

Roosevelt And The Eighteen

By The Editors

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Every day the masses are learning more about the character of this ruling class, of its aims, of its war. All the repressions, all the prosecutions, all the jailings will not avail. The truth will prove more powerful in the long run than the hundreds of thousands of lies with which they are inundating the American nation. In the end the truth will prevail. For every one of the 18 that have been jailed, one hundred others will rise to take their place and carry on. The imprisonment of our eighteen comrades will become a damning accusation against this regime of repression and war.

Our comrades walk into Roosevelt's "democratic" jails, with their socialist convictions undimmed and with their heads erect. They enter with the same revolutionary optimism as Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Eugene V. Debs went into jail in the first world war. The optimism proved justified. The first world war saw the eruption of the Russian revolution—the greatest revolution in human history—and the creation of a workers' state over one-sixth of the surface of the earth. The second world war will produce a conflagration far more widespread than that of 25 years ago.

The American working class, organized into the most powerful trade union organization of its entire history, is already experiencing a new awakening. On the heels of the fourth miners' general strike, have come the struggles of 1½ million steel and railroad workers.

This gigantic labor movement, undefeated in battle, is every day absorbing more clearly the meaning of this war. Every day greater sections of this working class will come to realize that the jailing of the 18 is part and parcel of the campaign to outlaw strikes, to harass and throttle the trade unions, to freeze wages, to raise taxes, to exploit, starve and enslave the American people, and to saddle them with the full burdens and costs of the criminal war. Ever greater sections of labor will realize that the fight to free the 18 is the fight for the freedom of the labor movement, the fight for the needs and the rights of the whole working class.

It is in that spirit and with that understanding that militants throughout the labor movement will take up the cry: Free the 18! This fight will be waged as part of the whole battle to hurl back the brutal anti-labor offensive of Big Business and its stooges. This fight will continue until the masses have driven from the seats of power all the representatives of the exploiters, the tyrants, the rich. The workers and poor farmers in taking over the government, will forever banish from the earth wars, oppression, exploitation and hunger. On a new socialist foundation they will build a world of opportunity, democracy, prosperity and peace.

