manpower. The authority to use the soldiers was given by the Postmaster-General and the War Department. Apparently many post offices availed themselves of the "cheap labor." I know that New York City, Brooklyn, Los Angeles and Newark, N. J. called in the soldiers.

The soldiers received their regular army pay plus \$1.20 per day for meals. The facts about the shortage of manpower are: 1. That the soldiers were called in despite the fact that there were waiting lists of several thousands of civilians eagerly anticipating the opportunity of making extra Christmas money. 2. A month before Christmas there were signs in the postmaster's office stating that no more help for Christmas was needed.

This clearly shows up the fraud that there was a shortage of help. The post office just

seized the opportunity to get cheap help.

There is no objection to soldiers working in the post office if they received postal clerks' pay, but there is objection to their being used as coolie labor.

Carl Ford

P. S. Practically identical letters such as these were sent to the capitalist newspapers and to date not one word has appeared.

Cops Abuse Negro Motorman

Editor:

Testimony in Magistrate Court, Coney Island, on Dec. 23, revealed that Negro trolley operator Paul T. Allen, who lives with his wife and five children, at 109-46, 167th St., Jamaica, was repeatedly beaten by a civilian and two police apparently on a binge, while he was operating his trolley December 6th, at Brighton Beach Ave. and 4th St., Brooklyn.

The officers who were off duty and not in uniform subsequently lodged a complaint of third degree assault against the trolley operator after he refused to "forget" the mugging. After being held in a cell for two hours, one of the officers served Allen with

a summons for passing a red 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 officers had been trying to tail the trolley from an automobile, so one of them could board it for his personal convenience. She pointed out Sgt. Breenmeyer in court, as the officer who entered the trolley when it came to a stop and said to Allen: "Do you know you passed two red lights, you g—d—dopey b—d, where the hell do you think you're going?" Allen, under the impression the men were civilians on a binge, attempted to answer but was cut short with a blow in the eye from the officer, and a remark: "You're nothing but a bum. You're one of LaGuardia's children. We're cops."

Indignation is running high among the trolley and bus operators of the entire B.M.T. system and action is demanded against the offending officers.

The B.M.T. Surface Operators' Club, P. O. Box No. 12, Station 1, New York, N. Y., which is handling the case, requests contributions to help fight this case.

Rail And Steel Disputes Show Roosevelt Swing To Reaction

(Continued from page 1)

not kidding themselves about the seriousness of the present labor crisis. The hysterical tone of the kept press underlines their nervousness and apprehension. Their general belief is that Roosevelt's policy of deceit has run its course and that more direct and forceful measures are now required to keep labor "in its place."

POWDER MAGAZINE

The powder magazine is charged with an explosive tension which is growing more threatening all the time. The three recalcitrant rail chiefs did not call off the strike, they merely postponed it for the period in which the government retained control, pending final settlement of the wage dispute. The showdown with the steel workers has only been temporarily postponed. The International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers representing more 1,000,000 workers in the strategic war-converted automobile and aircraft industries meets in Chicago on January 7, to press their wage demands against General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. Aluminum workers, textile workers and other important sections of the labor movement are likewise demanding wage increases.

The kept press makes clear that influential sections of the American capitalist class have lost confidence in Roosevelt's ability to

"hold the line" against millions of workers advancing against the ramparts of the Little Steel formula, by his technique of cunning, deceit and threats.

The whole mongrel pack is baying for a regime of "blood and iron." This ominous clamor rises to a shrill crescendo as the time approaches for the reactionary congress to reconvene. They are howling for still more repressive legislation against the labor movement.

