## **Who Carries Forward Lenin's Fight Today?**

— SEE PAGE 3 —

# THE MULLITANT

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# UAW DEMANDS WITHDRAWAL FROM WLB

Released Trotskyists on Minneapolis Arrival

# Ward "Seizure" By Government Ruled Illegal

Chicago Federal District Judge Philip L. Sullivan on January 27 brought joy to the hearts of the labor-hating employers by ruling that Roosevelt's army "seizure" of 16 Montgomery Ward properties was illegal. This decision upholding the "sacred private property rights" of Sewell L. Avery, No. 1 Open-Shopper, demonstrates once more how the capitalist government and its legal agencies defend the interests of the owning and ruling class.

Roosevelt's "seizure" of Avery's properties last December in order Army Suspends WLB to halt the spreading strikes of the Ward workers was hailed by union leaders as a "great victory" for organized labor. The administration attempted to represent the move as a determined effort to enforce the War Labor Board directives which Avery had defied for years. Actually, it was intended to break the strike and bolster the tottering authority of the WLB, Roosevelt's chief agency for imposing compulsory arbitration and the wage-freeze.

Judge Sullivan's ruling has exploded like a bombshell among Roosevelt's labor lackeys, who have been pointing at the Ward "seizure" as "proof" that the workers can place dependence upon the capitalist government and Roosevelt regime to "protect" labor's interests. It is now crystal clear that the sole practical and permanent effect of the Ward "seizure" was to break the Ward

The Ward "seizure" merely snatched the strike weapon from Street's war. That's "legal"! the hands of the Ward workers property "rights" of the employ-

#### SULLIVAN'S DECISION

Judge Sullivan's decision typified the hair-splitting that characterizes capitalist judicial prac- lant. With the court's announcetice in bending the laws to the benefit of the capitalists. He shot up several points. Avery decided that Montgomery Ward did not come within the strict was a "great day for labor." The terms of the Smith-Connally Act, N. Y. Times, mouthpiece for the because the company was primar- Morgan banking interests, pomily engaged in "distribution" and pously editorialized that Judge not "production." Moreover, it was not "directly" engaged in command respect . . . scholarly, "war effort." It was "legal" for Roosevelt to "seize" the coal mines and railroads at the behest of the owners to break or prevent strikes because the "war effort" workers can defend their interwas involved. But the President just because it might be useful or labor." Break the shackles of

where capitalist property "rights" | corporation-dominated War Labor begin. It's all right however, to Board! Labor can rely only on freeze wages by decree, freeze its own organized strength and jobs, impose forced labor, place independent program of militant millions of workers into uniform action.

# Orders in Ward Case

officers operating 16 government - seized Montgomery Ward properties today announced they are holding up application of all War Labor Board directives in the Ward case until the legality of such action is clarified. This decision followed the ruling of Federal District Court Judge Sullivan that the "seizure" was illegal.

Thus, after years of delay and two "seizures," the Ward workers, organized by the CIO United Wholesale, Retail and Department Store Employes Union, are still being denied their WLB-approved maintenance-of-membership contract, minimum wage raises, and hundreds of thousands of dollars in back pay.

to kill and be killed in Wall Of course, Roosevelt's adminis and shoved them into the barbed trative agents and labor lieutenwire entanglements of the boss ants are howling that Judge Sullicourts. There, as always, their van's ruling will destroy Roosstruggle became enmeshed in a evelt's machinery for "peaceful thousand steel judicial strands. settlement" of labor disputes. The courts provide innumerable They are clamoring about its devices for binding the workers "adverse" effect on the current hand and foot and defending the CIO United Automobile Workers' labor disputes will collapse."

> sarcastically commented that it argued."

"may not seize private property pendence on capitalist "friends of beneficial to the armed forces." the no-strike pledge and with-Capitalist patriotism e n d s draw all labor support from the

# CHICAGO, Jan. 29 — Army

referendum on the no-strike pledge. WLB Chairman Davis

Sullivan's ruling was "bound to judicious in tone . . . impressively

The farce of the Ward "seizure" has demonstrated that the ests only by discarding all de-

# BRITISH TROTSKYIST RUNS FOR PARLIAMENT

(Special to THE MILITANT)

LONDON, Jan. 18—Jock Haston, National Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain, will stand as candidate for Parliament in a forthcoming by-election at Neath, South Wales. Comrade Haston was one of four British Trotskyist leaders recently released from prison when the Appeal Court quashed frame-up convictions obtained against them by Churchill's government on charges of "furthering a strike."

The election campaign will present the program of Trotsky nationalization of the great steel ism to the militant miners of trusts which dominate the tin- has already been upset. It has South Wales, who have conducted plate industry in the Neath area. run into several unforeseen oba series of magnificent strikes These two industries control stacles, causing delays which induring the war. The Welsh min- almost the entire life of the creasingly imperil the adminisers have continuously battled population of South Wales. against the miserable wages and the conscription for mine labor the election into a test of the which have been maintained by mood of the British working the colliery owners with the ac- class. Neath is a labor strongquiescence of Labor Party Mem. hold, represented in Parliament

bers of Parliament. the Trotskyist platform is na- Party coalition existing since the labor demand. In their desire to labor measure that it is. tionalization of the coal mines outbreak of the Second Imperialwithout compensation, a demand ist World War, the seat now varepeatedly put forth by the cated by the death of Sir William miners themselves in their strug- Jenkins will not be contested by gles for better conditions. Comrade Haston will also demand

Comrade Haston will convert by Labor Party candidates since to respond in the same labor-hat its enactment but exposed the was the half hour radio program bers. From all over the state One of the central slogans of 1922. Under the Tory-Labor

' (Continued on page 2)





Leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO photographed in the Great Northern railroad station at Minneapolis after their release from Sandstone penitentiary on January 24, 1945. Left to right: Emil Hansen, Farrell Dobbs, Albert Goldman, Oscar Coover, Vincent Dunne, Felix Morrow, Carl Skoglund, Carlos Hudson, Max Geldman, Jake Cooper, and

# The Homecoming Of The Twelve

By Larissa Reed

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 24 — Today broke crisp and clear and the sun poured down upon the Great Northern railroad station. But within the station it was still dim and empty at 10:30. Soon almost a hundred people, arriving by foot and by car filled it with their voices, smiles and movements. For 13 months they had awaited this day, awaited the train bearing eleven men from Sandstone prison. "You wait and wait for this day and all of a sudden it's on top of you," said Harry DeBoer, who had been in prison with them for over ten of those months. He drew himself up and tried to look calm and collected, but his hands were not

# complained that the "whole plan of peaceful settlement of wartime Roosevelt Puts On Pressure lant. With the court's announcement, Ward stocks immediately For Forced Labor Measures

By Joseph Keller

Confronted by mounting labor opposition to his "National Service" scheme for regimenting the workers and undermining the unions, Roosevelt and his leading brass hats are pressing ever more urgently for speedy enactment of the May-Bailey forced labor draft bill, now before Congress. This bill contains features more harsh in some instances than the original Nazi slave labor code on which the Roosevelt plan is modeled and which inspired his cynical slogan, "This is a war of free labor against slave labor.'

Extra! WLB Bucks

Here's one time the corpora-

tion-dominated W a r Labor

Board took issue with a big

Last week the board in

Washington rejected a propo-

sal of the Great Atlantic and

Pacific Tea Company to grant

one week's vacation with pay

after six months' service and

two weeks after one year for

all 44,000 store, plant, ware-

house and office employes. The

board instead insisted upon

one week's vacation after one

year's employment and two

weeks after three years' ser-

vice for all except the office

employes, who were granted

This rejection of the com-

pany's own request for most

of the A & P employes was

justified on the grounds that

most of the workers were al-

ready getting vacations on the

basis approved by the WLB

and to adopt the company's

plan would be to "violate"

Roosevelt's wage - freezing,

wage-stabilization program!

forced labor measure all sorts of

cruder anti-labor amendments.

Their slobbering eagerness to em-

brace Roosevelt's plan and even

(Continued on page 5)

the original request.

Big Corporation

employer.

The success of the administration's conspiracy to enslave American labor in the interests of the profiteering corporations required the strategy of speed and surprise. Roosevelt's plot, therefore was to shove through a forced labor bill before the labor move ment had time to mobilize its ranks for resistance and before his sinister anti-labor intent

could be fully exposed. With this aim of speed in mind, Roosevelt timed his renewed forc ed labor drive to go into high gear at the moment when popular fear of a prolonged war slaughter was at its height, during the unexpected military reverses on the Belgian front. Roosevelt unleashed a fraudulent propaganda scare-campaign about munitions "shortages" that was designed to play upon the fears of the masses for their loved ones in the battle lines and break down their opposition to labor regimentation.

However, despite the careful planning of the administration, its forced labor blitz time-table

#### tration's original scheme. ANTI-LABOR AMENDMENTS

One unanticipated snag has been created by the very eagerness of reactionary Congressmen "strengthen" the bill and eliminate any possibility of loopholes, to undermine union security by been taking a leading part in ponse the broadcast has evoked. Congressional colleagues, particul tracts for workers forced into surrender policy. WJR is the dent Jesse Ferrazza, John strike." larly from the Democratic South, are competing to attach to the

The big business press sent no reporters to the station; they were continuing their conspiracy of silence. A local paper carried a perfunctory item: "12 Radicals to Leave U. S. Prisons Today," announcing that 11 men in Sandstone and one woman, Grace Carlson, in Alderson, West Virginia were today being released railroaded to prison, and urged from prison. That was all.

the heroic fighters for the work- end of 1943. Today 12 of them ing class known throughout the Northwest as leaders of the labor movement. In 1934 they led the mighty series of struggles most a hundred people were wait- Local 6, UAW-CIO addressed the against the bosses that for the first time made Minneapolis a union town. They were sent to prison not only because they are militant and loyal trade-unionists but also because they are Marxist political leaders, Trotskyists. Alone they stood out against the second imperialist war and told the truth about its the track I saw the yellow Diesel Service Employees Local 1143reactionary aims. They said over | engine nose its way around | CIO, and Willard Townsend, Presand over again: "This is Wall the curve. Nobody seemed to ident of the CIO United Trans-Street's war-this is a war for speak, yet everyone heard "The port Service Employees Union,

ing to gain from it." capitalist war, and for their revolutionary socialist ideas, these Trotskyists earned the hatred of enough, they were sentenced on the day war was declared. They

Yet these released prisoners are began serving their terms at the its repeal.

were coming out. How do they feel? How do they look? What do they think? Aling...and watching the clock. "The train arrives on Track 9 at "This must be something special," he remarked.

"THE TRAIN IS IN"

Through the window pane above Treasurer of the United Shoe profits—the workers have noth- train is in." Nobody seemed to sent messages declaring the supmove, yet the crowd had formed port of their unions to the fight For their courageous fight into a huge semi-circle around the of the CRDC against the Minneaagainst the bosses, against the gate, closely packed, silent, tense with anticipation.

For a fraction of a moment the spell of waiting was unbroken. powerful enemies and misleaders | Carlos Hudson was first up the of the workers. Two of these stairs. Then, like a series of elecenemies, one, the President of the tric shocks, in quick succession ident of the AFL Teamsters In- man, Vincent Dunne, Farrell ternational, conspired to railroad | Dobbs, Emil Hansen, Jim Cannon, the 18 to prison. Symbolically Carl Skoglund, Felix Morrow,

(Continued on page 4)

# **Auto Workers' Board Calls** On CIO To Initiate Break

Wage-Freezing Agency Which Union Chiefs Bolstered Now Termed 'Useless Instrument'

United Automobile Workers, largest and most dynamic union in the country, last week adopted a resolution calling on the CIO to withdraw its support from Roosevelt's War Labor Board. The resolution stated that this government agency has now become 'a useless instrument."

Labor Board was occasioned by a ruling of Director

## Albert Goldman **Greeted at CRDC Chicago Meeting**

CHICAGO, Jan. 27-More than 200 people attended the meeting on January 25 sponsored by the Chicago Branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee to honor the 12 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO released from prison where they had served 13 months as a result of the Minneapolis "Frame-up Trial."

The principal speaker was Al bert Goldman, defense attorney in the trial and one of the 12 prisoners who were released on January 24th. His appearance on the platform brought forth an ovation from the audience. In a The steel wage case was "settled" stirring speech Albert Goldman declared that progressive ideas have never in the last analysis been destroyed by persecution and reaffirmed his allegiance to the ideas and principles of revolutionary socialism.

Charles Liebman, American Civil Liberties Union attorney, greeted Albert Goldman and denounced the Smith "Gag" Act, under which the 18 defendants were the continuation of the fight for

#### PLEDGE SUPPORT

Louis Petros, member of the bargaining committee of Buick meeting, stating that his local was on record in support of the 11:39," said the gate-keeper. He fight to defend the 18 and against surveyed the crowd with surprise. the reactionary Smith "Gag" Act. He said that these convictions represented a danger to all organized labor.

Frank Consago, Secretarypolis frame-up.

Telegrams and letters of greeting and solidarity from branches WLB's anti-labor function and and locals of the Socialist Workers Party from New York to San Diego were also read to the meeting by chairman Lydia Beidel. United States and the other, Pres- | followed the others: Albert Gold- | \$135.00 was contributed by the audience for the purpose of continuing the splendid work of the Roosevelt, were the original ad-CRDC. Among those in attendance were a large number of auto

By Art Preis

The International Executive Board of the CIO

This blow to the tottering prestige of the War

of Economic Stabilization Vinson, who directed the WLB to make no further wage increase grants without prior approval of the Office of Price Administration. This, in effect, removes all final authority from the WLB to another agency on which labor has not even formal representation.

The UAW-CIO leaders' action came as the climax to a whole series of rotten deals handed labor by the Roosevelt administration in connection with a n d through the War Labor Board. In its three years of existence, the WLB has earned among the workers the title of "Graveyard of Grievances." Major wage cases in auto, packinghouse, textile, rubber, glass and aluminum, have been stalled as much as two years: with all major wage demands denied. At the same time, the WLB pussyfooted endlessly with powerful open-shop employers like Avery.

This has produced a violent The hostility to the WLB is expressed most sharply in the auto workers union, where opposition to compulsory arbitration and the no-strike surrender policy have forced the holding of a national referendum on the no-strike pledge.

Today, almost every worker recognizes what The Militant has contended since the WLB was first established—that the WLB was designed to shackle the workers to compulsory arbitration, impose the wage-freeze, curb independent militant labor action. From the start, the "impartiality" of the WLB was a deliberate

WLB ANTI-LABOR

The rising indignation of the auto workers and the complete exposure of the WLB as a procorporation, wage-freezing, strikebreaking instrument of the capitalist government has finally compelled the UAW leaders to echo the demand of the ranks that labor get off the WLB. This is a belated confession of the character.

But the UAW leaders themselves share responsibility for foisting the board on the workers. The UAW tops, along with all the other labor lackeys of vocates and supporters of the

(Continued on page 5)

## **Auto Militants Broadcast Strong Appeal** For Revocation Of The No-Strike Pledge

By J. Kirk and R. Weston

DETROIT, Jan. 21—The rank and file campaign to revoke the no-strike pledge in the current CIO United Automobile Workers referendum is daily gathering momentum and support despite the terrific flag-waving propaganda of the CIO and UAW leaders, backed by the corporations, government and rabid Stalinists.

