

ROOSEVELT FACES NEW LABOR CRISIS

N. Y. Farewell Banquet Honors Convicted 18

300 Workers Hear Railroaded SWP Leaders Affirm International Socialist Anti-War Stand Just Before Leaving for Penitentiary

By Art Preis

NEW YORK, Dec. 26. — Six of the 18 Trotskyist incorruptibles being railroaded to federal prison New Year's Eve because of their uncompromising revolutionary socialist opposition to capitalism and its war, tonight bade a temporary farewell to their co-thinkers and comrades at an historic Farewell Dinner given by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP, Farrell Dobbs, editor of *The Militant*, Felix Morrow, editor of the *Fourth International*, Oscar Schoenfeld, Al Russell and Karl Kuehn, worker militants, defended their international socialist ideas in their last public messages before beginning prison sentences ranging from one

year to 16 months. From the other defendants, addressing meetings in Minneapolis and Chicago, came messages of complete solidarity.

Just as two years ago in the Minneapolis courtroom they defended their principles in the face of the government's lying barrage and refused to recant when the judge passed sentence upon them, so tonight their words were a ringing affirmation of their Bolshevik convictions and their devotion to the principles of socialism.

UNYIELDING STAND

Their were not words of bravado or false heroics. But simply and firmly, each in his own way, they reaffirmed their unyielding stand against the imperialist war. They called once more upon the workers of the world to unite in revolutionary struggle for the socialist future of mankind.

They knew why they are going to jail. Their message will cut through the lies of the government, the conspiracy of silence of the capitalist press, and the weak-kneed apologies of the liberal spokesmen for the "war for democracy."

They are going to jail because of their intransigent opposition to the real purposes behind the Cairo and Teheran conferences, where Roosevelt and Churchill secretly perfected their plans for Allied imperialist control of the world and the brutal suppression of the European and colonial social revolutions. The jailing of these 18 men and women for the "crime" of expressing their opposition to capitalist exploitation and war refutes Roosevelt's grandiloquent protestations of devotion to the "four freedoms."

Like the great American social-

ist, Eugene V. Debs, railroaded to prison in the last war for his militant antiwar stand, the convicted Trotskyist leaders are going to jail because they have refused to lie, to betray their principles, to keep silent in the face of persecution. They told the truth about this war before it began, after it began, and ever since. But they have gone beyond Debs.

They have committed the "crime of crimes" in the eyes of the ruthless capitalist masters. They have helped to build a Bolshevik party, the Socialist Workers Party, modeled on the program and methods of Lenin and Trotsky. And that party, unlike the Socialist Party, is a Bolshevik Party, a combat party, united and indestructible, whose 18 convicted leaders are only an epitome of the entire ranks.

The fight to free the eighteen thus goes far beyond a mere defense of the eighteen individuals from a frameup conviction in violation of their constitutional rights. That is of major importance, of course. But more important, it is a fight for the democratic rights of the working class as a whole, who must correctly regard this frameup of proletarian leaders as part of the general capitalist drive to handcuff the American labor movement and crush it under the full burden of the war. Above all, it is part of the battle for the socialist emancipation of humanity from the butchery of capitalist war and fascism.

FREE THE 18

Everyone present at the farewell dinner was imbued with the realization of the historic significance of this struggle, embodied in the slogan: "Free the Eighteen!" as they listened to the powerful and inspiring

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CRDC MEETING IN CHICAGO CONDEMNS FRAME-UP OF 18

CHICAGO, Dec. 26. — Prominent spokesmen for civil liberties and working class political organizations sharply condemned the refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court to review the convictions of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners and pledged support in the fight for their liberation at the protest meeting sponsored by the Chicago branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee held here tonight in the main ballroom of the Midland Hotel.

The audience of over three hundred workers vigorously applauded the speakers as they denounced the Smith "Gag" Act as the most dangerous legal threat to civil liberties in the United States and warned that the Minneapolis case was the opening wedge in the reactionary drive of the administration to revoke labor's democratic rights.

Charles Liebman, chief counsel of the Chicago Civil Liberties Union, emphasized the irony of the fact that while in Britain a fascist like Mosley was let out of jail, in the United States leading anti-fascists were imprisoned. He called upon all sincere believers in the principles of free speech to back the national campaign to free the 18 and secure repeal of the Smith "Gag" Act.

Francis Heisler, general counsel

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Profit-Mad Bosses Endanger Soldiers Lives, Trials Show

How two great profit-mad corporations deliberately endangered the lives of American troops by passing off on the government millions of dollars worth of defective and improperly inspected war materials was revealed last week in the federal trial of the Anaconda Wire and Cable Corp., subsidiary of the giant Anaconda Copper trust, and by the Federal Grand Jury indictment of ten supervisory employees of the St. Louis Ordnance Plant, government-financed ammunition plant run by the U. S. Cartridge Company, subsidiary of the giant Western Cartridge Company.

A parade of witnesses, including many self-implicated officials of Anaconda Wire, testified in damning detail before the Federal District Court at Providence, R. I., about the elaborate tricks devised in the company's Pawtucket, R. I., plant to evade government inspection standards and palm off on the government defective wire and cable intended for signaling in actual combat. The company had previously been convicted of similar murderous practices in its Marion, Ind. plant, but had escaped real punishment by paying the insignificant fine of \$31,000.

ST. LOUIS CASE

In the St. Louis Ordnance Plant case, the defendants are charged with conspiracy to defraud the government in connection with the packing and shipment of improperly inspected small arms ammunition, used primarily in close quarter combat. The indictment states the defendants conspired to "cause certain ammunition to be received by agents of the War Department and paid for by the Government, which

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HAS VOTE IN HIS POCKET

Senator George, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, opened the floodgates of profit for the war contractors by his proposal to kill the Renegotiations Act.

Washington columnist Drew Pearson reported that Mr. Alvord, Chairman of the Federal Finance Committee of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, boasted that he had Senator George's vote "in his pocket."

Senator George's activities show that Drew Pearson knew what he was talking about.

Convicted 'Militant' Editor Speaks



Farrell Dobbs, editor of *THE MILITANT* and one of the 18 Trotskyist leaders convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act, addresses the SWP farewell banquet in New York, Dec. 26.

Negro Ship Workers Fight For Equality

By R. Bell

One of the most illusory conceptions in the labor movement, particularly prevalent among an important section of the old-line AFL craft-union leaders, is that after this war there will be a return to business unionism-as-usual. Inherent in this conception is the idea that there will be a return to the tight little job trusts in which a relatively small number of skilled workers enjoyed a privileged position. Within this milieu, the die-hard craft union officialdom occupied a comfortable position, enjoyed a good salary and

ruled over a relatively satisfied membership which didn't bother itself too much with such "subversive" doctrines as rank and file control.

Many of the craft unions experienced a mushroom growth with the outbreak of war. Hundreds of thousands of new workers joined the unions. The officials eyed these newcomers with suspicion. With millions of men drafted into the armed forces, the government was compelled to reach out for a supplementary labor supply. Women and negroes were accepted in the growing industrial establishment. This created an acute problem for the craft officialdom.

On the one hand, they feared that the influx of young workers would endanger their machine control of the union. On the other hand, they feared the CIO, whose attractive power was greater than theirs for the new mass of workers. They frantically cast about for solutions. They received aid from both the employers and the government in the attempt to preserve their position. The Pacific Coast shipbuilding industry well illustrates this process.

Henry Kaiser emerged as the outstanding cost-plus tycoon of the shipbuilding industry on the Pacific Coast. Prior to the war, he was head of a group of companies engaged in large scale construction. In this capacity, he had made the acquaintance of the officials of the Building Trades unions and found them to be "reasonable" business men, jealous of their jurisdiction and not averse to making deals at the expense of other crafts. With the breaking of ground for new shipyard construction, the Building Trades unions were first in the field because of their control of the construction industry.

On the basis of employing AFL construction workers, Kaiser would sign close shop agreements with the AFL Metal Trades department covering all future shipbuilding workers to be employed after the completion of the yard. This device of signing closed shop agreements before the shipbuilding personnel was even hired, eliminated the potential rivalry of the CIO. This practice was so flagrant that under pressure of the CIO, the NLRB stepped in

and ordered hearings on the Kaiser agreement with the Metal Trades unions in Portland, Oregon. Congress rushed into the breach, however, and passed a rider preventing the NLRB from interfering with any contract which had been in existence for over three months.

The division of the shipyard workers into twenty crafts constitutes a tremendous obstacle to unified action of the workers in defense of their basic interests. This was graphically illustrated when John Frey, head of the AFL Metal Trades Department, led members of his organization through a Machinists picket line at the Moore Shipyard in Oakland, California.

This policy of keeping the workers divided in craft formations was extended to the point of creating artificial divisions within one union. Thousands of workers were excluded from all union life by means of the permit system. Other thousands were herded into auxiliary locals where they were reduced to the status of second-

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The next number of *THE MILITANT* will be another special 6-page issue, with important feature items on the Minneapolis case. The historic speeches of James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs will also be printed.

State Department Issues Lies About Its Refugee Policy

By DAN SHELTON

Another black page was added to the infamous record of the administration's treatment of the refugees when Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee to oppose two pending bills for a Commission to Rescue the Jewish people of Europe. From beginning to end Long's testimony was a monstrous piece of hypocrisy and falsehood.

Masquerading as a generous humanitarian, Long boasted that "the U. S. has admitted about 580,000 victims of persecution by the Hitler regime since it began 10 years ago." These figures are deliberately deceptive. Before Hitler came to power in the decade from 1923 to 1933 more than two million immigrants entered this country. This is 75 percent more than the number Mr. Long himself gives for the Hitler decade. But even these statistics for the past ten years are fraudulent. Of

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Steel And Railway Workers Seek To Smash Wage Freeze

Roosevelt Orders Army to Seize Railroads; Commands Steel Workers to Return to Work

By C. Thomas

The strike threat of the railwaymen, the outbreak of the steel workers strike and the previous four strikes of the coal miners have given Roosevelt's labor prestige a severe pounding. Roosevelt had expressed a desire to present a Christmas present to the nation in the form of a "peaceful" settlement of the railway wage dispute, offering to personally arbitrate all the questions involved. Under heavy pressure from the rail workers, three of the Railway Brotherhood unions proved recalcitrant and refused Roosevelt's arbitration offer.

Two of the Brotherhood officials, Alvanley Johnston of the Engineers and A. F. Whitney, President of the Trainmen, accepted Roosevelt's offer and called off their strike. This act of treachery was duplicated by spokesmen for the 15 non-operating railway unions whose membership had voted overwhelmingly to strike after getting the run-around for fifteen months. Already frightened by their own "bold talk" about how "it pays to get tough" the white-livered bureaucrats ran for cover when Roosevelt began brandishing the big stick. As the Dec. 30 strike deadline approaches their colleagues are preparing to follow suit.

As head of these regional headquarters, Stimson appointed seven railroad presidents, each of whom received a colonel's commission in the U. S. Army. In comparing the present seizure with that which occurred during the first World War, Frederick Ely Williams, president of the New York Central railroad, now described as "a colonel without a uniform" in charge of the Eastern regional headquarters stated: "This is an entirely different situation. The whole spirit of this order is to disturb as little as possible the corporate and operating forces of the railroads."

In the last war, the Federal government itself operated the railroads, appointed its own officials, collected the earnings and paid rent to the owners. This seizure, as the "colonel without uniform" says, will be entirely different. The huge profits of the railroad magnates will not be disturbed. Only the workers will be forced to work, at bayonet point if necessary, under a constant declining standard of living. The answer of the railroad workers to the government seizure must be the demand to nationalize the railroads under workers control. Let those who do the work exercise control over the railroads for the benefit of the people and not the "colonels without uniform" who are merely agents of the Wall street bankers.

SECRETARY OF STATE STIMSON dispelled whatever apprehension Wall Street might have had about the government's "taking possession" of the railroads by reassuringly stating that: "The cooperation

of all the present managements of the railroads will be enlisted in the operation of their lines under regional headquarters which are to be established by the government."

APPOINTS BOSSES

STEEL WALKOUT

MASS OPPOSITION

HATED REGIME

NATIONALIST REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Military Clique Quickly Overthrows Oppressive Penaranda Regime In Bolivia

The Penaranda government of Bolivia was quickly overthrown on Dec. 21 in a typical South American coup d'etat by a military clique of young officers organized under the Nationalist Revolutionary Party.

The revolt was facilitated by the bitter hatred of the Bolivian masses toward the Penaranda regime which has shown itself to be a savagely oppressive agency of the tin-mining multimillionaires and of U. S. imperialism.

Seventy percent of Bolivia's income depends upon its tin revenues. Penaranda has worked hand in glove with the tin profiteers who keep the mine workers in a state of peonage and starvation. Under the Tin Trust's "Little Tin Formula" wages range from 12½ to 75 cents a day. When the workers at the Catavi tin mines struck against these conditions in Dec.

1942, Penaranda's troops shot them down in cold blood and broke their strike at the cost of scores of miner's lives.

Since then no labor unions have been permitted to operate in the important mining centers.

This mass opposition has been reinforced and sharpened by bitter hostility against predatory American imperialism. Almost all of Bolivia's tin production is contracted to an RFC subsidiary, the Metals Reserves Corporation. The principal mines involved in the labor strikes and slaughter are owned by the Patino interests, a subsidiary of the National Lead Company, an American corporation.

Last December, Ernesto Garza, labor representative of the Pan American Union, accused U. S. Ambassador to Bolivia, Pierce Boals, with intervening against the striking miners and preventing enactment of the long-sought labor code. After

Secretary of State Hull denied these accusations, I. F. Stone published in the Jan. 9 Nation copies of cables from the State Department to the U. S. Ambassador, proving that Hull and Boals were deliberately putting pressure upon Penaranda's government to keep the miners in conditions of starvation and servitude.

Shortly after the American Ambassador smeared the striking Bolivian miners as "Nazi saboteurs," butcher Penaranda visited the United States, was feasted by Roosevelt at the White House, and hailed by the capitalist press as a champion of democracy and a firm ally of the United Nations.

