

Labor Leaders Will Speak At Meeting For 12

The Civil Rights Defense Committee this week announced a list of distinguished labor and civil liberties leaders who will participate in the New York "Welcome Home" Mass Meeting for James P. Cannon, Albert Goldman, Farrell Dobbs and Felix Morrow, 4 of the 12 imprisoned Trotskyists who are being released from federal prison on January 24. The meeting will be held at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43rd Street, on February 2, 8 P. M.

Included among the speakers who will greet the Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners are Osmond K. Fraenkel, Counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union; James T. Farrell, noted novelist and CRDC National Chairman; Benjamin S. McLaurin, International Field Organizer, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL; Benjamin A. Gubiner, Assistant General Secretary of the Workmen's Circle; Henry Fruchter, Educational Director, CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees; George Novack, CRDC National Secretary, will chair the meeting.

A big turnout is anticipated to pay honor to the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders who were railroaded to prison by the Roosevelt administration because of their militant defense of labor's rights and socialist opposition to the imperialist war.

OTHER MEETINGS

This meeting will be the first opportunity for New York workers to hear James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary, Albert Goldman, defense attorney in the Minneapolis trial, Farrell Dobbs, Editor of The Militant, and Felix Morrow, Editor of the Fourth International, since they were forced behind prison bars on New Year's Eve a year ago.

A Minneapolis mass meeting on January 27 will greet the other released prisoners, Grace Carlson, Vincent Dunne, Max Goldman, Carlos Hudson, Emil Hansen, Carl Skoglund, Oscar Coover and Jake Cooper. Albert Goldman will address a Chicago mass meeting on January 25, at the Ashland Auditorium, Ashland Blvd and Van Buren St., at 8 P. M.

These mass meetings will be held not only to honor the released Trotskyist fighters for workers' rights, but to rally labor and progressive forces for the next steps in the campaign to repeal the infamous Smith "Gag" Act under which the Trotskyists were the first labor victims.

CRDC Fund Drive Goes Over Top

NEW YORK CITY, Jan. 8—A total of \$5,500 was contributed in the \$5,000 Christmas Fund Campaign to aid the Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners and their families, the Civil Rights Defense Committee National Office announced today.

George Novack, CRDC National Secretary, expressed his deep appreciation of his organization and of the imprisoned labor leaders for the generous response from the many working class organizations and the local CRDC committees which helped put the fund campaign over the top.

New York Local Phone Operators Vote to Strike

NEW YORK CITY — By an overwhelming majority of 9,600 against 250, the members of the Telephone Employees Association of the New York Telephone Company, an independent union, last week voted in favor of a strike for a \$5 weekly pay increase. The vote was taken in a 2-day NLRB poll.

This is the second union of telephone operators in the New York area which has voted to strike in the past two weeks because of disgust over the long delay of the WLB in granting their wage demands. Over 3,000 members of the Federation of Long Line Telephone Operators had previously voted for strike action.

The strike will not begin until after the 30 day "cooling-off" period imposed under the Smith-Connelly Anti-Strike Act. This also requires another vote at the end of the 30 day delay. Both unions are expected to coordinate their walkouts, which threaten to tie up the hub of the nation's communications.

Negroes Denied War Jobs Despite Labor "Shortage"

By R. Chester

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 3.—The San Francisco Bay area has, according to various government officials, a severe manpower shortage. Periodic statements in the daily press stress the constant need for more men. Yet, in practice, this need takes second place to the practice of discrimination against Negroes. This practice is general. Here are a few experiences suffered by men working in a prominent, government-built shipyard, devoted exclusively to navy work.

"Discrimination begins from the time we hit the yard. I always watch what happens to a group of recruits," said Joe Green as he illustrated the scene with sardonic pantomime. "They come up to the foreman's desk with sardonic pantomime. 'They and sends them up. He takes the white men first. 'O. K. you,' he says pointing to the first man (white) 'you start working here — this man will show you what to do — and you, (white man, too) you come over here — you work on this machine, this man will show you how' — and so on.

"And then he comes to the colored man. He picks up the paper, looks at the man quicker, scratches his cheek and walks around a little. Then he comes back and looks at the man again and says: 'Well, I ain't got any openings just yet — I expect to have some soon — we have to keep you busy. — Suppose you take this broom for a while and sweep this aisle. As soon as I get something for you I'll put you on a machine.' That job never comes up.

"It's a funny thing about that broom," ruefully grinned my informant, "it's like a cancer on the

nose. Once you get it, it sticks, you just can't get rid of it. "Men take it as long as they can. They are hired as machinist's helpers and they are interested in learning the work. They want to improve themselves. But they don't get the chance. So they quit. Colored men keep coming and going. I've seen over 18 men go through my department in the last year.

THE BROOM STICKS

"Suppose you put a squawk, as my friend here tried. He's been fighting to keep on the work he was hired to do, but he's still on the broom."

"I was hired in a midwest state," his friend picked up the story. "I signed a six-month contract as a machinist's helper. They paid my fare out here and gave me a room in the dormitory. The first week I got a break and worked on the machine as a helper. "Then I was shifted to nights because, they said, the job I was on was finishing. On nights the first thing they did was give me the broom. There's where my trouble started.

"I refused to take the broom."

Roosevelt Demands Slave Labor Bill In First Congress Message

First Act of New Congress Revives Dies Committee

By R. Bell

The members of the new Congress had hardly warmed their seats when a coalition of Roosevelt Democrats and Dewey Republicans led by poll-tax Rankin of Mississippi, anti-semitic, labor-hater and Negro lynch inciter, pushed through an amendment setting up a permanent committee on Un-American Activities, more commonly known as the Dies Committee. By establishing the hated Dies Committee as a permanent institution in its first official action, the new Congress served notice of its aim to surpass the viciously anti-labor record of its predecessor.

In its six years of existence the Dies Committee had become a symbol of prejudice, bigotry and reaction. Under the pretext of investigating "un-American" activities it had engaged in unrelenting attacks upon organized labor. Individuals in all walks of life who held opinions considered tainted by "liberalism" became the objects of smear campaigns. Organized witch-hunts were conducted against those whose ideas didn't conform with the violent prejudices of Martin Dies and his cohorts. So hated and discredited did the Committee on Un-American Activities become that three of the more rabid members of the committee were defeated in the last election and Martin Dies himself did not dare run for reelection.

SLAP AT LABOR

The CIO Political Action Committee made the Dies Committee a major issue in the last election campaign. The liberals and labor "statesmen" loudly proclaimed the electoral defeat of Dies and his henchmen as a death blow to reaction. James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO, declared: "It will be a better Congress without Dies, Starnes, Costello, Dewey, Busby and Hamilton Fish." The CIO News boasted that "labor's contribution toward the re-election of President Roosevelt and the election of a more progressive Congress" had won "national recognition." The time-servers and pie-cards who packed the recent CIO convention cheered Hillman and Murray to the rafters for their election "victory" which "eliminated" the Dies Committee and returned a "progressive Congress" to Capitol Hill.

The revival of the defunct Dies Committee by the opening session of Congress was a direct slap at the labor movement. But it is only one in a series of blows which have rewarded the labor lackeys for the time, effort and money spent in reelecting Roosevelt and other such "friends of labor." Since the November 7 election the Roosevelt Administration has taken the lead in pushing reactionary measures de-

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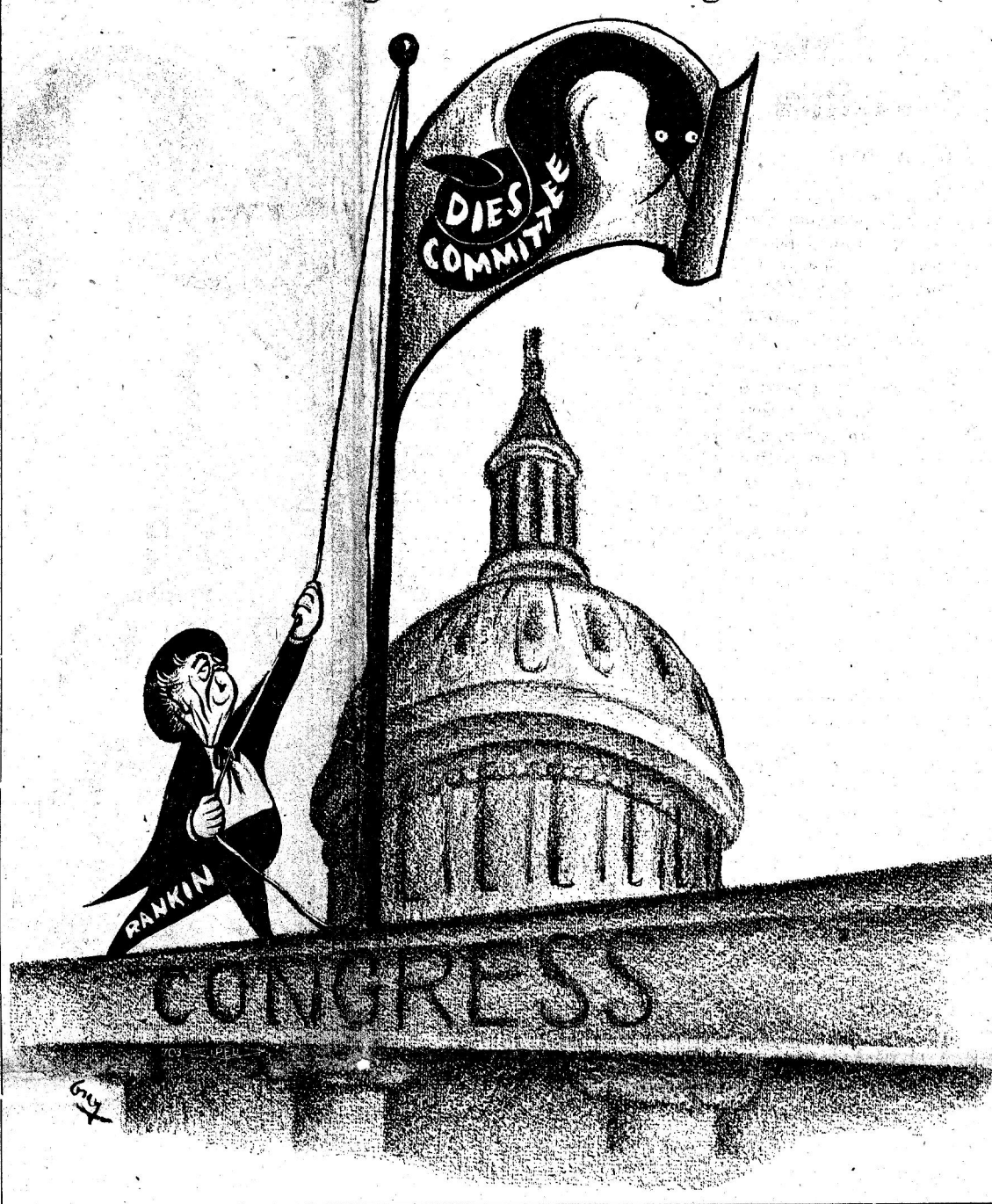
Soviet Prisoners Of War Hail Rising Revolution In Europe

Many Russian prisoners of war are anti-Stalin, and look for the Socialist United States of Europe to bring peace, according to a letter received by the *Socialist Appeal*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the 4th International.

"Dear Comrades," the letter says: "I have come into contact with some Russian prisoners — some belong to the Ukraine and others (Mongols) from Turkestan.

"There has not been much time to talk to them up to now. I have talked to a few Ukrainians, who were on Collectives there. Most of them are young lads. It is so interesting to hear them talk of the Collectives. Each Collective consists of about seventeen or so

Congress Hoists Its Flag



Greek Premier Follows Allied Policy Of Counter-Revolution

By Joseph Hansen

The dance of puppets in the counter-revolutionary government which British imperialism is trying to impose on Greece continued this week with the spotlight shifting from the new regent, black-robed Archbishop Damaskinos, to his first premier, the be-madened General Plastiras. This tubercular general was whisked by the British from his wheel chair on the French Riviera several weeks ago and flown to Athens to replace puppet Papandreu.

The new premier's first public declaration was a demand that the Greek people lay down their arms. This signified a continuation of Churchill's policy of blood and iron. "I don't see how we are going to solve the present problem without bloodshed," Plastiras announced on December 29 with grim cynicism, "because we are facing a plan that aims at provoking civil war to serve obscure foreign interests." Plastiras, of course, is subject to Churchill's orders to provoke civil war in order to maintain Britain's economic and military grip on Greece.

When the Greek people swept King Constantine from the throne, forcing him to flee in a

British battleship in 1922, Plastiras acted as dictator. Later the monarchy was again patched together. British imperialism obstinately hopes that Plastiras will now be able to reenact his role, not as a farce this time but as a tragedy.

When he landed in Athens, December 12, he bitterly denounced the ELAS (Greek National Liberation Army) which is the fighting arm of the EAM (Greek Liberation Front). The cabinet set up by Plastiras is a body of British quislings.