A high point in the auto milition WJR, Detroit, by the powerin Michigan.

Thousands of Michigan auto tants' drive to win a majority workers heard the hard-hitting "improve" it has not only delayed vote for rescinding the pledge appeal from the Local 212 memlargest radio broadcasting station Murphy, Chairman of the Briggs That complaint voiced over two Hamtramck unit; Ruth Bailey, years ago, declared Ferrazza,

Mack Avenue plant; Gordon Mac- in one form or another by work-Donald, Local 212 Vice-President; and Leo Ellery, Chairman of the United Automobile Workers con-Local 212 Skilled Trades Committee, struck the militant chord herein lies the crux of the nothat the auto ranks have wanted strike issue. To ask: 'Shall we or

Ferrazza quoted the statement of a delegate to the UAW 1942 bargaining means that labor can, convention assailing the frauduing spirit as Roosevelt's forced original bill for the viciously anti- presented last evening over Sta- supporting messages are already lent "equality of sacrifice" slogan resist the downward pressure on beginning to pour in, testifying to and the War Labor Board, who One amendment was designed ful Briggs Local 212, which has the wide-spread sympathetic res- declared, "We haven't had collective bargaining in this union Roosevelt's more unrestrained abrogating closed shop union con- the struggle against the no-strike The addresses of Local 212 Presi- since we gave up the right to

rank and filer from the Briggs "has been heard over and over ers employed in plants under tract from coast to coast. And shall we not have legitimate collective bargaining?' Collective by its organized strength, its living standards and working conditions by organized capital. But without the right to strike labor's combined strength means

> Ferrazza pointed out that the (Continued on page 5)

little or nothing."

By Joseph Keller

#### Textile Wage Case Conspiracy

rigamarole of War Labor Board decision in the textile wage case hearings and other government abitration procedures is designed administration-employers conspir to conceal behind-the-scenes con- acv to defraud the textile workniving between the administra- ers is contained in a document tion and the big employers.

such conspiracy have been par- Textile Workers Union. tially disclosed by recent developments in the textile wage case, signed by William P. Jacobs, Exincluding Director of Economic ecutive Director of the Print Stabilization Vinson's interven- Cloth Group of Cotton Manufac tion in this and other pending turers, Clinton, S. C. It is dated cases. This intervention came in January 12, 1945.- It is fittingly the form of his letter to the WLB titled, "Another Progress Report." "requesting" that agency to grant no wage increases of any nature without prior approval of the Of- spending another week in Washfice of Price Administration.

in blocking a final decision of the WLB after it had indicated its intentions of lifting slightly the "sub-standard" wages of the ter-"sub-standard" wages of the ter-"sub-standard" wages of the ter-ribly exploited textile workers. conference with Judge Vinson for us." What a spirit of cordiality Further, he established an entirely new basis for "settling" wage disputes. Not the "merits of the case" are the criteria, but us." What a spirit of cordiality and cooperation!

The report goes on to confide: "On wages the judge seemed between the criteria, but whether wage increases, however ter informed and more interested paltry, "affect costs and prices" but still non-committal." "Better always insist they do.

wage disputes is no longer to re- committal" means cautiously reside in the official arbitration fraining from any open commitagency, the WLB, but in the ments. "price control" agencies, where the unions do not even have formal representation. Thus, the son's) hands, and from the press administration has contrived a ure that we know has now reachneat device for nullifying wage increases even in those few instances where the WLB, in order be forced to indefinitely hold the to grant "fringe" raises.

merely implement the adminisin this particular case there is concrete evidence that Vinson acted in accordance with White House directions. Moreover, as we shall show, Vinson had a secret "understanding" with the leading textile manufacturers.

The first public knowledge of the general contents of Vinson's letter to WLB chairman Davis came in a CIO statement of protest issued in Washington on January 12. This statement also contained a copy of a letter sent by satisfactory and resulted in a Roosevelt to CIO President Murray. Roosevelt's letter - into ing the effect of pressure FROM which the CIO leaders attempted HIGHER UP and perhaps from don, reports as follows: at first to read a message of the letters which you have written "hope" — clearly indicates that to members of Congress. I RAN the inspiration for Vinson's ac- INTO THAT AT MANY

increases upon prices. "Naturally, any proposals for a change in our present policy must be considered in relation to their probable effect upon the price structure and upon our general anti-inflatherefore, will submit its report agreement. We must not permit force his "interpretation." the price level to rise."

to the last sentence that the com- skulduggery hidden from the pelling reason advanced by the workers. The United Press re- it is important for us to get trade unions to demand wage increases ported on January 24 that the unionists from among permanent has been precisely that prices text of Vinson's letter "was made San Francisco and East Bay peohave already risen — at least 45 available despite efforts of both ple if possible. And we are going per cent since January 1941.

It can now be proved, further- from being made public."

Some workers undoubtedly still more, that Vinson acted not only have the illusion that the Roose- with Roosevelt's approval but velt administration attempts to also upon secret agreement with exercise "impartiality" in arriv- the textile bosses. That is why ing at wage decisions. But the Vinson's letter to the WLB was reality is the exact opposite. The timed to halt release of the WLB

The irrefutable evidence of this made public on January 23 by The actual mechanics of one Emil Rieve, President of the CIO

This revealing document is

The document begins: "After ington. I give you another con-By his action, Vinson succeeded fidential report on price ceilings

as the profiteering corporations informed and more interested here means sympathetic to the Moreover, final authority in sweat-shop operators' view; "non-

Then comes the real pay-off "This matter is now in his (Vin-WLB would authorize. From conferences which I held I know that Justice Byrnes, Senators Apart from the obvious general George, Maybank, Russell and fact that Roosevelt's underlings Governor Gardner, and perhaps and appointees, including Vinson, others have insisted that he do nothing which will wipe out the tration's wage and labor policies, traditional North-South differen-

> To what "political reasons" does this Southern sweatshop representative refer? Obviously the need of the Roosevelt regime to preserve its political ties with the powerful Southern Democratic Bourbons. The whole deal was engineered through Roosevelt's right-hand man, Byrnes, the socalled "Assistant President."

The report then observes: "The hopeful conclusion, again indicat-In his letter discussing the ad- ups" and legislators! Indeed, the ministration's broad wage policy, textile manufacturers had every Roosevelt emphasized just one reason to anticipate a "hopeful point—the effect of any wage conclusion." And they were not mination to get some subs from tion unionists." disappointed.

It need merely be added that WLB chairman Davis is now engaged in a bit of shadow-boxing tion program. The board (WLB), up the WLB's tottering authority, to Judge Vinson whom I then ex- responsibility for the administrapect to advise me in light of the tion's connivery. He is "disputboard's findings, as well as all ing" in a polite way with Vinson's other relevant information. As to "interpretation" — although con- Sunday's work. Next Sunday we

However, Davis and Vinson WLB Chairman William H. Davis to try." and Mr. Vinson to prevent it

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# TRADE UNION Socialist Workers Party Fund Drive Tops \$15,000 Mark On Release Of Comrades

\$8,000 P

#### \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund

A litting Welcome to Our 18 Class-War Prisoners

By Rose Karsner, Campaign Director

"It's a wonderful thing to have a party to come back to. To know you are not alone; that the long time you put in was not in vain." That was the comment made by one of the released comrades about an hour after the arrival at the Minnepolis SWP headquarters.

This remark was called forth by a telegram of greeting from the National Office which also gave the information about the final total for the January 27th Scoreboard of the Socialist Workers Party Expansion Fund Campaign.

The jump from 59 percent to 83 percent in one week represented a special effort on the part of every single comrade who made the total possible. It represented an expression of solidarity with the returned "warriors"—a way of telling the world how Trotskyists react to the persecution of their party and its members.

The results of this special effort cannot be regarded as a mere organizational achievement. It was a political action fraught with significance for the further development of the revolutionary socialist movement in this country. As Leon Trotsky wrote at the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in September, 1938: The present epoch is distinguished not for the fact that it frees the revolutionary party from day-to-day work but because it permits this work to be carried on indissolubly with the actual tasks of the revolution." That is the way we Trotskyists view all our party

All indications are that the full \$18,000 will be in before the termination of the campaign on March 1, and that by that date we will go well over the goal set. A number of the hundred percent branches have already informed the National Office of their cartoon choice. Others write that they have not made their selection as yet but will do so soon.

#### FROM THE BRANCHES

San Francisco, A. Alexander: "Another \$100 on the day of our comrades' release from prison! Now we are sure that our branch will go over the top. We are beginning to examine the cartoons very carefully so we can make a good choice."

Boston, F. Daniels: "Enclosed find money order. This won't be the last by any means. We still have money pledged which should run our total close to \$500 before the campaign ends on March 1st." Boston has decided to take the cartoon 'Capitalism in War and Peace' which appears in the center of the Labor Party pamphlet, if it is still available."

Buffalo, P. White: "Enclosed please find check in the amount to preserve its prestige as an matter, or he may recommend a of \$111, bringing our branch well over its quota. There are still some "impartial" agency, is compelled basis somewhat lower than the pledges outstanding on the campaign and we expect to forward these

Philadelphia, D. Fitzgerald: "We shall meet the full quota by February 23d, sooner if we can possibly manage."

Milwaukee, B. Crane: "Our branch feels proud to have upped our pledge and then have gone over our quota. It was not too easy. If no other branch has already requested the cartoon illustrating 'The Only Road,' we would like to have it. A second choice would be the fine cartoon by Gray printed with Comrade Jackson's New York speech, showing the octopus of the capitalist state strangling and entangling the workers in its tentacles."



San Francisco is obtaining ex- | Los Angeles, agent, comments

the more stable element in town - people who have lived and

borhood. "This type of work we are now It may be noted with reference have cooperated to keep their doing is much harder than hitting the projects. But we believe

A report from Al Lynn, our

cellent results from their Sunday about the type of subscribers mobilizations. Our agent, R. Had- they are getting: "I observe that by far the great majority of subs "Of the 27 trial subs, 21 were we have been sending in for the obtained in San Francisco - 18 past few months have been for on last Sunday's mobilization. industrial workers. This is a position came straight from the White POINTS." Such understanding Five of us went out. We are exand co-operation from the "higher perimenting with neighborhoods roots of the party are going deepin an attempt to determine where er and deeper into the labor we can get the best results and movement. Also these subscribalso keeping in mind our deter- ers are practically without excep-

A. West, our agent in Toledo, worked here prior to the war. So, reports a phenomenon that is ocwe hit the Mission district and curring in all parts of the counwith Vinson. Naturally, to prop was difficult going . . . but one subs from people miles around of our people remarked that a Toledo and this is due to the fac-Davis is compelled to disclaim year ago we would have had no tories here where people travel luck at all. So, though 18 subs far to work. Some subscribers is not a tremendous amount, we upon finishing with their copies were very impressed with our pass them on to fellow workobjectives, we are in perfect ceding Vinson's authority to en hit another working class neigh- This helps to expand our paper outside of Toledo. The subscribers in Monclova are examples of what I mean."

> A reader in Mexico City expresses her appreciation of The

"To a person in a foreign councial messenger of hope. I find government in history. Tracing agreed to speak for the affirmato the current campaign report. Bronson exposed the reactionary cialist Youth Forum January 19, These two features are like let- purpose of the present "war for was threatened with expulsion ters from home, telling of the activity and progress of friends. So much has been said in praise of Grey's and Kovalesky's columns on the program of Lenin," the peal that is essential to a labor

"I have an upsurge of pride every time a new issue of the paper arrives. Pride first because of the high political level of the articles it carries and second because of the excellency of the workmanship the staff of The Militant has attained."

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# Meetings Of SWP Branches **Commemorate Lenin's Work**

dress on the occasion of the twen- rade Schultz. ty-first anniversary of the death | A biographical sketch of Lenof V. I. Lenin. The meeting was in's life was given by Elaine held under the auspices of the Roseland, chairman of the meetworked in it for two hours. It try: "We have many Militant Newark branch of the Socialist ing, in which Lenin's part in the Workers Party.

of this great revolutionary lead-

explaining how the workers at taken. that time were betrayed into supporting the imperialists, Comrade Bronson contrasted this to Youth Group Lenin's irreconcilable opposition to the war. This opposition was an integral part of the revolutionary socialist program with which Lenin later led the Russian workers in their victorious strugtry, The Militant comes as a spe- gle to establish the first workers' Militant Army first, and second Belgium and France, Comrade democracy."

"Only by building the Trotskyist movement, which bases itself and of Gray's cartoons that more speaker concluded, "can the workis superfluous. They have added ers eliminate the capitalist systremendously to the popular ap- tem which is responsible for the resounding "No!" Comrade Robpresent world slaughter and all ertson analyzed the nature, roots of the terrible suffering flowing and development of Stalinism,

> MINNEAPOLIS - Twin City branches of the Socialist Workers Party observed the anniversary of Lenin's death in a special session of the Twin City Sunday Forum held on January 21. Homage was paid to the ideas of Leninism, the program of the socialist revolution, by Dorothy Schultz who addressed the wellattended meeting of comrades

and friends. "Lenin, the man, is dead, but Lenin's ideas — the ideas of Marx and Engels - still live today. We, as Trotskyists, honor those ideas, not as something in on Third St.

NEWARK, Jan. 22 - An at- the dead past, but as a program tentive audience of Newark to be followed and carried out workers last night heard Harry day by day in the building of a Bronson deliver a memorial ad- revolutionary party," said Com-

Recounting the life and work ganization of the Bolshevik party were recounted. In a special aper, Comrade Bronson laid parti- peal for contributions to the Socular emphasis on Lenin's role cialist Workers Party Expansion during the first World War. After Fund, a collection of \$45 was

Dave Ellis, a member of the Communist (Stalinist) Political Association, who had previously that I invariably turn to the the recent events in Greece, Italy, tive in a debate "Can Stalinism Lead to Socialism?" at the Sofrom the CPA, if he appeared. He did not appear.

Sandy Robertson, a member o the Trotskyist Youth Group, answered the question "Can Stalinism Lead to Socialism?" with a reviewing its counter-revolutionary program today. Following the speech the floor was opened for discussion.

On January 26 the Socialist Youth Forum discussed "America's Role in Europe." The main speaker, Jerry Alberts, showed how American imperialism is attempting to crush the revolutionary actions of the European masses.

#### Buy "The Militant" IN MILWAUKEE

at the newsstand on the northwest corner of Wisconsin Ave.

# URUGUAY TROTSKYISTS HOUNDED BY REACTION

The government of Uruguay last November launched new persecutions of the Trotskyist movement through its anti-labor 'court for control of antinational activities.' Several members of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League have been hailed before this court, which combines the functions of a Dies Committee with the powers of prosecution, and questioned at length on their political beliefs.