These reactionary leaders are now making a bid for the favor of the workers by broadcasting demagogic promises. Although it has been reported that the working class Revolutionary Party of the Left will support the new militarist regime, the Bolivian workers cannot place the slightest confidence in its benevolent intentions. They can win a restoration of their rights only by relying upon the independent action of their own economic and political organizations.

In their fight against the oppressive intervention of U. S. imperialism, the Bolivian workers must seek to strengthen their links with American labor, already forged through the CIO.

Secret Diplomacy And The Yugoslav Partisans

By William F. Warde

It is now clear that one of the conspiratorial understandings secretly sealed at the Moscow and Tehran conferences involved an agreement by Roosevelt and Churchill to switch support from Gen. Drazha Mikhailovich to Marshal Tito's Yugoslav Partisan forces. This has been semi-officially confirmed by the N. Y. Times correspondent, C. L. Sulzberger, who was permitted to cable from Cairo on Dec. 24: "It is evident that the three great powers, among other things, formulated some sort of agreement on the Balkans and the out-and-out pro-partisan policy of the Russians is now beginning to be shared by the British. . . The American policy. . . rather hesitantly follows British policy."

This new turn in Anglo-American tactics has resulted in the sending of some material aid, military supplies and missions to the Partisans who have hitherto had to rely on the arms and munitions which they themselves produced or captured.

Diplomatic Shift

The diplomatic shift of the Allies has been reflected in the brusque transformation of the official attitude toward the Mikhailovich forces in Yugoslavia. Until recently Allied propagandists have portrayed Mikhailovich, "chief of the Chetniks", as the warrior-hero of the Yugoslav peoples. Tito's Partisans were condemned as "communist bands" and "tools of Russia" or else dismissed as insignificant.

Now the controlled press is busily tearing down the false front they have built up around Mikhailovich. High officials substantiate Partisan charges that this tool of monarchist reaction and his aides have collaborated with the Fascists and concentrated upon fighting the Partisans. Last October, Gen. Sir Henry Maitland-Wilson, just appointed Eisenhower's successor in command of the Medi-

terranean theatre, accused the priest Djutch, a follower of Mikhailovich, of open collaboration with the Axis. According to the N. Y. Times (Dec. 24), the British Ambassador to the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile in Cairo told Prime Minister Churchill that the British military intelligence held proofs of the cooperation between "influential lieutenants of Gen. Drazha Mikhailovich and German commanders in the Balkans."

For the first time the relative strength of the opposing forces has been disclosed. "The Partisans now assert, and these figures are confirmed by the heads of both the British and American missions, that General Mikhailovich has only an estimated 15,000 followers fighting for him against Marshal Tito's 250,000." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 25).

These figures show that King Peter's Government-in-Exile and his military tools around which the most reactionary forces and cliques have clustered, command no support among the Yugoslav peoples.

The firm refusal of these insurgent workers and peasants to follow anyone associated with the monarchy and the reactionary ruling classes has frustrated for the time being the Anglo-American conspiracy to resaddle the old discredited monarchy upon the backs of the Yugoslav peoples.

Epic Tale

The first extended description of the Partisan struggles was cabled from Cairo by C. L. Sulzberger and published in the N. Y. Times of Dec. 23. This report was released following a conference between Tito's representatives and the Allied military command at Alexandria. It records, as the Times grudgingly acknowledges, "an epic tale of heroism and daring, of sacrifice, suffering and death." It also depicts the indomitable strivings of the Balkan peoples to find the revolutionary way out of the shambles the imperialist butchers have made of Europe.

The Partisan movement originated in the independent resistance of the Yugoslav workers and peasants against the Axis invaders. This struggle of the masses for national liberation was from the outset fused with the class struggle against the native landlords and capitalists who for generations have savagely oppressed and exploited them. Sulzberger relates that, shortly after Tito and Mikhailovich signed a treaty for joint action on Oct. 21, 1941, "General Mikhailovich attacked Tito's Uzice stronghold." This state of civil war has continued up to the present.

The Partisan movement dates its birth from Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union. "In June when the Nazis attacked Russia," writes Sulzberger, "the Partisans began their active fight." Although the principal organizers and official heads of the movement are either Stalinists or under Stalinist influence, it is by no means an artificial or bureaucratic creation of the Kremlin. It is rather an authentic movement of the workers and peasants emerging out of their armed uprising, although dominated at the present time by the Stalinists.

Inspired by Red Army

The attraction of the Balkan workers and peasants to the traditions and ideas of the October Revolution undoubtedly inspire their struggles. They have also from the outset been inspired by the heroic fight of the Red Armies. The first government set up at Bihae in November 1942 took the name of Vece (Soviet). Many features of the Red Army have been imitated by the Partisans: the use of the Red Star insignia, the use of the word "comrade" in greetings, the use of the closed-fist salute until Tito ordered it banned a short time ago.

"In his (Tito's) rear the Chetniks were drafting peasant levies, telling them they had to fight Turks who were invading the country. Sometimes these levies deserted to the Partisans

when they saw their Red Star caps and badges. There were scenes where cousins and even brothers embraced in effusive Slav fashion."

General Recruitment

In the Partisan forces are recruits from all the Balkan peoples, escaped prisoners of the Axis and deserting troops. Italian fascist units, Germans and Bulgarians who have come over to the Partisans are accepted, it is reported, as equals. According to the N. Y. Times (Dec. 20), 16,000 Bulgars have deserted from the army, taking their rifles and large quantities of ammunition. "They have become guerrillas, created havoc for the Germans, as well as for their own puppet government, which they hope to overthrow. Recently 5,000 of them joined the Yugoslav forces of Marshal Tito."

The acknowledged predominance of the Stalinists within the Partisan movement presents, of course, the greatest internal danger to its success. The Yugoslav workers and peasants are fighting to drive the imperialists from their lands, for the right to choose their own government, for social liberation and economic security. The land-hungry peasants want to take the land from the landlords. The workers want control over industry and a republic based upon the power of the people.

The allegiance of the Stalinist leaders, however, is not to the insurgent workers and peasants but to the Stalin bureaucracy. For Stalin the Partisan movement is only a pawn in his maneuvers with the imperialists. To promote his reactionary nationalist policy Stalin is capable of selling out this revolutionary mass movement and attempting to restrict it within limits imposed by the Anglo-American capitalists.

Capitalists Terrified

These capitalist Allies are mortally terrified at the prospect of Sovietization of the Balkans.

Has Stalin consented to halt the expropriations of private property by the workers and peasants and renounced Sovietization in exchange for military aid to Tito's army and political support to his newly-announced government? Earl Browder, in his speech delivered Sunday, Dec. 19 at Cooper Union, castigated "those who refuse to recognize the bourgeois democratic character of the Yugoslavian Government of Liberation and who are denouncing it as a 'communist dictatorship. . .'" (Daily Worker, Dec. 26.)

Although Tito has demanded sole recognition for his government and warned King Peter not to return to Yugoslavia, the Anglo-American partners appear to be holding Peter in reserve in case they fail to get what they want from Stalin. From Cairo on Dec. 24 the N. Y. Times reports that: "Britain maintained its position that London and all other allies still recognized King Peter as head of Yugoslavia. There was nothing to indicate that any outright demand by Marshal Tito for exclusive recognition would be granted him."

While the imperialists and Stalinists engage in their intrigues, the struggle of the workers and peasants continues. Their tasks are to build their own revolutionary party, their trade unions, workers, peasants and soldiers councils, to expel all imperialist forces from their soil, and to establish their own Workers and Peasants Republic. To achieve these tasks, the Partisans will have to fight against the inevitable attempts of Stalin to betray their struggle.

The idea of a free Federation of the Balkan peoples and unity with the Soviet Union which permeates the Partisan ranks is profoundly progressive. These aims can be realized only if the Yugoslav workers and peasants consummate their independent struggle for the conquest of power and together with the workers and peasants of Germany, Italy and the other countries go forward to build the Socialist United States of Europe.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Navy crew members were used last week to scab against union men who refused to work for less than the established union wage scale in the completion of a naval tender at the San Francisco Bay drydock.

The union men, members of the United Steel Workers, CIO, Local 1804, refused to do repair work, calling for a rate of \$1.34 an hour, when offered only \$1.20. The navy men were then ordered to work all night in place of union workers.

This example of government strikebreaking foreshadows the attempts that will be made to use the armed forces against workers striking for their rights.

Factual evidence about the conspiracy of the big food manufacturing monopolists and the millionaire growers who run the farm bloc to "lift the lid on food prices and promote 'controlled inflation,'" was presented recently before the Senate Finance subcommittee by Walter Reuther, Vice President of the United Automobile Workers, CIO.

Reuther charged that the "manufacturers . . . of the best known brands in packaged and processed foods," including General Foods Corporation, "a giant combine of many food manufacturers" which in 1942 grabbed "a return of 17 per cent on its net worth," are engaged in a campaign to pave the way for uncontrolled food price inflation.

"To camouflage its inflation purpose," Reuther stated, "the food manufacturers attack the demand of industrial workers for increased wages as the chief inflation threat. They falsify the facts about workers incomes, to shift the blame to the workers, and to cover up their own campaign to knock out subsidies and destroy price control."

A Food Industry War Committee has been set up by the manufacturers whose purpose is "to get hard ceilings imposed on the prices and wages which food manufacturers pay, and soft ceilings on the prices at which they and their distributors sell."

For all the facts so forcefully presented by Reuther before the Senate committee, his own servile policies have been a major obstacle in preventing the workers from fighting for increased wages to offset the price steals of the corporations. He has helped to cram the no-strike policy down the throats of the CIO members, and his present support of the fight for subsidies is designed as a substitute for an effective union struggle for higher wages.

Growing dislocations in the organization of war production, together with rapid technological advances, have begun to reveal themselves in curtailment of production and lay-offs of thousands of workers in various sections of the country. Accompanying lay-offs is the widespread downgrading of workers to jobs paying lower wages.

Resistance to the latter was the basis of a recent strike involving the workers of the McKeesport, Pa. plant of the National Tube Company, who walked out when management were down-graded because of curtailed orders.

Louis Stark, labor correspondent for the N. Y. Times, on Dec. 19 noted the increase of "unauthorized strikes" as a result of "the cut-back of war orders which temporarily (it is hoped) results in unemployment or the transfer of employees to less lucrative pay."

The Canadian labor movement has been aroused to sharp opposition by a government plan for a new Labor Code, outlined in a recent radio speech by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, it is reported in the Dec. 20 CIO News. The report states that "the speech, regarded as a reply to the demands put forward by labor at special hearings before the War Labor Board last spring, gave no indication that the government is prepared to change its basic anti-labor policies. . ."

The Trades and Labor Congress (AFL), the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO) and Railway Brotherhoods had joined in demands for federal legislation to make it compulsory for all employers to bargain collectively with their workers; for a minimum wage of \$25 weekly, or 50 cents an hour; unfreezing of substantial wages throughout the country; full cost of living bonus for all workers; public acknowledgment that decent wages are not the cause of inflation; equal pay for equal work for women; etc.

The Prime Minister's speech, it is charged, indicated that the new Labor Code will not make the employers recognize collective bargaining rights except in "war industry" only. It contemplates a stricter enforcement of the maximum wage ceilings and a cost-of-living bonus so devised that it will "make it impossible for wages to keep pace with the rise in living costs." It is added that "the false theory that wage increases cause inflation is again stressed."

Not even during this "war for democracy" has the Canadian government recognized labor's right to collective bargaining.

The Canadian workers are putting up a stronger and stronger battle for their rights, as Montreal's empty City Hall testified last week. Over 2,000 municipal white collar workers were out on strike demanding annual wage increases of \$395 to \$500. Average weekly salary for single persons is about \$20, and for married persons about \$24. This strike followed the action of the Montreal police and firemen, who struck for 14 hours and won a demand for union recognition. Among the striking unions was the National Syndicate of Municipal Employees and the Brotherhood of Civic Employees, affiliated with the Canadian Congress of Labor.

Fund Drive Passes Halfway Mark

By Rose Karsner, Director

And now that the last farewells have been taken and the last goodbyes have been said, and the prison doors have closed on our 18 stalwart comrades, we open a new chapter in the history of the American Trotskyist movement in which we shall demonstrate how Bolsheviks carry on in spite of repressions and persecutions.

Our first objective in this new chapter is to complete the 15th Anniversary — \$15,000 Fund Campaign, without dislocating the regular monthly Sustaining Fund, in record time.

By this action we will show that we, as well as the 18, are soldiers in an army and prepared to make necessary sacrifices when the movement calls upon us.

San Diego, New Haven, Allentown and San Francisco have already backed their words of solidarity with deeds by coming through 100% and more, before our comrades went off to prison. These actions were very heartening to our 18 comrades.

It is now up to the rest of the branches to fulfill their quotas as fast as possible so we can get the good news to the 18 in prison. Comrades all over the country have been doing their part, often with considerable hardship, but always with the Bolshevik spirit we expect of them. Here are excerpts from some of the mail that has been arriving during the past week. You will notice that a brand new pledge of \$50 is among them.

Minneapolis: — "I see they don't want just 'drops' to fight for the eighteen; but I will send one dollar of my poverty, hoping others will do the same, so it can be — a storm which will rock the foundation of capitalism."

Detroit: — "Each week we watch the Militant eagerly to see how the Special Fund is going, and the reports are always very encouraging. . . Enclosed is \$310 to be applied on our quota, and we shall try to send in more before the week is over. What we really hope to do, if at all possible, is to raise our full amount before our eighteen comrades have to leave. We are anxious to do all we can."

Seattle: — "Enclosed are money orders and check for \$200 on our pledge. This brings Seattle's total to date to \$300."

Pittsburgh: — "Enclosed is \$12 for the first payment on the \$15,000 Fund. Will pledge a total of \$50 on that, and with luck will go over it."



Distributions of The Militant in San Diego are bringing excellent results, as is witnessed by the following letter:

"Your paper, 'The Militant,' fell into my hands quite by accident near one of the defense plants here in San Diego, and let me say that after reading it, here is more solid truth in that paper than in any I have ever read, including the union papers which supposedly represent the workers."