While Churchill's puppets gyrated madly about the "political stage, Allied troops continued their ruthless warfare on the Greek people. Tanks, airplanes,

heavy artillery proceeded against the partisans. According to latest reports, the ELAS has now been forced to withdraw from Athens. The civil war is affecting the

Calls For Immediate Action On Forced Labor Measures

Political Agents of Big Business Combine To Enslave Workers and Paralyze Unions

By C. Thomas

Following on the heels of a national campaign to whip up sentiment for labor conscription, Roosevelt submitted his annual message to the new Congress demanding immediate enactment of forced labor legislation. Roosevelt's lengthy message can be boiled down to the following specific proposals: (1) a National Service Act to be adopted 'at the earliest possible moment'; (2) immediate legislation providing for the conscription of those now classified as 4-F (3) universal peacetime military training for American youth; and (4) amendment of the Selective Service Act 'to provide for the induction of nurses into the armed forces.'

These four measures were the only concrete legislative proposals made by Roosevelt. In essence they embody the domestic program of the fourth term administration. These measures are intended to supplement Roosevelt's job-freeze decrees, to place practically the whole working population under the control of a military caste, to Frusianize American life, and to straitjacket the labor movement.

WALL STREET PLAN

The plan to conscript labor for work in private industry was conceived in Wall Street. It was originated by Grenville Clark, a notorious Wall Street lawyer. It was embraced by Roosevelt and is being spearheaded by his brass hats. It was kept hidden during the recent election campaign to enable the treacherous labor bureaucrats to deceive the workers. It is advanced now at a "psychological" moment when rumors of tremendous casualties are causing great forboding.

Those solely and directly responsible for the recent military reverses are attempting to fan this alarm into an emotional blaze against the labor movement. They have whipped up a hysteria under cover of which Big Business aims to enslave the workers by chaining them to their jobs at wages, hours, and working conditions dictated by the employers. Roosevelt is the instrument through which these aims are being advanced.

In introducing his forced labor proposal, Roosevelt departed from

his usual deceitful window-dressing. A year ago, when he first proposed a forced labor law, Roosevelt made it part of a "5-point program." The "program" called for laws to take "undue profits out of war," to place a ceiling over food costs, and to re-enact the "stabilization" statutes.

"These five measures taken together," declared Roosevelt, "form a just and equitable whole. I would not recommend a national service law unless the other laws were passed to keep down the cost of living, to share equitably the burdens of taxation, to hold the stabilization line and to prevent undue profits."

In view of what has occurred the 5-point program sounds like a hideous jest. War profits have soared to the highest levels in history. An increasing load of taxes has been burdened on those least able to pay while the corporations have accumulated billions in tax reserves and refunds. The cost of living has continued to rise, due largely to skyrocketing food prices. The only point of Roosevelt's "program" that has been rigidly enforced is the wage-freezing Little Steel formula.

"THE GREAT LIBERAL"

In his latest proposal for labor conscription Roosevelt failed to utter "a numbing word" about his abortive 5-point program or of his equally defunct 7-point "stabilization" program. Nor did he bother to sugar-coat the bitter slave labor pill. He bluntly demanded a national service law that would assure "the right numbers of workers in the right places at the right times." Roosevelt demands that the workers be degraded to the level

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Government Uses Ward Case to Aid Anti-Strike Power

By Art Preis

In the guise of a federal court action ostensibly directed against a recalcitrant employer in the Montgomery Ward case, the Roosevelt administration is attempting to fortify its legal powers for government strike-breaking through plant "seizures."

That was the clear meaning of administration arguments before federal court hearings which opened in Chicago last Monday. The government is seeking an injunction to bar company "interference" with government operation of 16 Ward properties "seized" in order to halt strikes in Detroit, Chicago and Kansas City, Mo., as well as a threatened CIO "labor holiday" in the auto center.

In presenting the government's brief Hugh Cox, Assistant Solicitor General, stated flatly that "the real question here is whether the United States has the power in time of war to take possession wherein a labor controversy threatens to interfere with the successful prosecution of the war."

NOT FOR LABOR

"We are not here to argue the merits of the labor controversy," he admitted, "because we are not here to assist labor or to vindicate the War Labor Board." The main issue, he contended, was the threat to the "structure and order."

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AMERICAN ARMY OFFICER ATTACKS FRENCH UNION

The following is an extract from a letter written last November by a leading member of the Longshoremen's Union of Granville France to the central trade union body of the Department of de la Manche located at Cherbourg. It demonstrates the contemptuous fascist-minded attitude of the U.S. officer caste toward the French people they have supposedly come to "liberate." It also reveals the same hostility toward trade unionism in France that the brass hats display in this country.

"Today the union committee was summoned to the hiring hall to learn that it had been liquidated. The reasons: because it had been organized and because of its purposes. At the same time a notice was put up on the bulletin board with a warning to the same effect. Here is a full reproduction of it.

Nov. 11, 1944

"Hq. Sub. Port Granville, Eleventh Port, Normandy Base Sec Com. Z, APO 562 U. S. Army. "Any employee found belonging to or affiliated with the Laborers Trade Union of this Port will be immediately fired."

William Hummel,

Lt. Colonel Port Command

"We notified the local union," the longshoremen's leader writes, "and, accompanied by two delegates, we asked for an interview with the Colonel who signed the notice. Only one of the delegates,

comrade Minieux, was received. Here in substance is the dialogue between them:

"The Colonel: I am a soldier. I am boss here. I do not want to hear any talk about a trade union. If we employ Frenchmen, it is purely out of charity.

"Minieux: Trade unions are legal and recognized by the French Government.

"The Colonel: That's enough. I've spoken. Get out, or I'll have you arrested."

"P. S. According to our most recent information, the union committee has been suspended for eight days and an investigation will be made of its six members. Only those will be rehired whom the investigation finds are not implicated. Meanwhile the Colonel himself has formed a union and has designated six delegates (two are trade unionists and have already handed in their resignations; the others are not.)"

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Battlelines Form in UAW Referendum

The CIO United Automobile Workers' national referendum on the no-strike pledge is an extraordinary event in the American trade union movement.

Membership referendums are not unique in the unions. But almost invariably they have dealt with problems which are largely organizational, such as affiliations, dues increases or elections of officers.

Today, the UAW-CIO is a battleground of contending forces. On one side, fighting for revocation of the no-strike pledge, are the militant men and women in the ranks, local officers and committeemen, who daily feel the whip-lash of corporation provocations.

Within the past four weeks these opposing forces have been increasing the tempo of their struggle. The Detroit Ward strike gave an unexpected impetus to this struggle.

The Rank and File Caucus, which organized the magnificent four-day battle against the no-strike pledge at the last UAW convention, has become the rallying center for the militants in the referendum campaign.

Last week, the Rank and File steering committee issued a strongly worded pamphlet for circulation to the auto workers throughout the country.

The imposition of the no-strike policy on the workers, states the pamphlet, meant the sacrifice of labor's most powerful weapon in the fight against the big monopolists who always seek to lower living standards and crush our

organization." At the same time, the employers' "no lock-out pledge" was a "cruel joke played on us."

The pamphlet effectively answers the flag-waving propaganda of the labor-haters that militant defense of labor's rights is "against the interests" of the "boys in the foxholes."

While the militant rank and file must depend solely on their own resources and strength to spread the message of their opposition to the no-strike pledge, the UAW heads have found powerful allies outside their own union to aid their attempt to rivet the no-strike shackles more securely on the membership.

The Murray-Hillman machine in the national CIO has thrown its influence behind the UAW top leadership, Thomas-Adde-Frankensteen-Reuther. The capitalist press from coast to coast has opened its columns generously to the no-strike rantings and down-right slanders against the militants issuing from the bull-frog throat of R. J. Thomas, UAW President.

The radio monopoly has placed a state-wide Michigan hook-up at the disposal of Thomas, Adde, Frankensteen and Reuther, according to the Stalinist Daily Worker. They are scheduled to speak in favor of the no-strike policy next week over station WXYZ. Walter Reuther, whose game of "left cover" for the top bureaucrats is rapidly playing itself out, is no longer able to straddle the fence.

The main organizers and campaigners for the leadership's reactionary policy are the Stalinists. Whole pages of the Daily Worker are being devoted every day to slandering the UAW militants, publicizing the anti-strike statements of the UAW officials, and clamoring for continuation of the no-strike pledge.

Inside the UAW, the Stalinists initiated the Committee to Uphold the No-Strike Pledge, which they and their front-men control and activate. This has become the principal machinery for whipping up support for the no-strike policy. Thus, the Stalinists are spear-heading the no-strike drive and have thrown their tremendous material resources behind the UAW tops.

The UAW leaders find themselves dependent in the referendum battle on shameless flacks and strikebreakers. For alone in the entire labor movement, the Stalinists openly attacked the Montgomery Ward strikes.

The Daily Worker, January 6, publishes a letter from Nat Ganley, Stalinist business agent of UAW Local 155, to John W. Gibson, President of the Michigan CIO Council, assailing the latter's support of the Ward strike.

Every worker knows that Roosevelt stalled for over four years on the issue of Avery's repeated defiance of WLB directives. The only time he acted was after the workers went on strike. Yet Ganley dishes out the astounding argument that "the strike did not compel President Roosevelt to act, but made it harder for him to act."

Socialist Workers Party Branches Speed Contributions Toward \$18,000 Fund

\$18,000 Party Expansion Fund

A Fitting Welcome to Our 18 Class-War Prisoners

By Rose Karsner, Campaign Director

Less than two weeks to go—and the 12 imprisoned comrades will be back in our ranks. The best way to celebrate their homecoming is to score the highest possible percentage in the \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund for the January 27th issue of The Militant.

The branches of the party are all stepping up their collections of pledges in the campaign. Many expect to complete their quotas by January 23rd. Some will need the full three months, but all will fulfill their quotas—and more—by March 1st.

FROM THE BRANCHES

San Francisco, Anne: "It was a little difficult getting started on the collections for the Expansion Fund, due to the heavy expenses we were under prior to the convention, but we will try to fulfill our quota by the time our comrades are released from prison."

Los Angeles, Dan Roberts: "Enclosed find two checks for the special fund. We are taking steps to speed up the collections."

Toledo, Mac: "Collections have been coming in slowly due to the holiday season, as many of our comrades had to lose work days to celebrate Christmas with their children. However, we hope to collect our quota by the 22nd of January and go over it before the campaign is over."

Chicago, Belle: "Enclosed find check on our quota. We expect to forge ahead in the next month now that Christmas and New Year are over."

Milwaukee, H. Burns: "We had thought that we would be able to make the complete quota by January 20th, but we will not quite make it. All but one comrade, due to special economic circumstances, will be able to fulfill their pledges by that date."

Boston: F. Daniels sent in another check toward their quota which brings this branch to third on the list. At this rate, Boston will surely be among the hundred percenters by January 27th.

Twin Cities, Minn. bears watching on the Scoreboard. When they get going they shoot right ahead. This week they wiped out their zero. It won't be long before they will be toward the top of the list.

Pittsburgh, J. Cook: "A brief note to apologize for our tardiness. We have assessed ourselves \$80 in the Party Expansion Fund. We expect to complete this quota by the end of January."

Quakertown: "We are scattered and don't get together very often, but we hope to have our quota filled by January 22nd."

Plentywood: "Just a line to-day in regards to the party fund. The enclosed \$20 is from a small group here. That is the best we can do at this time but will try to send more."

Philadelphia, D. F.: "At the same time that we are raising the quota in the Expansion Fund campaign, we have expanded our local budget greatly, and we are keeping up our monthly Sustaining Fund to the national office. We shall do our best however, to send in as much as possible by January 22nd, and we shall certainly have met the entire quota before March 1st."



The following letter from Milwaukee is further proof that our subscribers are helping us get The Militant into the hands of as many workers as possible:

"While in conversation with friends and relatives on Christmas Day, I spoke of the work of the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant. I said, when questioned, that I was wholly in accord with it. At first they were shocked, but as I talked, one by one they became interested."

"They had never heard of the paper, but three of them became interested enough to want the introductory offer. Therefore, enclosed is 50 cents for two of the subscriptions; the third will be sent as soon as I receive his address."

"Hoping to interest more people in The Militant, I remain."

According to a letter from Mac Ingersol, Organizer for Toledo, they are going to concentrate on selling subscriptions there: "Enclosed are three 6-month trial subscriptions."

"Will you please send us some regular subscription blanks for The Militant. I saw some that

J. Black of New York City had the following interesting opportunity to sell a subscription: "I was reading The Militant while I was eating. The waiter looked at the paper and said, 'Is it for the workers, is it a labor paper?'"

"You bet it is," I said and I gave him the copy I was reading. The next time I ate in that restaurant he approached me and asked how he could get that paper regularly. I sold him a six-month sub."

Buy THE MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL in NEWARK at the Progressive Workers School 423 Springfield Avenue Open Daily: 10:30 A. M. - 5:30 P. M. 7:30 - 10:30 P. M.