The witch-hunt proceedings, which were temporarily halted by ernment. Thus the candidacy of a judicial holiday, will be resumed in March when the court reconvenes. This new assault follows dissatisfaction with the Toryan attack made upon the Trotskyists by the Minister of the Interior last June. At that time, in a in political action. week-long session, the Minister repeatedly raised the specter of monstrated by mass protest meet-"Trotskyism" to whitewash the ings their bitter antagonism to government's vicious anti-strike Churchill's murder of Greek laws. Names of many Trotskyists were furnished to the government by Stalinist finger-men

At the November inquisition the Trotskyists were questioned non-intervention in Greece. Comon their attitude toward the im rade Haston will call upon labor perialist war and their activities to break the coalition, overthrow in the trade union movement. That the court may attempt a frame-up similar to Churchill's gram. and Roosevelt's imprisonment of Trotskyist leaders is indicated by many of the questions.

"What do you think of the present war," the defendants were will proclaim the party's irreconasked. "Of the countries at war, does any one merit special aid? What is your position towards Nazi-Fascism? What do you think of the Democratic-Republican regime of government? Are you an advocate of the dictatorship of the proletariat?"

As in the June attack, when attemps were made to blame the Trotskyists for 'inciting' a strike in local packing houses, the basis was laid for a widespread victimization of union militants. "What do you desire for Uruguay?" the court demanded. "Does the Revolutionary Workers League propose to foment a strike in any establishment or company?"

you share his idea of the 'Per- will oppose the vicious program manent Revolution'?"

in spite of the government's at | He will explain why Vansittart's tempts to intimidate their ranks, plan for reparations, blockade, the Trotskyists in Uruguay are and revenge upon the workers of

# Pioneer

Socialist Workers Party at 116 conditional freedom for India University Place is very proud of and all the colonial peoples. its attractive illuminated literature stand, built by a seaman comrade who is unusually handy land as a result of the frame-up with carpentry tools. Books, trials last spring, has spent most pamphlets, the magazine and newspaper are all clearly displayed and readily accessible. stand is placed near the entrance of the City Organizer's office on the third floor and a colorful, well ist movement as a speaker, writer lighted display draws the attention as soon as one enters the This branch makes an interest

ing observation: "We find that many old-timers in the revolutionary movement are beginning to drop up to find out what has been happening generally, what the Party is saying about current events here and abroad, what new publications have appeared, as well as 'to talk things over.' They usually have to do considerable catching up and are glad to take advantage of the special offer of the three books for \$5.00, (Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism,' Cannon's "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party," and "The History of American Trotskyism"). In these three books they find much of the essential reading material about party developments up to the present time.

Almost everyone who buys the new Labor Party pamphlet makes some comment on its attractive appearance. We find that people are very conscious of what they missed and want to make up for it. They are off to a good start when they read "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party," "In Defense of Marxism" and "The History of American Trotskyism."

MONTEVIDEO. Jan. 4 - | continuing to publish their paper, Contra la Corriente (Against the Stream), and are winning new recruits to the banner of revolutionary socialism.

### **British Trotskyist Enters Election For Parliament**

(Continued from page 1)

other parties of the coalition gov-Comrade Haston will enable the Neath workers to express their dominated government and help lahor reassert its independence

The British workers have deworkers. Labor Party Members of Parliament have continued to support Churchill in open betrayal of the workers' demands for the Churchill government, and take power on a socialist pro-

SOCIALIST STRUGGLE

In accordance with Marxist principles, the campaign of the Revolutionary Communist Party



JOCK HASTON

Special emphasis was laid on cilable opposition to the imperialthe ideas of the Fourth Internal ist war. Comrade Haston will tional by a series of questions in appeal to the British workers to cluding: "What do you think of extend the hand of friendship and traternity to the German working you ties with Fourth Internation | class and to aid them in the overalist groups in other countries? throw of Hitler and the establish-Are you a follower of Trotsky? Do | ment of a socialist Germany. He

of Vansittartism which would Maintaining their party work reduce Germany to colonial status. Germany, can only prepare the way for further bloody struggles of imperialism. To this vicious scheme the party counterposes the call for "Land to the peasants and factories to the workers throughout Europe and the

One of the major demands of the Revolutionary Communist The New York Branch of the Party is for immediate and un-

Comrade Haston, who has be come well-known throughout Engof his 32 years as an active participant in the class struggle of the British workers. Since 1938 he has been active in the Trotskyand organizer. He is now assistant editor of the Socialist Appeal.

Comrade Heaton Lee, who was railroaded to prison with Comrade Haston, will act as his campaign manager.

#### The Militant

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

#### DETROIT **Sunday Lectures**

February 11

"DEVELOPMENTS OF THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION

Speaker: Arthur Burch 3513 Woodward Avenue

Room 21 8 P. M. Auspices: SWP

# We Carry On Lenin's Fight Today

# Allies Censor News On Greece

By Joseph Hansen

Apparently the Allies are fol-

Italian economic and social

conditions are steadily deterio-

rating. According to Matthews,

Rome correspondent of the

N.Y. Times, Jan. 21, "Some-

where between 60 and 70 per-

the liberated zone have been

ing plants are not working and

their industrial output is close

to zero. The economic life of

the country temporarily has

been set back to before the

Economic life has b e c o m e

"ghost-like." "There is an active,

feverish exchange of quickly de-

caying goods at always rising

suit of clothes from \$150 to \$300.

These prices remarks Mat-

thews, "represent close to a sen-

tence of death by hunger and cold

Transportation has broken

down completely. Of her pre-war

steam locomotives, 38 percent of

passenger coaches. Only 10 per-

cent of Italy's pre-war stock of

trucks still remain in operation,

with spare parts costing between

been reduced from 3,250,000 tons

easily be grasped. "Italy is going

back to primitive, horse-drawn,

home-made barter, based on an

economic life which was sufficient

to maintain the local population

two centuries ago when the

standard of living was very

simple and Italians numbered 13

This means that if the capital-

ist system continues in Italy on

its present basis, without consid-

ering the further inevitable de-

cline, 32 million people are con-

The workers are particularly

hard hit, but the petty bourgeoi-

abyss. The inflation of currency

has now reached 1,150 percent.

Malnutrition is general. Crime

and prostitution are spreading on

Conditions are no better in the

agricultural areas. Millions of un-

exploded mines litter the fields

tle have been requisitioned,

The only hope for Italy is the

of the Soviet power. Under

an unbelievable scale.

million not 45 million."

demned to die.

DESPERATE SÍTUATION

in need of repairs."

to the ordinary person."

steam age.

"We Americans are not get- | eals another link in the chain of ting unbiased news from counter-revolution in Greece. Greece," declares Wm. L. Shirer, correspondent of the N. Y. Churchill shoots down the revolutionary workers, he prevents even capitalist reporters from Herald-Tribune. "We are getting too much British and Greek government propaganda. And ship on reports of the Allied side, mourned by the downtrodden. we are being made victims of he blames his victims for the a vicious censorship."

pondents in Greece, 11 have pro- are spread by such authoritative tested to the American govern- mouthpieces of Big Business as ment about the censorship. The the N. Y. Times. Then on top British general Scobie, in charge of all this Churchill declares that of murdering Greek partisans, has the British invaded Greece with forbidden all contact with his vic- the noble objectives of bringing tims, even interviews supervised food and democracy to that land. by his officers.

M. W. Fodor of the Chicago lowing Hitler's advice on propaare widely propagandizing the more easily people will believe it. fact that ELAS (Greek National Liberation Army) took hostages, but remains silent over the large numbers of hostages taken by the British and the Plastiras puppet government. pet government.

The lone correspondent who refused to join his fellow correspondents in protesting the censor. pondents in protesting the censorship has not yet been named. It is in all likelihood A. C. Sedgwick of the N. Y. Times, whose dispatches have consistently followed Churchill's line of making out the partisans to be brutal, bloodthirsty brigands who wantonly torture innocent victims. This cent of the industrial plants in unnamed correspondent "of one of our greatest metropolitan destroyed, but even the existnewspapers," according to Fodor, recently sent a dispatch claiming that all factions except the Communists had broken away from the EAM (Greek National Liberation Front) and that these factions declared "our parties welcome with pleasure the presence of British troops."

Fodor says that the "agents" who gave this "information" "endeavored to convince the cor- prices with a steady exhaustion respondents that the Greek Com- of all those stocks saved from munists intend to hand over German pillage or Allied requisi-Macedonia to the Yugoslavs, a tioning." Meat costs \$2.50 a tale greeted with snorting skepti- pound, shoes from \$50 to \$70, a cism by the newsmen as primitive and awkward propaganda."

#### ROYALIST **DEMONSTRATIONS**

On January 14 when the truce went into effect Sedgwick reported "This was a day of mass celebration and thanksgiving . . . about 100,000 persons shouted 'Long live Scobie,' 'Long live our freight cars and 14 percent of great Allies,' 'Long live Church-

ill,' and 'Long live Roosevelt'." Sedgwick quoted from an "impromptu speech" made by General Scobie "on a balcony." The 500 and 1,000 times their pre-war particularly happy to see the working class represented." The Militant was not taken in

by this crude propaganda. "Royalists collected in the streets January 14 . . . " we declared in the January 20 issue.

Fodor's dispatch confirms the Militant's characterization of the demonstration: "One cannot help feeling that the great 'demonstration' in Athens last Sunday may have misled many of us who did not read our newspapers too carefully. It was hailed by the Athens correspondent of the great metropolitan daily mentioned above as 'a day of mass celebration and thanksgiving,' and General Scobie, who made a speech from the balcony attacking the EAM, was quoted as saying he hoped the world would hear of the demonstration — as indeed the world did hear.

"Yet an Associated Press dispatch the day before had stated plainly that the Athens demonstration was organized under the leadership of General Napoleon Zervas. Now Zervas is a stauch monarchist, and, when his own small resistance army began to melt away recently, he was chased from central Greece by the

and orchards, a constant deadly ELAS." hazard to cultivation. Fertilizers Zervas, we may add, was the counter - revolutionary general years. Nearly all the Italian catarmed and financed by the British who raised an army in support of butchered or stolen. Machinery the hated Glucksburg monarchy. is broken down, lacking spare When the British provoked the parts and fuel. Farmhouses, stacivil war, however, the ranks of bles and granaries have been dethis army went over to the ELAS stroyed everywhere. To maintain by the thousands. The British were finally forced to rescue Zervas. They evacuated him and his immediate staff. For a few days 27,800,000 quintals of wheat. he dropped out of sight.

Now we learn that he suddenly appeared in Athens at the head of a "spontaneous demonstration" of 100,000 workers who madly is worse, it is deteriorating steadcheer their butchers.

One of the American correspondents in London makes the rapid organization and growth of devastating understatement that the revolutionary political party "British supporters of the EAM of the workers, based on the proin Greece suspect that a kind of gram of Trotskyism, which will propaganda plot is now in oper- lead the masses to the formation

The exposure of Allied propa- capitalism Italy is clearly doomed. ganda against the partisans rev- Only socialism offers a way out.

New York local of the SWP.)

#### By M. Stein

I can well remember the grief that gripped the hearts of the revolutionary generation twenty-one years ago when the news came of Lenin's death. I can well remember the anguish of men and women when they learned that Lenin was no more, that his great brain, his dauntless heart, his iron will, which gave wisdom, courage and power to the toilers, to the oppressed the world over, were no more. Never was the death of a man mourned so deeply by so many. The multi-millioned masses of the Soviet Union felt orphaned with hearing their side of the story, the death of Lenin, and wherever oppression exists, wherever men he clamps down a tight censor- are exploited in the capitalist countries and in the colonies, he was

There were, of course, deep social reasons for this. Lenin was bloodshed, he fabricates lies a true disciple of Marx and Engels. His masters, the founders of Of the 12 American corres- about the Greek situation. These Scientific Socialism, did not have the opportunity to put their ideas into practice. Lenin was presented with that opportunity. On the fourth year the devastation and misery of the First World War broke capitalism at its weakest link in Czarist Russia. Together with Trotsky, Lenin led the great revolution that wrested power that stretched over one-sixth of the earth.

But the establishment of the workers' power in the Sovieti Union was to Lenin only the first step. Lenin was an internationalist Sun points out that the British ganda that the bigger the lie the through and through. He knew that the October revolution was only the opening round of a life-and-death struggle between the power of the exploiters and the liberating forces of the exploited the world over. He knew and he never tired of repeating it—that this struggle up and says: "See, there is a perfect balance." must be fought to a finish, that capitalism and socialism cannot live peacefully side by side for any length of time. This is why the Soviet Union was to Lenin only the citadel of the world revolution. a eulogy of the Republican Senator Ball of Minnesota! The Red Army was not a national army; it was the army of international revolution. The Third International, founded by Lenin, was the general staff of the world revolution.

> When Lenin said that he would, if need be, sacrifice the Russian revolution for the sake of a German revolution, he gave graphic expression to his world view of the struggle for the Socialist society. What he meant was that he was interested in the best possible position from which to spread the world revolution. He was concerned not with a country's boundaries or nationality, but with conquering the most favorable positions from which the proletarian revolution could be spread and extended on a world scale.

> The grief at Lenin's death, which gripped the revolutionary generation 21 years ago, was tempered only by a feeling of confidence that Lenin's rich heritage would remain forever. That Lenin's doctrines would survive after him. That Lenin's co-workers would carry on in his spirit. That the Soviet Union would remain the citadel of world revolution. That the Communist International would by its collective wisdom and effort make up for the loss of the great leader.

#### Stalin's Betrayal of Leninism

But history willed it differently. History does not run along a smooth and even course. Not that opportunities were lacking for spreading the October Revolution. Lenin's characterization of our epoch as the epoch of wars and revolutions has been borne out to the hilt in the interval between the two imperialist wars and confirmed again by the second imperialist war. Capitalism emerged out of the last war in a condition of deepest crisis. Capitalism's equilibrium had been disrupted. One revolutionary wave followed another in country after country.

But where was Lenin's Comintern? Where was Lenin's Soviet Union? It was only when Comrade Trotsky's voice finally made itself heard and reached across the borders that we learned what had railroad stock, Italy now has only | transpired. It was then that we learned the truth, namely: that when between 15 and 25 percent of all Lenin's firm hand was no longer at the helm of the Soviet ship, it was boarded by a gang of pirates under the leadership of Stalin, who reversed the course charted by Lenin, who dismantled Lenin's superstructure of workers' power, and substituted in its stead the power of a ruthless totalitarian bureaucracy. A whole generation of Bolsheviks was exterminated.

Lenin's Third International, conceived in the struggle against British commander said: "I am prices. The merchant marine has the treachery of the Second International, conceived in the struggle against the traitors who supported the last war, had itself succumbed to 460,000 and this is "composed to treachery. A generation of revolutionists, educated by Lenin in mostly of wooden fishing boats the spirit of uncompromising struggle for the proletarian revolution became corrupted by Stalin, Stalin succeeded in house-breaking the The devastation in the war-torn Comintern, in transforming it into a pliant servant of the privileged areas is so complete it cannot Soviet bureaucratic caste, and when he no longer had any use for it he contemptuously kicked it aside.

The crimes for which Lenin castigated the leaders of the Second International are dwarfed in comparison to the crimes of Stalin. The workers' blood that was shed by the Noskes and Scheidemanns when they crushed the Spartacus uprising, when they murdered Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and thousands of German workers, would only form a stream compared to the rivers of blood shed by Stalin and Stalinism in the murder of Bolsheviks, in the treachery in China, in the betrayal of the German revolution, of the Spanish Revolution, etc.