"I showed this paper to several of my fellow workers, some agreeing that it presented the true facts and conditions while one man said it was a radical sheet. I don't know what it is, but radical or not, I like the views and facts reported, and would like to be a regular subscriber to it

SCOREBOARD

	\$15,000 Quotas	Paid	Percent
SAN FRANCISCO	1,000.00	1,050.00	105
SAN DIEGO	100.00	100.00	100
ALLEN TOWN	25.00	25.00	100
NEW HAVEN	50.00	50.00	100
Detroit	2,000.00	1,344.50	67
Los Angeles	2,000.00	1,337.16	67
Boston	300.00	192.00	64
Newark	300.00	190.00	63
New York	2,500.00	1,533.50	61
Cleveland	200.00	100.00	50
Twin Cities	1,000.00	450.00	45
Reading	75.00	30.00	40
Buffalo	300.00	110.50	37
Seattle	1,000.00	300.00	30
Bayonne	300.00	83.50	28
Chicago	2,000.00	557.13	28
Members-at-Large	800.00	218.00	27
St. Louis	100.00	25.00	25
Toledo	100.00	20.00	20
Youngstown	200.00	35.00	18
Akron	200.00	0	0
East Chicago	100.00	0	0
Flint	100.00	0	0
Milwaukee	25.00	0	0
Philadelphia	150.00	0	0
Quakertown	25.00	0	0
Rochester	50.00	0	0
TOTALS		\$7,751.29	52%

NEGRO SHIPYARD WORKERS IN STRUGGLE FOR UNION RIGHTS

(Continued from page 1)

class citizens. Separate auxiliaries were established for women and what was even more vicious—Jim Crow local auxiliaries for Negro workers.

To the Negro workers belongs the credit of putting up the most vigorous resistance against this policy of atomizing, weakening and corrupting the essential unity of the working class.

This resistance has recently centered in the dispute with the Boilermakers Union at the Marinship yards at Sausalito, California. For over a year, the officials of the Boilermakers Union have attempted to force the Negro workers at the Marinship yard into a Jim Crow auxiliary. The Negro workers have refused to submit to this indignity, proclaiming all the while their solidarity with the union movement and demanding admittance to the union on equal terms with all other members.

NEGROES FIRED

Recently the Boilermakers officials pressed for a showdown on the issue and a number of Negro workers in the shipyard

were fired because "they were not members in good standing." The company, part of the Kaiser cost-plus combine, piously pointed to their "closed shop" agreement, when issuing discharge slips. As quick as a flash, the news spread through the yard that Negroes were being discharged for refusing to join the Jim Crow Boilermakers auxiliary. The San Francisco News of Nov. 27 reported: "More than 500 Negroes, including women and children, gathered outside the Marinship gate at Sausalito today and held an indignation meeting" in protest against the discharges.

Frame-up Scored By Chicago Meeting

(Continued from page 1)

oned. Goldman demonstrated that the Supreme Court's refusal to rule upon the Minneapolis convictions was motivated not by legal but by reactionary political considerations. This action, he pointed out, paved the way for mass indictments and convictions not only of Roosevelt's political opponents but of any working class militants. Expressing thanks on behalf of the prisoners for the support given them, Goldman urged his audience to intensify their efforts and pledged that upon their release the 18 would resume their places in the ranks to wipe out all such vicious class legislation and inequities.

Paul Picquet pledged the support of his organization, the Workers Party.

Archibald Carey, Jr. of the March-on-Washington movement and Spencer K. Binyon, Chicago secretary of the Social-Democratic Federation, sent messages of solidarity to the 18.

In response to the appeal made by Chairman Lydia Beidel, the audience gave an impressive token of its solidarity by contributing \$206 to the Minneapolis Prisoners Relief Fund.

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The official court record of the final speech of the defense attorney, who is also one of the convicted defendants — truly a "defense of socialism."

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PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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Farewell Speeches Of Socialist Workers Party Leaders At N. Y. Banquet Given In Their Honor, Dec. 26, 1943

[The following speeches were delivered at the Farewell Banquet by four of the 18 Trotskyists going to prison. Included are speeches by George Grant, New York SWP organizer, by Rose Karsner, on behalf of the wives and families of the defendants, and by Civil Rights Defense Committee Chairman James T. Farrell.]

The speeches of James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs will be published in the next issue of *The Militant*.

Speech of Felix Morrow

Just a few weeks ago at the CIO convention, among the delegates and other union officials, I ran into quite a sprinkling of people who had been with me in the Young People's Socialist League. They were also, in the in-between years, ex-communists, ex-Lovestoneites, ex-SPers, an ex-Oehlerite and an ex-Stammitte. They were people who had got tired of isolation and had decided to swim with the stream (so they think) and, incidentally, are getting very good pay for it. Now, having doffed their radicalism, they are persons of some weight in the trade unions (for this period.) And they were all of the unanimous opinion that the Minneapolis defendants would never serve a day in jail.

One of them, who is now a member of Hillman's brain trust and, therefore, practically, he thinks, with a private pipe-line to the White House, took me into a dark corner and assured me, on the "highest authority" that the Minneapolis case was bottled up for the duration of the war in the Supreme Court and wouldn't get out of the court for the duration of the war, and after the war the Supreme Court would declare the Smith Act unconstitutional and finish the case. Another had it that the Supreme Court would avoid the question of the constitutionality of the Smith Act by freeing us on a technicality. Each had a different story, but the same happy ending for us.

Why these reassurances to us from people who are no friends of ours, but bitter enemies? In reality, they were reassuring themselves. They wanted to believe that the Minneapolis case had never gotten beyond the stage of being part of an innerunion fight between us and Tobin, in which Tobin "happened" to get some help from Washington. They wanted to believe that once that innerunion fight was over and the Minneapolis drivers had been driven back into Tobin's union, that then the government had no further interest in persecuting us. They wanted to believe that we were wrong when we said that Roosevelt's aid to Tobin was simply the immediate cause of the Minneapolis persecution, and that the basic cause is the government's attempt to crush the revolutionary vanguard and thereby behead the workers' movement before the workers begin to move again. They wanted to believe that we were wrong in saying that the government's object is to suppress and silence and drive into illegality the Marxist party of this country.

In short, these ex-radicals didn't want to face the fact that if the Supreme Court sent us to prison, they could no longer deny to themselves the basic class significance of the Minneapolis case. And by class significance I don't mean merely that it is a blow at free speech and trade union rights. It is, of course such a blow, and that is the basis on which every section of the labor movement is duty-bound to support us in our fight. But its class significance goes much deeper. This case has developed far beyond the original fight with Tobin. Those people at the CIO convention who said that the fight with Tobin was over and done with were perfectly right. Where they made their mistake was in drawing the conclusion that, therefore, Washington would let us go free.

It was not to help Tobin that the Supreme Court violated its own established precedents. It was no longer for Tobin that the Supreme Court took the unheard of step of refusing to hear the first case testing the constitutionality of a new law. What we predicted before the Minneapolis trial, in our Plenum-Conference resolution of October 1941 has now been verified to the full. We predicted then, two years, and three months ago, that though the immediate cause of the prosecution was our fight with Tobin, it would become clear that the basic cause was the attempt by the government to crush the Marxist movement. That prediction is now verified beyond refutation by the brazen action of the Supreme Court.

And beyond refutation too is the fundamental reason why the government is attempting to crush the revolutionary movement. That fundamental reason is that American imperialism, on the very eve of its military triumph over its imperialist competitors, fears that the fruits of that military victory will be nipped in the bud by the aftermath of the military battle — the class battles, the revolutionary wave in Europe and the awakening of the American working class.

American imperialism fears that the future belongs to us. American imperialism fears that revolutionary future and it strikes out viciously against us.

That is the fundamental class meaning of the Supreme Court decision. That is the truth which could not be faced by those ex-radicals at the CIO convention who assured themselves that we were not going to prison.

The future belongs to us. Nevertheless, we know that between the present and that revolutionary future there still lies a period of great difficulties, of isolation, in which the ruling class, as the Supreme Court decision indicates, will in all probability aim still heavier blows against our movement than the imprisonment of the 18.

In that difficult period that still lies ahead of us, for those who will remain at the helm and in the ranks of the party, it will be a period of combining caution and daring, patience and heroism.

No one can predict in any detail how the party will have to work during that difficult period. What can be said, however, is what we said in that same resolution to which I have already referred, the resolution of the Plenum-Conference of October 1941, which today deserves renewed study by the party. We outlined in that resolution the two-sided process whereby the party could withstand the blows of federal prosecution and go on to new gains.

One side of that process is to face outward to the masses. It has long been a well-understood axiom of the revolutionary movement that the way to resist persecution is to sink our roots deeper and deeper into the masses. Hence the resolution especially emphasized carrying our case into the trade unions, participation by the party in elections, a turn to political work in the factories, systematic recruiting into the party. Thus we would combat federal prosecution externally.

The second side to the process of combating persecution is internal. Here is how we put it in our resolution. I just want to read a few lines:

"An intensive campaign is required for the internal preparation of the party to withstand the blow of Federal prosecution. The only people who can stand up under this kind of governmental pressure are people who have a historical outlook and a profound understanding of what they are fighting for. Mere activism, sometimes sufficient for day to day work, is not enough to stand up under the blows of persecution. . . The difference between a trade union militant and a politically educated Trotskyist is immeasurable; it is qualitative. The best of yesterday's trade union militants are today succumbing under the pressure of the war situation. Only those will survive who are not only rooted in the working class movement but who have the Marxist



"Our party didn't sell out, didn't lie. We told the truth. That is why we are being railroaded to prison." James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and one of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners, hurls this challenge at the capitalist class, its government and its courts in his historic speech at the Farewell Banquet in New York.

outlook to see beyond the present difficulties to the new horizons."

Deeper into the mass movement, systematic education in Marxism for all party members — that is the process by which we will fight off the government's attack. And out of the ranks thus grounded in Marxism, will come, I am confident, the forces to lead the party no matter what happens to us or even to the leadership which takes our place. Given new responsibilities, comrades hitherto unnoticed will prove themselves worthy of leadership. Under the test of fire, new leaders, all that we will need, will come forward.

And with that certainty, easy in my heart, I take leave of you for a little while.

Speech of Rose Karsner

Comrades: When I have to speak to a group that is larger than ten people I am petrified and all my thoughts seem to vanish into thin air. But tonight I feel different. Tonight, I asked for the privilege of speaking. Because tonight, I feel we are writing history, and in that chapter which will describe the case of the 18, there will be one page which will deal with what we say and do tonight. That page would not be complete unless a representative of the wives of these men and their families were to speak here. That is why I am not afraid to face you all tonight and speak freely.

Comrade Dobbs told you about the solid front the 28 presented in the courtroom during the trial; how wonderful it was, and how everybody was astounded when there was not the slightest suggestion of a break in the line. It was marvelous. I was there and I saw it and was inspired by it. But there is a story behind that. Everyone of these men have wives. Most of them are in the movement, and even those who are not, have stood by them through the years because they agree with them and understand what they are fighting for. Not only have they never stood in the way; on the contrary, they have been companions to their husbands and ready to see them go when the needs of the movement made it necessary. No complaints. No whining.

Tonight we are gathered here, not to jubilate nor to mourn. We are gathered here to demonstrate and to proclaim — to demonstrate our solidarity with these men and to proclaim our intention to continue the fight where they leave off.

I want to say in behalf of myself, and the wives, and relatives and children who are sitting here, as well as the wives who are in Minneapolis, everyone of whom I have met and know I can speak for. — I want to say to you that we will miss you. We will miss you terribly. But we will not be alone in missing you. We will miss you, but we will not sit about and mourn. We will not mope. We will carry on. We will be more active in the movement than ever before and we will continue in this work until you return.

We know what you are going to prison for. We too believe in what you are fighting for. And tomorrow, if it is our turn, we will go as resolutely as you do today. Now we want to say good bye to you here — publicly. Good bye!

Speech of Oscar Schoenfeld

I want particularly tonight to draw attention to one aspect of our case to which perhaps some comrades have not paid sufficient attention. And that is the attitude of both the comrades involved in this case and the party along with them, an attitude completely free from both hysteria and tears. I for my part have been very glad to observe this because I know that both hysteria and tears, both hysteria and undue sentimentalities are but the different sides of the same coin, a coin whose principal ingredients are a lack of mental and physical preparations for the inevitable persecutions of the proletarian revolutionists by the capitalist class.

Our attitude has been determined by the deep-seated knowledge that such violence on the part of the master class is precisely what the vanguard of the working class must expect from those who see and fear us as the inevitable leaders of the movement which will deprive them of their right to oppress and exploit the masses of the earth. That is why we are prepared, prepared not only in the sense that the party has capable and experienced leaders to take the place of those who go, but also prepared as individuals to spend whatever time may be necessary in the capitalist prisons, prepared to use that

time advantageously, as advantageously as possible, and come out better equipped to rejoin our comrades in our great task.

We who are going are more fortunate than many of our International comrades rotting away in the fascist concentration camps and the Stalinist jails. Our sentences are relatively small.

Speaking for myself now, my main feeling is one of impatience to be back with the comrades. The great movement of the working class in conflict with the bosses has already started, and our great party, with deep roots in that working class, prepares itself now for its historic mission of leading the American proletariat. I don't want to miss any of this. With this confidence in our party, and understanding of our tasks, the time spent in prison won't be very long. We shall come back as stronger individuals to a bigger and better party, ready once again to take our place on the firing line.

Speech of George Grant

Comrade Chairman, Comrades, Friends: I have the honor to express tonight what is beating in the hearts of the New York membership; tonight as we bid a fond temporary farewell to our 18 class war prisoners who are the first socialist soldiers in the United States to be sent to the American bosses' guardhouse for their intransigent struggle against the second imperialist World War.