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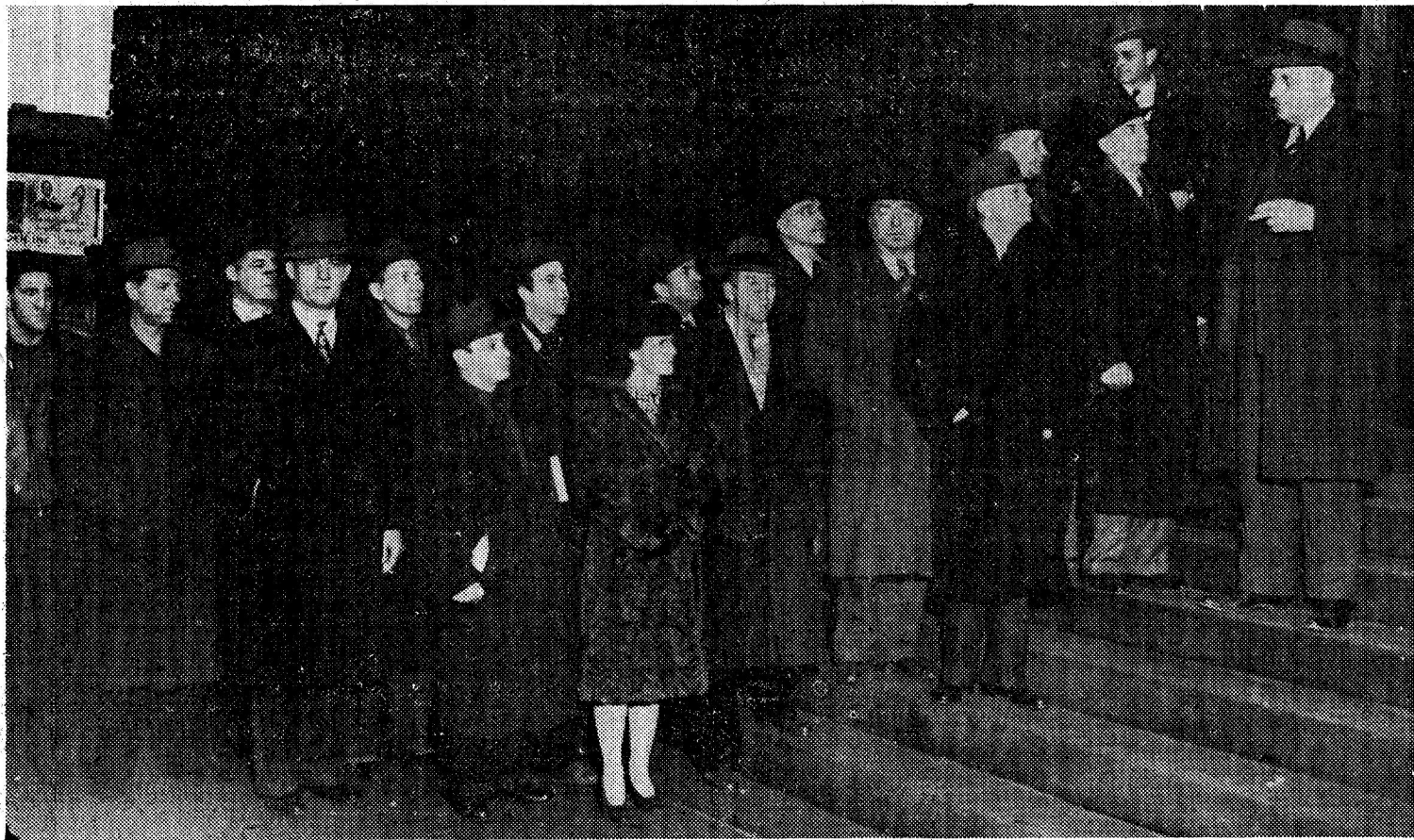
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18 FRAMED SWP LEADERS GO BEHIND PRISON BARS

Trotskyist Leaders Just Before Imprisonment



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

Rail And Steel Disputes Show Roosevelt Swing To Reaction

By C. Thomas

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

During the coal miners' dispute, the workers' struggle for higher wages was pictured as a personal feud between John L. Lewis and Roosevelt, with the miners being used as pawns. The real grievances of the miners were for a long time dismissed as a pretext seized upon by Lewis to embarrass the President. The Stalinists contributed to this union-baiting campaign by adding the note that Lewis was actually an "agent of Hitler and Hirohito."

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

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

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

REFUSE OFFER

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

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

arbitration award in the case of the two rail unions which had accepted his arbitration offer. In order to skirt around the Little Steel formula, Roosevelt's award grants a four cents per hour increase in the basic wage scale, plus five cents per hour, "in lieu of overtime and travelling expense," plus two cents per hour in lieu of vacations with pay, a total increase of eleven cents per hour. Despite the jubilation of the *Time* publishers over Roosevelt's "iron hand," Roosevelt was constrained to temper his iron with the "velvet glove technique of offering concessions" to the railway workers.

ROOSEVELT'S DILEMMA

These latest wage concessions highlight in the most graphic manner the dilemma of the Roosevelt administration. The Roosevelt administration depends for its political support primarily upon the organized trade union movement. Without its labor base, the Roosevelt administration cannot survive. Despite repeated attempts, Roosevelt has failed to regain significant support among other sections of the population. Besides, the temper of America's mass production workers is rising and some small concessions must be made to hold them in line and preserve their support for the war program. It is this contradiction which explains his "iron hand-velvet glove" technique.

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

General Marshall's vicious attack from ambush upon the American labor movement has aroused tremendous indignation among workers everywhere. The meaning of Marshall's declarations and the role of labor in the struggle against fascism are analyzed in the feature article on page 2: "General Marshall and the Fight Against Fascism."