Many have asked the question: What if Lenin had not died an untimely death at the age of 54? What if he lived another ten or fifteen years? Would this have changed the course of history? It is, of course, beyond anyone's powers to answer such a question. But let me remind you that it was the opinion of Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, who had occasion to reflect on this theme, that if Lenin were alive, he too would have languished in Stalin's sie likewise is sinking into the jails or have been shot by Stalin's GPU.

#### Stalinists Fear the Ideas of Lenin

Stalin usurped his power because of deep-going social forces Lenin died in a very critical period in the history of mankind. He died at a time when capitalism had temporarily regained its equilibrium and had crushed the workers' revolution in a number of countries. The Soviet masses were exhausted by a long civil war imposed on them by the imperialists and by the White Guards. It was out of the forces of the rising reaction inside the Soviet Union have not been available for three and abroad that Stalin derived his strength.

Had Lenin remained alive, Stalin would at least have been deprived of the possibility of wrapping himself in Lenin's mantle, of deceiving the masses in Lenin's name.

Lenin's name and Lenin's writings are a constant threat to Stalin's rule. They are like a ray of light falling on the spot where

#### rations at the present miserable level of about 7 ounces of bread **NEW YORK** a day will require importation of **Socialist Youth Forum** "The Italian economic situation is desperate," concludes the Times correspondent, "and, what

Friday, February 9, 8 P. M. "WHAT IS SOCIALISM?" Speaker: Arthur Simmons

Questions

Discussion 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE (corner 13th St., between Broadway and Fifth Avenue

near Union Square) Free Admission

(The following speech was delivered by Comrade M. Stein, act- | a hideous criminal is engaged in his work. If only Stalin could burn ing National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at the memo- Lenin's works; if only he could expurgate Lenin's name out of the rial meeting held in New York Jan. 21, 1945 on the 21st anniversary minds of the workers—he would then feel a lot safer. But this is of Lenin's death. The meeting was held at Irving Plaza by the beyond Stalin's power and this is why even today, 21 years after Lenin's death, Stalin and his cohorts must try desperately to falsify

> I read the other day an article written by Browder on the 21st anniversary of Lenin's death. It is a brief article compared to all the long articles in which he has been eulogizing Roosevelt and Teheran. Browder has even written a whole book expounding the gospel of Teheran, but when it comes to Lenin Browder evidently believes that the less said the better. The opening sentence of that article shows how the spector of Lenin haunts Browder and his "Communist Political Association." It reads: "There has been some discussion about the immediate practical value of the study of Lenin's writings. . . There has been some expression of fear that emphasis upon the study of Lenin among the workers and especially the youth now coming to political activity could result in a tendency to apply automatically Lenin's formulations of the problems of 1914-18 to the fundamentally changed problems of the present war."

"There has been some discussion," Browder says, and adds that "there has been an expression of a fear." Where? And why? Certainly not among us Trotskyists. We have no "fear" of Lenin. Everything we say, everything we do, is in conformity with Lenin, with Lenin's theory, his practice and his methods. It is that cynical, from the capitalists and established the workers' power in a country treacherous gang of Stalinists who fear Lenin. It is this traitor who was lifted by Stalin out of obscurity and placed at the head of his American agency who "fears" Lenin.

This swindler tries to reconcile class collaboration with the class struggle; support of imperialist war with the struggle against imperialist war; scabbery with strikes; counter-revolution with revolution. That is the whole theme of his article. He adds all this

Browder concludes the article with a eulogy. Of whom? Of Lenin? Not at all. Lenin he fears. He concludes that article with

stab at Trotskyism. That is easily understandable. Anyone who fears Lenin fears Trotsky. And conversely, anyone who fears Trotsky, fears Lenin. The two are inseparable. It is because of Stalin's fear of Leninism, that countless Trotskyists inside the Soviet Union have been tortured and murdered. And this is why the long arm of the GPU has reached out beyond the borders of the Soviet Union to put to death many of our valiant fighters. And this is why the long arm of the GPU reached even across the ocean into Mexico to assassinate Comrade Trotsky. It is Stalin and all his Browders who fear Leninism.

#### The Fate of the Social-Democracy

Treachery has played a big role in prolonging the life of the putrid capitalist system. It has played an immense role in prolonging the misery and agony of the peoples. In the last war and the revolutionary crisis following it, this Judas role was played by the Social Democracy. For a few pieces of silver, for parliamentary seats, for ministerial posts, they sold out the working class, and worked with might and main to save capitalism from the Bolsheviks. The Social Democrat leaders placed themselves in the front ranks of the struggle against Bolshevism. They are the ones who drowned in workers' blood the Spartacus uprising in Germany. And, I repeat, what the previous speaker, Comrade Frankel said: This is a lesson we must never forget.

But what happened to the Social Democrats? A new force appeared—fascism. The bourgeoisie threw its support to the fascists; not only the Italian and the German bourgeoisie did that. Mussolini and Hitler had the support of the Anglo-American imperialists. Churchill made some of his most eloquent speeches in behalf of Mussolini. And they did not confine themselves merely to speeches, com-

Fascism in Germany and Italy came to power under the banner of the struggle against Bolshevism, a banner that was held so high previously by the Social-Democrats. The Social-Democrats died traitors' deaths at the hands of the fascists. The fact that they preceded the fascists in the struggle against Bolshevism did not save their skins. The fact that they rendered yeoman service in the struggle against Bolshevism did not buy them immunity.

This is a lesson for Stalin and his cohorts to ponder over. They Grew in key positions and makcannot cheat history much longer. What awaits them is a traitor's fate, either at the hands of the victorious revolution, or failing that, at the hands of triumphant reaction that knows no gratitude for services rendered. What awaits them is either the fate of the Russian Mensheviks or the fate of German Social-Democracy.

What we are witnessing today on the European continent is the resurgence of the struggle between the forces of oppression on the one side, and on the other side, the masses seeking to rid themselves of their misery, seeking to live their lives free of starvation, of make a conciliatory gesture to exploitation and death inflicted on them by the imperialist war. the depressed "New Deal" sec- WALL STREET BUILD-UP What we have witnessed thus far in Italy, in France and Belgium are only the first skirmishes. Even in Greece the butcher Churchill is prematurely celebrating his victory over the workers of the Elas. The blows the Allied armies have inflicted on the European people, their votes for the Democatic whom they said they came to liberate from the Nazis, can only Party. Many trade union officials have one effect. It can only deepen among the starving masses the hatred of the imperialist conquerors. The peoples of Europe, who tical mouthpiece. Wallace thus must endure insults, indignities and privations, will have their day represents a minority faction in against Wallace is designed to of reckoning.

#### Churchill—Fitting Symbol of the British Empire

Churchill, this septuagenarian watchdog of the British empire, is truly a fitting symbol of that empire. His whole personality is expressive of the Empire he heads: old, but vicious to the end. He has other qualifications too. He doesn't have to improvise anything. All Churchill has to do now is to repeat his speeches against the people" in a very peculiar manner. Bolsheviks whom he designated as bandits some 25 years earlier. He needs make only one slight change. In place of Bolshevism to substitute the word Trotskyism. It's the same thing, and he knows it.

Deception and force, slander and brutality are the traditional weapons of dying reaction in its struggle against revolutionaries. depressions and imperialist wars. strated, would carry out the pro-They were used against Lenin and Trotsky during and after the last war. They were used then by a combination of Social Democrats the United States must have "new other underlings in the governand their imperialist masters. And they are used today by a slightly Kaisers, new Higginses, new Fords ment by Big Business. Even if different combination of Stalinists and their imperialist masters and new Edisons." He maintains against Trotskyists.

But neither slander nor force could prevent the victory of Lenin's Bolshevik party in 1917. With the aid of the Stalinist traitors, dying capitalism has succeeded in staving off the day of its doom, but how it would be possible for capiteres termeshed at every point with it cannot forestall that inevitable doom. Capitalism is doomed because it cannot give the people peace, it cannot give them bread, His solution is to make himself - ate the laws and Roosevelt's it cannot give them security, it cannot give them a decent living. Capitalism is doomed because the growing discontent of the people will crash through all the lies and measures of brute force. We have unshakable confidence in the fighting power of the working class. Our confidence has been confirmed in Italy, in Greece, in Belgium, in France, where the workers have emerged from years of suffering and illegality with a true fighting spirit. They will not rest satisfied. Nor will they be easily duped. In the very heat of struggle, they will find the only road, the road of Lenin.

#### Leninism Lives in the Fourth International

For Lenin showed us the way. He taught us how to build a party, greatness. And from then on he grew, as every leader in the move- International will complete Lenin's work.

#### Servant of Big Business



Smug and confident, banker Jesse Jones testifies before the Senate Commerce Committee.

# WHAT WALLACE-JONES of course, Browder's article would be incomplete without taking

By Paul Abbott

The liberals and labor offi-

Wallace Secretary of Commerce with full power over the vast financial powers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. time prize-fighter. At a dinner given for Wallace in New York City January 29, During the depths of the depres-Walter Reuther, for example, sion when ten to twenty million declared that Wallace is waging were unemployed and starving a fight for "the common peo- while factories remained idle and ple in opposition to Jesse Jones crops rotted in the fields, how did and reaction." Jones, long a Wallace help out the common Wall Street tool, attacked Wal- | people? He plowed under cotton lace before the Senate Commerce Committee as "incompetent." By that he meant Wallace could not serve Big Business as well as he.

Thus the liberals express their gratitude to Roosevelt for requesting Jones to resign his 12-year opposition, but proved extremely post as Secretary of Commerce in order to make room for Wallace in the President's cabinet. The liberals needed this maneuver in order better to justify their support of Roosevelt in the last wielding the gavel for one of the election. When Roosevelt hung his hat up in the White House for the fourth time, he immediately proceeded to fill all the important government posts with ex-destroyer of crops and ex-wieldover the State Department, put- laimed himself the battling chamting Rockefeller, Clayton and pion of small business. This is ing Stettinius of the House of "radical" type of politician Wall Morgan, Secretary of State. The Street pushes into the political liberal press wept columns of ink ring when necessary. Wallace over this victory of reaction and comes out of the same political accusingly asked Roosevelt who gymnasium as Theodore Roosenad won the election.

Having given Wall Street direct control of key government positions, Roosevelt decided to tion of his supporters. Wallace's political racket is to pose as a leader of the small businessmen and farmers, in order to corral the Democratic Party. He became the logical man to receive the bone Roosevelt decided to toss to his whimpering "left" supporters.

#### WALLACE'S VIEWS

This champion of the liberals, however, represents the "common His avowed program is to avoid a post-war depression and provide sible to get agreement," he dec-60 million jobs. He does not ad- lared. vocate ending the capitalist system which is the real cause of On the contrary, he declares that gram dictated to him and to all that the cause of the depressions itical bruiser but a sincere knight of 1921 and of 1929-33 was noth- in shining armor, he would still ing but "economic illiteracy." He be tied hand and foot by the govtalism to produce 60 million jobs. Big Business. He could not viol-Wallace - Secretary of Com- decrees which determine the funcmerce with full power over the tions of the various bureaus. As vast resources of the RFC. How- the N. Y. Times of January 21 ever, he has declared himself remarked in the "Merchant's willing to settle for the Secret- Point of View," business is not aryship without the necessary fin- afraid of the program advocated ancial powers if the Senate so by Wallace. It simply would presees fit.

tion" in the person of Jones and the "common people" in the percials are shouting themselves son of the millionaire Wallace hoarse at the Senate to make has a rigged look. In fact it bears a close resemblance to the set-up fights by which crooked promoters in sporting circles convert a stumble bum into a big-

Consider Wallace's record. and corn, paid out money to limit food production, and killed millions of little pigs.

When the Second World War broke out and Wall Street's main task was to dragoon the people into the slaughter, Wallace not only did not breathe one word in useful to Wall Street in herding the cannon fodder into the shambles. He ran for vice-president and once in office spent the most crucial years of the war most reactionary senates in the history of the country.

Now this ex-killer of little pigs, the traditional ballyhoo of the velt who entered office as a trust buster and went out of office with the trusts larger, stronger and healthier than at any previous

Wall Street is doing its part to build up Wallace. As Wallace "My good himself remarks: friend, Senator Bailey, knows that senatorial rejection will enhance have picked Wallace as their poli- my personal prestige." The demagogic attack by Big Business give Wallace the appearance of independence from Wall Street, Should the masses move toward the left, Wall Street counts on a man like Wallace attracting their support. Wallace himself is looking toward that possibility. "Strong candidates must be agreed on as long in advance of the 1946 campaign as it is pos-

Once in office, however, Wal lace, as he has already demonhe were not a run of the mill polfer a different person at present To experts in political shadow to carry it out.

ment must grow. The Russian revolution set the seal of history on

Lenin armed us with a program. He taught us his method, his a party that is firm, disciplined, a combat party. Trotsky once method that is embodied in the whole history of the Bolshevik party, remarked that Lenin made his leap to greatness not merely in the in the history of the Russian revolution. He lighted the road to revolution of 1917. He did that in 1903 when he broke with the victory. And this is why Leninism lives. It lives in the Fourth In-Mensheviks, with all conciliators, and struck out on the course of ternational. Under Lenin's banner, armed with Lenin's program, building the Bolshevik party. That is when Lenin attained his with Lenin's method, with Lenin's iron will to victory, the Fourth

# Twin Cities Hold Banquet In Honor Of 12 SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 28.—More than 200 Minneapolis and St. Paul workers, including many truck drivers who had participated in the historic drivers' strikes of 1934, attended the homecoming banquet held in the Labor Lyceum here tonight in honor of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Motor Transport Workers Union, Local 544-CIO, who were released from federal prison on January 24.

Vincent Dunne, Oscar Coover, Carl Skoglund, Jake Cooper, Emil and the children of the prisoners at Sandstone Federal Correctional myself." Institution, and Grace Carlson, who served the same sentence at Harry DeBoer and Clarence neapolis from Sandstone last comrades at the speakers' table.