Comrade Trotsky taught us that we are soldiers of the proletarian revolution and that war is the acid test for a social regime, a party and men. In the first imperialist World War the greatest American proletarian fighter was Eugene V. Debs. Debs had many accomplishments in the class struggle, and as a socialist fighter, but the one thing that has indelibly engraved his name on the international Working class role of honor was his fearless and intransigent opposition to the first imperialist World War. His incorruptibility, his continued defiance of the government and the bosses in the face of prosecution and imprisonment, served to arouse the American workers to a high pitch of proletarian solidarity. Even behind prison bars, Debs became the rallying point for all the class-conscious workers in the United States. This was clearly demonstrated by the tremendous vote he received when he ran for president while still in jail. So, in this Second imperialist World War, our 18 comrades, like Debs, have demonstrated to the world and the world working class that they are incorruptible. They cannot be bribed or bullied or brow-beaten by the capitalist enemies or their Stalinist agents. Their names will be engraved along with Debs, but their names go over and beyond Debs because they not only demonstrated their intransigence against the imperialist war, but, standing on the shoulders of Lenin, the Russian revolution, Trotsky, the Left Opposition and the Fourth International, they have built a party, a revolutionary Marxist party.

We Trotskyists can go before the American workers and say with justifiable pride, these are our Trotskyist leaders. These are the kind of men that Trotskyism produces, proletarian leaders who will never wilt in the heat of struggle, who will never betray you, who will lead you victoriously, and who are always, unlike others, in the very front lines of the struggle.

Our party has been immeasurably enriched by the programmatic and organizational teachings which this leadership has instilled in us. They have taught us how to defend Marxism against the class enemy.

The have taught us how to defend the doctrines of Marxism against all those who want to adulterate it and revise it. And now our party is doubly enriched. We not only have their programmatic and organizational teachings, but now we have their example in the terrible crucible of war, the acid test for parties and for men. When a worker asks us what is a Bolshevik, we don't have to depend on verbal descriptions alone. We can point to living examples — our 18 comrades. These 18 are living Bolsheviks.

I call to mind that in 1934, when the bosses and the state moved to break the Minneapolis strike, they took the union leaders of local 544 and threw them into the stockade. A second leadership jumped to their places and continued the struggle to victory.

Our party is a proletarian combat party. All our discus-

sions, all our theory, all our programs and resolutions are preparations for the field of battle. We are training ourselves for active duty in the class struggle and the class struggle demands the highest in fighting efficiency, stamina and courage. Every soldier knows the risks involved on the field of battle but he takes his chances. Every soldier knows that he goes into combat not only to receive blows, but to deliver blows. A soldier who is either captured or wounded by the enemy in the battle is not a martyr but merely temporarily out of combat service.

Our 18 comrades are not unconscious victims of the class struggle, but are conscious soldiers temporarily put out of active combat service in the course of battle. They are making what we consider, as proletarian revolutionists, the greatest sacrifice that can be made — to be taken involuntarily out of the class struggle. But they know that during their absence we will continue the fight and when they return they will join with us in the battle.

Our 18 comrades need no elaborate pledges from us. They know our loyalty. They know our devotion. They know that we are not half-way people, that our lives have no meaning except as a contribution to the proletarian revolution. They know our Trotskyist party has the most powerful weapon ever devised, the Bolshevik program and the Bolshevik method of organization. They know that our ideas and our cadres are indestructible. We pledge to fight for their freedom, but more than that, we pledge that they will return to find us holding high and unblemished the Trotskyist banner they are handing us.

Speech of Karl Kuehn

I believe that I understood fairly well the general strategy and tactics pursued by our leadership in the planning of the defense and I think it is going just the way it was planned. I concurred from the beginning and I still continue to concur. I look upon this as a milestone, not only for the revolutionary movement, but in the broad class struggle itself.

You know, here sit the higher law enforcement officers, — the ones who are enforcing the law that stands way above any capitalist statutes written on the books. They are enforcing the first law of nature, the law of self-preservation for the working class. And that is why we are on the winning side from the very start, no matter what we may have to go through.

Those that are honest will be compelled to come to our side and join the struggle. And I know, I am satisfied, that we will speed the day when capitalism will give way to the new socialist era of unparalleled, undreamed-of social advances.

Speech of Alfred Russell

Comrades and friends: I want to assure all the comrades that this will not be my last message. As George indicated, this isn't the first time for me, and I consequently am no longer as virginal as some of the other comrades.

I hesitate to speak at any length on this occasion because of what Comrade Morrow and Comrade Schoenfeld have already said, and because of the speeches that are to come. I assure the comrades that my only impatience in the year that I have to spend in jail will be because I want to be back in the fight. I know that the comrades on the outside are going to have a much tougher time than we are. I know from experience with the jails, I know that there is nothing that they can do to us that we can't take. We will be in there pitching. I know that all the comrades on the outside will be too.

I say, long live our Party and long live the fight for Socialism!

Guest Speech of Farrell

Felix Morrow spoke about the time when he was a young socialist and what had happened to those who had been in the Yipsels with him. Well, when Danny O'Neill was a boy in college — that is, when my generation was becoming educated — the whole preparation of our generation was a preparation to meet the next imperialist war. In those days we burned with a kind of fierce rebel, and politically unclear, resentment against the sacrifices of the First imperialist war, and we realized that we had to do everything possible to fight the Second imperialist war.

Out of that generation the intellectuals have gone the same way as Felix Morrow's Yipsel comrades, and today those who are left and who have been fighting this war are very few in this country. Among them are the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis case. I consider it an honor that I have been asked to speak here tonight and publicly to say farewell to them as friends and comrades, and to pledge myself to do everything I can in an all-sided effort to contribute to the defense, to contribute to the campaign for a pardon, to contribute to the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

In the Minneapolis case we have met with a general conspiracy of silence from the capitalist press. Occasionally a small item or a small note creeps in. Such a one appeared in the *New Republic*. The charlatans who edit the *New Republic* had a back-handed comment on the Minneapolis case recently, and I believe I should briefly comment on it. First of all, they conjure up a strike as the cause of the persecution. They state it grew up out of a strike in Minneapolis. Then they stated that the Smith Gag Act is the same kind of an hysterical law as had come and gone in the 1920's, and that sooner or later the Supreme Court would overrule the Smith Gag Act, and if the Supreme Court didn't do it, Congress would.

It is our duty here tonight to determine that we will do everything possible, everything we can, to see that it is overturned sooner rather than later. It is necessary to see ahead in this case. The Minneapolis case threatens to be the first of many prosecutions. The Supreme Court of the United States is a sanctified institution which will hear an appeal in a case where Congress passes a law that says a man cannot sell chickens for more than 40c a pound.

But if the Congress of the United States says a man cannot think, then the Supreme Court of the U. S. will not even hear an appeal on the case.

Today in the United States of America it is a crime to think. The situation is precisely as Mark Twain once described it: "Free speech is something you've got if you don't use it." As we say farewell to friends and comrades tonight, we should vow that with indignation and determination, we will press an all-sided fight on this case, not only to press the pardon, not only to raise funds for the Civil Rights Defense Committee, but further, to do everything we can in the way of an all-sided social and political campaign to prevent more Minneapolis frame-ups.

Biographies Of The Imprisoned Trotskyists

These personal sketches include only part of the Minneapolis defendants. Biographies of the remainder of the 18 will appear in next week's *Militant*.

GRACE CARLSON

Real rebels do not go—they burn. So it is with Grace Carlson, distinguished as the so-called woman among the eighteen Minneapolis prisoners. She is the true rebel, who burns at injustice, poverty, class tyranny. No terror of prison bars, no social ostracism, no pain of physical illness will ever quench the rebel flame within her.



Slight, frail, but energetic and animated, she has been a banner-bearer of socialism in the American labor movement, educating and inspiring men and women workers alike by her courageous and passionate defense of the working class.

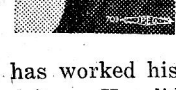
Grace was born in St. Paul, Minn., in 1906. Her father was an Irish-American railroad worker, and her great-great grandfather was Samuel Holmes, who came from Ireland and fought in the American Revolution.

She was educated in St. Catherines College and the University of Minnesota, where she earned her BA, MA and PhD degrees. A woman of brilliant intellect, she was elected to the National Honorary Society for Women in Education in 1931; to the National Honorary Scientific Society in 1933. For two years she lectured in the Department of Psychology of the University of Minnesota. Then for five years she held the post of Vocational Rehabilitation Counselor of the State Department of Education.

But Grace was not content to be a mere humanitarian social worker, trying to repair and rehabilitate a few victims of the capitalist social system. She joined the trade union movement, and began to devote herself to building a better social order for all the workers. She was a charter member of Minnesota State Employees Union local No. 10, for four years a delegate to the St. Paul Trades & Labor Assembly, a member of its Education Committee for three

HARRY DeBOER

Wherever truck drivers pull into a depot or sit talking around the "coffee-and" spots in a dozen northwest states, there you will sooner or later—more often sooner—hear mentioned with respect and admiration the name of Harry De Boer. And in whatever dark holes the scabs, finks, strikebreakers and stoolies foregather, there you might hear them whisper his name with fear and awe.



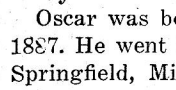
Harry, who was born in Crookston, Minn., in 1907, has worked his entire adult life as a truck driver. He didn't have much chance for formal education, being compelled to finish his schooling with the eighth grade. But he absorbed the hard lessons of life as a worker, and he learned the meaning of capitalism and the great ideas of socialism in the heat of labor battles.

Tall and lithe, with dark, strong, clean-cut features, Harry became an outstanding figure on the picketlines and in the forefront of every great labor struggle in Minneapolis. He has emerged from the acid test of battle as an authentic prototype of the American worker-Bolshevik, schooled in socialist principles, tempered in experience and action.

During the historic Minneapolis drivers strike in July 1934, a police bullet nearly

OSCAR COOVER

A lot of workers around Minneapolis are going to miss Oscar Coover while he is in jail. Quiet-spoken, warm-hearted, friendly, he hides under his fatherly appearance a heart of oak and a spirit of tempered steel. Dependable, consistent, loyal—those are the words to describe Oscar. Yes, a lot of workers are going to miss that bespectacled, slightly-stopped, spare man with his old pipe in his teeth, and a neighborly word of fellowship for every worker.



Oscar was born in Republic, Missouri, in 1887. He went to grade and high schools at Springfield, Missouri. A skilled electrician, he worked for the railroads from 1904 to 1924, on the St. Louis & San Francisco, the Missouri-Pacific, the Chicago & Great Western lines. Since then he has worked at his trade as a stage-hand and on building construction. He is the father of three grown children.

Unionism, the cause of labor, are in the very marrow of his bones. He has held continuous membership in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers since 1906, and since 1907, in the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

From 1916 to 1922, he was active in the organization of the railroad workers. He played an outstanding role in the famous

years, and twice a delegate to the Minnesota State Federation of Labor conventions. She distinguished herself in labor defense work as a member of the National Committee of the Workers Defense League, and became an active worker in the Minneapolis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

When Grace came to believe in the principles of Trotskyism, she didn't flirt with

NEW YORK SWP MESSAGE TO GRACE

Although your stay was short in New York, the New York membership has grown to know you as a Trotskyist woman leader who is an inspiring example to our entire movement. Separation from the other imprisoned comrades and they from you cannot sever the ties that bind you. Our Old Man would be proud of you, as is, we are sure, his great companion, Natalia.

them. Despite a weak heart, she threw her whole life and energies into the grueling activity of a professional party worker. She resigned in 1940 from the Minnesota Department of Education and ran as SWP candidate for U. S. Senator. In an amazing campaign, in which she was subjected to the vilest slanders by the capitalist and Stalinist press, she received over 8,500 votes, more than the combined votes of the Communist and Socialist parties. In 1942, she ran for mayor of St. Paul on the SWP ticket, and although already convicted and sentenced to prison, she received 3% of the total vote cast. The sentence did not daunt her. She accepted the post of SWP Minnesota State Organizer and later organizer of the New York City SWP local.

She faces 16 months alone in a woman's prison, separated from all her comrades. But she will have with her the love and respect of the thousands of men and women who honor her as a militant heroine of the American working class.

ended this fighting union leader's career. He recovered after several months in a hospital. Then back into the battle for workers' rights he went, straight from a hospital bed.

He served as an organizer for Local 544 from 1934 to 1941, one of those who were the very backbone of that great model union. He was President of the Bakery Drivers Local, and was elected to Chairman of the Midwest Bakery Drivers Council. In his capacity of Minnesota State delegate to the 12-state Over-the-Road Drivers Council, he helped to win the first uniform contract for the over-the-road drivers, covering 250,000 previously unorganized workers. He was elected delegate to several state AFL conventions and to the AFL Teamsters International Convention.

Harry, if he had been willing to "play ball" with Tobin, might have gone far in the Teamsters union and carved out a very cozy niche for himself in Tobin's machine. But Harry had honesty and conviction and iron character. So he fought the bureaucrats and the goons and the government agents with all the courage and audacity that he had demonstrated on the picket lines.

Today, this splendid union militant and socialist goes behind prison bars. He leaves his wife and comrade, Evelyn. The finks and goons breathe easier for a while. But not for long—not for long. He'll be back in there pitching, making it tough for the bosses and exploiters, helping to win a new world for his fellow-workers.

Railroad Shopmen's strike of 1922 as Secretary of the Chicago, Great Northwestern and Pullman shop employees. He had the distinction of being named personally in Attorney-General Daugherty's notorious injunction against picketing.

He has served in so many capacities in the labor movement that he cannot remem-

BOSTON SWP

The Federal government is sending you to jail but it cannot imprison the ideas for which you have struggled and which are being proven correct by the greatest test of all—that of events. The bourgeoisie will find that this persecution of our leaders, instead of destroying the Trotskyist movement, inspires us to work with renewed determination toward the achievement of our goal—the triumph of socialism.

ber them all. He was a delegate for two years to the Springfield, Mo. Trades & Labor Assembly, for five years to the Minneapolis Trades & Labor Assembly, and delegate from the Minneapolis Trades & Labor Assembly to the Faribault Convention of the State Federation of Labor.

During all the years when so many other workers were temporarily blinded by the vision of "prosperity" and Republican "normalcy," Oscar understood that capitalism rested upon quick-sands. He fought consistently against class-collaboration and

bureaucracy in the union movement, and warned of the great economic collapse ahead.

He was an active, militant member of the Communist Party in the twenties, before its decline and degeneration. True to the real principles of Leninism, he was expelled from the Communist Party along with Vincent Dunne and Carl Skoglund, and helped to build the American Trotskyist movement of the Northwest.