Frenzied Plea for Strike Curbs Made By Stalinist Finks

By R. Bell

In the current labor crisis, the Stalinists are out to break their previous strikebreaking record, developed to its highest point, during the coal strikes. In a *Daily Worker* article (Dec. 23) entitled: "Even Talk of Rail Strike Dangerous," the Stalinist "labor expert" George Morris unburies himself on the railway wage dispute: "That the wage crisis in railroad was permitted to reach its present dangerous stage is a scandal that should be laid at the doors of narrow-minded stabilization officials who cling to an out-worn wage formula, and the railroad companies who are now pocketing unprecedented profits. The latter group want to keep raking in those profits under protection of this nonsensical wage formula."

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

NEW DISCOVERY

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

Demonstrate Solidarity As They Begin Jail Sentences

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

By Joseph Hansen

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

Headed by James P. Cannon and Vincent R. Dunne, the fifteen defendants formed ranks at 2:30 at the Minneapolis branch offices of the Socialist Workers Party and marched in a body through the crowded streets of the city to the Federal Court House. There they were received by the United States Marshal. In custody of two deputies, they then continued their closed rank procession to the County jail.

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

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

DEBS' MANTLE

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

LAST HOURS IN MINNEAPOLIS

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

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

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

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

MET COOVER

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

But the freedom Carl sought in America seemed to have been somewhat exaggerated in the advertisements of the steamship companies. Because he played a prominent part in building the labor movement of the Northwest, Roosevelt's regime decided to imprison him. Still worse they insulted him by offering a bribe... if he were to stand on the side of Tobin's stool pigeons in the trial, then things might go easier for him.

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

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Minneapolis Holds Farewell Banquet

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

Prominently displayed in front of the hall of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters, where the banquet was held, was a huge Honor Roll, bearing the names of the 18 class-war victims. Ten of the eighteen were seated at the speakers table, along with Miles Dunne who acted as toastmaster.

The popular working class song, "Solidarity", which opened the program, was sung with especial feeling by the audience of working men and women who had come to pay their respects to the trade union and political leaders, about to be railroaded to prison because of their devotion to the working class.

Opening the speaking program, the case, Miles Dunne, who was himself acquitted on a frame-up charge in 1941, showed that the imprisonment of the 18 under the reactionary Smith "Gag" Act was a great blow to the whole labor movement. "There will be other cases and other victims unless the reactionary law under which the 18 were convicted is repealed through the organized pressure of the labor movement," he warned.

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Sketching the background of

Gen. Marshall And The Fight Against Fascism

By William F. Warde

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

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

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

Who Is Responsible?

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

pile up billions in war profits, plunder the Treasury and hold up production until they extort guaranteed gold-lined contracts from the government — and all remains quiet along the Potomac. But let a million workers demand a few cents more an hour in an attempt to catch up with the rising cost of living — and immediately the capitalist press, the politicians and Brass Hats howl that they are "saboteurs" and "traitors."

The mouthpieces of the monopolists slandered the miners in the same fashion, charging that the coal strikes were grist to Hitler's mill. In reality Hitler and Goebbels did not dare to advertise the miners' strikes among the German people. The first task of the Nazis when they took power, was to smash the labor movement because the militant working class is everywhere the deadliest foe of Nazis and fascism. Hitler understood that news of worker's struggles and strikes would only reawaken the militancy, the independence and the spirit of international solidarity which permeated the German labor movement before Anglo-American Big Business helped him to take power. That is why his publicity machine never called attention to the miners' struggle.

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

Aims Of Big Business

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

the American workers for their rights against these would-be Hitlers is therefore not only the best insurance against the rise of native fascism; it likewise serves to encourage the German workers to lift their heads and to initiate their own fight against fascism and Big Business.

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

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

They Fear Revolution

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

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

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

Chief Trump

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

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

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

Remember Versailles

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reactionary Alliance

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

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

The Negro Struggle

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

By David Ransom

In The Deep South

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

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

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

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

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

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

Branches Speed Fund Campaign

By Rose Karsner, Director

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

Today I want to report what they said.