SCOREBOARD table with columns: Branch, Quota, Paid, Percent. Lists various branches like Youngstown, Maritime Club, Boston, Newark, Toledo, etc.

NEGROES DENIED JOBS DESPITE "SHORTAGE"

(Continued from page 1) Pushing a broom is laborer's work and my contract said machinist's helper. I told them so. They sent me to the personnel department. After hearing my story, the personnel manager said: 'O. K. I'll put you back on days and see that you get machinist's helper's work. But don't tell anyone what happened on nights.'

REPLACED BY WHITE "The foreman took me to the quartermaster and told him I was being transferred back to days. The quartermaster said: 'I don't have any work for him—put him back on nights.' So back I went to personnel. Personnel then told me to stay on my other job until they find something. So I stayed. A week later they put me on polishing brass. Meanwhile I found out that a white man had been put on the job I originally had."

FINALLY GETS RAISE "I finally got my raise. It happened this way. I had a colored helper working alongside me who I was teaching the ropes. One day they shifted him. A couple days later they put a white man in his place. I could see that he was raw — I had to keep showing him what to do. Then one day at the time clock I noticed that his card was on a different rack. As soon as I got the chance I looked at his card. He was getting machinist wages."

White men were doing the same work at machinists' wages. I went to the quartermaster for a raise. He said he could not recommend it — I would have to see the shop-master. I knew that was not right, so after a week I went to personnel. They sent me back to the quartermaster. I went back and kind of put him on the spot. "I saw some kind of conference between him and personnel. Then they came over to me and told me that the only way to get a raise was to transfer into a different department. If I wanted a transfer they would work something out."

Oscar Shoenfeld Will Address New York Forum

Pioneer Notes

NEW YORK, Jan. 7 — On Sunday, January 14th at 8 p. m. the New York School of Social Science presents Oscar Shoenfeld, one of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Defendants, who will speak on the Program and Policies of the Trotskyist Movement.

"The History of American Trotskyism" by James P. Cannon is arousing interest in many circles. Orders are coming in from individuals, libraries, universities and bookstores throughout the country. Pioneer has received more orders from commercial houses for this book in the few months since its publication than for any other of its books in a like period.

One who has been a Socialist Workers Party member for six years writes: "I had heard a couple of the lectures on The History of American Trotskyism and now find that the book reads with all the flavor and clarity that Cannon always brings to his lectures."

Youth Speaker Opposes War

With the events in Belgium, Italy and Greece indelibly impressed on their minds, and with the illusion of the "war for democracy" being shattered by the counter-revolutionary actions of Allied troops in Europe, thirty-eight young people heard Jack Maxwell answer the question "Is This War Against Fascism?" at a meeting of the Socialist Youth Forum, Friday Jan. 5.

From a member of six months standing, we hear: "As a new member of the Party, I was very much interested in The History of American Trotskyism. I read it at the time of the pre-convention discussion, just after a very heated meeting which I found extremely disturbing. It was reassuring to me at that time to read what storms the party had ridden out successfully. "Also, whatever feeling I had left of putting my faith entirely in individuals rather than in ideas was forever dissipated by this book. I learned to admire the party leaders because they were wise enough to place the importance of correct ideas, at the party line, above any consideration; and to remain undaunted by such hardships as being reduced to a handful of members. But I realized that strength lay not in the individuals as human beings, but in the ideas which they kept classified and true."

Coupon for 25 cents and 25 cents entitles you to a 6-month subscription to THE MILITANT. Includes fields for Name, Street, City, State.

NEW YORK Socialist Youth Forum FRIDAY, JANUARY 19 - 8 P. M. "CAN STALINISM LEAD TO SOCIALISM?" YES: DAVE ELLIS, SANDY ROBERTSON

NEW YORK Sunday Night Forum What is Trotskyism? Its solution to the present impasse faced by the trade unions. Its program to end imperialist war by building a socialist society.

The 18 And Their Jailers

By Ruth Johnson

When prison bars clanged shut upon the 18 leaders of Minneapolis Truckdrivers' Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party on December 31, 1943, it was the innocent who were jailed, and criminals who jailed them—criminals who perpetrate their crimes against the working class under the immunity bought by power and privilege.

The jailers were men whom James P. Cannon rightly called "the friends of the rich and the privileged." Roosevelt, Biddle, Schweinhaut, Tobin, Joyce, and the Supreme Court justices who sought to silence the Trotskyists who so intransigently fought for the interests of the working class.

Roosevelt, scion of a wealthy family (whose fortune was amassed by an opium-smuggling ancestor in China), has served Wall Street well in this imperialist war. Wall Street's own men, the Rockefeller and Stettiniuses, have just been given the keys of government, while the workers are threatened with the chains of a slave-labor law. Roosevelt, at the request of Daniel J. Biddle, sent a personal note to Biddle in June 1941, asking him to take action against the Trotskyists.

BIDDLE AND TOBIN

Attorney General Biddle, of the Philadelphia "main line" Biddies, plunged wholeheartedly into the spirit of the frame-up. This aristocrat with liberal pretensions watches out for the interests of the rich with eternal vigilance. Recently he had Roosevelt discharge Assistant Attorney General Norman Littell, because Littell too conscientiously exposed the frauds by which corporations were robbing the government of billions of dollars.

Daniel J. Tobin gets along with the bosses but he hates "reds." The workers of the Twin Cities had won important gains under the leadership of the Trotskyists who were militant and worst of all, practiced union democracy. Both union democracy and militancy are incompatible with the reactionary dictatorship Tobin maintains over the International Teamsters Union, as its \$30,000 a year president (with lush expense accounts for good measure).

Following the convictions, Roosevelt rewarded the Department of Justice prosecutor Schweinhaut, another up-and-coming lawyer with the "right" friends in high places, with a fat promotion to a federal judgeship.

Judge Joyce, who, after railroading the Trotskyists to prison, ordered the burning of Marxist books taken in the raid on the Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party candidate for United States Senator, receiving 8,500 votes, more than the combined votes of the Communist and Socialist parties.

The U. S. Supreme Court contains a prize collection of attorneys culled from the greatest and greediest corporations in the nation. Supposed to uphold the democratic rights guaranteed American citizens under the Constitution, the justices three times covered their eyes and ears and refused to review the case involving the Smith "Gag" Act.

RECORD OF 18

In sharp contrast stand the records of the eighteen sent to prison by these servitors of the Men of Money.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP, has spent over thirty years of his life in the fight for socialism. He joined the Socialist Party at the age of eighteen; worked side by side with the great figures of the IWW; organized defense demonstrations from coast to coast on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti and other victims of capitalist justice. Cannon was one of the foundation members of the Communist Party in America, and in 1928 launched the struggle to build the Trot-

skyst organization in the United States.

Farrell Dobbs, editor of *The Militant*, Vincent R. Dunne, National Labor Secretary of the SWP, Carlos Hudson, and others were instrumental in organizing the Minneapolis truckdrivers in the great 1934 strikes which changed Minneapolis from an open-shop town to a union stronghold and brought so many benefits to the labor movement of the Northwest. Emil Hansen, Oscar Coover, Max Goldman and Jake Cooper have spent all their adult years in union activity.

Albert Goldman, defense attorney for the 18, was a working class youth who, after becoming a socialist, entered the legal profession to aid his fellow workers. In the past 20 years he has defended hundreds of workers arrested in strikes and demonstrations from coast to coast. Felix Morrow, editor of *Fourth International*, has been active in the revolutionary socialist movement for over two decades. He is among the best-known journalists and writers in radical labor circles.

Carl Skoglund, born in Sweden sixty years ago, has participated in the organization and struggles of the workers on two continents. In 1923 he was blacklisted from the railroads for his activities in the railroad shopmen's strike against the Burlington, Great Western and North Western railroads. When the Trotskyists were arrested in 1941, Carl was held for deportation to Sweden. Told that deportation "might be reconsidered" if he took the stand for the government in the Minneapolis Case, he refused to turn against his brother workers, and is still behind prison bars for that refusal.

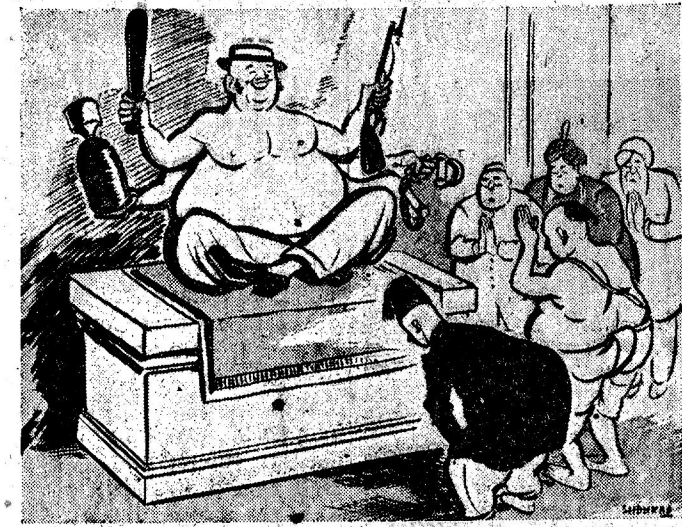
Grace Carlson, the sole woman among the prisoners, joined the union movement when she was Vocational Rehabilitation Counselor of the Minnesota State Department of Education. In 1940 she resigned from the Minnesota Department of Education and ran as Socialist Workers Party candidate for United States Senator, receiving 8,500 votes, more than the combined votes of the Communist and Socialist parties.

THE REAL CRIMINALS

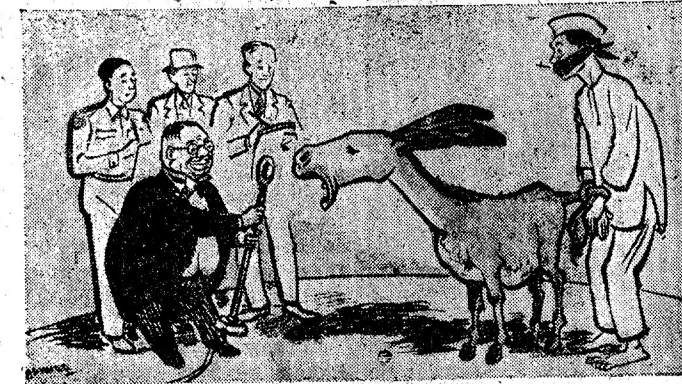
Such are the 12 stalwart defenders of labor who will come out of prison on Jan. 24. Such are the ruthless representatives of monopoly capitalism who violated their own hallowed "Bill of Rights" to put them there. The workers of America will judge who are the real criminals in the case. Millions already agree that James P. Cannon spoke the truth when, in his farewell speech, he declared: "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 members of the Communist Party in America, and in 1928 launched the struggle to build the Trot-

THE FOUR FREEDOMS as seen in India!

Reprinted from the Indian publication "Log"



FREEDOM OF WORSHIP



FREEDOM OF SPEECH



FREEDOM FROM FEAR



FREEDOM FROM WANT

Premier Follows Allied Reactionary Policy in Greece

(Continued from page 1)

British soldiers assigned to carry out Churchill's orders. According to N. Y. Times reporter John MacCormac, the alarm and uneasiness of the British public over continued use of troops has "now spread to English soldiers in Greece." How the English soldiers manifest their "uneasiness" has not been revealed. But that they are reacting in an overt fashion is admitted by a "very senior British officer" in Athens, probably Scobie himself.

So rigid is the censorship in Greece that correspondents of the capitalist press are registering complaints. They are not permitted to interview any of the forces or leaders of the Greek masses. Their dispatches are extremely limited. The Plastiras police are rifling the offices and rooms of correspondents, seizing back copies of dispatches as well as copies of the Republican press. The Plastiras police are the same police organized by dictator Metaxas. They are the same police who shot down workers under the German occupation.

Greek journalists who know the internal situation well have been imprisoned. The muzzling of even the capitalist press indicates what kind of "Freedom of Press" the Atlantic Charter of Roosevelt and Churchill calls for in Greece.

The withdrawal of ELAS troops fulfills one of Scobie's conditions for truce. His other condition was that ELAS should deliver its arms to the British. The withdrawal, however, did not induce Churchill's general to relax his terms. He is following a principled line of counter-revolution and his orders are to pacify Greece no matter what the cost in bloodshed. He therefore answered the ELAS retreat from Athens by withdrawing his offer of truce. Apparently he sees victory within reach and intends to organize his forces to pursue and decimate the ELAS.

The remnants of the EDES, armed royalists fighting beside the British against the ELAS, were reported to have been evacuated by the British from their former stronghold. Out of the original 12,000 members, only 1,000 were claimed as still remaining. The great majority of the EDES left the British-paid bandit general Zervas and joined the ELAS.

The appointment of Plastiras as premier changes nothing essential. Constantine Poulos, N. Y. Post correspondent, reports one observer as saying: "General Plastiras is one more of the old sores that the Greek political body must figuratively sweat out, and it's better that we do so now than later."

Were it not for the Allied counter-revolution, the "old sore" Plastiras would never have left his sun baths on the French Riviera. Such sores cannot be sweated out. They are the product of the gangrene of capitalism in its death agony. Only the surgery of socialist revolution can remove them.