Hard-working, plain-spoken, without fuss or noise, he has done yeoman service every

FELIX MORROW

It has been said of Felix Morrow, editor of the Fourth International that "his typewriter has been his machine-gun" in the battle for socialism.



His ammunition, however, has not been drawn from the arsenal of the class-room and the book, but from the battle fronts of the class struggle.

He was born in New York City in 1906, and brought up in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, then strongly socialist in

politics, and where, as he says, "we drank in our socialism with our mothers' milk." Here, as a boy, he began his socialist activity as a member of the Junior Circle of the Young Peoples' Socialist League.

He went to New York University and did graduate work there in philosophy and at Columbia University. There he joined the club affiliated with the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, founded by Jack London and was once arrested for helping to collect funds in the neighborhood of the university to aid the left-wing miners' opposition in the United Mine Workers.

As the Socialist Party became more "respectable," he moved away from it, joining the Young Communist League in 1925. During this period, he learned the journalistic craft with the Brooklyn Daily Times and Daily Eagle, and later worked for the New

CARL SKOGLUND

Carl Skoglund has been a special target of hatred of the bosses and all their agents for a long time. For they have never met a tougher or more resolute fighter for the working class than Carl, that grand old proletarian warrior.



To his fellow-workers, who honored his working-class loyalty and fighting spirit by electing him president of Local 544-CIO, he has been a hearty, congenial and lovable comrade and friend.

Carl was born in Sweden almost 69 years ago. He became a saw-mill and paper mill worker, and from his earliest youth he participated in the organization and struggles of the workers. In 1911 he came to this country, where he worked in the building trades, and as lumberman, fireman, janitor, railroad worker, coal driver, mechanic. Everywhere, he carried the same rallying cry to labor, "Organize, organize, organize!"

In 1923, he was chairman of the Burlington, Great Western and North Western in the great railroad shopmen's strike. He earned the implacable enmity of the bosses, and, when the strike was defeated, he was blacklisted from the railroads for life.

Carl was more than a union militant fighting for day to day demands alone. He understood the nature of capitalism, and saw the vision of the socialist future. He was one of the pioneers of the Communist Party in this country, and he was one of the first, along with Vincent Dunne and Oscar Coover, to be expelled for Trotskyism. He joined forces with the Trotskyists in 1929.

During the early organization of the Minneapolis drivers Local 544, and in the historic strikes of 1934, which helped to smash the open-shop in the northwest, Carl was a mighty battler against the bosses and their agents. He held many union posts; delegate from the Railroad Carmen and

KARL KUEHN

During World War I, Karl opposed the capitalists and their war. For this he was fired from his machinist job and hounded and blacklisted in Minneapolis. But Karl has a strong spine and the courage of his convictions. He is going to prison 26 years later for his outspoken opposition to the capitalists and their Second World War.



Karl has been a Minnesotan all his life, having been born in St. Paul in 1894. By dint of persistent study and much self-education, he became a mechanical and industrial engineer, and has worked as a mechanical designer, civil engineer, industrial refrigeration designer and food distribution engineer.

If Karl had been the type of fellow who is willing to "keep his mouth shut," close his eyes to the misery and poverty around him, he might have "got along" very well indeed. But he joined forces with the union workers and the unemployed, and engaged in their struggles with the same tenacity of

purpose which sustained him in his life-long opposition to capitalist war.

In 1934, he was an official representative of the organized unemployed in the General Drivers Strike. He was elected delegate to numerous state and national unemployed conventions and conferences. He did great service in helping to tie together the struggles of the employed and unemployed workers as a liaison man between the unemployed organization and the Minneapolis trade unions. For a number of years he was recording secretary of the Federal Workers Section, Local 544, and he was a delegate to several Farmer-Labor Party conventions.

In 1940, he was indicted and tried under a frameup charge growing out of his militant activities in the Minneapolis WPA strike, but charges against him were finally dismissed.

Karl meant business when he joined the SWP. So he "organized" his not inconsiderable family. It has been said that the Kuehn family did not join the SWP so much as form a "merger" with it. And while Karl is in prison, he will have the satisfaction of knowing that his whole family will be carrying on more resolutely than ever in battling for the socialist ideas that he has so courageously upheld.

When the Third International in Germany capitulated to Hitler without a struggle, he broke with the Communist Party and joined the Trotskyists. For five years, he engaged primarily in organizational work, first as National Secretary of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and, from 1936-1938 on the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, which was instrumental in securing asylum for Trotsky and exposing the lies and frameup of the Moscow Trials.

He served as associate editor of the Northwest Organizer, official organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, in 1938. He then became associate editor of the Socialist Appeal, and from 1940-1942, editor of *The Militant*. Since 1941, he has served as the editor of the Fourth International. He is author of two splendid pamphlets on the Spanish Civil War, "The Civil War in Spain" and "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain."

He has one son, aged 10.

AFL Teamsters to the Minneapolis Central Labor Union; twice CLU delegate to conventions of the State Federation of Labor; delegate to the Teamster's International Convention, 1940; and president of Local 544.

When the prosecutions against the SWP and Local 544 leaders began in 1941, Carl

MESSAGES TO BANQUET CHICAGO SWP

We hail our comrades who are about to enter prison as framed up victims of the capitalist class. By jailing our leaders they hope to intimidate and behead us. We answer by tightening our ranks and assuming our greater responsibilities and by using this cowardly attack upon us to prove to the masses the seriousness of our intentions. Again today in the words of comrade Trotsky we pledge to "go forward." We redouble our efforts to achieve the great socialist revolution.

was arrested and held for deportation to Sweden under \$25,000-bail. That was during the period when it seemed that Hitler was going to march into Sweden, and deportation for Carl would mean his head. FBI emissaries told Carl that the deportation threat might be "reconsidered" if he would take the stand for the government in the Minneapolis trials.

There is no official record of what he said when the suggestion came to him. For those who know Carl personally, they can imagine his wrath, and can well understand that not all his reply was printable, including the Swedish. As he had fought all his life, he defended his revolutionary ideas and the rights of the workers along with his comrades in the trial of the 23.

Beloved by the workers, an implacable foe of the capitalist exploiters, Carl in prison is honored as a valiant, life-long battler for workers emancipation.

purpose which sustained him in his life-long

opposition to capitalist war.

In 1940, he was indicted and tried under a frameup charge growing out of his militant activities in the Minneapolis WPA strike, but charges against him were finally dismissed.

Karl meant business when he joined the SWP. So he "organized" his not inconsiderable family. It has been said that the Kuehn family did not join the SWP so much as form a "merger" with it. And while Karl is in prison, he will have the satisfaction of knowing that his whole family will be carrying on more resolutely than ever in battling for the socialist ideas that he has so courageously upheld.

CARLOS HUDSON

Carlos Hudson is a gifted writer and journalist, who might have "done very well for himself" had he been willing to sell his considerable talents to the capitalist press.



Instead, as an honest and courageous man, he devoted his life to combating the lies of capitalism, and educating and defending the workers through the medium of the labor press. That is why he is going to jail.

He was born in Minneapolis in 1908. He worked his way as a freight laborer through the University of Minnesota, where he majored in economics and graduated with a BBA degree in 1929. That was the year of the economic crash, and Carlos, witnessing the living reality of hungry workers, tossed aside the false university textbooks.

Carlos took his stand with the embattled workers, contributing his talents to advance their cause. He edited and wrote for workers' papers in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Austin, Fargo and Omaha.

As editor of the Northwest Organizer, of-

ALFRED RUSSELL

Al Russell is a "Depression's Child"—one of that generation who left school to "make a name for themselves" as the whole world came crashing down on their heads in the 1929 debacle. So life taught Al, like so many other young workers, the real meaning of capitalism, while the labor and socialist movement taught him what the workers can do about it.



He was born of poor immigrant parents in Brooklyn in 1911. His mother died when he was three, and his father when Al was seventeen. Like so many of his generation, he had hopes of "getting ahead." He went to City College for a year, and to Brooklyn College for two.

His first job, in 1929, was as an office boy. Shortly thereafter he became a runner for Investors Bank Stocks Corp., "which sold bank stocks to suckers via telephone, until the crash." This brief smell of the inside workings of capitalism wasn't an odor he liked.

For several years thereafter, he worked at any job he could get and often suffered

MAX GELDMAN

Max Geldmann was born in 1905—the year of the first Russian Revolution—in Warsaw, Poland, in a dark, misery-filled ghetto of the Russian Tsar.



His parents came to this country, like most poor immigrants, filled with tales of gold in the streets, of a land of liberty, and democracy, and opportunity for all.

They found instead slums and tenements, poverty and back-breaking toil. And Max, that short, stocky, vigorous fighter for socialism since 1924, is getting his latest lesson in American capitalist "democracy" as he sits for the second time in jail because he has fought for a truly free, democratic world.

Max went to Public School 174 in Brooklyn, to Boy's High, and then to the "poor man's" college, City College of New York. He tried his hand at selling and teaching, and was an active member of the American Federation of Teachers.

During the great Minneapolis union struggles of the last decade, Max was an active participant. As an experienced, revolutionary

OSCAR SCHOENFELD

Youthful in years and appearance, but a seasoned veteran of the labor and socialist struggle, Oscar got no "babysitting" when the judge passed sentence in the Minneapolis



trial. One of the founders of the early Trotskyist youth movement, Oscar entered the school of the living class struggle during the tumultuous depression years that saw the rise of the Minneapolis labor movement. From this school he emerged a matured and tested revolutionary socialist.

Oscar was born in 1916 in New York City. He has known for most of his life only a world of chaos, unemployment and deprivation. But unlike so many of his generation—the despairing, cynical and disoriented, seeing over the horizon only a pauper's grave or a bloody end in a mud-filled shell-hole—Oscar turned to the future of hope and optimism embodied in the worldwide struggle for socialism.

Oscar left student life at New York University and plunged into the life of a working-class organizer. While others of his generation and background fought the class struggle from cafeterias and library corridors, Oscar fought it from the picket lines and labor demonstrations.

As an organizer of the Unemployed Youth

social organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, and the Industrial Organizer, published by Minneapolis Local 544-CIO, Carlos made a major contribution to the labor movement of the northwest. These papers were powerful weapons in the building of the entire union movement in this area.

Carlos has faced continued persecution

MINNEAPOLIS MESSAGE

The eleven defendants in Minneapolis greet you in spirit this evening. We are confident of the ability of our party to carry on in our absence. Long live the Fourth International.

for his loyalty to the working class. He was fired from his WPA job for "Trotskyism" and his activities in organizing WPA teachers into a union.

Since his conviction in the Minneapolis trial, he has been blacklisted from 20 plants and fired from two as a "socialist," after he had learned the machinist trade. He has a wife, Madalene, and two children, Michael, 4½ years old and Nicoli, 2 years old.

the hardship of unemployment. For one year he worked in a ribbon weaving mill, on the night shift, 60 hours per week for the munificent sum of \$16.15.

Al was one of the founders of the early Trotskyist youth movement. Imbued with the spirit of the class struggle, he went to Minneapolis in 1935, during the period of great labor upsurge. There he proved himself as a fighting workers' leader. He was arrested for his activities in the 1935 Strutwear Knitting Mills strike, and served six months in jail.

In 1937, he went to Omaha, Neb., where he continued his union and socialist activities, and was arrested several times. He assisted in the organization of textile workers and cab drivers, and published a strike paper for the Yellow Cab strikers. He aided in the organization of Omaha General Drivers Union Local 554, joined the union and was three times elected recording secretary. He fought the bosses and he fought the labor skates, including AFL Teamsters President Daniel Tobin, who arbitrarily removed him from office and put the local under receivership in 1940.

Since then, Al has been working as a truck driver, steel mill hand and machinist. He has been married about a year and half. His wife is expecting a child.

socialist, he taught the ideas of Marxism to the workers and demonstrated in action how a Bolshevik conducts himself.

He became an organizer of Federal Workers Section, Local 544, a fighting leader of the unemployed and WPA workers. Because of his activity in the 1939 Minneapolis WPA strike, he was arrested and sentenced to Sandstone Penitentiary for eight months.

Max is one of the real old-timers in the Trotskyist movement. His trade union and

ALLENTOWN SWP

Accept our assurances of solidarity with the eighteen and our readiness to perform any task you may allot us. Long live the Fourth International.

working class political activity has been continuous since 1924. In 1926, he joined the Young Communist League. When the degeneration of Stalinism perverted the revolutionary principles of the YCL, Max joined the Trotskyists in 1930.

Max and his wife, Goldie, have a six year old girl and are expecting another child very soon—in fact, Max had hoped to see the new baby before the prison gates closed behind him.

Section of Local 544, Oscar battled militantly for relief and jobs for the unemployed. He was a leader of the Minneapolis WPA strike in 1939, and was framed and convicted for his strike activity in Feb. 1940, when he was 23 years old. The judge placed him on probation for 18 months, a probation extended after his indictment under the Smith "Gag" Act.

Oscar has a loyal and courageous wife and comrade, Margaret Kuehn, daughter of Karl Kuehn, also one of the 18. She has

N. Y. Banquet Message

Three hundred party comrades and friends here tonight send this revolutionary message to the Trotskyist militants in the Twin Cities railroaded to Roosevelt's democratic prison. Your courageous example is the pride and inspiration of our movement. No persecutions or prison bars can break the ties of solidarity which unite us in our struggle for the Socialist future

stood shoulder to shoulder with her husband and father in labor struggle, and was convicted and placed under one year probation for her activities in the Minneapolis WPA strike. The Schoenfelds have two children, Peter, 3 years old and Jackie, 9 months old.

State Guard Stages Drill For The Training Of Anti-Labor Battalions

By C. Thomas

Members of the New York State Guard are being drilled in the technique of quelling "riots." On December 4, the 4th Regiment of the New York State Guard held such a drill at the Jamaica Armory. The drill was open to the public and was witnessed by over 3,000 people. The commander of the regiment staging the drill was Col. George W. Martin, a Wall Street corporation lawyer.

