

Who Carries Forward Lenin's Fight Today?

— SEE PAGE 3 —

THE MILITANT

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UAW DEMANDS WITHDRAWAL FROM WLB

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 to halt the spreading strike 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 strike.

The Ward "seizure" merely snatched the strike weapon from the hands of the Ward workers and shoved them into the barbed-wire entanglements of the boss courts. There, as always, their struggle became enmeshed in a thousand steel judicial strands. The courts provide innumerable devices for binding the workers hand and foot and defending the property "rights" of the employers.

SULLIVAN'S DECISION

Judge Sullivan's decision typified the hair-splitting that characterizes capitalist judicial practice in bending the laws to the benefit of the capitalists. He decided that Montgomery Ward did not come within the strict terms of the Smith-Connally Act, because the company was primarily engaged in "distribution" and not "production." Moreover, it was not "directly" engaged in "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" was involved. But the President "may not seize private property just because it might be useful or beneficial to the armed forces."

Capitalist patriotism ends where capitalist property "rights" begin. It's all right however, to freeze wages by decree, freeze jobs, impose forced labor, place millions of workers into uniform action.

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 Trotskyism to the militant miners of South Wales, who have conducted a series of magnificent strikes during the war. The Welsh miners have continuously battled against the miserable wages and the conscription for mine labor which have been maintained by the colliery owners with the acquiescence of Labor Party Members of Parliament.

One of the central slogans of the Trotskyist platform is nationalization of the coal mines without compensation, a demand repeatedly put forth by Sir William Jenkins will not be contested by Comrade Haston.

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Released Trotskyists on Minneapolis Arrival



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 Goldman, Jake Cooper, and James P. Cannon.

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 quite steady.

Roosevelt Puts On Pressure 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."

The farce of the Ward "seizure" has demonstrated that the workers can defend their interests only by discarding all dependence on capitalist "friends of labor." Break the shackles of the no-strike pledge and withdraw all labor support from the corporation-dominated War Labor Board! Labor can rely only on its own organized strength and independent program of militant action.

Extra! WLB Bucks Big Corporation

Here's one time the corporation-dominated War Labor Board took issue with a big employer.

Last week the board in Washington rejected a proposal 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, warehouse and office employees. The board instead insisted upon one week's vacation after one year's employment and two weeks after three years' service for all except the office employees, who were granted the original request.

This rejection of the company's own request for most of the A & P employees was justified on the grounds that most of the workers were already getting vacations on the basis approved by the WLB and to adopt the company's plan would be to "violate" Roosevelt's wage-freeze, wage-stabilization program!

ANTI-LABOR AMENDMENTS

One unanticipated snag has been created by the very eagerness of reactionary Congressmen to respond in the same labor-hating spirit as Roosevelt's forced labor demand. In their desire to "strengthen" the bill and eliminate any possibility of loopholes, Roosevelt's more unrestrained Congressional colleagues, particularly from the Democratic South, are competing to attach to the

forced labor measure all sorts of cruder anti-labor amendments.

Their slobbering eagerness to embrace Roosevelt's plan and even "improve" it has not only delayed its enactment but exposed the original bill for the viciously anti-labor measure that it is.

One amendment was designed to undermine union security by abrogating closed shop union contracts for workers forced into

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 from prison. That was all.

Yet these released prisoners are the heroic fighters for the working class known throughout the Northwest as leaders of the labor movement.

In 1934 they led the mighty series of struggles 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 reactionary aims. They said over and over again: "This is Wall Street's war—this is a war for profits—the workers have nothing to gain from it."

For their courageous fight against the bosses, against the capitalist war, and for their revolutionary socialist ideas, these Trotskyists earned the hatred of powerful enemies and misleaders of the workers. Two of these enemies, one, the President of the United States and the other, President of the AFL Teamsters International, conspired to railroad the 18 to prison. Symbolically enough, they were sentenced on the day war was declared. They

began serving their terms at the end of 1943. Today 12 of them were coming out.

How do they feel? How do they look? What do they think? Almost a hundred people were waiting... and watching the clock. "The train arrives on Track 9 at 11:39," said the gate-keeper. He surveyed the crowd with surprise. "This must be something special," he remarked.