Vincent R. Dunne: "The way the comrades are responding is no surprise to me. I always knew that special circumstances would call forth special sacrifices from them. The example San Diego branch set in fulfilling its quota so far ahead of the time set is especially gratifying to me, because when we were discussing the quotas to be assigned, some of us thought \$100 was too high for so small a group. I felt sure they would do it. They have now justified my appraisal of them."

Farrell Dobbs: "I have been watching the mercury of the scoreboard thermometer with great interest. The way it has been shooting up from week to week is phenomenal. Tell the comrades throughout the country who have made this possible, that I am proud to be a member of the same party they belong to, and that I shall carry this thought with me into prison."

James P. Cannon: "This campaign was conceived as a 15th Anniversary Fund—as a special effort in honor of the 15 years of American Trotskyism which developed through splits and unifications and splits again to the final consolidation of a Marxist cadre; a cadre which can withstand the shocks of war and repression without hysteria, without faltering."

"When we initiated this Campaign we did not know our imprisonment was so imminent. We set a ninety-day time limit for fulfillment of the quotas so the comrades could make their pledges with the knowledge that they would have three months in which to complete them. We thought then that we would be here with you all throughout the campaign and watch its steady progress to full completion. The Supreme Court decision changed matters."

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

"Tell the comrades that we accept the manner in which they have been rushing in the funds since the Supreme Court decision as an active demonstration of their solidarity with us. The phenomenal speed with which the thermometer has been shooting upward surprised even an old timer like myself."

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

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

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
NEW HAVEN	50.00	65.00	130
MILWAUKEE	25.00	27.50	110
SAN FRANCISCO	1,000.00	1,050.00	105
SAN DIEGO	100.00	100.00	100
ALLEN TOWN	25.00	25.00	100
New York	2,500.00	2,049.00	82
Detroit	2,000.00	1,624.50	81
Boston	300.00	211.00	70
Los Angeles	2,000.00	1,337.16	67
Newark	300.00	190.00	63
Buffalo	300.00	189.50	63
Twin Cities	1,000.00	620.00	62
Cleveland	200.00	100.00	50
Members-at-Large and friends	800.00	348.00	44
Reading	75.00	30.00	40
Chicago	2,000.00	713.13	36
Youngstown	200.00	70.00	35
Seattle	1,000.00	300.00	30
Bayonne	300.00	83.50	28
St. Louis	100.00	25.00	25
Akron	200.00	50.00	25
Toledo	100.00	20.00	20
East Chicago	100.00	0	0
Flint	100.00	0	0
Philadelphia	150.00	0	0
Quakertown	25.00	0	0
Rochester	50.00	0	0
TOTALS		\$9228.29	62%

Production Cut-Back Menace To Workers

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

Sunday Open Forum

Subject: "THE STEEL AND RAIL CRISIS"

Discussion Leader: C. THOMAS

Sunday, January 9, 1944

Auspices: New York School of Social Science

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE (Cor. 13th Street) NEW YORK CITY

Aid Labor's 18

Political Prisoners and Their Families They Are Counting On YOU!

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

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

Name

Address

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

The Spirit of Our Party

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

SPEECH OF JAMES P. CANNON

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

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

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

We Alone Told the Truth

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

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

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

In the Camp of the Liars

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

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

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



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

Cruel Punishment Inflicted

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

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

The Rewards of Socialism

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

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

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

SPEECH OF FARRELL DOBBS

Comrades:

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

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

Our Cause Is All-Important

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

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

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

'Duty Takes Us There'

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

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

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

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

We have in the hall here tonight a picture of Kelly Postal, one of our trade union fighters, now serving a sentence in the Stillwater penitentiary in Minnesota. Kelly Postal was framed up by Tobin in the same fight in which we were framed up.

Each Stands in His Place

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

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

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