Four companies of the Guard, dressed in workingmen's clothes, portrayed "agitators," carrying picket signs reading: "We Want Jobs," "Our Kids Are Hungry," "We Want Bread," etc. As part of the drill, one of the guardsmen, disguised as a worker, mounted a soap-box and inflamed the pickets with his "agitation." After a few moments, several companies armed with two-foot oak clubs, attacked and dispersed the crowd of "agitators."

Col. Martin told a reporter that the idea of staging the "anti-riot" drill came to him last summer during the Guard exercises at Peekskill, N. Y. Regular army men demonstrated there the technique of breaking up picket lines with fixed bayonets. Martin was critical of the present demonstration, which he regarded as "worthless," because the State Guard were not provided with bayonets.

REALISTIC DRILL

In order to make the drill more realistic, Col. Martin provided the guardsmen with the oak clubs, which, he said, were to be used to "knock the agitators" in the belly so as to "knock the wind out of them." Martin stated that he had become disturbed about the race riots in various parts of the country and felt that his regiment should have "realistic" training in the event of further trouble.

The Wall St. Colonel was brutally frank in his interview. "Nobody mentions labor trouble in these things," he said, "because then there are complaints to the Governor and appropriations are cut. We talk about subversive elements and fifth columnists, but that's just talk. Our (picket) signs should have said 'Join the Union' and that sort of thing. But people with a political future are scared of frankness."

"At the present time," Martin further explained, "labor and Negroes are getting rich. They are getting truculent and sassy, not because they are Negroes and laborers, but because they are human beings who have lots of money they never had before."

"After the war, if anybody tries to organize labor or do anything funny, he'll be waited on by an American Legion and told to pipe down."

THE "AGITATOR"

Asked to give his definition of an "agitator" Martin replied: "An agitator is somebody who advocates socialism. I think agitators have something the matter with their glands. They always ask questions about how big a man's house is and how much champagne he drinks. They'll always be with us and make trouble and sometimes trouble takes the form of riots. We have to be prepared, and the (picket) signs we used in our training exercise gave a note of realism to the exercise."

The "anti-riot" drills, which are by no means limited to Col. Martin's regiment of the Guard, are part of that preparation. Last March, at Ft. Snelling, Minnesota, the regular army staged a drill in which soldiers posed as strikers bearing such placards as: "We Want 20 percent Raise in Pay, Shorter Hours," "Unfair to Labor . . . Strike," "More Pay, Less Work . . . Strike." Other soldiers with fixed bayonets advanced upon the crowd of pickets and dispersed the "strikers." Such drills are constantly taking place throughout the country camouflaged as exercises in the dispersal of "subversive elements and fifth columnists."

UNIONS PROTEST

The New York State CIO has demanded that Governor Dewey "institute an immediate investigation of the riot drill staged by the 4th Regiment of the New York State Guard. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has also urged Dewey to make a "prompt investigation." High officials of the Guard have promised to "look into the matter." Brig. Gen. George A. Herbst, Chief of Staff to Lt. Gen. Hugh A. Drum, State Guard commandant, issued a statement in which he said: "We'll try to find out what it's about. Sometimes our people let their imaginations run riot. These drills and riot formations are needed in case of fifth-column uprisings by subversive elements. Probably (probably!) the selection of some of the signs was not wise."

AN INDISCRETION

In the opinion of the highest officers of the State Guard, all that was wrong with the drill was "probably" an unwise selection of signs. Col. Martin's sin was that of indiscretion. Not being concerned with a "political future," however, he saw no reason for not being open and above board about the actual meaning and purpose of the "anti-riot" exercises.

For labor and Negro leaders to limit themselves to demanding that the governors "investigate" those who are carrying out their orders is futile. As long as corporation lawyers and other capitalist agents remain in control of the state guard, that organization will inevitably be used as a strikebreaking agency—no matter what signs are used in their drills.

Labor must demand that the state provide military training schools under the direction and control of the trade unions. That is the only way that the democratic rights of the people can be defended against the would-be Hitlers of Wall Street.



Members of the New York State Guard dressed as workers are harangued by an "agitator" in "realistic" drill staged by Wall Street Colonel. Other guardsmen armed with two-foot oak clubs dispersed the "agitators" who are seen carrying picket signs reading: "Our Kids Are Hungry," "We Want Jobs," etc.

The Kremlin's Policy In Holding The Trials Of Nazi War Criminals

By RALPH STURDY

Only a naive person will accept the Kharkov show-trial of a few German prisoners at face value, as a real attempt to bring the culprits responsible for war atrocities to the bar of justice. True, the verdict declared Hitler and his henchmen the prime figures responsible for the policies of fascist frightfulness, but it was the underlings who were hanged. Stalin has in his power quite a few German generals who gave the same kind of orders. Far from bringing these men to trial, Stalin tried to make a deal with them in establishing the so-called "Free German" movement. He was willing to accept the foremost spokesmen of Prussian militarism as allies if they would but turn against Hitler.

The Soviet bureaucracy pursued its consistent political purposes in this trial. The trial bears the earmark of previous show-trials designed to cover up misdeeds of the bureaucracy by pointing to scapegoats. The terrible war, which Stalin had promised would be fought on the enemy's soil, was waged instead on Soviet soil. This might have been averted had Stalin been capable (which he was not) of pursuing a revolutionary policy which could have set the German masses in motion against Hitler.

The trial evidently is intended to direct the attention of the masses away from the role of the bureaucracy and entirely towards the guilty Germans. It is a form of compensation for the incredible hardships, sufferings and starvation endured by the Soviet workers and peasants. War is itself the greatest of all scourges and atrocities, modern war in particular. But Stalin wishes to spotlight particularly inhuman acts to arouse hatred in the hearts of the Soviet masses.

REAL KEY

Here lies the real key to the Kharkov trial. This is underlined by the writings of Stalin's hirelings of the pen, like Ilya Ehrenburg. Stalin wishes to drive home in every possible way the idea

that not only Hitler, Goering and Himmler are responsible for the bloody, bestial deeds committed against the Russian people, but that all Germans are responsible, the armies of soldiers as well as the leaders. Russian hatred is to be directed against Germans. It is obvious that Stalin aims to drive a powerful wedge between the Russian and the German masses. Should the German workers revolt and call upon their Russian brothers for aid, the Russian masses are to be conditioned to turn a deaf ear to such pleas.

Under the guise of meting out punishment to the ones responsible for inhuman cruelty, Stalin is setting the stage for the treatment of Germany after the war. Any attempt at proletarian revolution on the part of the German workers and peasants will be put down, if Stalin has his way, without any opposition on the side of the Russian workers. In addition Stalin has several times made a bid for the use of German labor in the rebuilding of the destroyed sections of Russia.

SLAVE LABOR

Spokesmen for the bureaucracy have talked of as many as ten million Germans to be delivered up to Stalin for slave labor. The trial declares not only the "system" of fascism guilty of the crimes against Russia—but every single person living under that system. It is the old idea, long ago repudiated by Marxists through their analysis of class rule, that the masses only get that form of government which they "deserve." The masses are to be held responsible for their rulers.

Ilya Ehrenburg writes in an article, "Something I Can Never Forget," in the December 26th issue of the N. Y. Times: "I hope that no sentimental advocates will come forward to defend the incendiaries, that the guilty persons will be put in the dock, that the millions of soldiers who have reduced Europe to a desert zone will be made to work ten years crushing stones and hewing wood." This is the real verdict

of the trial, not the mere hanging of three or four minor individuals. Stalin uses in his typical bureaucratic fashion, the only method he knows, the method of police trials, to render decisions made in advance.

It is not Stalin's method, hardly screened by the Kharkov trial, that will serve to rebuild Soviet Russia and Europe. The Stalinist counter-revolutionary aims, based solely on the desire to keep the bureaucracy in power in the USSR, would serve not to rebuild post-war Russia and Europe, but to plunge that unhappy continent into still further chaos and disorder. The slave labor of millions of Germans even if used in conjunction with the largest part of Germany's machinery taken to Russia, would not build up European technology, but would destroy its most advanced sector.

SOCIALIST EUROPE

There is another way to rebuild what has been destroyed in the Soviet Union and in the other countries of Europe. That way is through the complete socialization of the means of production in Germany and all Europe. The German working class must take over German industry. The German workers would gladly ally themselves with the Russian workers in a socialist federation. There would be no question then of supplying Russia with all the equipment and machinery it desired. Socialist labor would be infinitely more effective than slave labor. Thus the way would be opened for the creation of the Socialist United States of Europe.

The workers of each country will themselves give just deserts to the class under whose rule fascism arose. There is no other way really to wipe out fascism. Nazism and fascism are but the symptoms of social decay under capitalism. The symptoms can be made to disappear only by stopping the decay. Only by replacing capitalism with socialism.

Profit-Mad Bosses Endanger Soldiers Lives, Trials Show

(Continued from page 1)

ammunition had purportedly been submitted to the proper agents of the Department and had purportedly been inspected, when in fact such representations were false." The former inspection system, states a report of the Grand Jury, was "highly conducive to commission of the infractions," but had been "countenanced by the Ordnance Department." However, so far no criminal prosecution has been announced; only a civil suit involving fines and damages.

Testimony under cross-examination and signed confessions of Anaconda officials and employees revealed that in the Anaconda wire case, the company had worked out methods of fooling government inspectors by tampering with and "fixing" inspection devices; planting only good materials in the testing room when it was learned government inspectors were due; removing red tags indicating defective material and replacing them with yellow tags showing them to be satisfactory, after the inspectors had left.

GREEDY LUST

These practices were contrived because the Anaconda officials knew the plant was not equipped to turn out field wire up to government standards. But their greedy lust for the juicy war contracts induced them to take the contracts under false pretences and then plot means of cheating on the specifications.

At first, according to the testimony of the plant's chief engineer Robert L. Wright, a specially designed transformer was rigged up which made it appear that the wire was withstanding much higher voltages than the company knew to be actually possible.

The laxity, if not the tacit cooperation of the government inspectors, soon made even this unnecessary. Loopholes for much simpler fraudulent methods were found in the inspection system. The company, under the contract, did all testing. The government inspectors simply observed the tests of specified samples brought forth by the company.

FAKE TESTS

Thus, the company simply followed the practice of substituting OK labels for reject labels on previously inspected materials. Or mixing in defective wire with good wire, to conceal the bad materials. Or taking good materials, which had passed an under-water test, for instance, and repeatedly introducing it for inspection as new materials.

The indictment, upon which the trial is based, charges the company with defrauding the government of over \$1,000,000, and "obstructing the prosecution of the war" by manufacturing defective materials from between November 1940 until September 1942. Over 50 per cent of the company's production was accounted for by an Army contract covering a monthly output of 20,000,000 feet of wire.

The wire was designed for front line communications, according to the testimony of Maj. M. M. Bower, U. S. Signal Corps, who revealed in detail the danger to which the defective wire exposed troops during combat.

The Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

Negroes and Independent Political Action

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

Negroes and Independent Political Action

The conference of 20 nationally important Negro organizations called by the NAACP in late November and the political Declaration issued by the conference are of more than passing interest. It is more than the usual pre-election year maneuver to influence the two old-line political parties. By its seemingly militant language, the declaration aims to assure the Negro masses that their leaders are ready to lead them in independent political struggle.

The Declaration, issued in the name of 6 million Negroes, states that "the Negro voter can no longer be won by meaningless generalities in party platforms which are promptly forgotten on election day. The Negro voter will support a political party which by words and deeds shows its determination to work for full citizenship status for thirteen million Negroes and to better the lot of all disadvantaged people in this country."

Specifically, this means that Negroes want the right to vote in every state. They want legislation and government action against lynchings and mob violence. They demand the right to work without discrimination. Any party which hopes to win their support must adopt a democratic program for their "integration into the armed forces without segregation."

The Declaration also recognizes that the fate of the Negro is linked with that of the working class. It says, "The party or candidate that seeks to destroy organized labor is as much the enemy of the Negro as is he who would prevent the Negro from voting."

If you measure the Democratic party by this political yardstick then Negroes ought to reject this party. The Declaration seems to imply as much for it says: "The policy of the present administration with reference to the Negro in the armed forces is bad in principle and has failed."

As for the Republicans, Walter White of the NAACP, one of the chief signers of the Declaration, brought matters up to date last week when he wrote to Harrison Spangler, chairman of the Republican National Committee: "The continued alliance of conservative northern Republicans and southern Democrats has done and is doing infinite harm to the Negro."

Both parties, the Declaration makes clear, have been enemies of the Negro people. They have acted in the interests of the poll-tax landlords and the capitalists, in the interests of the enemies of organized labor and the Negro masses. Therefore, the Declaration says the Negro can no longer be tied to either of the major parties. He must take the road of independent political action.

Every thinking Negro will agree that the programs of the Democratic and Republican parties are reactionary through and through. Independent political action for the Negro means a complete break with both capitalist parties. It

means an alliance with organized labor to create a labor party. And the alliance of the Negro people with the trade union movement, gaining the support of the lower middle class, will have every chance of success.

But although the Negro leaders who wrote the Declaration talk about independent politics—they do not mean it. They solemnly announce that the Negro will assert his independence not by voting for a party but by voting for certain candidates. As if it were the candidate who controlled the party, instead of the party which controlled the candidate.

They create the dangerous illusion that it is still possible to win important concessions through the two big capitalist parties. The Randolphs and Whites threaten to withhold support from the Democrats or Republicans if these parties put forward unsatisfactory candidates in 1944! But if a progressive, a Willkie or a Henry Wallace run, men who are lavish with their promises, then Negroes will be advised by these leaders to support them.

And if such candidates should go sour in office? Then, the Declaration says "Negroes will continue to help remove unsatisfactory officials until truly democratic forces come to power." But just how democratic forces are to come to power by playing off one major party against the other remains a mystery.

These Negro leaders continue to hope that by waiting hand in hand at the door of the two big parties they can get more than promises. The Negro rank and file, however are ready to break with the political parties of the capitalist class. Given the chance, they will support a working class party that promises to lead them in an all-out fight against Jim Crow and those who uphold it.