LABOR'S PERIL

Labor finds itself in this perilous position without one single authentic representative in congress who can be counted on to raise his voice against the reactionary mob. In this situation, the labor bureaucrats continue to emulate the ostrich by burying their heads in the sands of the false and long discredited "reward your friends and punish your enemies" policy. In an article published in the February issue of *The American* magazine, Philip Murray proves that he has acted Charlie McCarthy for the political parties of capitalism so long that he is organically incapable of playing any other role. In outlining the aims of the "CIO Political Action Committee" he says: "We shall (then), before the national conventions of the two major parties, hold a national meeting or conference of our own. We shall draw up and present to the American people a specific set

of principles for the general welfare. . . Then, after the political conventions, we can decide what action to take regarding the two parties and the individual candidates, whether for state or national offices, or for the presidency."

NO LABOR PARTY

In order that there be no mistake about what Murray, Hillman and Company intend to do, Murray 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 gigantic intellect about what the "CIO Political Action Committee" will do in the event the "two major parties" reject his "specific set of principles for the general welfare?" With the pronounced swing toward reaction by both major parties, with a reactionary congress hell bent on destroying the American trade union movement, the Murphys and Hillmans offer the workers the choice between the upper and nether millstone! With that kind of a "choice" the labor movement will be ground to bits. What is needed is a decisive break with both capitalist parties! The way out of the swamp of political company unionism for the American Working Class is to launch its own political party with its own labor program.

International Notes

In England and the United States the buildup for an Allied deal with Hirohito gains momentum. Taking his cue from recent State Department declarations, ex-Ambassador to Japan Joseph C. Grew described Emperor Hirohito in a speech at Chicago on Dec. 23 as a man who opposed war with the United States and Great Britain and suggested that post-war Japan might be run by a "peace-loving ruler not controlled by the military." Grew declared that the phase of Shinto, the national Japanese cult which involves emperor-worship, "can become an asset, not a liability."

Although cautioning Grew against over-enthusiasm about the cult of the God-Emperor, the *N. Y. Times* editors on Jan. 2 agreed "with Mr. Grew that a campaign against the Japanese Emperor would not serve any useful purpose at this time." PM correspondent Fred. Kuh cabled from London on Dec. 25 that "most British authorities appear to favor the continued rule of the present Japanese dynasty." The British Tories fear communism and even an unstable republic in defeated Japan, according to Kuh. "A communist revolution in Japan is regarded by British experts as a possibility. This spectre fortifies the wish of

influential British people to see the dynasty in Japan remain in power."

Evidence accumulates that there exists a vast difference between the reactionary post Stalinist leaders of the partisan movements and the revolutionary aims and aspirations of the rank and file workers and peasants. A *N. Y. Times* cable from Cairo on Jan. 1 reports: "Most of those from Greece who have been fighting with guerrilla bands say that confusion caused by German propaganda is so great that many refuse to believe that Russia has announced her own divorce from the Comintern and changed the Internationale's words. There is a continued belief that Sovietism today is as it was before and as it was in 1917. Hence it has followers, particularly in the northern industrial regions, where, incidentally, Bulgarian influence is said to be reasonably strong."

Once these fighting workers and peasants, inspired by the ideas and traditions of the October Revolution, learn the truth about Stalinism, they will draw the necessary conclusions. They will find out through their own experience that Sovietism "as it was in 1917" is propagated today only by the Trotskyists.

Just as the Kremlin appointed

Otto Kuusinen head of its projected "Finnish Workers and Peasants Republic" in 1939, so Stalin is evidently grooming George Dimitroff, ex-Secy. of the 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 with Tito, the Yugoslav Partisan leader.

Dimitroff has himself issued a sharp manifesto against Bulgaria's present rulers, printed in the *Daily Worker* of Dec. 30. He stated in this declaration that "last March the government campaigned 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 patriots armed numerous guerrilla detachments operating in the mountains of Central Southern Bulgaria. These detachments are already several thousand strong and their ranks are growing despite the terror of Bulgarian ruling circles and Gestapo agents."

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 3½% 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 3½%" 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 shoeing, 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 "democrat" 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 Tobin.

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-Washington 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." 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.

Liberty ships have a maximum speed of 10½ 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.

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.