"THE TRAIN IS IN"

Through the window pane above the track I saw the yellow Diesel engine nose its way around the curve. Nobody seemed to speak, yet everyone heard "The train is in." Nobody seemed to move, yet the crowd had formed into a huge semi-circle around the gate, closely packed, silent, tense with anticipation.

For a fraction of a moment the spell of waiting was broken. Carlos Hudson was first up the stairs. Then, like a series of electric shocks, in quick succession followed the others: Albert Goldman, Vincent Dunne, Farrell Dobbs, Emil Hansen, Jim Cannon, Carl Skoglund, Felix Morrow, (Continued on page 4)

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 militants' drive to win a majority vote for rescinding the pledge was the half hour radio program presented last evening over station WJR, Detroit, by the powerful Briggs Local 212, which has been taking a leading part in the struggle against the no-strike surrender policy. WJR is the largest radio broadcasting station in Michigan.

Thousands of Michigan auto workers heard the hard-hitting appeal from the Local 212 members.

From all over the state supporting messages are already beginning to pour in, testifying to the wide-spread sympathetic response the broadcast has evoked. The addresses of Local 212 President Jesse Ferrazza, John Murphy, Chairman of the Briggs Hamtramck unit; Ruth Bailey, rank and filer from the Briggs Mack Avenue plant; Gordon MacDonald, Local 212 Vice-President; and Leo Ellery, Chairman of the Local 212 Skilled Trades Committee, struck the militant chord that the auto ranks have wanted to hear.

Ferrazza quoted the statement

Auto Workers' Board Calls On CIO To Initiate Break

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

By Art Preis

The International Executive Board of the CIO 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."

This blow to the tottering prestige of the War Labor Board was occasioned by a ruling of Director

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 demand 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. The steel wage case was "settled" 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 revolution among the workers. 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.

Charles Liebman, American Civil Liberties Union attorney, greeted Albert Goldman and denounced the Smith "Gag" Act, under which the 18 defendants were railroaded to prison, and urged the continuation of the fight for its repeal.

PLEDGE SUPPORT

Louis Petros, member of the bargaining committee of Buick Local 6, UAW-CIO addressed the meeting, stating that his local was on record in support of the fight to defend the 18 and against the reactionary Smith "Gag" Act.

He said that these convictions represented a danger to all organized labor.

WLB ANTI-LABOR

The rising indignation of the auto workers and the complete exposure of the WLB as a pro-corporation, 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 WLB's anti-labor function and 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 Roosevelt, were the original advocates and supporters of the

(Continued on page 5)

Telegrams and letters of greeting and solidarity from branches and locals of the Socialist Workers Party from New York to San Diego were also read to the meeting by chairman Lydia Beidel.

\$135.00 was contributed by the audience for the purpose of continuing the splendid work of the CRDC against the Minneapolis frame-up.

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 Roosevelt, were the original advocates and supporters of the

(Continued on page 5)

"has been heard over and over in one form or another by workers employed in plants under United Automobile Workers contract from coast to coast. And herein lies the crux of the no-strike issue. To ask: Shall we or shall we not have legitimate collective bargaining?" Collective bargaining means that labor can, by its organized strength, resist the downward pressure on its living standards and working conditions by organized capital.

But without the right to strike labor's combined strength means little or nothing."

Ferrazza pointed out that the

(Continued on page 5)

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Textile Wage Case Conspiracy

Some workers undoubtedly still have the illusion that the Roosevelt administration attempts to exercise "impartiality" in arriving at wage decisions. But the reality is the exact opposite. The rigamarole of War Labor Board hearings and other government arbitration procedures is designed to conceal behind-the-scenes conniving between the administration and the big employers.

The actual mechanics of one such conspiracy have been partially disclosed by recent developments in the textile wage case, including Director of Economic Stabilization Vinson's intervention in this and other pending cases. This intervention came in the form of his letter to the WLB "requesting" that agency to grant no wage increases of any nature without prior approval of the Office of Price Administration.

By his action, Vinson succeeded in blocking a final decision of the WLB after it had indicated its intentions of lifting slightly the "sub-standard" wages of the terribly exploited textile workers. Further, he established an entirely new basis for "settling" wage disputes. Not the "merits of the case" are the criteria, but whether wage increases, however paltry, "affect costs and prices"—as the profiteering corporations always insist they do.