Held under the auspices of the Twin Cities Branch of the Workers' Defense League, which has cooperated with the Civil Rights Defense Committee in the defense of the victims of the Smith "Gag' Act, the banquet was an inspiring demonstration of working class

Miles B. Dunne, president of ing program by welcoming the prisoners back on behalf of the workers of the Twin Cities. After greetings from Harry DeBoer and VINCENT DUNNE Clarence Hamel, Grace Carlson

GRACE CARLSON

"I used to think," she said, "that maybe I was a little bit abused because unlike the men in for the first time in 1917. We suf-Sandstone I was alone and didn't have any comrades to talk to. Then I would look at the other as free men. prisoners, girls who had been turned into criminals by the terrible conditions of societyconditions created by this broken- time. We are members of a down capitalist system. I would revolutionary party. They are inthink, Well, here I am with all deed unique men and women who these hundreds of thousands of friends outside who are working to the ideas that we represent. for me, who are doing everything they can to see that my condi- you have done and for the honor tions are better and are further- you pay us. In reality you accord ing the cause that we all believe this honor to the great revoluin so much.'

have an understanding of why I this world until it finds the happy faces, hearty greetings, comrade who was on her way am here and they don't know why means of wresting the power they have been put away-don't from the capitalist class and takes hands, the excited faces of young arrive?" They wanted the exact realize that it wasn't their own the world and mankind on to a children, the moist eyes of wives, fault but the criminal conditions socialist day. To those ideas in a kisses and embraces. The deepest prison departures, unlike others, of society that sent them here.' certain way you are according emotions surged up and trans-We had so many young girls- honor here tonight. I want to formed the dreary station into a 15, 16 and 17 years of age-just thank you and assure you that temporary abode of love and children, living with a stigma we will take our customary places upon them, thinking that they now in the ranks of the struggle Jim Cannon whispered to his had done something criminal but for the freedom of the workers." of course they had not. The Checks totaling \$150 were American capitalist leaders who presented to each of the released ed around. "No whistles three rades. perpetuate this system of poverty prisoners. Arthur Sternberg, times a day-no count every two and injustice were the real chairman of the local Workers' hours—no routine. . . you feel

Coover. Max Geldman and Emil Hansen Act and appealed for funds to EAT AT HEADQUARTERS briefly expressed their happiness carry on the work of the Civil at being home and their gratitude | Rights Defense Committee. to all those who helped in their Responding generously to this

The next speaker, Carlos Hud- \$353.97. son, remarked: "The thirteen In conclusion, the popular months at Sandstone I consider working class song "Solidarity," to be a cheap price to pay for the was sung with deep feeling by privilege of working in the the audience of working men and Socialist movement of emancipa- women who had come to pay their tion. It was really the families of respects to these trade union the comrades in prison who bore and political leaders who had been the brunt of the punishment. If railroaded to prison because of any applause is due tonight, I their devotion to the working speak for the rights of the wives class.

Hansen, Max Geldman, and Carlos to receive that applause and Hudson, who served 13 months would blush to receive any for

Carl Skoglund said, "I am more confirmed than ever in my ideas the Federal Reformatory for that there is something wrong Women at Alderson, West Vir- with society. I had one year to ginia, were the honored guests. think that over. Look at all the suffering that humanity has to Hamel, who returned to Min- go through. This terrible bloody war! There is something wrong, October, were seated with their isn't there? There should be some remedy. Do the people who rule today have any remedy? No, they do not.

"Someone has to solve this problem. Who is going to solve the problem or try to apply a remedy? Millions of young human beings are being sacrificed. For what? I want to say that I appreciate all you have done for Local 544-CIO, opened the speak-to be part of our movement and us and hope that you are going give aid in the solution of this very pressing problem."

"We were sent to prison for carrying forward the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky," said Vincent R. Dunne. "These ideas made the Russian Revolution and tipped over this notten capitalist system

support us and who are friendly

"My thanks to you for what Jake Cooper. "And I would say to myself, 'I human race cannot find peace on jumped into his arms. On all sides cent Dunne. They all missed their

criminals. These girls didn't Defense League branch, pointed understand that but I did."

Defense League branch, pointed out the need for continuing the league branch, pointed that but I did."

Defense League branch, pointed lost." Like all the men he was Cannon, puffing on his pipe over fight against the Smith "Gag appeal, those present contributed the crowd had reassembled at the

# The Life And Work Of Lenin **Commemorated In January FI**

International now on sale is a Workers Party from a handful our new headquarters?" they Lenin Memorial number. It fea- of Left Oppositionists expelled asked proudly. tures a biographical sketch of from the Communist Party in Lenin's life and work by Zinoviev, 1928 to the party which today one of the leaders of the Bolshe- gri ws in influence under the banvik Party. This was a speech delivered by Zinoviev to the Petrograd Soviet on September 6, 1918, when news came of Lenin's recovery from a shot fired by a Menshevik terrorist. It provides a warm, intimate account of Lenin's 30-year struggle to build the Bolshevik party against all the opportunists who sought to water down the program of Marxism. "We get our approbation net in sweet murmurs of praise," Lenin used to repeat, "but in our enemy's wild shouts of rage."

History upheld the intransigence of Lenin who welded a firm party on his uncompromising program and in 1917 led the workers of Russia to the conquest of power. In "The Heritage of Lenin," the editors of Fourth International evaluate Lenin's teachings Tasks of the Revolutionary Parfrom this standpoint. "Above all else, above all his other contributions-and they are immense-Lenin looms as the supreme leader of action, who showed by example what kind of a party the working class needs to make a N. Y. revolution, who showed in action how to build that kind of a revolutionary party, and how to win the masses to its banner."

"Leninism in Practice," by George Collins, is a review of James P. Cannon's new book, The History of American Trotskyism.

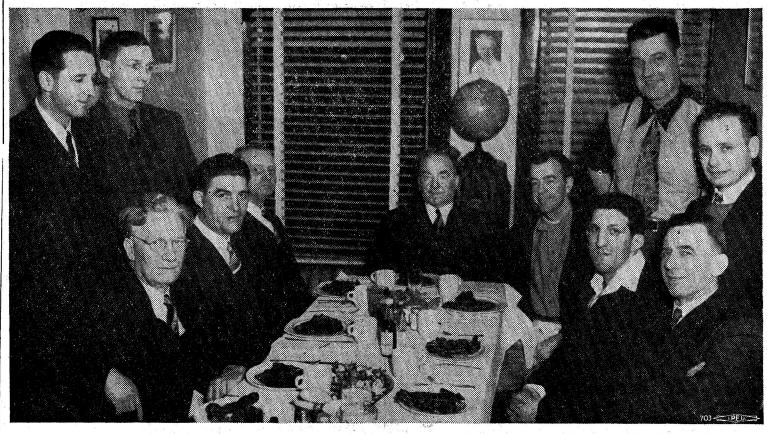
The January issue of Fourth | In the growth of the Socialist | but their work. "How do you like ner of Bolshevism, Collins demonstrates the consistent application of Leninist principles to the American scene.

The January issue includes the important resolution unanimously adopted by the Nov. 1944 National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party on "The United States and the Second World the 11. Although Felix Morrow War." This resolution analyzes and Albert Goldman had departed the political and social developments in the United States since Pearl Harbor and presents the Trotskyist program of action to solve the urgent problems of American labor.

The issue also carries a discriticizing the draft resolution of bewildering first hours and the SWP National Committee on watched their needs at the lunch-"The European Resolution and

Single copies of Fourth International can be obtained for 20 cents, yearly subscription \$2, by writing to Business Manager, 116 | could observe the effects upon University Place, New York 3

READ THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL' **Back Home With Their Comrades** 



The released Minneapolis Case prisoners at the welcome-hom e luncheon in the Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party on January 24. Seated around the table: James P. Cannon, Emil Hansen, Oscar Coover, Carl Skoglund, Carlos Hudson, Jake Cooper, and Vincent Dunne. Standing at the left are Farrell Dobbs and Harry DeBoer, one of the defendants released in October: at the right, Clarence Hamel, also released in October, and Max Geld man. Felix Morrow and Albert Goldman, not in the picture, had already left for Chicago.

# fered in prison only insofar as we were taken out of the fight as free men. "New friends are thinking about these ideas for the first time. We are members of a revolutionary party. They are indeed unique men and women who

Max Geldman, Oscar Coover,

The spell was broken. With shouts of joy the crowd of welcomers engulfed the 11 men. Fartionary ideas of socialism. The rell Dobbs' youngest daughter smoke a cigarette," sighed Vincomrades clasping comrades' warmth.

... prison is no joke. . ." He look-

"Everybody up to the headquarters for lunch!" The word swept around. Within ten minutes new Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. Now they were really home. More people arrived to greet them. The men began to loosen up a little in the happy atmosphere and sighed with pleasure.

In the shiny clean kitchen of the headquarters comrades had been busy all morning preparing the special lunch for the honored guests: hot dishes for the men followed by homemade cake and ice cream, stacks of sandwiches for the welcomers, big pots of good, het coffee. The comrades who formed the kitchen crew issued orders like generals. Their faces beamed, they embraced the homecomers - but they carried

Between greetings, the men wandered through the rooms of their political home in Minneapolis. They viewed with approval the dignified meeting room with a bust of Leon Trotsky prominent; the comfortable library and lounge; the trim offices-everything efficient and spick and span. In the last mom, which served a multitude of uses, a specially prepared table had been set up for to catch their connecting train, they were still 11 in number, for Clarence Hamel and Harry De-Boer were part of the honor roll months, they guided the newcom-

The sun shone through the windows and from the white tablecloth was reflected back in the faces of the men sitting aroundprison life. Not all of the effects would go through to the end in in hard action."

of the world.

The warm luncheon helped the men to relax. "What a treat this is, to sit around, drink coffee and from Alderson. "When will Grace time, complete details. For are measured by moments which seem like years, "The Senator, as they called her, had done "hard time," they felt. Alone in a wo man's prison, she had been de wife, Rose: "I'm still doing time | prived of the greatest comfortthe companionship of other com-

"That is where you learn about



GRACE CARLSON

his second cup of coffee. "They're men or monkeys. We comrades were welded together like a block of steel. Nobody can break us. We made friends, too. For no other reason than that we were a Communist group of men." One of the prisoners, he said: touched by their acts of kindness, had come up to him on the last day. "Mr. Cannon," he said, "I want to thank you very much. If everybody was like you and your friends, it wouldn't be so hard to do time."

"There wasn't a citizen on the streets to watch us go by, after we left the prison," said Vincent, "but all the inmates lined up betable. Because these two had been | hind the barred windows to wave out of jail now for a couple of goodbye to us." And Emil Hansen agreed: "Those boys will miss cussion article by Daniel Logan ers like big brothers through the us." Like Clarence Hamel, Emil had lost a lot of weight, but it was good to see the "Big Twins" together again.

Max Geldman fumbled for a cigaret in his prison-made suit. All the men were dressed in cheap prison-made garb. "It's kind of the table. Now in this light one hard to get used to pockets again," Max apologized laughing. them of 13 months of regimented | There was something in the eyes of Max and Jake, his brother-inwere visible. Behind the smiles law, that made one's throat tightand jests, their eyes revealed en. Jake Cooper was the youngmuch more than strain. Behind est of the prisoners. "Jake grew the hollow cheeks were muscles to manhood right under our eyes," gravely set in determination. Ele- said Jim Cannon quietly. "He ven men, Trotskyist leaders, who showed himself to be a leader of we felt more strongly than ever men—a man you want beside you

A full account of the February 2 New York City "Welcome Home" Mass Meeting in honor of the 12 Minneapolis Labor Case defendents just released from prison will appear in the next issue of The Militant.

him because it wasn't the hard

steel chair he had been accustom-

ed to sit on for 13 months. Out

came the pipe and matches again,

and he mused out loud. "Prison

isn't all bad. You have time. Time

to study. I felt like a man who

has always been broke and sud-

denly has a pocketful of money.

I have never felt free from the

urgencies, the complexities of

party life to give all the time I

He warmed up to the subject.

'We learned in prison how to

teach our younger comrades to

study. Young people are appalled

at the immensity of this task;

they are overawed by the aca-

demic philosophers and teachers.

We're going to sweep all that

away. We're going to give them

real teachers. We're going to

The chief architect of the

American Trotskyist movement,

who had built the foundation of

plans for its future. "All our

writing must be pointed toward

our writing; learn to popularize

style must be lean, hard, mus-

He dwelt for a moment upon

man's need for hope and vision.

"Men need to be inspired by pro-

jects of great things to come. .

People cannot live without hope

in the future. We found that out

in prison. Everyone has to be-

lieve in the 'grod time coming;

the great getting up in the morn-

By now January 24 was more

than half over. Everyone was pre-

paring to leave. The intimate

homecoming was over. Eleven

men were picking up the threads

ered 13 months ago. The 18 were

HOPE IN THE FUTURE

help in its education. We're

ing to give it to them."

wanted to for study.'

James P. Cannon, Albert Goldman, Farrell Dobbs and Felix Morrow, four of the 12 dants just released from prison will be the principal speakers at this mass meeting sponsored by the Civil Rights Defense

Telegrams from their party comrades were coming in and being read to the men around the table. From New York to the west coast the central theme was the same: "Inspired by your exchange the lives of the youth; ample. . . 83% of the \$18,000 fund has been raised with five give them realizable goals and let them go to it. Youth needs weeks to go. . . Inspired by your example we are running a candidate for Mayor in Los Angeles ... we all embrace you. ..."

INSPIRING EXAMPLE

About 1:30 the luncheon broke that movement broad and deep up and the crowd began thinning and solid, was projecting great out. Some of the men were leaving for home with their families. Oscar Coover stood near the door, the workers. We must simplify bidding farewell to the departing comrades and friends, welcoming our ideas in simple language. Our a few latecomers. He was "back in the ranks." The Minneapolis cular." headquarters was now complete with Oscar's quiet, knowing face blending into the scene, and it seemed as though he had never been away. Carl Skoglund beamed as he

confided to me: "The boys did a lot of studying in that place. . . philosophy, history, languages... they surely didn't waste any time." This grand old warrior of the working class, whose battle cry for over 30 years was organize, was very proud of "the boys'

HOW TO STUDY

Jim Cannon rummaged around of their lives that had been sevthe literature stand in the library. Several comrades brought him all back, and ready to resume tory of American Trotskyism" said with elaborate innocence, "what day is this? Oh, yes, January 24." And he wrote the date firmly in the books.

their copies of his book "The His- their places in the class struggle. We felt that, like us in Minneapofor autographs. "Let's see," he lis today, the entire Trotskyist movement was being swept by a fresh wave of confidence and courage. With these leaders back. and our ranks strengthened, we

Before he sat down, Jim felt could march more firmly forward the chair. It didn't seem real to to the Socialist future.

### **NEW YORK** Sunday Night Forum

"THE REAL MEANING OF THE WALLACE-JONES DISPUTE"

Why Roosevelt Kicked Out Jones Can Wallace Give Labor 60 Million Jobs? Speaker:

George Collins, contributor to THE MILITANT Sunday, February 4, at 8 P. M.

Questions Refreshments NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE 116 University Place (cor. 13th Street, between 5th and Broadway)

 $\equiv$  By V. Grey =

"Why you have socialism right now, and what good does it do?" said Scissorbill Sam (the bosses' man).

Everybody looked surprised.

"Look at this here War Production Board and War Manpower Commission. The WPB tells the corporations how much to produce. The OPA tells 'em how much to charge for it. And the War Manver Commission tells everybody where to work,"

"So what? That's regulation, ain't it? That's planned producion, ain't it? It's Socialism, that's what!"

"You know, Scissorbill," said Slim, weighing his words, "Sometimes I think you missed your calling."

"Yeah?," muttered Sam distrustfully.

"You should be writing editorials for the big newspapers."

"Well, I don't write them," Scissorbill replied with a pleased and hopeful note in his voice, "but I read them carefully every day." "Same difference," said Slim.

While Scissorbill was chewing on that, Shorty asked, "How about that, Slim? I know we want to throw the War Manpower Commission out because they're part of the labor freezing outfit. But other boards help keep prices down and plan production.

Wouldn't we keep them in if we had a labor government?" "We might have a word like 'Production,' or even 'Price Administration' at the beginning. But that's all that might be the same-just the name. Everything else would be different. The main

difference would be that our boards will work. "You don't think this capitalist board works, do you? Look at the way they had all those lay-offs in aircraft and small-arms factories a little while ago.'