Mexican Workers Fight High Prices

MEXICO CITY—The cost of food in Mexico has risen 62 percent in the eleven month period from January 1, 1944 to December 1, 1944, due to wartime scarcity and profiteering. The total increase in the cost of all necessities has driven the price index 460 percent above the "normal" index based on 1934 prices.

Attempting to stave off the wrath of the masses, the Mexican government has shifted responsibility from one official to another, finally transferring its price "control" machinery to the Central Department. This department has jurisdiction only in Mexico City and the surrounding area.

According to a report in the Mid-November, 1943 issue of *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Mexican section of the 4th International, "these measures can only increase the unbridled rise in the cost of living." Misery is widespread among the masses. The workers and peasants are facing an artificially produced famine, while speculators hoard tons upon tons of foodstuffs.

Exposing the fraud of "government control of prices" under capitalism, *Lucha Obrera* calls upon the workers and peasants to fight for the following demands: workers' control over production of foodstuffs; workers' control over necessities of life; a sliding scale of wages; expropriation of profits of all hoarders, corrupt functionaries, industrialists and speculators; workers' control of foreign trade.

Ambassador's Cable Proves Allies Provoked Greek War

Documentary evidence that Churchill deliberately provoked the civil war in Greece has been provided by Drew Pearson, Washington columnist, who is frequently slipping important information from State Department files. *The Militant* analysis of the Greek civil war had already indicated that Churchill ordered General Scobie to initiate hostilities but often such analyses are not corroborated by documentary evidence until years after the event. In his column of December 11, Pearson published a cable from Alexander Kirk, American Ambassador to Italy. This is the cable to the State Department, dated at Caserta, December 5, as reported by Pearson:

"General Scobie was informed by Churchill that the Supreme Allied Commander has been ordered to leave all British troops in Greece and reinforce as fully as possible. Prime Minister states he holds Scobie responsible for destroying or neutralizing all EAM and ELAS groups who approach Athens, and authorizes Scobie to intern any desired number of persons, and issue all regulations necessary for complete control of streets.

"When shooting begins, said

Churchill, he expects ELAS will put women and children in the first line. Scobie is instructed to be clever and avoid errors. Scobie is instructed not to hesitate to open fire on any armed male who assaults authority of British or of Greeks collaborating with them.

"Scobie's forces should be augmented by forces of the Greek Government. British Ambassador is advising Papandreou not to hesitate. Scobie should act as if confronted by local rebellion and should teach ELAS lesson making it improbable that others will behave in the same way. Churchill says he will back Scobie along these lines, and that British must keep and dominate Athens. It would be splendid if Scobie could accomplish this without bloodshed, but said he should do whatever he has to. Signed KIRK."

Cynical Bureaucrats

The cynicism of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucrats was demonstrated in the recent visit of a Soviet Trade Union delegation to Naples. "The locals turned out en masse to give them an enthusiastic welcome," reports a correspondent to the Socialist Appeal, organ of the British Trotskyists. "When the delegates appeared on the scene, the air was rent with cries of 'Viva L'Internazionale', 'Viva la Rivoluzione Operaia!' and so forth.

"The local workers greeted the delegates with clenched fist salute. . . the delegates just waded back at them. The word was passed around: 'No singing of the Internationale.' Nothing must happen to upset the happy relations established at Teheran.

"Even staunch Stalinists were embittered at the open cynicism displayed by these representatives of the workers' state."

Twin Cities Forum

EVERY SUNDAY
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Minneapolis Headquarters
Socialist Workers Party
10 South 4th Street
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"The News Behind the Headlines"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

AMERICAN WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY, by Joseph Hansen. Pioneer Publishers, 1944; illustrated by Ruth Wilson and Laura Gray. 48 pp., 15 cents.

Since the November elections, the Roosevelt administration has struck the American workers one blow after another. The contemptuous rejection of the CIO's long-drawn-out effort to crack the Little Steel Formula, the handing of the State Department to Stettinius and other Morgan-Rockefeller representatives, Roosevelt's cynical junking of the Atlantic Charter, the establishment by Congress of the Dies Committee on a permanent basis, have now been topped off by the Presidential message asking for military dictatorship over the trade unions through a Compulsory Service Act.

These are the first fruits of the CIO-PAC "victory." And CIO-PAC policy was advertised as effective "labor politics." What can the workers do now? The new Pioneer pamphlet, "American Workers Need A Labor Party," presents the one practical and immediate step which must now be taken. As the author, Joseph Hansen, states in his first sentence: "No one can escape taking part in politics. . . The worker who rejects political action because 'politicians are crooks' is fooling himself. He has not avoided politics. He has simply given up his rights to the enemies of labor without putting up a fight."

Hansen is not arguing for company union labor politics of the kind peddled by the PAC which got out labor's support for Wall Street's Democratic Party agents. Hansen's pamphlet presents the case for an Independent Labor Party, a political party organized on class lines.

PARTIES SERVE CLASSES

Hansen shows how all political parties are established to defend class interests and how the Republicans and Democrats have consistently served the capitalist class while pretending to do otherwise. The tricks of Wall Street's political agents are exposed in these pages—how they create artificially built-up "public leaders" and how they maintain the great fraud of the "two-party system."

Hansen reminds us of the plight of the unemployed during the last depression who stood helplessly outside the closed factories. "Despite their huge ranks they are helpless in the face of a politically organized minority." But if these workers had organized their own class party, such a political party in power would open up the factories and produce goods for use instead of for profit.

Hansen shows how the organized capitalist minority is able to force and trick the people into war. It is profitable for the capitalists, although disastrous for the masses who are politically unorganized and cannot prevent it. He shows how the whole world is affected by the dominant power of the United States, how the fate of all humanity depends upon whether Labor will take leadership in this nation or whether Wall Street will retain its control in order to carry out its imperialist aims.

Whom does the capitalist "two-

party system" benefit? The plain fact is that "although the trade unions have some 12 million members these giant organizations do not have one single representative of their own in Congress."

As class tension increases, Wall Street finds it necessary to lean more openly upon its lieutenants in labor's ranks. Hansen exposes the political role of John L. Lewis who tried to swing labor to the Republican Party in the last two elections—but failed. He tells how labor fell into a duplicate trap, prepared by the top CIO leaders. The CIO-PAC was able to head off the Independent Labor Party movement which was gathering strength in Michigan, New York State and elsewhere before the 1944 elections.

LABOR CAN WIN

Can a worker who favors a labor party get any place against such odds? Hansen explains the factors which favor and will clear the way for the labor-party minded workers. In spite of everything. . . Wall Street lacks the decisive weapons. First, truth is against them. They are forced to lie. Second, the economic interests of the majority are against them."

Hansen recalls the triumphant and stormy growth of the CIO

industrial unions against all opposition. An equally rapid development is now possible on the political field.

Will such a labor party split labor's vote? "What's wrong with splitting the vote? Isn't that precisely what we want to do, start splitting the vote in the direction of labor?"

The pamphlet goes on to show the great opportunity that the labor party will open up to the Negro people, its power as a weapon for them and the great strength they will bring to it in turn. Once labor shows that it means business, it can rally behind its program the dirty farmers and the white collar workers as well.

An eleven-point program for the Labor Party is outlined here for discussion. Such a program can be altered or added to as events dictate. But the Labor Party must remain independent of the capitalist parties. "It must put up its own candidates, and its own program, opposing the bosses up and down the line."

"American Workers Need A Labor Party" is written in a simple and convincing style. It contains many illustrations by Ruth Wilson and several of the powerful cartoons drawn by Laura Gray, cartoonist for *The Militant*.

Reviewed by C. Andrews

More Kindly Words

"We Spaniards, who answered the call of arms to prevent the invasion of Muscovite aggression and treachery, have read with satisfaction Mr. Churchill's statement, and the news of British armored formations in the streets of Athens."—Spanish radio, Dec. 8.

British tanks in Athens' streets,
British guns in action,
This is news that Franco greets
With highest satisfaction,
Spanish fears are now allayed—
Britain joins in Spain's crusade.

Rebels raked by shell and shot,
Bombs on Athens falling,
Britain foils the Soviet plot
(This is Franco calling).
Britain sees the warning light,
Britain joins the Christian fight.

Europe's culture in the West
Spain along defended,
Now she sees her effort blessed,
Isolation ended.
Powerful support is lent
By the British Government.

El Caudillo stood alone,
Viewed with strange suspicion;
Now Great Britain's soul is shown
True to her tradition.
Spain recalls her past with pride;
Chivalry is justified.

Gladly Spain forgives the past,
Britain sees her error,
Marching in the van at last
Fighting Soviet terror.
Spain and Britain forge new ties—
Ideological Allies.

When world views on Spain were heard
Slanderous and abusive,
Britain spoke a kindly word,
Cordial and effusive—
Kindly words come back again,
Britain gets kind words from Spain.

ROGER SERVICE

(Reprinted from London Tribune, Dec. 15).

HEAR

James P. Cannon
National Secretary, SWP

Albert Goldman
Attorney for Defendants

Farrell Dobbs
Editor, THE MILITANT

Felix Morrow
Editor,
4th INTERNATIONAL

FRIDAY
FEBRUARY 2
8:15
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NEW YORK CITY

Admission 25c

New York
MASS MEETING
To Greet the Defendants in the
MINNEAPOLIS LABOR CASE
To Be Released from Prison January 24th

Labor's First Victims of the
Smith 'Gag' Act

Labor and Fraternal Organizations representing over 4,000,000 men and women demanded freedom for these 18 Members of the Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union - 544 CIO and of the Socialist Workers Party.

Other Speakers

Benj. F. McLaurin
International Field Organizer
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
James T. Farrell
Noted Novelist
Chairman
George Novack
Secretary, Civil Rights Defense Committee

Auspices: CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENCE COMMITTEE
160 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

CHICAGO

Mass Meeting

HEAR

ALBERT GOLDMAN

noted labor lawyer

DEFENDANT AND ATTORNEY IN THE
MINNEAPOLIS LABOR CASE

Thursday, January 25

Ashland Auditorium, West Room

Ashland Blvd. and Van Buren Street

Admission 25c

8 P. M.

Auspices: Civil Rights Defense Committee

Liebknecht and Luxemburg - Heroic Martyrs In The Worker's Struggle For Socialism

By Martha Murray

On January 15, 1919—twenty five years ago—the German proletariat was robbed of two of its greatest revolutionary fighters, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. They were assassinated in the streets of Berlin by Junker hirelings of the Social-Democracy. But neither the ideas nor the tradition of personal heroism bequeathed by these Marxists of the First World War could be slain. Their names will be inscribed in flaming letters when the mighty German working class again rises against its oppressors to find the path to peace and security under the red banner of international socialism.

Intransigent opponents of capitalist war, both Liebknecht and Luxemburg fought persecution and imprisonment to lead the workers of Germany in the struggle for socialist liberation. Son of the founder of the German Social-Democracy, Karl Liebknecht first proved his stature as early as 1906 when he delivered a series of lectures against capitalist militarism to a Socialist

Junkers. The Russian Revolution deeply inspired her. Enemies of the October Revolution have tried to construe her criticism of the Bolsheviks as an opposition to the Russian Revolution. This is false. It was as one of them that she criticized some of their tactics.

In 1918 came the revolt of the Kiel sailors and soldiers of Berlin. One of the very first acts of the revolutionary workers and soldiers was to throw open the prison gates to free Liebknecht and Luxemburg. The Social-Democratic traitors strove to persuade the Kaiser to remain. Failing to save the monarchy, hating and fearing Bolshevism above everything else, they then strained all their efforts to establish a bourgeois republic and prevent the workers from taking power. The Social-Democracy particularly feared the Spartakus Bund, organized in 1918 by Liebknecht and Luxemburg, which came out as an independent party with the slogan "All Power to the Workers' Councils."

ORGANIZE FOR POWER

Conscious of their tasks and the pressure of time, Liebknecht and Luxemburg began to organize the German Communist Party with haste. Rosa edited "Rote Fahne" (Red Banner) and wrote the program for the party in complete agreement with the program of Lenin and Trotsky. But events moved too rapidly. The advanced workers were pressing forward. The German Communist Party, just emerging from the Spartakus group, was still too weak to take power.

The leadership of the Social-Democracy, holding the reins of government, did everything in its power to crush the revolution in its infancy. Leaflets were circulated demanding the death of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Large rewards were offered for their capture. On Jan. 15, 1919, they were arrested and murdered.

In his call for the formation of the Third International to carry out the socialist tasks betrayed by the Social-Democracy (April 23, 1917), Lenin singled out for praise the handful of internationalists who upheld the banner of Marxism through the storm of the First World War.

"The most outstanding representatives of this trend in Germany," wrote Lenin, "is the 'RED ROSA'."



ROSA LUXEMBURG

Youth organization. He was sentenced to 18 months in prison for their subsequent publication.