Moreover, final authority in wage disputes is no longer to reside in the official arbitration agency, the WLB, but in the "price control" agencies, where the unions do not even have formal representation. Thus, the administration has contrived a neat device for nullifying wage increases even in those few instances where the WLB, in order to preserve its prestige as an "impartial" agency, is compelled to grant "fringe" raises.

** *

Apart from the obvious general fact that Roosevelt's underlings and appointees, including Vinson, merely implement the administration's wage and labor policies, in 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 Roosevelt to CIO President Murray. Roosevelt's letter—into which the CIO leaders attempted at first to read a message of "hope"—clearly indicates that the inspiration for Vinson's action came straight from the White House.

His letter discussing the administration's broad wage policy, Roosevelt emphasized just one point—the effect of any wage 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-inflation program. The board (WLB), therefore, will submit its report to Judge Vinson whom I then expect to advise me in light of the board's findings, as well as all other relevant information. As to objectives, we are in perfect agreement. We must not permit the price level to rise."

It may be noted with reference to the last sentence that the compelling reason advanced by the unions to demand wage increases has been precisely that prices have already risen—at least 45 per cent since January 1941.

** *

It can now be proved, further

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

\$18,000 Party Expansion Fund

A Fitting 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 Minneapolis 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 irrefutable evidence of this administration-employers conspiracy to defraud the textile workers is contained in a document made public on January 23 by Emil Rieve, President of the CIO Textile Workers Union.

This revealing document is signed by William P. Jacobs, Executive Director of the Print Cloth Group of Cotton Manufacturers, Clinton, S. C. It is dated January 12, 1945. It is fittingly titled, "Another Progress Report."

The document begins: "After spending another week in Washington, I give you another confidential report on price ceilings and wages. On this trip, I conferred with Judge Vinson, having previously conferred with Justice Byrnes. He arranged the conference with Judge Vinson for us." What a spirit of cordiality and cooperation!

The report goes on to confide: "On wages the judge seemed better informed and more interested but still non-committal." "Better informed and more interested" here means sympathetic to the sweatshop operators' view; "non-committal" means cautiously refraining from any open commitment.

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 of \$111, bringing our branch well over its quota. There are still some pledges outstanding on the campaign and we expect to forward these by February 23rd."

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, agent, comments about the type of subscribers they are getting: "I observe that by far the great majority of subs we have been sending in for the past few months have been for industrial workers. This is a positive indication that the actual roots of the party are going deeper and deeper into the labor movement. Also these subscribers are practically without exception unionists."

A. West, our agent in Toledo, reports a phenomenon that is occurring in all parts of the country: "We have many militant subs from people miles around Toledo and this is due to the factories here where people travel far to work. Some subscribers upon finishing with their copies pass them on to fellow workers who take them home. 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 Militant:

"To a person in a foreign country, The Militant comes as a special messenger of hope. I find that I invariably turn to the 'Militant Army' first, and second to the current campaign report. These two features are like letters from home, telling of the activity and progress of friends. So much has been said in praise of Grey's and Kovalesky's columns and of Gray's cartoons that more is superfluous. They have added tremendously to the popular appeal that is essential to a labor paper."

"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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URUGUAY TROTskyISTS HOUNDED BY REACTION

MONTEVIDEO, Jan. 4 —

The government of Uruguay last November launched new persecutions of the Trotskyist movement through its anti-labor court for control of anti-national 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 a judicial holiday, will be resumed in March when the court reopens. This new assault follows an attack made upon the Trotskyists by the Minister of the Interior last June. At that time, in a week-long session, the Minister repeatedly raised the specter of "Trottskyism" to whitewash the government's vicious anti-strike laws. Names of many Trotskyists were furnished to the government by Stalinist finger-men.

At the November inquisition the Trotskyists were questioned on their attitude toward the imperialist war and their activities in the trade union movement. That the court may attempt a frame-up similar to Churchill's 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 asked. "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 attempts 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?"