"Sure. And now they want a labor draft."

"And look how they take some of the people back to work. At less wages than ever."

"Yes. But that isn't all," said Slim. "Naturally these companies are all trying to chisel on our wages and cut us down to the bone. But that's just one reason why you see crowds of working people going out of one factory-working in another one for three or four weeks-or wandering around the streets-then back in the first one-then out on their ear again. Don't forget, the War Production Board itself is telling the companies to do this." "You mean the companies do it against their will?"

"Not by a long shot, Breezy. The War Production Board is made up of a lot of agents of different big companies. My point is that they can't plan production. Their own system prevents them."

"Just a minute," said Scissorbill, disapprovingly, "You're trying to give the impression the WPB is run by Big Business.' "Oh, no," said Slim sarcastically. "I wouldn't want to give you the wrong idea. Maybe us working stiffs are running it. But anyway

it comes out like this: a few months ago WPB gives Big Business, and only Big Business, the green light to change over to peace-time production."

"Yeah, that's what started the big lay-offs, too." "And smaller outfits couldn't get any materials for peace-time

work for another year." "Some of them can't even get materials for war work right

now. Why I know a guy----' "The people thrown out of work," continued Slim, "just signed up for unemployment insurance because the WPB couldn't put 'em back to work. Then the war got under way all over again, and most

people got back to work." "With a few pay-cuts, of course."

"Of course. And it just goes to show that the only thing that's making this screwy system work nowadays is war. And they can't even plan production right for their own war. What the hell are they going to do in peace-time?

"The War Production Board," Slim went on "is a planning board, all right. What does it plan?—It plans how Big Business can make the most money possible and give the working people the business. It plans how to choke off smaller companies and drive them to the wall in the changeover."

"Now Scissorbill Sam says that is a socialistic set-up. Well that's the way the big manufacturers feel too. They don't even want to hear a little squawk out of the War Production Board, or any other board, if they decide to make a few extra bucks on ships that break in two in cold water.

"They agree to have the board-like you agree to let a dentist pull your tooth-because you have to. But they kick like hell about the few restrictions they have to accept once in a while. And they call that Socialistic. They're only raking in twice the shekels they did in the last war-but they figure it's a big enough war to rate four times as much profit."

"You know-" said Shorty, "if we were running things ourselves I should think it would be pretty simple to make a production board work. The fellows in each plant would want the other plant to produce a lot. And what damn fool would want to make things so fast that they broke in two? Why our production board could make things go right without half trying."

"If I was running a real socialistic shebang," boasted Breezy suddenly, "and they tried to make stuff that killed our own boys, I'd cut their hearts out."

"That's the right idea," said Shorty.

"Yeah," Slim said, "except that Breezy wouldn't be running it. We all would. And nobody'd get a chance to pull stuff like that even if they wanted to. Anyway, we'll do a lot worse than cut their hearts out. We'll make 'em go to work."

# 10 Years Ago In The Militant

**FEBRUARY 2, 1935** 

FARGO-"Three hundred deputized vigilantes, swept down on the headquarters of General Drivers Local 173 on Sunday, teargassed strikers, their wives and children, and arrested 94 (workers). . . charged with rioting and inciting to riot," reported

This was the supreme effort of the Fargo bosses to break a three-week strike of the militant truckdrivers. Using the flying-picket-squad technique developed in the great Minneapolis strikes of 1934, the Fargo drivers had kept the town "sewed up tight" since the middle of January. A warrant was issued for the arrest of Miles Dunne, leader of Minneapolis truckdrivers Local 574, loaned to the Fargo workers by their Minneapolis brothers.

"Every trade unionist in the Northwest should realize that the Fargo strikers are waging a fight for the labor movement of the whole Northwest, and should give every possible support to Local 173," The Militant concluded.

NEW YORK-In a dramatic one-day strike, New York truckdrivers on January 28 prevented Justice B. J. Humphreys from issuing a far-reaching injunction. The injunction, demanded by the Bklyn. Chamber of Commerce, would have forbidden longshoremen to refuse to handle goods delivered by scab drivers, thus inviting trucking bosses to fire thousands of union drivers delivering to the waterfront.

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

## Negro Struggle.

\_By Charles Jackson\_

#### Another Brownskin Bites the Dust

Chicago explosion).

Buffalo.

Attention

**Buffalo Readers** 

ity" Sunday afternoon, Feb. 11,

valued your life. "Intelligent?"

the skin? "Happy?" Who but an

segregated labor battalion where

merit and ability cut no figure?

Navy but it is also an open in-

sailors at the Bremerton Ammu-

In characteristic hat-in-hand

fashion, this turncoat "attributed

this. . . to the thoughtful and

liberal administration." Not one

word of protest against the

Navy's well-known Jim Crow

Such statements as these are

mind as to whether he has a

CAPITALIST AGENTS

The familiar story of a mili- Coming on the heels of the among the Congressmen as to the tant fighter who has forsaken mass Negro resentment at the most effective means for enforcprinciple to obtain personal ad- frame-up of the fifty is an open ing the labor draft scheme. Some vancement, even at the cost of letter from our Dr. Channing To- wanted "work-or-fight" penalties. selling his colored brothers down bias to the honorable James For- Some wanted to establish "slackthe river, is seen again in the restal, Secretary of the Navy. er work battalions" under Army recent political twists and turns "On a recent visit to the Bremer- rule. Others preferred "civilian" of Dr. Channing H. Tobias, senior ton, Wash. Naval Ammunition penalties - \$10,000 fines and 5 secretary (for the colored branch- Depot," stated Dr. Tobias, "... I | years imprisonment. es) for the National Council of found about 500 young colored the Young Men's Christian (?) men engaged in the work of that ments were stalling the bill and

of the most outspoken fighters shells for the Naval big guns simfor racial equality in the counreactionary policies of anything or anybody who practiced or preached racial discrimination or segregation. He dodged no opponent and he barred no holds. As a result of his progressive stand he had no small following among Negroes and liberal

Now, in a gesture that is all the more nauseating both because of its nature and its timing, he wraps the red handkerchief around his head, picks up a crooked stick for a cane, and ambles 3:30 P. M., at 479 Williams St., over to the side of the "massuh." There he proceeds to publicly proclaim how "kind and considerate" are the policies of this Why not? Hasn't science proved slavedriving Simon Legree. Thus that gray matter in the brain has another erstwhile militant Negro no relation to color pigment in leader bows out of the struggle for the truth to enter the fold imbecile would be happy in this of the despicable twentieth-cen-

tury Uncle Toms. Tobias first showed signs of This last Uncle Tom statement compromising when he helped is not only a brazen whitewash corral the Negro voters once of the reactionary policy of the again into the camp of the Democratic Party. He led them to sult to the integrity of those 500 believe that the election of Roosevelt would mean a definite lift- nition Depot. ing of the oppressing conditions imposed on the black and brown Americans in the armed forces, in civilian life and in industry. As a matter of fact, neither of the major candidates would have been allowed to grant the Negro hurt the very big business inter- policy did this letter contain. ests who back both of these leading political parties.

WHITEWASH JIM CROW But to go on with our story. legitimate beef when he calls for

The erudite Dr. Tobias now oc- the abolition of governmentcupies the honored post of being sponsored segregation and disthe only Negro member on the crimination. Bishop Gregg was Joint Army and Navy Commit- used in a similar manner when he tee on Welfare and Recreation. | was given a tour of the fronts by Now every thinking Negro sol- the War Department and returndier and sailor resents being ed to imply that the boys were shoved off into a separate unit contented with their present lot by the government because of of Jim Crow in the Army. skin color. Not only the official Thus the capitalists through the workers withhold their labor want them to return to company 30-day ordeal on a life raft, to Jim Crow policy but also the fact their agents, the Army and Navy power. "In the last analysis, unions." that he is given the dirtiest and brass hats, are relentlessly at most dangerous work is a bitter work, changing progressive and is more, the mailed fist policy is in- bare-faced bootlickers, in an profits." variably carried out by the offi- effort to preserve their corrupt plaint is voiced. Witness the respect and continued admiration speedy conviction and stringent our spokesmen can only enjoy by sentences slapped on the 50 Ne- sacrificially refusing the foul gro sailors accused of "mutiny" offers of the small, but clever this war of nerves because it is ing the profits out of war." on the West Coast when they ruling class—the only beneficiary petitioned for change of duty of Jim Crow-and aligning themafter seeing 300 of their buddies selves with the larger, and potenblown to bits while loading tially more powerful, working

### Proneer Paragraphs

Naval ammunition.

### HOW MARXISTS APPROACH ALI ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS

movement of the United States. that case we can join a revolutionthe Workers Party." Under such

side the Workers Party over the of our movement regardless of about the "boys in the foxholes," ment's front office. There man-Socialist Party question despite what organizational form it might Ruth Bailey asserted: "Many of agement all too frequently says: were no proposals of one faction as against the other. All of us building up the WP, conducting posals at the moment were not our independent agitation, and so very different between the two our independent agitation, and so very different between the two on. We said we had no proposal factions, but the difference in attime something of interest drew important only insofar as they 3, N. Y.).

class to whom the future belongs.

it rather as an opportunity to be honest cry from big business exseized upon for the development ecutives and editorial writers" stage until they reach managewas to turn toward it, to try to UAW-CIO back in the organizing

influence it in some way. presumably were going along As I said, the practical proabout joining the Socialist Party. titude toward the problem of the them to come back to low pay, They could not have opposed such | Socialist Party was fundamental, a proposal from a principled and bound sooner or later to bring serve a political line, a political dirty trick and flag-waving jingo standpoint, since they had endor- us to a clash. The organization- aim. Independently they have appeal they can devise. A typised the "French turn." Neverthe- al question is important, but the no merit whatsoever. less, there was a difference in political line is decisive. No one (From "History of American demonstrated this afternoon at the way the problem was viewed can succeed in creating a revolu- Trotskyism," by James P. Cannon, the regular monthly membership by the two factions. They looked tionary organization who does pp. 218-19. Pioneer Publishers, mass meeting of the Press Steel upon the ferment in the Socialist not understand that politics is 1944, 268 pp., cloth \$2.75, paper unit of Ford Local 600, attended Party as a bothersome question, superior to organizational ques- \$2. Order from Pioneer Publish- by approximately 800 persons. something to be avoided. Every tions. Organization questions are ers, 116 University Place, N. Y. The Stalinist-dominated leader

# Roosevelt Speeds Forced Labor Offensive; Tries To Rush Passage Of May-Bailey Bill

Taking a Leaf Out of Hitler's Book

jobs in closed-shop plants. Another was intended to make all strikes illegal. Differences arose

Fearful that all these amendimportant post." (This work con- exposing its real slave labor char-He was formerly known as one sists of loading live artillery acter, Roosevelt's aides rushed to Congress and insisted that it hold ilar to the work that recently back all the trimmings until the try. By the written and spoken resulted in the extermination of basic measure is passed. Under word he brutally lashed into the the Negro sailors in the Port this pressure, the House Military Affairs Committee eliminated the "They seemed to be alert, in- anti-strike, anti-closed s h o p, "work-or-fight" and "slacker telligent and happy in their work," continued this former battalions" amendments. The committeemen were aware fighter for Negro equality. that the bill as it stands, "Alert?" You'd be too if you which enables the administration to move workers in and out of jobs at will under threat of huge fines and imprisonment, is sufficiently broad and drastic to satis-Charles Jackson will speak on fy even the most hard-bitten, fas-"The Struggle for Negro Equalcist-minded employers.

The administration wants speed, The administration wants speed, "every one of the critical pro- and other essential industries." UAW Heads Urge grams showed a substantial gain" But the House Military Affairs in the military picture, due especially to the Red Army offensive toward Berlin, has reduced the popular fear of a prolonged war. Talk of an immediate Allied offensive -- with assurances that there are now sufficient muni- Michigan Manufacturers' Assotions for it - has reduced the ciation general manager, that in effect of the munitions "shortage"

FAKE SHORTAGE

the "need" for forced labor due to manpower shortages are coming to light. The Mead Senate War Investigating Committee, for instance, has disclosed "labor his finger on the biggest flaw in hoarding" and huge waste of the claim of manpower "short-Yard, where the officials had been the government estimate of 700,

calculated, of course, to cast munitions programs were reg cludes what they overlooked — 1944, the WPB report admitted, wanting to work in war plants against it.

FORCED LABOR

ROOSEVELT'S MOVES

And then came the startling disclosure by John L. Lovett, the allegedly key "tight spot," Detroit, the factories are in position to handle 20 per cent more war contracts and that 50,000 ex-Most of all, the real facts about perienced workers are right now forced to live off unemployment compensation.

CIO United Automobile Workers President R. J. Thomas put were no less than 5,000,000 work-

'every one of the critical pro- and other essential industries.' ranging from 20 to over 200 per Committee struck out from the May-Bailey bill a clause prohibiting discrimination against Withdrawal From workers for racial, religious or

> Without even waiting for legislation, the administration has already begun to initiate its forced labor scheme. Allentown, Pa., has been selected as the first test spot. There last week, under orders of the War Manpower Commission, a group of brewery work ers were fired from their jobs and forced to take work in designated plants at lower pay and longer

If the administration succeeds manpower at the Norfolk Naval age." He last week challenged in achieving its aims in this instance, it plans to spread the clamoring for "4,000 more work | 000 unemployed, declaring there same scheme everywhere. By hook or by crook, Roosevelt in-The War Production Board re- ers seeking jobs. "The bureau tends to impose industrial regiport for December showed that (Labor Statistics) must be think- mentation upon the American despite the holiday letdown sub- ing of 700,000 white men," Thom- working class. This Nazi-like stantial increases in all the major as declared. "My estimate in scheme can still be smashed, however, if the entire labor movement doubts in the thoughtful Negro's istered. During the last half of the women and Negroes able and goes into united fighting action

# War Labor Board (Continued from page 1)

WLB. For three years, they have been selling the WLB to the auto workers as a substitute for the strike weapon. They assured the workers that the "impartial" WLB would take care of labor's just demands. They served on the board, lent their names to it, gave it a "labor" cover, bolstered it up for three years.

It was the Trotskyists in the unions who from the very beginning conducted a tireless campaign exposing the real nature and purpose of the WLB as a government instrument of the employers. The Trotskyists have consistently called for the withdrawal of all union representatives and support from this antilabor government body. For this, the Trotskyist workers were slandered as "obstructors" and even "Hitler agents" by those very UAW leaders who today call for the scrapping of the

(Continued from page 1) long hours and the vicious speed- ing, called to honor the parents by no means indicates that these They are making only another workers' wrath. If the UAW chiefs were serious about with one language — the language of that the promises of the UAW W. G. Grant, Local 600 Presi- drawing labor support from the pill for the Negro toswallow. What apparently principled leaders into the pocket book, the language of leaders about "equality of sacrident and notorious Stalinist front- WLB, they wouldn't stop with mere appeals to Philip Murray and the CIO. UAW President R. J. Thomas himself would take the leashing a campaign of provoca. He exposed the fraud of the prom- to the no-strike pledge as "enemies first step and demonstratively resign from the WLB. All UAW officials on WLB regional bodies would be immediately instructed to leave them flat.