Walter White and A. Phillip Randolph draw lopsided conclusions from the election of the Stalinist candidate, Ben Davis Jr., to the New York City Council. According to White, Stalinist influence exists among Negroes because the Democrats and Republicans have been using the Negro as a "political football." And the moral of this sad state of affairs, according to White is that "it should serve as a warning to these two political parties."

Randolph, head of the March-On-Washington-Movement also asks the capitalist leopards to change their spots. In an interview with the N. Y. Times, Randolph suggests "that the other political parties assume a realistic approach to the Negro problem and make a sincere effort to combat existing prejudice."

That the Stalinists sell out the Negro people every day in the year as part of Stalin's deal with Roosevelt is something every advanced worker understands.

But Negro militants must also face the fact that while the Negro masses are turning away from the Democratic and Republican parties their leaders are standing in the same place repeating the same old formulas in different language.

N. Y. BANQUET HONORS CONVICTED EIGHTEEN

(Continued from page 1)

address of James P. Cannon, a veteran for 30 years of the class war and pioneer American Trotskyist.

From the very first preparations for the war, "a tremendous world-wide mechanism of deception was turned on the people of the world." Comrade Cannon stated, "Truth was the first casualty of the war. We might say we are living in the epoch of the lie."

But, he declared, the "coming social revolution will blow the strata of lies to bits even as a volcano blows up a geological stratum."

He lashed all the intellectuals, liberals, preachers, "socialists" and others who made a profession of pacifism after the last war, but who "betrayed the people and went over to the camp of the liars."

The Supreme Court, he charged, was like "Pontius Pilate, who knew the facts, but washed his hands." From the District Judge who first passed sentence, through the Circuit Court of Appeals, all the way up to the Supreme Court, all the agents of capitalism engaged in a conscious conspiracy to silence revolutionary opponents. The Supreme Court was "not concerned if honest people were condemned, if the Bill of Rights was trampled in the mire. They turned their faces away—and washed their hands."

"We understood from the beginning what might be the consequences of what we were doing. We are paying for our ideas. Our ideas are the most valuable things in the world, the future of mankind. That is why we are willing to pay the highest price without a whimper or a murmur." Comrade Cannon frankly admitted that to one whose life is devoted to freedom, there is "nothing crueler" than confinement in prison away from the revolutionary movement and "those whose whole lives are linked with ours." "But we can stand it better than others because we are doing so on behalf of a cause greater than our lives. For Socialism is closer than a mother, dearer than a wife." "We have not been idle in our days of freedom," he stated with

assurance. "We have labored and built a party that we know cannot be destroyed."

In a powerful conclusion, Cannon cited the example of John Brown, that "great old warrior" who "combined the word and the deed" in the struggle against slavery, and his followers and sons "who went to Harper's Ferry and perished there."

"DUTY, SIR"

He told of Watson Brown, who lay wounded, and was asked by the Virginia governor: "Son, what brought you here?" Watson Brown replied, "Duty, sir."

"We were obliged to tell the truth, because we saw the abominations of the coming imperialist war," he concluded. "No liars and conspirators, no Supreme Court can take that satisfaction from us. . . . We did what we were obliged to do. When we go to jail, we go with full consciousness that duty took us there."

Farrell Dobbs, who rose from the ranks of the Minneapolis coal drivers strike back in 1934, related how a former inmate of Sandstone Penitentiary in Minnesota, where most of the 18 defendants are expected to serve their sentences, had informed him of the attitude of the men in prison toward the Minneapolis trial, then in progress. Accustomed to the behavior of

average individuals snatched by the law, the Sandstone prisoners were convinced that one of the original 28 defendants "would break down and put the finger on the others." They were filled with "absolute disbelief" as the trial progressed and the prosecutor failed to put forward a single defendant to turn government witness on the others. "Everyone stood solid, defended his beliefs, looked the judge square in the eye when he passed sentence and marched out of the court together. They couldn't understand what kind of people are these."

TYPICAL OF SWP

But these defendants were only typical of the kind of people who make up the SWP, "a party of 100 per centers, a party of people who have made up their minds that the cause for which we fight stands before all else."

He denied that the conduct of the defendants was any more heroic than the lives of the average Trotskyist. "Each stands in his place and serves. Together as a party we march with the working class, in the van and in the ranks."

He commended the comrades who fight on the picket lines in union battles. Pointing to a picture of imprisoned Kelly Postal, he reminded the audience that Kelly had been "framed up

in the same struggle." And he paid tribute to the "comrades who every day are carrying forward the banner regardless of consequences, going out with the Militant in rain and snow, carrying on the tasks of the party."

Felix Morrow, introduced as the only one of the generation of young socialist intellectuals in the twenties to stick to his revolutionary guns, described the attitude of many of those ex-"socialists" and liberals who were "all convinced that the Minneapolis defendants would never serve their sentences." These reassurances "from people who are no friends of ours, but bitter enemies" were intended for themselves. They did not want to believe that the government's object was "to drive into silence the Marxist party of this country."

FUNDAMENTAL REASON

He declared that the fundamental reason for the Supreme Court's refusal to review the case is the fact that "American imperialism, on the very eve of its triumph over its military competitors, fears that the fruits of that military victory will be nipped in the bud by the aftermath—the class battle, the revolutionary battle" which will have its repercussions in America itself.

As the youngest defendant, but

with a record of two convictions in the class war, Oscar Schoenfeld stated that during his prison term his "main feeling" will be one of "impatience to be back in the struggle." He said that the mission of the party is "to lead the workers in the great struggle against capitalism, and I don't want to miss any of it. We are coming back to a greater and stronger party to take our place on the firing line."

LONG LIVE SOCIALISM!

Al Russell, former secretary of the Omaha Drivers union, who had served a previous sentence for his militant labor activities, protested in his speech against having the defendants' words referred to as "last messages." "I want to assure you," he said emphatically, that "this will not be my last message." He too expressed the impatience he will feel "because I want to be back in the fight. There is nothing that we can do to us that we can't stand. I say 'Long live our party! Long live socialism!'"

Karl Kuehn, a leader of the Minneapolis unemployed struggles, termed the case and the conduct of the defendants a "milestone for the revolutionary movement, for the class struggle." He stated that "so long as capitalism exists the workers have only two alternatives, death from slow

starvation during unemployment or death from imperialist war." He declared it to be the task of the party to lead the workers to another alternative, socialism.

A dramatic and inspiring high-spot of the gathering was the speech of Rose Karsner on behalf of the wives and close relatives of the defendants, who were seated with the six defendants at the speakers' table.

She spoke of the wives and children whose loyalty and support has contributed to maintaining the solid front of the defendants. "They have wives, most of them, in the movement, who believe the same things they do, and stood by them through the years."

SOLID FRONT

These wives, she said, will "miss you" but "will not weep nor mope. If tomorrow we are called to face what you face, we will do it as resolutely as you today."

The most honest and courageous among America's writers and intellectuals, James T. Farrell, noted novelist and chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, spoke briefly at the meeting.

He attacked the left-handed "support" which many of the "democratic and liberal" publications like the New Republic have given the defense. He scored the action of the Supreme Court,

charging that "today in the United States it has become a crime to think." He pledged himself to aid the defense "with indignation and determination" and advocated "all sided preparation, social and political, to prevent more Minneapolis frameups."

In his address expressing the feelings of solidarity of the party members and sympathizers, George Grant, New York SWP local organizer, stated that the example of the 18 defendants means that "we Trotskyists can go before the American workers and say with justifiable pride, 'These are our Trotskyist leaders, these are the kind of men and women that Trotskyism has produced—proletarian leaders who will never wilt in the heat of combat, who will not betray you, who can lead you victoriously and who are always in the very front lines.'"

A total of \$650 in pledges and cash was contributed by the comrades and sympathizers present. The meeting concluded with the mass singing of what the chairman termed, "the great war song of the working class, which now belongs to our movement alone," the Internationale. Thus the comrades said good-bye, with clenched fists upraised, and with the words: "The international party shall be the Human Race."

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

VOL. VIII—No. 1 January 1, 1944

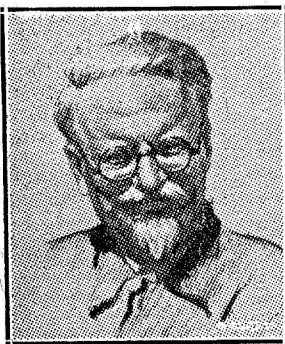
Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

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

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

Application for entry as second-class matter is pending.



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:

- 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.
- Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
- Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
- Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
- The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Renegotiations

The American capitalists are the worst gang of free-booters and pirates that have ever plagued the people of a nation. The pirates of the old Spanish Main, the Turkish Corsairs, seem, in retrospect, almost as sober minded and respectable tradesmen, compared with the vultures of Wall Street. It was not for nothing that the late J. P. Morgan painted his yacht in anarchistic black and named her the Corsair, and it was rumoured, hoisted a flag of skull and bones when sailing the high seas.

Look at the new crime the congressional stooges of America's Sixty Families are trying to perpetrate in connection with the present tax bill. The Senate Finance Committee tagged on a rider to the tax bill which makes a dead letter of the present Renegotiations Act. And to add insult to injury, they propose to refund to machine tool manufacturers and manufacturers of construction and manufacturing equipment, funds already collected by the government.

The Warner and Swasey Company, manufacturer of turret lathes, is a good case in point. This company has already increased its net worth, during the war, from \$5,100,000 to \$15,200,000. It has already paid out \$5,481,000 in dividends derived from its war contracts. Last year, Warner and Swasey netted a real haul; its profit was \$20,222,000 compared with \$2,261,000 in 1939. The 1942 profits were 2½ times greater than the total capital invested in the firm prior to the war. Even after paying out all taxes and returning to the government \$5,500,000 through renegotiations proceedings, the company still continued to earn a profit of 50% on its pre-war investment. Under the proposed Senate committee rider, the government would be obliged to return to this bloated war profiteer the \$5,500,000.

The U. S. Treasury has already recovered over \$5 billion by means of renegotiations, since the Renegotiations Act was first passed in 1942. American Big Business continues, despite this law, to pile up profits so huge that they make the fabulous Princes of India appear by comparison as no more than moderately well to-do storekeepers.

According to the Commerce Department, Big Business will accumulate over \$8 billion in profits in 1943, after the payment of all taxes; double the peacetime profits of 1939. The total profits for the year will be about \$23 billion, approximately four times more than in 1939. Clearly, these are golden

days for the steel kings, the automobile barons, the chemical lords, the oil princes.

Almost 23,000 new millionaires were created out of the blood and muck of the first world war. To appease the people's indignation and wrath, the hypocrites in Congress introduced in the last 25 years more than 170 bills which promised to take the profits out of war. The promises were not worth the paper they were written on. The profits already squeezed by the corporations out of the second world war make many of the first world war contracts look like a WPA payroll. America's Sixty Families are making a killing.

But there is still no satisfying them. These Wall Street vipers are simply insatiable. The War Production Board even submitted a study to the Big Business stooges on the Senate Finance Committee which showed that if the present proposal is passed, 1942 profits of 100 major war contractors would increase 800% over the average of 1936-39. The senators remained unmoved.

In the face of these fantastic, exorbitant and criminal war profits, the U. S. Senate Finance Committee, instead of slapping confiscatory taxation on all war profits, has the nerve to vote the virtual elimination of the renegotiations law. Even many of the dollar-a-year men in Washington are somewhat alarmed at the possible consequences of a policy of such recklessness, arrogance and adventurism. That was what Wilson, former head of General Electric and Vice-Chairman of the War Production Board had in mind when he told the recent National Association of Manufacturers convention that he was "alarmed" by the "right-wing reaction."

The hypocritical labor fakery, the muddleheaded liberals, the Stalinist finks all pretend that this insatiable greed for profits, this trafficking in the blood of men, is only the responsibility of a small minority of Republican industrialists and bankers. What humbug! The NAM is not a small or unrepresentative minority. It is the authentic and authoritative voice of America's plutocrats, who make up, what Woodrow Wilson once called "the invisible government" — that is, the real government — of the U. S.

"After me the deluge," cried the French Bourbon King, Louis XV. After his rule of tyranny and debauchery came the deluge. The French people rose up in their might and in the great French Revolution, drove the Bourbons off the throne.

Even our easy-going millionaire Secretary of the Treasury, Morgenthau, is growing apprehensive about the orgy of profiteering. He warned the Senate Finance Committee that its proposal will "open the way to truly extortionate profits. I predict that if they are enacted into law they will come back to plague not only the Congress but the war goods manufacturers. . ."

That is correct. They will come back to plague them. There will be a terrible day of reckoning.

The Internationale

Out of the first attempt of labor to build a Workers Republic — the Paris Commune of 1871 — originated the revolutionary labor song, the "Internationale." That pioneer government of the working class adopted as its battle cry a song, which in every line, stresses the International solidarity of the workmen of all countries.

The marching song was composed by two French workers of Lille. The illustration accompanying the first printed copy depicted a woman worker carrying a banner labeled "Internationale," tramping on privileges and monopoly.

The "Internationale" spread throughout Europe and eventually throughout the world. Everywhere, it became the song of the exploited and the oppressed. It inspired the Russian masses when they overthrew the Czar, the capitalists, and landlords in 1917. It was adopted, after the Russian Revolution, as the official anthem of the Soviet Union. In 1919, it was officially designated as the anthem of the Third Internationale.

The "Internationale" is associated in the minds of the working class with the heroic Russian Revolution — the greatest revolution in human history — and the world revolutionary conflagration of the 1920's, inspired and aided by the Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky.

It is entirely fitting that Stalin no longer finds the "Internationale" a correct expression for his regime of brutality, dictatorship and national chauvinism. Sociologists have long ago discovered that human institutions and symbols survive long after their material bases have been removed. Capitalist thinkers have even devised a formula for this phenomenon: the "cultural lag." The Third Internationale (Comintern), from the point of view of a revolutionary workers International organization, has been a stinking corpse for ten years. It was officially buried, however, only last May. It is a good thing that the tyrant who rules over Russia could no longer find the patience to listen to the strains of the "Internationale."