When World War I broke out, Liebknecht was a member of the Reichstag. The Social-Democratic party to which he belonged opportunistically swung over to support of the war. But Liebknecht adhered to the principles of Marxism. At the December 2, 1914 session he broke the discipline of the Social-Democratic Reichstag group and voted against war credits, thereby taking his place among the leaders of international socialism. With Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring, he founded "Die Internationale," first illegal organ of the German revolutionists.

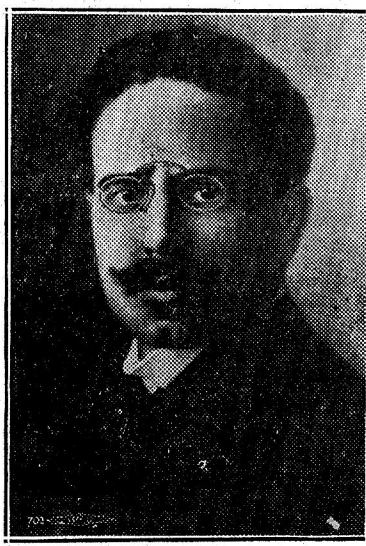
At the magnificent May Day demonstration he organized in Berlin in 1916, Liebknecht denounced the imperialists and called upon the German working class to intensify the fight against its main enemy — the capitalist class — at home. He was arrested, secretly tried, and sentenced to four and a half years' imprisonment.

"RED ROSA"

Rosa Luxemburg, fiery orator, gifted writer, theoretician and activist, conquered physical frailty to become one of the most eminent of revolutionists. Born in Czarist Poland, a political refugee at the age of 18, she devoted all her tremendous talents to the cause of socialism. She secured German citizenship and fought the growing reformist tendencies and the revision of Marxism promoted by the Bernsteinists in the German Social-Democracy. Understanding the problems and strategy of the workers' movement, she saw in the Russian revolution of 1905 the vitality and strength of the masses. She met the outbreak of war in 1914 by calling upon the German workers to refuse to shoot down their French brothers. Like Liebknecht, she was imprisoned.

Tireless and undaunted, Rosa was able even in prison to smuggle out articles for "Die Internationale." She also wrote the famous "Junius" pamphlet, circulated throughout Germany, explaining that the victory of either side — German or Allied — would necessarily lead to another world slaughter, and urging the masses to end the scourge of war by taking power from the plutocrats and organizing a worker's republic.

In prison Rosa received the great news of the Russian Revolution. She burned with indignation over the Brest-Litovsk peace forced by Germany upon the Bolsheviks. She accused the pro-war "socialists" of responsibility for this crime because of their degrading submission to the



KARL LIEBKNECHT

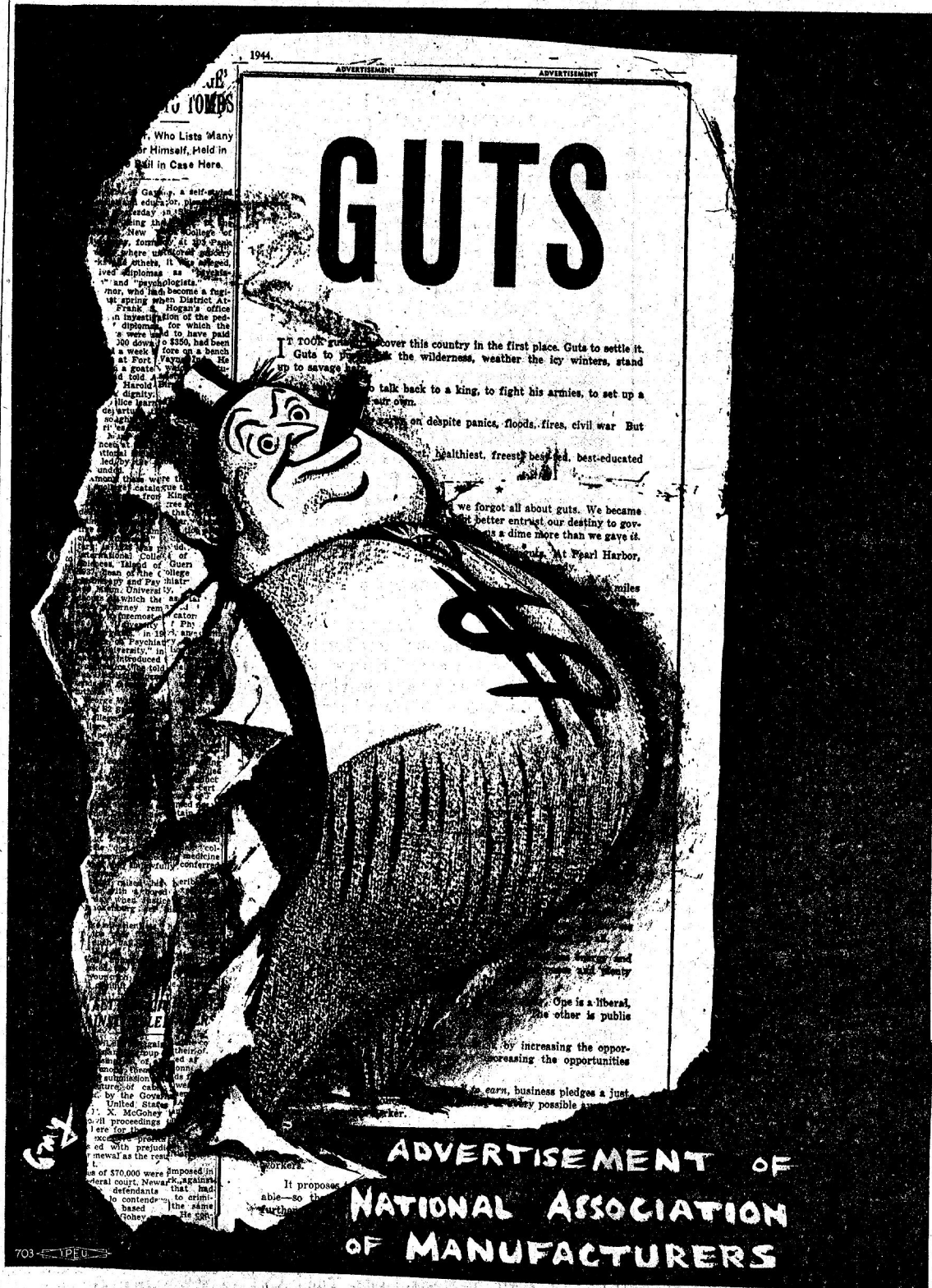
Spartakus Group or the Group of the International to which Karl Liebknecht belongs. Karl Liebknecht is one of the most celebrated representatives of this trend and of the new and genuine proletarian internationalism. Liebknecht alone represents socialism, the proletarian cause, the proletarian revolution. All the rest of German Social-Democracy, to quote the apt words of Rosa Luxemburg (also a member and one of the leaders of the Spartakus Group) is a 'stinking corpse.' After their martyrdom Lenin acclaimed Liebknecht and Luxemburg as "the best representatives of the Third International."

Last year the Third International which had likewise degenerated into "a stinking corpse" was formally buried by its executioner, the counter-revolutionary Stalin. Today only the Fourth International founded by Trotsky carries on the struggle for international socialism in the revolutionary spirit of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

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"It Takes Guts to Run This Country"



UAW East Coast Committee Fights No-Strike Pledge

Militant members and officers of leading CIO United Automobile Workers locals in New York State have established the UAW East Coast Committee to Revoke the No-Strike Pledge as part of a national campaign to mobilize a majority vote against the pledge in the UAW's current referendum. Thomas De Lorenzo, President of Brewster Aeronautical Local 365, and Jerry Denehy, President of Bell Local 501, Buffalo, have been elected chairman and secretary respectively of the new committee.

In a letter addressed to all UAW locals and members in Region 9, De Lorenzo and Denehy urge them to "clinch the victory" won by the rank and file at the last UAW convention when they secured the referendum against the opposition of the top officers.

"Throw Out the No-Strike Pledge — Save the Union!" is the plea of the committee. "The No-Strike Pledge ties our hands and deprives us of our only weapon in the fight for a decent living for our families. Industry makes no sacrifices, but continues to pile up war profits."

"While we are bound by this cowardly No-Strike Pledge, any workers who dare to defend themselves and their union run the danger of being victimized not only by the employers and their government stooges but by our own International Union Officers!"

The statement further contends: "To retain the No-Strike Pledge is to betray our brothers in uniform who fought so hard to build our Union. Whether they return to union working conditions, or to speed-up, the stretchout and the black list of the open shop depends on us. Vote to revoke the No-Strike Pledge!"

The committee has appealed to local unions and officers in Region 9 to join and back the committee by contributing their names, activities and finances. The committee is furnishing qualified speakers for meetings, is preparing a four-page newspaper and has issued a special leaflet which it is making available to all autoworkers who ask for them. The headquarters of the committee is 29-28 41st Avenue, Long Island City, N. Y.

NOTICE

The National Educational Department of the Socialist Workers Party is anxious to secure the following literature in English, German, French or Russian:

Theses of the first 3 congresses of the Communist International.

All copies of the magazine "The Communist International" of 1922 in which articles by Zinoviev appear.

Zinoviev's writings on the Italian Socialist Party, January-July 1923.

If you can give, loan or sell these to the National Office, please write to: Charles Carsten, National Educational Director, SWP, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Open-Shopper Reports On European Problems

By Louis Bonn

Much to the embarrassment of the professional apologists for "democratic" imperialism, another leading American big business spokesman has lifted a corner of the veil over American capitalism's strictly counter-revolutionary class aims in "liberated" European countries.

The latest unabashed revelation of the real attitude of the American ruling class toward the "war against fascism" and European "liberation" comes from no less a personage than Frederick C. Crawford. He is the former president of the National Association of Manufacturers and head of Thompson Products, last important open-shop citadel in the automotive industry.

In an address last week before the New York State Chamber of Commerce, Crawford expounded his views on the European situation, basing them on his recent three-week "survey" tour in France and Belgium under the auspices of the War Department. Being too stupid or arrogant to feel the need for diplomatic utterance, Crawford indulged in the luxury of candid admissions. His unvarnished words touched off howling disclaimers from the specialists in Allied imperialist whitewash, particularly the liberal and Stalinist press.

THE MAIN DANGER

Crawford disclosed that for him and his class the main enemy is not the Nazis, nor the former pro-Nazi capitalist collaborators now trying with the aid of Allied bayonets to cling to the seats of power. Crawford warned his Chamber of Commerce colleagues that the main danger to their class interests is the rising European working-class revolution.

This was no mere personal opinion. "He said a high ranking general had told him," reports the January 5 N. Y. Times, "that he hoped we could end the war before all of Europe fell out from under him in a Communist civil war."

Even the triumph of Nazism Crawford intimated, was preferable. Because under Nazi occupation, the French and Belgium capitalists did "all right" for themselves. The most distressing factor for them was the underground resistance "composed largely of Communists, young people and underworld ex-con-

with whom Crawford spoke found the Nazis decent enough chaps. "Business was above normal while the country was occupied by the Germans."

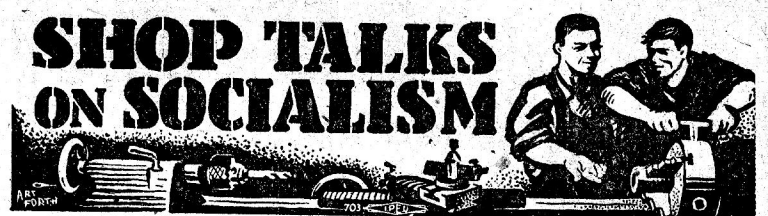
Crawford reserved his greatest indignation for the French workers who have now declared open season on the capitalist ex-collaborationists. Why, he lamented, "if you operated your business for the Germans and expanded it to any substantial amount you were a collaborationist. If you got into trouble with labor, you were a collaborationist." Isn't it the sacred obligation of capitalists, under all conditions, to make profits?

The preservation of capitalist exploitation is the real reason, as Crawford bluntly indicated, why Allied troops were ordered to shoot down Belgian demonstrators against the Plerot puppet regime and why Allied tanks and planes have been slaughtering the Greek workers.

Indeed, Crawford saw with his own eyes the "evidences" of the "prosperity of the working class" in the period of peaceful and profitable collaboration between the French owning class and the Nazis. "I saw fat horses drawing wagons equipped with rubber-tired wheels. I had been told that France was suffering. We went to the Ritz hotel. The big brass doorknobs and all the decorations were there. The hotel looked well painted, with new silk curtains hanging. Some of the rooms were modernistic."

What better "proof" of working class "prosperity" could there be than "fat horses" and the luxurious appointments of the Ritz Hotel, former headquarters of the Nazi officials and present hangout of wealthy ex-collaborationists, black marketeers and touring American plutocrats "studying" the European scene at the invitation of the War Department?

Nazi cruelty? That "was reserved only for those who entered the underground against the Nazis," like "Communists, young people and ex-convicts." But the "fine conservative" business men



By V. Grey

"Say, who's running this shop anyway, you or me?" the foreman said.