Special emphasis was laid on the ideas of the Fourth International by a series of questions including: "What do you think of the Fourth International? Have you ties with Fourth Internationalist groups in other countries? Are you a follower of Trotsky? Do you share his ideas of the Permanent Revolution?"

Maintaining their party work in spite of the government's attempts to intimidate their ranks, the Trotskyists in Uruguay are

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 government. Thus the candidacy of Comrade Haston will enable the Neath workers to express their dissatisfaction with the Tory-dominated government and help labor reassert its independence in political action.

The British workers have demonstrated by mass protest meetings their bitter antagonism to Churchill's murder of Greek workers. Labor Party Members of Parliament have continued to support Churchill in open betrayal of the workers' demands for non-intervention in Greece. Comrade Haston will call upon labor to break the coalition, overthrow the Churchill government, and take power on a socialist program.

SOCIALIST STRUGGLE
In accordance with Marxist principles, the campaign of the Revolutionary Communist Party will proclaim the party's irreconcilable opposition to the imperialist war. Comrade Haston will appeal to the British workers to extend the hand of friendship and fraternity to the German working class and to aid them in the overthrow of Hitler and the establishment of a socialist Germany. He will oppose the vicious program of Vansittartism which would reduce Germany to colonial status.

Special emphasis was laid on the ideas of the Fourth International by a series of questions including: "What do you think of the Fourth International? Have you ties with Fourth Internationalist groups in other countries? Are you a follower of Trotsky? Do you share his ideas of the Permanent Revolution?"

One of the major demands of the Revolutionary Communist Party is for immediate and unconditional freedom for India and all the colonial peoples.

Comrade Haston, who has become well-known throughout England as a result of the frame-up trials last spring, has spent most of his 32 years as an active participant in the class struggle of the British workers. Since 1938 he has been active in the Trotskyist movement as a speaker, writer and organizer. He is now assistant editor of the *Socialist Appeal*.

One of the major demands of the Revolutionary Communist Party is for immediate and unconditional freedom for India and all the colonial peoples.

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

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We Carry On Lenin's Fight Today

Allies Censor News On Greece

By Joseph Hansen

"We Americans are not getting unbiased news from Greece," declares Wm. L. Shirer, correspondent of the *N. Y. Herald-Tribune*. "We are getting too much British and Greek government propaganda. And we are being made victims of a vicious censorship."

Of the 12 American correspondents in Greece, 11 have protested to the American government about the censorship. The British general Scobie, in charge of murdering Greek partisans, has forbidden all contact with his visitors, even interviews supervised by his officers.

M. W. Fodor of the Chicago Sun points out that the British are widely propagandizing the 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.

The lone correspondent who refused to join his fellow correspondents 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, blood-thirsty brigands who wantonly torture innocent victims. This unnamed correspondent "of one of our greatest metropolitan newspapers," 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 correspondents that the Greek Communists intend to hand over Macedonia to the Yugoslavs, a tale greeted with snorting skepticism 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 great Allies,' 'Long live Churchill,' and 'Long live Roosevelt.' Sedgwick quoted from an 'impromptu speech' made by General Scobie 'on a balcony.' The British commander said: 'I am particularly happy to see the working class represented.'

The Militant was not taken in by this crude propaganda. "Royalsists 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 '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 staunch monarchist, and, when his own small resistance army began to melt away recently, he was chased from central Greece by the ELAS."

Zervas, we may add, was the counter-revolutionary general armed and financed by the British who raised an army in support of the hated Glucksburg monarchy. When the British provoked the civil war, however, the ranks of this army went over to the ELAS by the thousands. The British were finally forced to rescue Zervas. They evacuated him and his immediate staff. For a few days 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 cheered their butchers.

One of the American correspondents in London makes the devastating understatement that "British supporters of the EAM in Greece suspect that a kind of propaganda plot is now in operation."

The exposure of Allied propaganda against the partisans rev-

(The following speech was delivered by Comrade M. Stein, acting National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at the memorial meeting held in New York Jan. 21, 1945 on the 21st anniversary of Lenin's death. The meeting was held at Irving Plaza by the 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 the death of Lenin, and wherever oppression exists, wherever men are exploited in the capitalist countries and in the colonies, he was mourned by the downtrodden.