The spirit of independence, of freedom, of workers' solidarity, of a new and better Socialist society, that is expressed in every note of the song, is certainly not in harmony with Stalinist barbarism, its GPU and frame-up trials. Stalin and his degenerate regime have desecrated the revolutionary song long enough. Stalin is quite right when he says that his new song, which exudes a spirit of national chauvinism and byzantine sycophancy, expresses far more accurately the "context" of his bureaucratic regime.

Trotsky's Fourth Internationale, the true inheritor of the revolutionary traditions of the Comintern, will likewise become now the sole inheritor of the revolutionary workers song. It will continue to ring out the call: "Arise, Ye Prisoners of Starvation! Arise, Ye Wretched of the Earth. . . 'Tis the Final Conflict, Let Each Stand His in His Place, The International Party Shall Be the Human Race."

Roosevelt Confronts A Growing Labor Crisis

(Continued from page 1)

missed a similar request from Murray. The steel workers, however, had learned a lesson from the miners. They began to walk off the job when their agreement expired on Christmas eve using the miners' slogan: "No contract, no work." By Christmas day approximately 200,000 steelworkers were out.

Again Roosevelt was forced to personally intervene. He sent a telegram to Murray which proposed that the old agreement be extended and that "if the new agreements include any wage adjustments, such adjustments shall be computed and applied retroactively to the date when the particular contract in question would have expired by virtue of the notice of termination of such contract." After which Roosevelt added the joker: "If any wage adjustments are made they must of course be made in accordance with the act of Congress of Oct. 2, 1942 (the Stabilization Act)."

In other words, any wage increase granted the steel workers must conform to the Little Steel formula. But as the formula was based upon the last wage adjustment of the steel workers any upward adjustment would be a violation of the executive orders.

WLB AGREES

The "public" and labor members of the WLB quickly ratified the formula advanced by Roosevelt. The "industry" members were opposed in principle to any mention of retroactive pay because, "we cannot approve a policy which would incite or create in the public mind possible

Prices Raised by Shoddy Goods

How manufacturers evade price controls by foisting shoddy goods on the consumers was revealed last week by J. Raymond Walsh, CIO research director, in making public two studies by the Standards Division of the Office of Price Administration.

Quality deterioration, the studies show, have increased the consumer costs as much as 42% on a pair of shoes and 25 to 30% on women's coats and suits.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics, in arriving at its index of family living costs showing only a 6% rise over the past sixteen months, completely fails to take into account the hidden price rises represented by the sale of inferior goods at prices formerly maintained for better products. These are the phoney cost of living figures upon which the wage freeze program in part has been based.

False impressions not justified under existing stabilization policies. There is no wage increase due under existing wage stabilization policies. To vote retroactively now would have led the steel workers and the public to believe that some wage award is to be made. The bosses consider it dangerous to give the workers any "ideas." Particularly in view of the pending wage demands of the auto, textile, electrical work-

ers, and other important CIO unions.

As the struggle of the workers to break the fetters of the wage freezing Little Steel formula increases in scope, Roosevelt's prize strikebreaking agents within the labor movement, the fluky Stalinists, become more and more hysterical. The Stalinist *Daily Worker* screeches in front page editorials: "Strikes must end immediately." Not only strikes but even "threats of strikes" the *Daily Worker* insists "must end." These warnings are directed, not at the "appeaser" John L. Lewis, but at the ardent "win the war elements" Murray and the railway brotherhood officials, whom the Stalinists caution, "to steer away from any acts that hurt the war effort and to close ranks all the more closely around the President."

NEW LEADERS

As the temper of the workers rises, the labor bureaucrats are stricken with terror at the prospect of becoming involved in a conflict with the Roosevelt administration. They have no stomach for a fight and will perpetrate the most monstrous betrayals to avoid it.

Out of the ranks of the working class there will emerge a new leadership with intelligence enough to recognize their enemies and with guts enough to lead the fight against them. They are receiving important lessons in leadership in the shops and factories as stewards and committeemen. It is upon these forces that the future of the American trade union movement depends.

State Department Lies About Its Own Police On Refugees

(Continued from page 1)

453,205 immigrants admitted to the United States for the nine-year period, '33 to '42, only 291,112 came from Europe. The rest were from non-European countries, with Mexico and Canada heading the list. Of the European immigrants, 243,420 came from countries now dominated by Hitler. Of all the immigrants during this period, 163,425 were Jews. Thus official immigration figures expose Long's insolent lie that "580,000 victims of persecution by Hitler" were admitted.

Long's false testimony is based upon the incredibly crude and brazen trick of including among "refugees from Hitler" 380,000 alien residents of the United States who visited abroad and then returned; immigrants from Canada, Mexico and South America, and almost 100,000 students, ministers and other non-quota immigrants from all parts of the globe.

Long claims that "we did every legitimate thing we could do." The figures on immigration from Germany alone, since Hitler came to power, refute this lie. The annual German quota, based on the restrictive immigration law of 1924, was 25,957. From 1933 to the end of 1942 the U. S. admitted 123,573 immigrants from Germany, less than half the quota allotments. The combined total of all refugees from all Axis-dominated countries in the last decade was but 180,000, or one-third less than Germany's quota alone!

Long reached the heights of hypocrisy in his declaration that support of the bill to create a special agency to deal with the Jewish problem would be "construed as a repudiation of the acts of your own government or a reflection upon the actions of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Refugees." What would be repudiated would not be the acts of the government but its lack of action to help the victims of fascism.

LACK OF ACTION

The Bermuda conference on refugees concluded with "secret decisions" from which no aid has been forthcoming. The refugees have received nothing but crocodile tears from the Roosevelt administration—and a tightening of the visa regulations since the war began. The State Department pretends, says The Nation, that "Gestapo agents were invading the country behind rabbinical beards." In the face of these facts, Long cynically declared that "the historic attitude of the United States as a haven for the oppressed has not changed. . . The door has been carefully screened, but it is open." Indeed the doors have been so screened that the only refugees who can easily pass through them are the rich, the well-connected, and the members of monarchist governments-in-exile. Although ships return from the war zones empty or with Axis prisoners, there are "no transportation facilities" for Jews. The Nazis do not permit Jews to take money with them

out of the country, while the United States insists upon admitting only those with monetary means.

The endless hypocrisy of the government and the State Department in dealing with the refugees in the past decade, topped by Long's crass lies, are awakening more and more Jews to the real nature of their Anglo-American "allies" and to the kind of war they are conducting.

DEBS' CANTON SPEECH

Eugene V. Debs, celebrated socialist agitator, was sentenced during the last war to 10 years in the federal penitentiary for his famous Canton speech, delivered on June 16, 1918.

Debs referred in his Canton speech to three Ohio socialists who had been jailed for their socialist activity: "They have come to realize, as many of us have, that it is extremely dangerous to exercise the constitutional right of free speech in a country fighting to make democracy safe in the world.

"I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than to be a sycophant and coward on the streets.

"They may put those boys in jail—and some of the rest of us in jail—but they cannot put the socialist movement in jail."

International Notes

The Tories in England are using wartime paper control as an excuse to suppress the publications of British Trotskyists. The November 1943 issue of *Socialist Appeal*, just arrived in this country, reports that "on a technical plea, the paper controller has suspended the license for both the *Socialist Appeal* and *Workers' International News*. There is an implied threat to revoke our license altogether."

In its account of this latest repressive measure, *Socialist Appeal* charges that it emanates right from "the office of Tory Minister of Supplies, Sir Andrew Duncan." Furthermore, the suspension of the license comes at a time when "every paper and magazine in the country is getting an increased allocation." *Socialist Appeal* correctly concludes that this back-stair move is a continuation of the previous political attacks against the British Trotskyists in the Parliament and in the capitalist press. "We must sound the alarm to our readers and friends," states *Socialist Appeal*. "Never have we been faced with such a grave situation."

On Dec. 20, dispatches from

Madrid announced that Franco had allegedly amnestied all, or virtually all, political prisoners. As a matter of fact, however, this is no "amnesty" at all, but a piece of deliberate deception. Franco's decree contains a five-year clause which means that all those arrested since the destruction of the Republic must remain in prison. Another clause makes release contingent upon "good behavior," with Franco free to interpret just what is constituted by good behavior. "Blood on hands" will likewise keep political prisoners behind bars.

Nevertheless, Franco the Butcher has been receiving favorable publicity in the capitalist press. For example, on Dec. 23 the *N. Y. Times* carried another Madrid cable by Harold Denny piously proclaiming that a "sincere move was being made toward some degree of liberalization of the Franco regime."

Franco like Badoglio is apparently making his bid to qualify as a liberal and a champion of "democracy."

Reports continue to come of determined resistance to fascism in northern Italy. A Naples dis-

patch states that "all northern Italy" was aflame with revolt against the German military command and its puppet Italian government, and that the situation behind the German line was "more serious than in any of the European countries that are under command of German occupation." (*N. Y. Times*, Dec. 22.)

A Moscow TSN dispatch, Dec. 27, lists a series of strikes in Milan, Turin, Ferrara and Florence, and a wave of killings of Black Shirts, among them: Colonel Gobbi, the military governor of Florence; Ferrara, secretary of the fascist party; Traglia Casanova, Minister of Justice, in Mussolini's new puppet regime; Admiral Legnani, Naval Minister; Niccolini chief of Information Bureau, and many others.

Suicide squads of Italian anti-fascists attacked a funeral procession held in Milan for Aldo Resega, Federal Fascist Commissar, another Black Shirt who was killed recently. The anti-fascist demonstration assumed such proportions that the Nazis were forced to call out their armored cars to disperse the aroused workers.

Profiteers Use MacArthur Ads As Smoke Screen

In an apparently irrepressible burst of patriotism, the Timken Roller Bearing Co. of Canton, O., published full page advertisements in last Wednesday's *New York Times* and *Herald-Tribune* and this week's *Saturday Evening Post*, featuring a huge portrait of General Douglas MacArthur with a single-line caption beneath, "Don't Let General MacArthur Down — Buy War Bonds!"

Least some innocent soul concludes that this advertisement represents unalloyed love of country, it must be pointed out at the start that good will is valued as a considerable cash asset by all corporations, not to speak of the deduction Timken will allow itself from its excess profits taxes based on this costly advertising expenditure.

It seems, however, that Willard F. Rockwell, chairman of the Timken board, who has been strongly objecting to the war contracts renegotiations provisions, is head of the Standard Steel Spring Company, to which the Army is planning to farm out contracts for Army truck axles, produced under the supervision of the Timken-Detroit Axle Company. To this end, the government has in fact provided from tax-payers' money \$15,000,000 for new plants and equipment.

Timken-Detroit Axle Company had been asked by the Army to return \$12,500,000 in excess 1942 profits. The company made \$39,839,000 last year in comparison with a peacetime average of \$2,116,000, so that, what with all its war taxes, etc., the company was left with a net profit of \$5,070,000, or 32.4 per cent of its net worth, or 250 per cent above its very healthy "normal" profits.

So Timken-Detroit, which undoubtedly shares in the sentiments of its parent company about "Don't Let General MacArthur Down," held out against the terms of the proposed Army contract for axles, demanding \$155 to \$200 profit per axle (keep in mind Timken-Detroit was just doing the supervising, not producing) in comparison with its previous profits of \$125 to \$179. In addition, the subcontractor, Standard Steel Spring Co., also would make \$210 to \$300 profit on each axle. The total contract is for First, the Army turned the Timken offer down. The company then refused to continue negotiations. At last reports, however, Undersecretary of War Patterson and Maj. Gen. Clay, director of material, testified to a Senate committee that the Army needed the axles so desperately, it would have to accept the contract on Timken's terms.

When the coal miners refused to work without a contract granting minimum decency wages — that was called "sabotage." When the war profiteers refuse to manufacture unless rewarded with super-profits, that's called good business — and "patriotism", to boot.

Allied Chiefs at Teheran Act Like Oriental Despots

The Teheran Conference was such a brazen example of secret diplomacy that even many of the capitalist commentators protested.

La Follette's Progressive wrote: "In concert with Churchill and Stalin, Mr. Roosevelt often seemed to be behaving more like an Oriental potentate than the leader of a great democratic nation. The pomp and ceremony, the seclusion and secrecy, and the glitter of dress uniforms and pop of champagne corks at Teheran must have made an hilarious weekend, but it was hardly the setting for a solemn conference on war and peace."

Raymond Clapper wrote in his column: "There must be a thrill for such powerful Allied leaders as they go into seclusion behind elite guards and settle the affairs of the world. But they are slipping into a state of oriental arrogance regarding the interest of the democratic peoples in their activities."

The Biggest Oil Scandal Since Teapot Dome

The stench of oil is becoming more oppressive in Washington than at any time since the Teapot Dome Scandal rocked the Harding Administration. Indeed, the principals of the Teapot Dome scandal are going to appear as small time crooks compared with the oil monopolists of the Second World War.

Jerry Voorhis, a pro-Roosevelt Congressman from California charged that the government Petroleum Directive No. 70, issued by Secretary of the Interior, Ickes, turned over to the giant oil corporations "the greatest charter of power ever given to a group of essentially private citizens, directly connected with the most powerful natural resource monopoly the world has ever known over the most vital single resource there is."

Ickes, in turn, divulged that the War Department was squandering \$130,000,000 in its Canol development, located in the wilds of northern Canada. The money for this grandiose oil project comes from the U. S. Treasury. The only beneficiary of the project, however, will be the Imperial Oil Company, Canadian subsidiary of Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

Lieut. Gen. Brehon Somervell, Army Chief of Supply, undaunted by the expose of this Standard Oil steal has announced to the Senate committee that he is going right ahead with the project and Roosevelt himself told newspapermen that he is backing Somervell.

At the same time, Secretary of the Navy, Knox, is negotiating a new contract with Standard Oil Company of California, with the aim of turning over to the Rockefeller monopoly, the fabulously rich oil reserves of Elk Hills, California. Because of public indignation, Roosevelt was forced to cancel the first contract that Knox had negotiated with Standard Oil. This steal of the remaining oil reserves, worth hundreds of millions of dollars, on the part of the oil monopolists is so brazen that even the completely pro-administration Voorhis felt compelled to ask the question in Congress: "Are we now witnessing . . . the complete cartelization of the oil industry of America, under government sanction?"