And Slim said, "I don't see where you're doing so much to run it." The foreman got mad at that. But he didn't say anything. Mainly because there wasn't anything to say.

But later on in the washroom Scissorsbill Sam sneered out to nobody in particular, "Some people think they're pretty good around here. They know how to run the shop with their eyes shut."

"If some people don't slow down a little on running that punch press they'll lose a couple of fingers—with their eyes wide open, too," said Shorty.

"They might get their eyes closed at that," said Slim. There was some more sarcasm back and forth, until Scissorsbill Sam came back to the point. "If you guys think you can get along without Hallory (the foreman), you're wrong. You've always got to have a boss on a job. . . . Of course if you're one of these here Socialists" . . . he started to sneer again.

"I don't know about the Socialist part of it," Slim said. "But remember the landing-barge job?" "Everybody remembered because we made good money on that job. "And the whistle system? Two whistles for the crane, three for the inspector and four for the foreman. Any of you guys ever hear the whistle blow four times?" "Nobody peeped. "I don't think the foreman ever came around except when the navy inspector called him."

"Sure, but you guys were all on piece-work for that job. Hallory knew you'd work hard anyhow."

"Why Scissorsbill, you don't mean to say Hallory is just a nasty old pusher, do you? You don't mean to say he only comes around to make us work harder?"

Scissorsbill Sam (the bosses' man) looked embarrassed, though he didn't know why he should be. "Well, what do you want a foreman to do? That's what he gets paid for, ain't it?"

WHAT IS A FOREMAN FOR, ANY WAY?

Slim went on without paying Scissorsbill any attention. "A foreman is supposed to know something, I was always told. Remember the time some welder came over from the shipyard to work on the landing barges? Hallory got hold of a hood and stood over the guy to watch him weld. So the guy turned around and asked Hallory to show him how he wanted the welding done. Well you know how much Hallory knows about welding. The only man that knows less around here is Hawkshaw himself. And I'll bet even he read a book about it. After that Hallory didn't show up at that end of the shop for a week."

"You can't expect a foreman to know every job in the shop," said Scissorsbill.

"What can you expect him to know, then?" "A foreman is an organizer. He lays out the work and makes sure that you don't do more left parts than right parts. And stuff like that."

"The stock boy or the dispatcher always let me know if that's happening. No," said Slim, "I never saw a foreman yet that was the best man, best skilled, best organizer or anything else."

"What about Billy Jones?" asked Shorty.

"I'm not talking about maintenance work. That's the exception. Who does the company choose for a production foreman? The man they figure knows the most, or the man they figure will push the most?"

"All right, all right!" said Scissorsbill, getting hot. "What's all this got to do about it? What if the foreman is a pusher? He has to get the work out, don't he? He's supposed to be a boss, ain't he? I take notice, when you guys are on day-work you keep out of his way, too. That proves there'd never be any work done in this place if it weren't for him."

"We made landing barges without his help—and without his pushing. And we made them better, and faster, for the size crew we had than anywhere else in the country."

"That was piece-work. Piecework, I tell you!" Scissorsbill shouted at the top of his lungs. "You had an incentive."

PUTTING PORK CHOPS ON THE TABLE

"Piece-work without a foreman—or day-work with a foreman—the incentive is the same. To put the pork chops on the table. Only it works backward in the second case. If you don't do what the foreman tells you, you're liable to lose your job, and the pork chops come off the table."

"In that case," said Shorty, "you have to have the foreman to organize the job, or else be on piece-work to organize it yourself."

"I'm not so sure about that," said Slim. "We all know piece-work is no good. But the main thing is this: that we had about 25 fellows on each shift for the landing barges. . . . burners, fitters, chippers and welders. We laid out our own work. We systematized it. And we produced way more than Hallory or anybody else ever thought we could. That's the main thing. Us fellows did it—And without benefit of foreman."

"What do you want to do, Slim. Abolish foremen altogether?" somebody spoke up.

"Not exactly. Like Scissorsbill says, you need an organizer. We used to spend 15 minutes or more in a huddle every morning to decide how we were going to work. That's 25 times 15 minutes. If some one person had done that and laid out the work it would have saved time and maybe been done better."

"But Hallory—"

"I know that's what Hallory tried to do once. But in the first place he didn't know how to do it. And in the second place he's a company man."

"If you're not going to listen to the company's man," yelled Scissorsbill, "Who in hell are you gonna listen to?"

"We're going to listen to ourselves. When we get the chance we'll organize the work ourselves. And someday we'll change things around and get time to train somebody how to be a WORKERS' foreman instead of a company foreman."

NEW YORK
Lenin - Liebknecht - Luxemburg
Memorial Meeting
Sunday, Jan. 21
IRVING PLAZA
Victoria Hall
Speakers:
M. STEIN, Acting National Secretary, SWP
HARRY FRANKEL, Trotskyist Youth Group
Auspices: Socialist Workers Party, Local N. Y.
15th St. and Irving Place (near Union Sq.) - 8 P. M.

NEWARK
PROGRESSIVE WORKERS SCHOOL
Announces a New Series of Lectures on
WAR-TIME PROBLEMS OF THE TRADE UNIONS
Jan. 19 - Political Parties and the Trade Unions
Jan. 26 - A Program for the Trade Unions
Lecturer MARK BRADEN, Newark Labor Secretary
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
EVERY FRIDAY at 8:30 P. M. ADMISSION FREE
Full Discussion Refreshments
Progressive Workers School 423 Springfield Ave.

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

The Truth in Dixie

Many Negroes who for years have seen and felt the dirty deals handed them by whites, have a strong doubt in their minds that there can ever be a real solidarity between the whites and blacks even if it is for the common good of both groups of people. Experience has caused them to have a blinding mistrust of all white people as well as a lack of hope that the majority of people will ever unite to wipe out Jim Crow.

There are also many Northern whites who do not know of the actual extent of Negro oppression or at least think it is greatly exaggerated by the Negro spokesmen.

For the enlightenment of these two groups and to show that there are, even now, some who are strong enough to break through the maze of lies which are taught to everyone under the present system, who can see and speak the truth, we quote from an address that was recently delivered before the Dallas Bar Association by a local attorney, George Clifton Edwards, who happens to be the father of Detroit's liberal councilman, Corporal George Edwards.

After showing how slavery after invention of the cotton gin brought huge profits to the cotton planters, he stated:

"Those extremists who made the Civil War inevitable were the original advocates of the contention that Southerners alone are qualified to handle the Negro problem. . . They were bound to fail. The facts were against them and the facts are against their present imitators."

EXCLUDE NEGROES

"The important question is not our leniency, or our good nature, or our handouts to Uncle Tom, but whether we in the South intend to give the Negro his rights. . . We have not been and are not now just or fair to the Negro in law, in education, in economics and in employment. . . We maintain a great university and law school and medical school and dental school and exclude Negroes from all of them."

"Negroes are nowhere given equal and impartial consideration save in the lowest ranks of unskilled employment. The only active force for Negro justice is the CIO."

"We have a whole code of special anti-Negro legislation aimed at putting Negroes at a disadvantage whites would violently rebel at."

"At this very time," courageously continued Mr. Edwards, "we, the people of Dallas, are in the process of sharing in the judicial murder of a young Negro named Akim."

"I do not want any of his blood on my hands, and so far as I can

We may indeed feel more optimistic when we see white Southerners like Mr. Edwards get up and present our case so strongly in the South itself. That is the foundation upon which our program is built—to keep stating the truth to the working people. Regardless of the tremendous pressure of all the forces in society today, yet some will see through the fog even now. Others, yes, even in the South, will only learn to throw off their prejudices out of personal necessity. Through our common struggle the truth will triumph, not only here on the Negro question, but throughout the world on the basic question of the exploitation of man by man.

Pioneer Paragraphs
BOLSHEVISM GAVE GREATEST EXAMPLE OF REAL DEMOCRACY

In September, 1917, General Kornilov's putsch collapsed pitifully, and the situation was completely transformed. Reality, stronger than slanderous legends based on facsimiles forged in the offices of the secret service, showed who the revolutionists were and who the phrase-mongers, fakery and counter-revolutionists.

The Kerensky cabinet demonstrated clearly that it was nothing more than a phantom government, buffeted about between two possible dictatorships; either the generals, who on the reactionary side were the only men gifted with sufficient insight and force (for in periods of social instability any military commander is intelligent enough to comprehend the benefits, to the financiers, of authority), would resume their activity and the revolution would go the way of Bonapartism, or else the workers, soldiers and peasants, the Soviets, the Bolsheviki, would conquer by force, since there was no other way. What compromise could there be between military dictatorship and proletarian dictatorship?

Lenin and Trotsky see this plainly and hence they demand, suggest, proclaim and initiate the advance toward insurrection. The one, at the head of the party, which he succeeds in convincing not without resistance; the other, at the head of the Petrograd Soviet where he forms a Revolutionary Military Committee, distributes arms to the workers and persuades the Soviet to decide that the revolutionary garrison will not obey the Provisional Government and will not leave the city. He has organized the insurrection before the actual uprising. . .

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

Ward 'Seizure' Aimed At Strikes

(Continued from page 1)

organization of the War Labor Board," that is, the government's apparatus for preventing strikes through compulsory arbitration and for maintaining Roosevelt's wage-freezing "wage-stabilization" program.

Cox argued the right of government "seizure" in the Ward case, where the government had failed previously to enforce long-standing orders against the company, specifically because of the strikes. He stressed particularly need for government action in the Ward strikes because of their "adverse effect" on the CIO United Automobile Workers referendum on the no-strike pledge.

Thus, Cox indicated, that non-compliance with a WLB order by an employer is not in itself a matter for government action. The government acts only where a "labor controversy" leading to a strike or threat of strike, to "interference with production," occurs. This supported Attorney General Biddle's previous admission that WLB orders are only "recommendations."

In reality, they are only "recommendations" so far as the employers are concerned. So long as the workers do not strike, the government admits in effect, the employer can disregard WLB directives when he doesn't like them, or stall them with delaying court actions.

AIMED AT STRIKES

But the workers—against whom most of the corporation-dominated WLB's decisions are directed—are compelled to accept WLB orders automatically. For the employers, who control wages, hours, working conditions, contractual relations, enforce these orders—except when workers go on strike. Whichever way the workers turn, their only recourse for self-protection is strike action. WLB orders against employers cannot be enforced without strikes—as the four-year old Ward case amply proves. Anti-labor decrees of the WLB cannot be resisted without strikes.

But it is precisely against strikes, under any and all circumstances, that the Roosevelt administration is directing its real attack. Strikes were the real motivation for these latest Ward "seizures." It is the argument of strike prevention that the government is using in court to justify these "seizures." The net effect, regardless of the immediate outcome of the Ward case, is to reinforce the power of government "seizure" as a strike-breaking weapon.

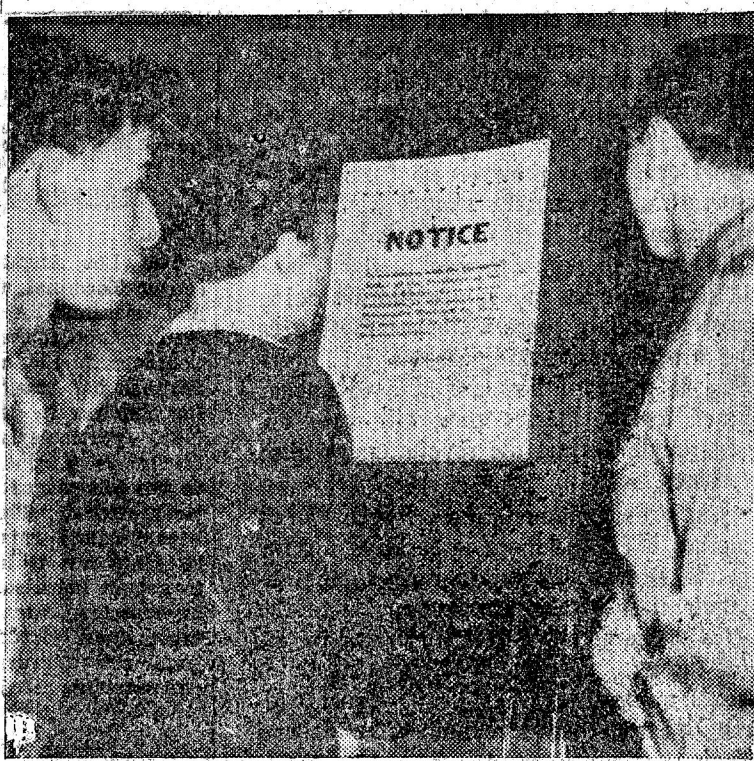
This power will be all the more potent precisely because the "seizure" was demanded by the unions and directed, ostensibly, against an anti-labor employer. The most important instances of such "seizures" previously, particularly of the railroads and coal mines, were openly directed against the workers. This will be just as true in the future—with this addition: The government will be able to point to the Ward case in order to claim "impartiality" in its strikebreaking.