STAY ON WLB

Why don't the UAW leaders get off the corporation-dominated WLB? Because the WLB — or some similar phony set-up with a different title—is the only program these labor fakers have to offer the auto workers in return for giving up their only effective union weapon, the right to strike. The top UAW bureaucrats are united in appealing to the auto workers to reaffirm the no-strike pledge in the union's current referendum. They have repeatedly aided the corporations and government to break "unauthorized' strikes provoked by the bosses But if the WLB is an anti-labor fraud, what then do these "leaders" offer in place of the right

Another government compulso ry arbitration board! A freshly painted 1945 model, with a different name, in which the bosses and government can induce the auto workers to take another authority nor the standing it had when it was created." The WLB is so discredited that some other agency is needed to hoax the workers. And that's precisely what the UAW board resolution

At the same time, by whining about the WLB and calling for the CIO to withdraw its support, the UAW leaders are trying to refurbish themselves as "militants" in the eyes of the auto workers. However, their very adpast policy of servile compliance, auto workers-and all workersan iota of trust in these bureau-

the rank and file, which will real- open-shoppers.

# Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

I had been waiting for Tom to speak to me. All during the shift I could see him eyeing me a little quizzically, as though there was something on his mind. Finally after cast he came up to me and said, "I been wondering about something. How come you get along so good with the colored fellows? Jimmy told me it's all the same to you what color a man is. But how come you feel that way when all the rest of the white folks are all filled up with hatred?"

"Well, in the first place, Tom," I said, "you're wrong when you say 'all the rest of the white folks.' It probably looks like that to you, because you don't know a lot of white men personally. But a good union man will always look at people according to what KIND of people they are, not what COLOR."

"Any decent person is bound to hate a system that discriminates against a man, denies him opportunities, and generally tries to make his life hell just because he belongs to some certain race or nationality. He'll hate a doctrine like that whether it comes from Nazi Germany or from Bilbo in your state, Mississippi."

"It's not my state," Tom grinned. "I was born there, but 's not my state."

"Go on," I told him, "With all the doubles you've been working, you probably own half the state f Mississippi.

"But to get back to the point,

Tom, it isn't even a question of decency. A man could have all kinds of personal prejudice against a race, but if you showed him that race hatred was against his own personal interest, he'd lose that

Tom's face was cynical. "That's what I was going to say. Maybe you know that, but how many other white fellows know it? No, you'll never get all the people together. There's too much hatred. Maybe you don't know it, but once we thought they were going to make a blower (blast furnace boss) out of Dave Sykes, and a bunch of the white stove tenders got together and told the company they wouldn't work under a colored blower. That's they way most white fellows are, and you can't get away from it."

I had heard this argument before from colored men I had worked and talked with. "But, Tom," I said, "people lose their prejudices in a hurry when they have to. Look at the big strike. Pete Rossi had a hell of a lot of prejudice, but he got his arm broken when a cop tried to club one of the colored fellows. He put his arm up and caught the club. All of us marched on the picket line and fought the scabs together, colored and white. We had real solidarity. See, people learn fast when they have to.

"Look," I went on, "we all knew that the company wanted to break us up. If the colored fellows had gone to work, the white men never could have won the strike. Or if the white fellows had been However, the UAW executive scabs, how far do you think the colored workers would have got? board's resolution on the WLB Everybody knew that. Remember, Terry O'Day got up and said it was like two men and a bear. Between the two of them, they could kill the bear, but if they fought against each other, the bear would eat one of them and then the other.

#### How Hatred Is Implanted—and Uprooted

"That's how it is. The company treats the white fellows just a. little better than the colored, but they don't like us any better. They just want us to think we're better than our colored brothers. And if they think they can use the colored workers against the whites, they'll start giving them breaks. Only, any wedge that the company can drive between us will hurt BOTH of us, not just one."

Tom was still cynical. "Sure, they were all together in the strike, but look what happened after the strike. They got all that hatred back again."

"Tom," I said, "they'll be together again. But there's another thing. After the strike, the workingmen didn't control the government and the industries. The kids still picked up their prejudices in school. We went home, and Amos and Andy or maybe Rochester were on the radio. Stepin Fetchit was in the movies. There were jokes and cartoons about Negroes cutting each other with razors, and all that. Negroes were portrayed as lazy clowns and petty chiselers. Naturally a lot of white workers drifted back to the old ways, BUT NOT ALL. Pete Rossi and Teddy Wieznowsky, for instance—they both learned for keeps."

"What about the government? What was that you said about the workingmen?" Tom was suddenly very interested.

"Well," I answered, "we haven't got enough time to go into all that now, but under a worker's government we'd do away with all that racial prejudice. We'd have to have unity. We wouldn't want the people split apart like the capitalists do. We'd want everybody working together for the benefit of all the people. The movies and the radio and all kinds of advertising as well as the schools would prove and keep proving that race hatred hurts us all. Our laws would really forbid segregation and discrimination until ALL the white people learned this. Why we'd grow up together and live close at hand-no more Jim Crow housing projects.

"And most important, we wouldn't have to worry about having enough jobs for everyone. Worry over unemployment, wanting a ride. That's what the executive job for yourself in tough times and fearing that somebody else board means by its complaint that might get it is another thing that keeps people apart. Any racial the WLB now has "neither the or national difference is noticed. A man might think, 'I've got no job, and I can't pay my rent, but that colored guy keeps working'!" But just as I was getting warmed up, a blow-pipe burned up,

and we had to run out and grab the water hoses.

ly fight for a genuine labor program, can give effective, militant guidance to the auto workers. The auto workers need a leadership which stands foursquare on a fighting program.

The indispensable accompaniment to the withdrawal of labor support from the WLB is to missions about the WLB expose scrap the no-strike pledge. That the bankruptcy of their whole is the decisive issue before the with the Roosevelt labor program. | today. That is the only way labor The auto workers can place not can disentangle itself from the red-tape of government compulsory arbitration, halt the corpo-Only a completely new, pro- ration provocations, and take up gressive leadership, controlled by in earnest the challenge of the

#### BOSTON Friday Forums

February 9 "12 YEARS OF THE NEW DEAL"

Workers Center

158 Broadway - 8:15 P. M. Auspices: SWP Admission Free

During all this time the atten- new attention to the factional During all this time the attender new attention to the factional grievances. "Experience has fice program? Or did they merely created a riot. But, in order to convince the street of th unaffiliated but more or less radi- resent it because it distracted atcal and class-conscious workers, tention from our own organiza-strike." was concentrated on the Socialist tion. They regarded the Social-Party because it was a bigger ist Party as only a rival organ- WLB RUNAROUND party. They said: "Let us wait ization, and didn't see the conand see whether it is going to flicting currents and tendencies, submitted," Marphy asserted, "to Strike Pledge and put a stop to be the Socialist Party or the some of whom would be destined prove that the WLB exists not industry's offensive against La-Workers Party which will really to march together with us. It to expedite grievance settlements, be the heir to the radical was an organization approach... but to delay, to stall and to hinder Leo Ellery described in detail Stalinists hauled out a whole sta-Let us see if the Socialist Party from another standpoint, not so not all. The WLB's recent act of provocations and the piling up of will really turn to the left. In much from the organizational refusing to even bend the Little grievances since the surrender of workers to leave the meeting in

ficult to recruit into the Workers ing up our own party. We saw Answering the "unfair and disthe fact that at that time there eventually take. Our inclination those boys helped to form the

keep a respectful distance."

"A mountain of evidence can be We approached the problem collective bargaining. And this is the innumerable corporation ble of speakers, whose reaction side as from the political side. Steel Formula shows that it also the strike weapon. "From the droves. It was only when the ary party that is bigger than We saw in the ferment in the functions to hold wages down at time our leaders gave up the right Stalinists had reduced the meet-Socialist Party not a troublesome a time when corporation profits to strike it has become ining to a skeleton that they succonditions it was extremely dif- diversion from the work of build- are zooming."

days. They walked the picket lines and served on committees

**Auto Militants Broadcast Call** 

manufacturers understand only The Local 212 President char- stantial as a dream-or as insub- terming the hundreds of thouscer caste when the slightest com- and exploitive system. Lasting ged the corporations with unstantial as the Atlantic Charter." ands of UAW militants opposed tions against auto workers, but ises about controlling prices, lim- of labor." Following this hyste-"the Union is helpless to stop iting executives' salaries, "tak- rical tirade, the no-strike resolu-

> paralyzed by the no-strike pledge. "One has only to read the last A rank and file worker de-The union now is like a powerful issue of the United Automobile manded the floor to secure the giant with his hands securely Worker to learn how empty that same courtesy of the chair as shackled behind his back. And promise was. The front page Grant to oppose the no-strike because he is defenseless, others headline of the paper informs us pledge. The meeting chairman treat him with contempt instead t h a t WARTIME PROFITS tried to stall him off, but was TRIPLED INDUSTRY'S PEACE hooted by the workers. The workof with the respect his strength should inspire . . . Take off his TIME TAKE. The aircraft in er who took the floor then gave bonds and his adversaries would dustry, in which our members a well-prepared, sharply-pointed soon change their tactics and work, showed dividends 33 times talk, which frequently brought bigger than in peacetime." He cheers from the audience. He was John Murphy described the asked: "Were our leaders actu- interrupted half-way through by function of Roosevelt's War La- ally so innocent and so green as the chairman, a Stalinist vicebor Board as an agency for stall- to believe all those fine things president, who ruled his timeing the worker's demands and written in the equality of sacri- limit at an end. This almost convinced us that the WLB is a sugarcoat a bitter pill in the hope permit the meeting to proceed sorry substitute for the right to that the men and women in the the speaker yielded the floor. shops would swallow it (no-strike pledge) without too much fuss?" He concluded: "Revoke the No-

ances are shunted from stage to This is almost equivalent to saying: 'Take it to the Cemetery!'

STALINIST TACTICS

The UAW top bureaucrats, whose main support comes from attempting to counter the offen- by Joseph Hansen, were also sive of the militants with every sold. cal example of their methods was

ship took advantage of the meet-

To Rescind No-Strike Pledge employers fear only a threat to up once so notorious in mass of a union brother shot down in their profits, which cease when production industry. We don't the South Pacific who survived a try to shove through a resolution Gordon MacDonald charged supporting the no-strike pledge.

> fice" turned out to be "as insub- man, gave a frenzied speech, tion was introduced.

A leading Stalinist in the unit was then given the floor. His rantings were accorded a chilly ence halted the speaker when he to strike? began to exceed his time. But the ary ravings caused the disgusted creasingly difficult to get griev- ceeded by a narrow margin in ances settled. Important griev- putting over their no-strike resolution.

An evidence of the real sentiments of the workers at this meeting was their warm reception and favorable comments on The Militant, which was distributed for the first time at the Press Steel meeting. A large number of Pioneer Publisher's new pamphlet. "American Work

> In Detroit, Mich. You can get

THE MILITANT at the FAMILY THEATRE NEWSSTAND opposite the theatre

**General Electric Accused** 

Of Ties With Nazi Cartel

The General Electric Company, one of the biggest

beneficiaries of government war orders, has partici-

pated in a world-wide conspiracy with German,

French, British, Japanese, Belgian and Italian cor-

porations to maintain a monopoly in restraint of trade

in the manufacture and sale of electrical equipment,

according to charges filed on January 18 by the

This conspiracy has had for its purpose the division

of the entire world into spheres of influence, mutually

safeguarded by the corporations involved, in which

Electric was given exclusive rights in the United

States. The Nazi firm had control of Germany proper,

According to Assistant Attorney General Berge, the

General Electric, it is charged, withheld from the

The cartel agreements acted to maintain high prices

and limit production. A GE vice president is quoted:

"It is to the interest of the Electric Vacuum Cleaner

at low prices, might act conversely. This would result,

we fear in a general lowering of prices of these

There have been 30 other such anti-cartel suits

gainst American monopolies filed in the past four

years. On request of Roosevelt's War and Navy De-

partments most of them have been "postponed for the

**War Or Peace -- Corporation** 

products in this country."

suit was instituted because the government has

Department of Justice anti-trust division.

# THE MILITANT

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

#### Lessons Of Greece

Churchill has succeeded in imposing an "armistice" on the insurgent Greek masses. This does not signify the termination of the Greek civil war. Nor does it detract an iota from the colossal significance of the Greek events and of the paramount issues involved in it. The essential character of the Greek struggle, which is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle now unfolding on the European continent, has not altered in its essence. This struggle, whose ultimate objective is the socialist society, continues in Greece under new conditions.

With the Greek regency and the "armistice" as a cover, and with the consent of Roosevelt and Stalin (given at Teheran!), the British imperialists and its catspaws aim to carry through the policy they pursued in provoking the recent battles. So far as they are concerned, all that is involved is a modification of tactics. Unable to disarm and crush the Greek masses at a single stroke, as originally intended, they now propose to do this in stages. They aim to drain the forces/of the Greek revolution through a series of bloody provocations, the next of which may not be long in forthcoming.

Britain's imperialist boot is now firmly planted in Athens. While the full "armistice" terms remain secret, it is reported that the Elas forces have been committed by their leadership to withdraw from Salonika, and to "disperse" their forces in the hinterlands, where it will be all the easier to cut them to pieces as well as to shroud in secrecy the work of the Allied imperialist butchers.

The main responsibility for the partial defeat, or more correctly sellout, suffered by the Greek masses, and for the threat of further disasters, falls on the shoulders of the so-called "national liberation" front—the EAM—and its chief sponsors, the Stalinists. The Kremlin is the mortal enemy of the toilers in Greece as throughout the world. To Stalin the struggle for emancipation of the masses is only so much small change in his diplomatic deals with London and Washington. And this means that at every critical stage of the struggle, the Stalinists work hand in hand with the imperialist masters to help dupe, disarm and enslave the masses. This

has once again been demonstrated in the Greek

The civil war in Greece is also a striking illustration of how the mass movement can sweep over the heads of the Stalinists, the Socialists and all other misleaders in the elemental surge of the masses to determine their own destinies. The heroic resistance of the toilers who rushed to the defense of the Elas and who fought under its banner caught not only Churchill but the Kremlin by surprise. But courage and the will and the readiness to fight are not enough. A clear-cut revolutionary program is indispensable. This in turn means that for victory the workers need a political party with a firm leadership, dedicated to realize this program in life. To win their struggle the Greek masses must now build such a party in the heat of struggle.

The Trotskyists have constituted an important section of the Greek working class movement and have a rich tradition of struggle. Despite the censorship and the scant information, we are confident that our co-thinkers in Greece, like the Trotskyists throughout Europe, are now bending all their efforts to create such a combat party of proletarian emancipation in their country.

### The Price Of Murder

Another chapter in the Little Steel strike of 1937 was written in the last week of December when the Republic Corporation settled 192 damage suits for deaths and injuries to CIO strikers. The settlement, made out of court, constituted a clear admission of guilt on the part of Republic Steel.