What is basically involved is the administration's endeavor to reinforce WLB authority, challenged by Avery. But that authority is not needed because of the employers. Fundamentally, it is needed against the workers, because the very purpose of the board is anti-labor—to impose compulsory arbitration, bury labor grievances in red tape, and, above all, to enforce the wage freeze. That has been conclusively demonstrated in all the decisive wage cases, coal, railway, steel, auto, packinghouse, rubber, textiles, etc.

Avery, by his actions, was tossing a monkey-wrench into the very machinery for controlling labor that the employers as a class themselves require. Hence, the big business government was finally compelled to act—although "reluctantly," as it admitted—against an employer who broke the discipline of his own capitalist class.

But only to be in better position ultimately to squeeze the vise tighter on labor!

Army "Seizure" at Ward's



Breaking the Montgomery Ward strike in Detroit at Roosevelt's order, soldiers post a "seizure" notice informing the workers that they are under army rule.

Roosevelt Demands Congress Pass Slave Labor Measures

(Continued from page 1)

Under the impetus given by Roosevelt a number of forced labor measures have already been introduced into Congress. The most vicious of these measures are the bills designed to conscript 4-F's into labor battalions. It is this type of legislation which Roosevelt demanded Congress enact "immediately" pending "action by Congress on the broader aspects of national service."

A Scripps-Howard staff writer indicates that the brass hats have in mind for the 4-F conscript: "He would be in uniform, doing hard work without benefit of high civilian pay—but also without the benefits voted by Congress to men in the armed services. He would be in a stigmatized service."

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DEEPENING REACTION

As for the liberals, life is full of surprises for that political breed. They joined with the labor "statesmen" in hailing Roosevelt as the "greatest liberal of them all" and in jubiling over the demise of the Dies Committee. They looked forward to the new "progressive" Congress with confidence and hope. The first news of the "unforeseen" resurrection of the Dies Committee set them stuttering in confusion. But you can always depend on the liberal middle heads to find a silver lining in every reactionary cloud. A Washington correspondent of the "liberal" N. Y. daily PM, reports that: "House liberals, still blinking at the spectre of the Dies Committee which the House retrieved from the grave and immortalized today gathered their forces to make certain that the 1945-style un-American activities group is composed of a majority of fair-minded men."

The record of the Roosevelt administration since the election, the very first action of the new Congress, the anti-labor legislation already thrown into the Congressional hopper, are signs of a deepening reaction. By their support of the capitalist two-party system, the liberals and labor bureaucrats have led the workers into a trap. This is not the time, they howled, to launch an Independent Labor Party. This is the time, they said, to support Roosevelt and "progressive" Democrats and Republicans. With the aid of their support Roosevelt and a "progressive" Congress were elected.

The fruits of that "victory" have already turned to bitter gall. The workers are waiting for Hillman, Murray and Company to submit an accounting of their political leadership. Who won the election?

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

I stopped swearing. Jimmy grinned at me and said, "Seems like you're never satisfied. In the summertime you're swearing because it's too hot. Now you're swearing because it's too cold. What do you want?"

I grinned back at him, because that's what you do. You're cold. You have a bad cough that you've had a couple of months, but you just joke about it. What else are you going to do—go to Palm Beach and lie in the sand like the stockholders?

It's bad enough just getting to work in the winter. But when you do get there, you're really in for something.

You put on your furnace rags, torn and burnt from your work. The locker room's an old place, and cracks and badly fitted windows and doors let the winter in on you as you dress.

You pick up your lunch bag and coffee bottle and start out in the snow and darkness of early morning, headed for your furnace, almost half a mile down the line. When you're halfway there your face has stiffened with the cold, and you're covered with snow.

You drag your wet feet up the stairs of the blast furnace, grateful for the flames and molten iron. But it doesn't take very long for this gratitude to be forgotten, washed out of you with your sweat.

After cast you have to clean up, and cleaning up on the day shift usually means "pulling" the trough. With a bar and shovel you dig the slag and coke (red hot a short time ago and now still red in places) out of the trough and rebuild the bottom and sides with clay. With the smell of your burning shoe soles in your nose you dig and pound until the job is finished.

Tired, your heavy underwear soggy with sweat, you climb out and take care of the rest of your work. Only, now you're out of the trough, it isn't hot any more. You've stepped out of hell and straight into Siberia. The wind hits you. Silvers of snow dig into you. Soon the hot sweat that covers your body has cooled, and you begin to shiver . . . and probably to swear.

Your cleanup finished, you try to get warm. Even the coffee that you've put on the steam pipes doesn't help much at first. Finally, just as you begin to feel almost human it's time to cast again, so cut you go into the cold once more.

Discomforts—And Dangers

But it's not just discomfort that makes winter so bad on the blast furnace line: it's much more dangerous on the furnaces during winter. What if a ladle's wet? Even a cinder ladle is sure to get some iron in it during cast, and when that iron gets down to the moisture in the bottom, the whole thing blows up. If you're near it, you haven't got a chance.

What if you set the gates with wet coke, what if there's a little snow or ice in it? When the iron hits it, there will be fire and a shower of molten metal all over the furnace floor . . . and the keeper had better duck and run if he wants to live.

What if the clay is frozen when it's time to stop the tapping hole? There have been cases where the clay gun (which must weigh at least five tons and probably much more) has been blown apart and scattered all over the furnace.

Well, these things don't happen to occur today, so you're alive at the end of your shift, and, drenched again with sweat, you go down the stairs and start plodding back through the snow, tripping on railroad tracks, skidding into icecold puddles, and shivering.

Although you've got a long cold trip home, you've got to get into the shower first, because you can't put your street clothes on over all the sweat and dirt that you've accumulated during the past eight hours. That is still another invitation to pneumonia, but you can't afford to ruin your clothing, not as long as the blast furnace workers make only ninety cents to a little better than a dollar an hour, depending on what job they have.

So you swear. You swear in the summer when it's too hot, and you swear in the winter when it's too cold. You don't go to Palm Beach, because you can't afford it. You don't even stay home in bed on mornings when the temperature slides shuddering down below zero and the black wind pushes at your house and hoots at you. No, you get up and get out and risk your life in the dangers and discomforts of the steel mill, because you're a worker, and if you don't do it, you won't eat.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JANUARY 12, 1935

WASHINGTON—While millions of unemployed workers struggled to exist on starvation handouts of relief, President Roosevelt in his annual budgetary message to Congress proclaimed: "The Federal Government must and shall quit this business of private relief."

Vastly understating the true conditions, Roosevelt estimated that 5,000,000 workers, "1,500,000 of them unemployable," were jobless. For the 3,500,000 "employables" he advocated public works—with an appropriation which could not provide work for more than a third of them for 1935. Even these, Roosevelt recommended, were to be paid wages "not so large as to encourage the rejection of opportunities in private employment" where a \$12 a week minimum existed for most industries under the National Recovery Act codes. The rubber tire industry, however, had a \$10 minimum; textile bag workers, \$8.60; southern laundry workers \$6.60—and work project wages were not to conflict with such magnificent "opportunities."

Thus Roosevelt's much-praised public works program was exposed once more as a means of holding down the wage level of the American working class, while attempting to avert resistance to capitalist chaos by "ameliorating" intolerable conditions.

SACRAMENTO—Albert Goldman, noted labor attorney retained by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, was recognized as attorney for Norman Mini, in a brief session of the Criminal Syndicalism trial. Mini was one of the 18 militant leaders of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union who were arrested on frame-up charges at the demand of West Coast agricultural barons, after their union had won significant gains for the downtrodden migratory workers.

MINNEAPOLIS—As 2,000 garage mechanics went out on strike in the Twin Cities, General Drivers Union Local 574 sprang to their help, delegating V. R. Dunne to aid the strike committee. The Mechanics Union demanded union recognition, a minimum of 30 hours work a week, a minimum of 90 cents an hour for mechanics, 65 cents for mechanics and washers, seniority listings, and no discrimination for union activity.

Dies Committee Is Revived In First Congress Action

(Continued from page 1)

signed to cripple the unions. The wage-freezing Little Steel formula remains in effect. More stringent regulations are decreed freezing workers to their jobs. Legislation is demanded conscripting labor for work in private industry. Prices and profits rise while the workers' standard of living continues to decline.

The anti-labor measures initiated

ed by the Administration have emboldened the extreme reactionaries. The political agents of Wall Street dominate Hillman's new "progressive" Congress just as much as they dominated the old. They have nothing but contempt for the servile labor bureaucrats who keep the workers subordinated to the political parties of the capitalist ruling class. Hillman, Murray, Green and Company are treated, as they deserve to be, like snivelling flunkies who re-

bound to kick back crawling back to lick their master's boots. The reconstitution of the Dies Committee before the "echoes of the opening prayer had scarcely died away in the House," was intended, in part, to put the crowing liberals and labor lackeys in "their place."

At the time this is written neither Hillman or Murray have uttered a peep. Many workers who participated in the premature CIO-PAC "victory" celebration are wondering, "who won the election?" After the action of Congress at its opening session, the Washington correspondent of the Scripps-Howard press commented: "The CIO has more reason today to wonder, 'who won the election?' and its president, Philip Murray, is expected to have a statement on that subject before long." It should prove interesting!

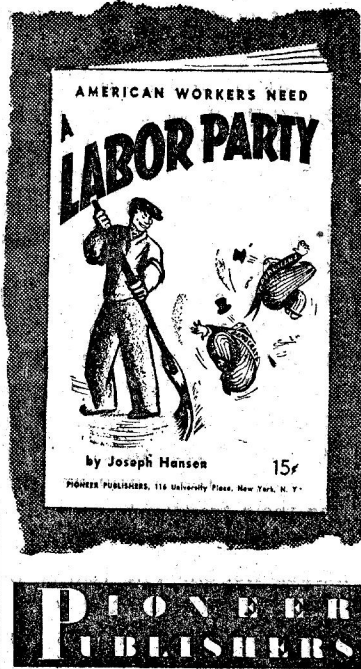
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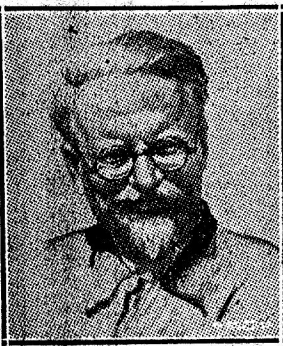
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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Labor Solidarity

The life and death question facing the Greek workers in the civil war provoked by the Allies is aid from the working class in the rest of Europe—and Great Britain and the United States. The Greek workers lack abundant military supplies. They lack an industrial machine to produce such supplies. No matter how heroically they fight, the Greek partisans are doomed in a purely military struggle against the Allied aggressor with his millions of troops and unlimited sources of material.

The situation faced by the Greek workers has a historic precedent. The Bolsheviks, when they led the Russian workers in overthrowing the Russian capitalists, were destitute of military resources. But they called on the workers of the rest of the world to save them from Allied intervention. The workers responded. The power of the working class in Britain, and Europe, in the U. S. and other capitalist countries was decisive in saving the young workers' state from the military might of the imperialist bandits.

The policy of the Bolsheviks offers the only road out for the Greek workers. This policy is continued today in the program of Trotskyism. A party based on this program would centralize the struggle, explain to the American and British workers the real situation in Greece, the revolutionary aims of the Greek workers and the counter-revolutionary aims of Allied imperialism. Such a party would fight for socialism and begin organizing a workers' state in Greece.

Above all, the revolutionary socialist party would link the struggle of the Greek workers with that of the workers throughout Europe. The imperious Allied command to disarm and bow meekly before a counter-revolutionary puppet government has been addressed to the workers of Italy, France and Belgium as well as the workers of Greece.

The main strategic problem facing the European workers is to unite politically against the common evil of capitalist rule. Everywhere the workers face a common enemy—the tiny rapacious imperialist cliques.

The slogan "For a Socialist United States of Europe!" formulates the common problem facing the entire European working class. That is, to unite, centralize and plan the economy of the continent, dissolving the outgrown frontiers which throttle production and help generate the explosive force of reactionary war.

The interlocking of the struggle of the Greek workers with the class struggles of the Belgian, French, Italian and German workers would mark the appearance of a new world force of prodigious strength. No imperialist army could stand up before its political offensive.

The Allied censorship prevents us from knowing the strength of the conscious revolutionary socialists in Greece. Even if their voice is becoming stronger, however, the counter-revolutionary Stalinists still head the mass movement and are doing their utmost to remain there while attempting to sell out the armed workers and peasants to Churchill. So long as the Stalinists are able to appear as spokesmen for the masses, they will cover up, deny, and struggle against the revolutionary aims of these masses.

The present situation among the insurgent Greek workers makes it all the more imperative for the American and British workers to rally to the defense of their class brothers. The struggle of the working class at home is inevitably affected by the outcome of the struggle abroad. If counter-revolution succeeds in crushing the Greek workers, reaction will be strengthened in both America and Great Britain.

Labor must safeguard the rising European revolution. The slogans of the day for American workers are: Hands off Greece! Hands off the European Revolution!

Militarism

In his January 6 message to the new Congress, Roosevelt bluntly demanded a federal law to make military conscription permanent. Such legislation would profoundly alter the character of American life during peacetime, forcing every youth in the land to undergo compulsory military training for one or more years.

This is the first time Roosevelt has openly insisted on peacetime conscription. Last year, he called for a National Service Act for young people that would force them to give up a year of their lives in the service of the nation.

Now Roosevelt is seizing what he thinks to be a golden opportunity to ram this legislation through Congress. The reverses on the battlefield and the heavy casualties cast such a pall that Roosevelt hopes the public will not oppose the proposed new federal law.

Roosevelt is carrying out the conspiracy of Big Business to Prussianize America. Proof that such a conspiracy exists is irrefutable. Last September, Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric Corporation, speaking before the Army Ordnance Association, told the brass hats and Big Business representatives present that it was necessary to "set the machinery in motion" for a program of peacetime militarization, because "the revolution against war not too long hence will be an almost insuperable obstacle to overcome."

Roosevelt's demand for peacetime conscription proves that Big Business is already preparing for a Third World War.

The workers, however, cannot oppose the principle of military training. Nowadays all questions are settled in the final analysis by armed power. It would be folly, consequently, to reject training that could save the labor movement from destruction at the hands of a fascist minority in this country.

But to safeguard its own interests labor must exercise control over military training. That is why trade union militants are duty bound to demand that military training be taken out of the hands of the reactionary brass hats and placed under the control of the trade unions.

Fiction And Fact

When he asked for a declaration of war, Roosevelt told the American people that the United States was entering the conflict to save the world for democracy. He spoke about Four Freedoms that the Allied armies would bring to the people of Europe. He talked about the necessity of combating fascism and nazism. Churchill sold the same bill of goods to the English workers.

Most of the workers and farmers undoubtedly took Roosevelt's declarations for good coin. They hate fascism and nazism. They know what happened to the workers and poor people under the savage rule of Hitler and Mussolini. Democratic rights, they are convinced, must be defended against the attack of reaction.

But the reality of the struggle has proved to be quite different from what Roosevelt promised. First there were deals with former Nazi collaborators such as Darlan. Then there were deals with former pillars of fascism such as Badoglio and the Italian monarch.

Now, the workers and farmers in the Allied armies are ordered to shoot down the very people they thought were to be freed. In Belgium the American general Eisenhower gave these orders; in Greece the British general Scobie. How bitter the Allied troops must feel when they are forced to level their guns on the European workers who are fighting for their freedom!

Thus Roosevelt's promises have turned out to be treacherous fiction. The reality of this war is becoming more evident each day. It is not at all a struggle for democracy against fascism, but a sordid struggle between imperialist gangs over colonies, spheres of influence, economic and military bases.

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Christmas Work

Editor:

The Los Angeles Union Passenger Terminal which is owned and operated by the three railroad systems it serves (Santa Fe, Southern Pacific, and Union Pacific) has had great difficulty during the war in getting sufficient help, particularly during the Christmas seasons, primarily due to the low wages and bad conditions offered. The base pay has been recently raised from 71 to 80 cents but it is very difficult to get an increase. For instance an experienced tractor driver who must know virtually every baggage car on every train leaving and arriving at Los Angeles is paid, believe it or not, 81 cents!

Two years ago the L.A.U.P.T. hired boys under sixteen in an attempt to clear the heaviest Christmas mail in the city's history. In addition to this, by an agreement between the Army, the Post Office, and the L.A.U.P.T., scores of soldiers were forced to work in the yards and Post Office Terminal Annex for Army pay. This year, however, far from being any shortage of labor, there was such an oversupply that all of the extra help was hired by the day and hundreds of men (not boys but laborers capable of doing the heaviest work) would wait hoping to get a days work in order to get something for their families for Christmas.

Even at the peak of the rush, scores of these men would be turned away to return the next day or another shift, still hoping to get on. In the meantime, the change in conditions has brought no change in the arrangement with the Army. This year as usual, the soldiers were forced to work on the mails for Army pay, thus throwing other men out of work.

This is the way the Government pampers the big railroads which are making bigger profits than ever before due to tremendously increased traffic, increased rates and frozen low wages, to say nothing of the widespread use of faulty stock which is largely responsible for the tragic accidents so numerous in recent months.

There is plenty of resentment against these conditions by soldiers and workers alike, both

A Real Contributor

Editor:

I was more than pleased with the pamphlets (sent by Pioneer Publishers) and certainly consider them strong medicine capable of inspiring any human being to join the class struggle.

I was very happy and pleased with Comrade Stein's recent letter and was also flattered on reading his speech to the convention in regard to a correspondent in Cincinnati who wishes to be put to work. It shows our efforts or interests are appreciated by each other more than we realize. It is hardly necessary for me to attempt to express how great my desire is to include Cincinnati as a real contributor to our cause.

Adopting our slogan of "doing what is necessary," I am sending in 8 more names for our subscription list.

Incidentally, what would you suggest for literature for what I refer to as the fourth generation, my daughter, 14 and my son, 12 (he is only interested in Hi-Ho Silver! etc. on the radio). I recall a cartoon I saw in the Appeal to Reason in my youth, of old Henry Dubbs (how the fat capitalist rode around on Henry's shoulders until Henry Jr. grew up, when he rode on Junior's shoulders).

I think perhaps the greatest impression made on me as a boy was by actually experiencing drama from real life. An aged Negro, a former slave, came over to help my father cut weeds out of his cornfield, and during the day he made this remark to my dad and me: "A lot of colored folks begged Massa to take them back after the War was over."

I think I read Uncle Tom's Cabin at approximately the same time, and being a boy I couldn't be Simon Legree's treatment to a desire to go back to Massa. (I didn't know the meaning of economic pressure at the time). But I heard literate workers say to me, "Why bite the hand that feeds you?" How absurd this sounds to us comrades, but if we could just sell the masses on the fact that we feed ourselves and also the employer, we would certainly have come a long way.

Where the Carrion Lies

The Vultures Hover

The notorious slogan of American imperialism, "trade follows the flag," is already heard above the roar of shells and bombs just reaching their peak of slaughter and devastation in Europe. For where the carrion is, the vultures hover. And first to swarm to the feast on the prostrate prey of Europe are the American bankers, vanguard of "dollar imperialism."

A January 3 United Press dispatch from London reports that "20 American bankers spent last night gazing at the coast of Britain while their ship rode at anchor waiting to go to France." They lacked visas for Britain, so could not land there before proceeding to the continent. They are, however, the vanguard of "700 businessmen granted permits to resume business" in "liberated" Europe.

The most vexing problem for these big business agents is lack of transportation, it is claimed. But a Paris dispatch to the N. Y. Times gives the assurance that "this problem will be eased shortly." Then the impatient plutocratic swarm will join "the pioneers now in Paris. . . Phil Copeland of General Motors, Alan Arragon of a Morgan banking firm and Augustus Rode and E. M. Ryan of International Harvester."

It isn't all pretzels and beer for these hardy pioneers. These bankers and industrialists have to be rugged. They have made "the unpleasant discovery that the Army is in very nearly total possession of the hotel facilities of Paris, that they cannot eat in Army messes and that a dinner on the black market runs from \$10 up."

But that's a small sacrifice to pay for the privilege of being first on the scene to grab the spoils of imperialist conquest.

Federal Court Goes Easy

On Corporation Criminals

"The quality of mercy is not strained" whenever the capitalist courts deal with big business criminals. A federal court in Newark, N. J., recently gave another typical example of that "justice tempered with mercy" toward corporate crooks which the courts rarely display toward luckless workers caught in the toils of the law.

The government had instituted criminal proceedings against nine leading corporations and their officers for collusive bidding on war contracts for the manufacture of wire cable. These corporations included General Electric, Anaconda Wire and Cable, Phelps Dodge Copper Products, American Steel and Wire, General Cable, National Electric Products, Rockbestos Products, Okonite and Collyer Insulated Wire.

But these corporate criminals, holding hundreds of millions in government war contracts, are not going to jail. They pleaded the usual "nola contendere," no contest of the government's charges, a virtual admission of guilt. Then, the broad-minded judge merely imposed a total of \$70,000 in fines—a microscopic fraction of the war profits the defendants have cleaned up on their illegal practices.

In addition, the government kindly agreed to dismiss all pending civil proceedings for the recovery of "excess profits." It was announced that the defendant corporations had made a "settlement," in which they henceforth agreed to accept the Navy Department's determination of a "reasonable return" on contracts.

The magnitude of the profits raked in by these corporations, with the aid of their criminal practices, is indicated by an announcement of U. S. Attorney John McGohey. He reported that these corporations have renegotiated the contracts involved in the collusive bidding and made restitution to the government of "excess profits" amounting to \$100,000,000. And that's just part of the loot!

Thus, corporation swindlers of hundreds of millions are "punished" with picaresque fines that their firms probably charge up to "petty cash."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Spain

Stens are multiplying that the bloody Franco dictatorship is tottering and mass unrest, including armed clashes with Franco's troops and police, are increasing. An evidence of the instability of Franco's regime is indicated by the recent stir among the various political factions in exile which aspire to return to power in Spain.

One faction, the Spanish "Democrats," led by Miguel Maura in Paris, is reported to be seeking an agreement with Franco in order to establish a new "democratic" government "without civil war." This idea has received unofficial support from the Vatican, since it was endorsed by *Il Popolo's* editor, Guido Gonella, "known to be very close to Vatican circles and his opinions are interpreted as expressing Vatican thought in the matter," reports the January 6 N. Y. Times.

Juan Negrin, last Premier of the defeated Loyalist government, broke a five-year political silence last week in a statement to an anti-Franco rally in New York. Thus putting in his revived bid for leadership of a Spanish capitalist republic. He hopes, as ever, to avert a socialist revolution.

Meanwhile, the Spanish masses are not waiting for the Mauras and Negrins. Repeated struggles have been reported from Spain in recent weeks. The latest was a battle between guerrilla forces and Franco police that raged during Christmas week at Taragona. Many arrests have been reported in Madrid, Barcelona and Saragossa.

Belgium

The Belgian Communist (Stalinist) Party has recently experienced a phenomenal growth. *Drapeau Rouge*, the Stalinist daily, is reported to have over 140,000 circulation, an enormous figure for tiny Belgium.

Prior to the war, the Stalinists exercised a lesser influence. The

reformist Socialist Party control-

led the mass following. But the latter's treacherous policies have since placed it in great discredit with the workers. Today, the "Socialist" leaders are trying to survive by clinging to the detested Allied puppet regime of Pierlot.

Hatred for the Pierlot regime and a desire for revolutionary change have turned the Belgian masses in the direction of the Stalinist party, which they mistakenly believe to be still the party of the October Revolution. The active role of the Stalinists in the anti-Nazi resistance movement and the victories of the Red Army have further enhanced Stalinist prestige.

In the first wave of revolutionary upsurge, it is to be expected that the workers should turn to the Stalinist Party. That, however, is a temporary phase. The Belgian workers will turn against Stalinism as fast-unfolding events disclose its counter-revolutionary aims. Some of the best revolutionary elements have already begun to find their way to the Fourth International. The London Times, November 21, contains the first capitalist press mention of the activity of "Trotskyists" in Belgium.

Yugoslavia

The Allied powers and the Kremlin bureaucracy are trying to pave the way for restoration of hated and currently jobless European monarchs, now quartered in Britain, through the device of "regencies."

Greece and Italy have set the pattern for the regency method of preserving monarchy. Yugoslavia, under the control of Stalinist Marshal Tito's forces and the Red Army, is the next country slated for a regency, as a bridge to the ultimate restoration of King Peter.

"Liberation"

The disillusionment of soldiers fighting in the Second Imperialist World War is reflected in the changing slang phrases, which become more and more cynical as the war aims of the capitalists grow more clear. Latest example in the British army, according to the New Statesman and Nation, is this one:

"In the early stages of this war if you got extra leave or gasoline or rations, you were said to have 'organized' them. The latest variant I have heard was in a conversation in a train, where a soldier opposite said to his friend: 'That's a fine coat you have. Where did you liberate that?'"

(N. Y. Times, January 4). He has ceded to this point of view under British pressure and with the example of Greece before him.

The proposal for a regency council is contained in an agreement which Premier Ivan Subasitch of the Yugoslav government made with Tito and brought to London on December 10, 1943.

Among the signatories of the pact which set up the present Yugoslav coalition government, the Stalinist-monarchical combination sponsoring the regency, is Dr. Jurg Sutej. He was finance minister under the savage regime of Prince Paul who preceded King Peter. Sutej, a Croat, went over to Hitler's side, transferring \$10,000,000 of Yugoslav government funds from America to Argentina, where it is being used by Croatia's pro-Nazi Quisling government. Today Sutej holds the posts in the Tito government of Minister of Finance, Trade and War. As for Tito's Prime Minister, Subasitch, he openly defended the previous Yugoslav Pact with Hitler and as Governor of Croatia introduced anti-Semitic legislation. Such is the "democratic" regime Stalin and the Allies have imposed on Yugoslavia.