The Steel corporation decided to take this action after the Ohio Supreme Court upheld a \$20,000 jury award to a Republic striker who suffered a permanent brain injury when struck by company police who raided a union soup kitchen on the

night of July 26, 1937. Settlements for deaths in the Memorial Day massacre at South Chicago ranged from \$6,000 to \$7,500 — the American bosses do not value the life of a worker too highly. This Memorial Day Massacre shocked the entire labor movement. The police of Mayor Kelly, a staunch supporter of Roosevelt, conspired with company police of Republic Steel to attack marching strikers. They shot, beat, and tear-gassed their victims.

Movies taken of the massacre were ordered suppressed. The real facts about the massacre were likewise suppressed. The entire capitalist press did its utmost to slander the strikers and to fix on them the blame for the slaughter. Only a deeply aroused labor movement succeeded in bringing out the truth.

News of the settlement of the many suits in the Little Steel strike, including suits over property damage, personal injury and false arrest in Chicago. Cleveland, Canton, Massilon and Youngstown, has likewise now been deliberately suppressed. The January 6 Business Week alone gave the item a few paragraphs. The ruling class does not want to remind the working class during the war that the American bosses, like British capitalists in Greece, do not hesitate to turn their guns on unarmed workers in order to halt the rise of the labor movement.

Republic Steel has at last admitted its full guilt for the bloodshed in the Little Steel strike. They have paid blood money to the families of the slain. The capitalists now hope that the American working class will forget the force and violence that was used against the CIO in the Little Steel strike.

But the American workers will never forget these labor martyrs who were sacrificed on the altar of greed. They will never forget the heroes who gave their lives to build the Steel Union. And they will vet settle their accounts in full with the steel barons and Wall Street leeches whose profits drip with the blood of the working class.

### Big Steal Formula

The Little Steel formula, Roosevelt's stooges tell the workers, is necessary to prevent inflation. Roosevelt's administration has an entirely different attitude, however, towards Big Business. Last week Price Administrator Bowles authorized increased prices on five basic steel products. These increases ranged from 4 percent to nearly 10 percent. Steel profits will rise \$36 million a year as a result.

The steel industry is already shaking down approximately \$750 million a year. This is three and a half times its pre-war take.

The formula used by the OPA to increase the profits of the steel bosses deserves study by every militant trade unionist now caught in the vise of Roosevelt's wage freeze.

The first principle is that an industry can get its profits increased provided any of its products are selling below cost. Profits may be scandalously high in one section of a huge industrial empire, but if they drop below a certain level in another section then OPA will raise price ceilings.

The second principle is that the price increases are made on the basis of the corporation's own cost figures. Expert accountants are paid to adjust bookkeeping figures of costs with this formula in mind. If a steel company for instance makes fabulous profits in its mines or smelters but shows a slight loss on rolled steel products, then OPA will

raise the price ceilings. The third principle is still more revealing. If the OPA raises prices on one product, it is supposed to lower them on another as "compensation." But the OPA conveniently forgets to lower prices in accordance with this provision.

Thus Roosevelt's administration does not hesitate in the least to smash the Little Steel formula when it is a question of increasing the profits of the capitalists. Only when the workers demand wage increases to meet the rising cost of living does Roosevelt insist that the formula cannot be broken.

# ORKERS'

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

#### Tresca Meeting

There was another side to the memorial meeting for Carlo Tres-

ca which you did not deal with. To me it was a tragic side. Those in charge of the meeting were a conglomeration of "hasbeens" and escapists from Marxism, and the meeting reflected

their unmilitant and patriotic at-

For example, they closed the meeting with the playing of the Star Spangled Banner. But at this point the spirit of "national unity" was broken by the young workers present. They demanded and began to sing "Bandiera Rossa," the traditional revolutionary battle-song of the Italian workers.

They were the ones who really glory of his struggles for the working class.

#### Flag-Waver

In the shop a few days ago I overheard a heated discussion taking place thing entirely different. An ownamong several workers on the merits of the no-strike pledge. think that by being in business The pledge had only two sup- he ranks in class with the Duthem was very loud in his support. He proclaimed for everyone to hear how much he loved his country and the red, white and blue, etc. He didn't convince millions of men seeking a job. anyone who was listening to him by his flag-waving.

A few days later I saw in the evening paper that he had been market gas coupons.

This Stalinist, I later found out that is what he is, got out on

General Arnaldo Azzi, the Region-

al Commander of the Central

Provinces, demanded speedier

democratization of the Army and

the removal of all Monarchist

Azzi's mild and timid demand,

however, stirred a hornet's nest

among the former fascist army

generals and Monarchists who

are doing their utmost, aided by

Allied bayonets, to preserve the

hated House of Savoy. They pro-

tested against Azzi's republican-

ism. Someone jerked the strings

on which the Allied puppet Bon-

omi dangles, and he acted in re-

markable contrast to the slow-

ness of his purge of former fas-

cists and Nazi collaborators. Azzi

and other avowed "democrats"

The highly unstable Bonomi gov-

posts and sharing its criminal

After a week of judicious sil-

ence, the Stalinists finally took

action — against Azzi. The

would-be democrat who dared

talk against Monarchist emblems

in the army must remain purged.

they ruled. It the Monarchist

emblems in the army are good

enough for the former fascists,

then evidently they are good

The wide-spread opposition to

enough for the Stalinists.

Canada

regime in the first place by taking | sembly.

got the sack.

his command.

responsibilities.

of literature for the no-strike Labor Conscription pledge under his arm. I heard one worker say that this fellow is not a good socialist because he exploits his fellow workers by selling them gas coupons at 75 cents and a dollar, and he isn't scription" campaign, taking even the patriot he claims to be. their cue from Roosevelt's latest

The workers will not be fooled by these company stooges who talk themselves up as great patriots, whether they dabble in the black market or not.

#### **Ideas and Reality**

Many of the old sayings and proverbs cannot stand the light of reason. One such is, "As a man expressed the living spirit of thinketh so is he." Perhaps one Carlo Tresca rather than those | day in the far distant past, be-'has-beens" who basked in the fore the recording of history began, man was a free agent, wishing to be, let us say, a master of men. He needed but to rub a lamp a la Aladdin, or "hit the pipe" and think that he was a master of men, when presto! he would be surrounded by a flock of slaves

> In this day and age men think they are one thing and are someer of a small retail store may would cease, and the chances are

Not so the DuPont-Ford class; possessing their millions they would continue living in afflu-F. B. I. for dealing in black will prove to them that they too are not as they thinketh.

Canada with placards denouncing

conscription and in some cases

demanding the conscription of

The King government managed

to weather that crisis but now

faces another serious setback. Its

inability to force more than 8,300

of the 16,000 overseas indicates a

resist government policy. The

Mackenzie King government is

demonstrably growing more and

ful whether it can survive a

De Gaulle who is depicted as

shining champion of democracy,

by the Allies to govern France

threatened general election.

wealth.

France

The Socialists, the Action Party is actually a reactionary set up

who feel the rage of the masses and suppress the revolutionary

began shouting that the purge movement of the workers. Since

R. H. M.

aren't launching a campaign in each would have exclusive monopoly control. General the unions for their "total con-"slave labor" conscription de- as well as Austria, Danzig and Memel prior to their mand. Or perhaps the incident in invasion. Buick Local 599, UAW-CIO, here

evidence that GE has not only not cancelled its agreetook a withdrawal from the local ments with firms in Axis countries, but is "planning was granted a few minutes un der "good and welfare" to talk to negotiate similar agreements" in the future. on "total conscription."

He explained he favored labor government "access to the patents and technical conscription, (at army pay, etc.) | knowledge of foreign companies" and only released but it ought to include also con- such information "after Pearl Harbor by direct order scription of wealth, etc. etc. It of the Government exercising its war powers." developed he had possibly three or four sympathizers, in the hall, but the majority made it clear they wanted no part of conscription. A couple of members easi- | Co., the Edison Electrical Appliance Co., and similarly ly showed what a fraud "total situated (GE) companies to refrain from selling in conscription" would be when ad- the territory of the Allgemeine Electricitaets Gesellministered by Wall Street's schaft (Nazi) because that company, being generally agents. Only labor would be real- in a position to market their products in the U.S.A. ly conscripted. One speaker drew a parallel with the "equality of sacrifice" program, under which only labor sacrificed. "Equality of conscription" would be the

Twice the membership killed attempts to get favorable action porters in the group and one of Ponts, Fords et al. Should the on "total conscription" and then duration" so as not to "interfere with the war effort." war end tomorrow war work wound up with an almost unanimous vote that the secretary a hundred to one that within a write to the UAW and CIO and short time he would be one of the to Congressmen and Senators in opposition to labor conscription and in support of the recent unbor." Two Stalinists tried in ence, thinking that their class vain to head off this letter with taken out of the plant by the was ever to continue "as is." Time flag-waving pleas to support F. B. I. for dealing in black will prove to them that they too "our Commander-in-Chief."

# bail and reappeared at the shop. Technocrats and He came in with a whole stack

I wonder if the Technocrats was an isolated incident.

A young fellow, who recently

same thing.

J. T. Flint, Michigan

### Patent 'Rights' Respected When the capitalist government wants to put a

vorker into uniform, freeze his wages, shackle him to his job, or shift him into a lower-paying job, it doesn't ask the worker's consent. By decree and by law, the government secures "co-operation"-or else. That's not the attitude to the employers and owning class. Even if the government is engaged in a war. the big business monopolies are required to do only what is profitable for them.

Take the matter of patents, for instance. This is one of the big headaches of the government war production program. The monopoly corporations have been very jealous of infringements on patents which the government requires for war purposes.

Secretary of Navy Forrestal has had to write a plea to the 18,000 Navy contractors to "agree, in consideration of others so agreeing, that they will not assert any claims for patent infringement arising out of the utilization of inventions during the war for any mention of the matter in the governmental purposes." Such claims, it appears, 'will constitute a vexatious problem in the postwar. and reconversion scene."

The Robsevelt government is very careful about infringing on the patents controlled by the capitalists without their consent. That would be a violation of private property "rights." But it does not hesitate to snatch up and regiment workers for any purpose it desires. After all, that involves "only" the welfare and lives of the working people.

## Why the RFC is Called "Relief for Capitalists"

The current inter-capitalist clique squabble over whether Roosevelt's Henry Wallace or Roosevelt's Jesse Jones shall head the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has served one beneficial purpose. It has focused attention once more upon this government agency for diverting public wealth into the gaping The government recently set up pockets of the Wall Street monopolists.

.This RFC agency, popularly known as "Relief For Capitalists," was established originally by "High-Collar" Hoover. It was continued under Roosevelt, whose generosity to the bankers and industrialists has made the not inconsiderable hand-outs of the Hoover regime seem like the pinch-penny offerings of

Unemployed workers during the depression had to riot and demonstrate all over the country to obtain even starvation "relief." But the Roosevelt administra-As head of the government of tion poured out lavish billions to the big corporations. The bankers and bosses thrived on soaring profits syphoned from these government loans, while 10,000,-000 workers still walked the streets.

The magnitude of Roosevelt's solicitude for the capitalists was revealed in Jones' report last week. The RFC handles assets of some \$42,000,000,000 (that's tached directly to de Gaulle's per- services of Miklos to Nazism billions!) and has authorized "advances" and investments of over \$33,000,000,000.

Heading the list of RFC outlays are the funds provided during the war for new plants and machinery to expand the giant empires of the steel, auto, rubber, oil and similar monopolies. The Roosevelt administration's plans are already far advanced for turning these government-built productive facilities over to the corporations for a song.

Included in the direct hand-outs of the RFC have ed, consequently, a man who has been loans aggregating \$3,395,400,000 to banks, building and loan associations, insurance companies and promise that they would be used Pascal Copeau, former general fender of counter-revolution. mortgage loan companies; capital investments of \$1,393,000,000 to banks and insurance firms; \$1,503,-000,000 in loans to the railroad monopolies. General loans to industrialists amount to \$2,838,400,000. Over half of the latter loans are described as for "nondefense" purposes.

had gone into "reverse." They de- the Allied occupation of France manded that Azzi be returned to he has been busy consolidating Hungary his position. One of the forces For a while the issue was hot. he counts upon is a terroristic secret service modelled on the fasernment was under heavy pres-cist OVRA and the Nazi GES-Everything depended on TAPO. A few facts concerning the Stalinists who had made pos- de Gaulle's secret police have sible the setting up of the Bonomi come out in the Consultative As ania. It pursues the policy of During the German occupation, maining under the political conall underground activity con- trol of the Kremlin. Stalin is trolled by de Gaulle's emigre using as his tools the most reac-

London committee called the the old regime. Bureau Central de Renseignebe investigated without his perimperialist war among the mission.

The Bureau Central began set-Canadian masses was graphically revealed January 20 when Na- ting up secret files on French tional Defense Headquarters ad- partisans while the Germans still ed wholly within the borders of mitted that 6,300 soldiers out of held France, listing everyone sus Hungary. On the contrary Hitler 15,600 scheduled to go overseas pected of critical views of decorated Miklos for what he did are absent without official leave. de Gaulle. Now they have a secret for the Reich on the Voronezh 8,300 draftees have been disem- card-index of Resistance mem Front in Russia. Stalin has pick-

Canada's armies were built on the only for defense on home soil and secretary of the M.L.N. Resistno one would be sent abroad un ance Movement, charged that men be sent abroad whether of fascists and former collabor- bolster it up.

they volunteered or not. This ators, and that it has placed unviolation of government promises der secret arrest several hundred precipitated a major political persons who are being held withscientiously performing their crisis. Thousands of anti-war out charging them with any offunction as agents of Allied coundemonstrators appeared in the fense. De Gaulle did not answer these

charges. He simply ordered the French military censorship to ban French press. On the following day new protests of de Gaulle's dictatorial ac-

tions were made in the Consultative Assembly. One of de Gaulle's entourage attempted an anpowerful general sentiment to swer that was ludicrously weak, alleging that the secret committee had performed good services during the German occupation more unpopular and it is doubt and that a former Socialist editor. Brossolette, had died in its service. Copeau answered angrily that Brossolette had simply moved with its technical help and under its control.

This discussion was likewise placed under the censorship ban so that the French workers can be kept in ignorance of the activities of de Gaulle's terroristic organization.

in Hungary with which the Allies have signed an armistice closely resembles the governments newlyinstalled in Bulgaria and Rumpreserving capitalism, while regovernment was centered in a tionary and venal figures from

ments et d'Action. Its chief was Hungary, for instance, he has Colonel de Wavrin, one-time placed General Bela Miklos. This private secretary of General De- blood - thirsty militarist backed loncle, head of the pre-war native up the former Horthy dictator-French fascist movement known ship to the hilt throughout the as the "Cagoulards" or hooded period of alliance with Nazi Germen. This committee is now at- many. So outstanding were the sonal secretariat where it cannot that he became the first Hungarian to receive personally from Hitler the Knight Grand Cross of the Iron Cross

These services were not render In the Consultative Assembly, already proved his worth as a de-

The Stalinists have made i clear that they do not intend to less he volunteered. On Nov de Gaulle's secret service is cen overthrow the capitalist system ember 23; however, Premier Mac | soring | legitimate | political | cor- | in Hungary | On the contrary, Kenzie King ordered 16,000 respondence, is blocking purges they announce that they will