There were, of course, deep social reasons for this. Lenin was a true disciple of Marx and Engels. His masters, the founders of Scientific Socialism, did not have the opportunity to put their ideas into practice. Lenin was presented with that opportunity. On the fourth year of 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 from the capitalists and established the workers' power in a country that stretched over one-sixth of the earth.

Apparently the Allies are following Hitler's advice on propaganda that the bigger the lie the more easily people will believe it.

Economic Chaos Intensifies Woes Of Italian People

Italian economic and social conditions are steadily deteriorating. According to Matthews, Rome correspondent of the *N. Y. Times*, Jan. 21, "Somewhere between 60 and 70 percent of the industrial plants in the liberated zone have been destroyed, but even the existing 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 steam age."

Economic life has been a ghost-like. "There is an active, feverish exchange of quickly decaying goods at always rising prices with a steady exhaustion of all those stocks saved from German pillage or Allied requisitioning." Meat costs \$2.50 a pound, shoes from \$50 to \$70, a suit of clothes from \$150 to \$300. These prices, remarks Matthews, "represent close to a sentence of death by hunger and cold to the ordinary person."

Transportation has been completely. Of her pre-war railroad stock, Italy now has only between 15 and 25 percent of all steam locomotives, 38 percent of freight cars and 14 percent of passenger coaches. Only 10 percent of Italy's pre-war stock of trucks still remain in operation, with spare parts costing between 500 and 1,000 times their pre-war prices. The merchant marine has been reduced from 3,250,000 tons to 460,000 and this is "composed mostly of wooden fishing boats in need of repairs."

The devastation in the war-torn areas is so complete it cannot 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 Italian numbered 13 million not 45 million."

DESPERATE SITUATION

This means that if the capitalist system continues in Italy on its present basis, without considering the further inevitable decline, 32 million people are condemned to die.

The workers are particularly hard hit, but the petty bourgeoisie likewise is sinking into the abyss. The inflation of currency has now reached 1,150 percent. Malnutrition is general. Crime and prostitution are spreading on an unbelievable scale.

Conditions are no better in the agricultural areas. Millions of unexploded mines litter the fields and orchards, a constant deadly hazard to cultivation. Fertilizers have not been available for three years. Nearly all the Italian cattle have been requisitioned, butchered or stolen. Machinery is broken down, lacking spare parts and fuel. Farmhouses, stables and granaries have been destroyed everywhere. To maintain rations at the present miserable level of about 7 ounces of bread a day will require importation of 27,800,000 quintals of wheat.

"The Italian economic situation is desperate," concludes the *Times* correspondent, "and, what is worse, it is deteriorating steadily."

The only hope for Italy is the rapid organization and growth of the revolutionary political party of the workers, based on the program of Trotskyism, which will lead the masses to the formation of the Soviet power. Under capitalism Italy is clearly doomed. Only socialism offers a way out.

a hideous criminal is engaged in his work. If only Stalin could burn Lenin's works; if only he could expunge Lenin's name out of the minds of the workers—he would then feel lot safer. But this is 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 and distort Lenin.

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 specter 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, 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; scaberry with strikes; counter-revolution with revolution. That is the whole theme of his article. He adds all this up and says: "See, there is a perfect balance."

Browder concludes the article with a eulogy. Of whom? Of Lenin? Not at all. Lenin he fears. He concludes that article with a eulogy of the Republican Senator Ball of Minnesota!

Of course, Browder's article would be incomplete without taking a 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 Browder 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, comrade.

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 cannot 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 exploitation and death inflicted on them by the imperialist war. 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, whom they said they came to liberate from the Nazis, can only have one effect. It can only deepen among the starving masses the hatred of the imperialist conquerors. The peoples of Europe, who must endure insults, indignities and privations, will have their day 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 Bolsheviks whom he designated as bandits 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. They were used against Lenin and Trotsky during and after the last war. They were used then by a combination of Social Democrats and their imperialist masters. And they are used today by a slightly different combination of Stalinists and their imperialist masters 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 staying off the day of its doom, but it cannot forestall that inevitable doom. Capitalism is doomed because it cannot give the people peace, it cannot give them bread, 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, a party that is firm, disciplined, a combat party. Trotsky once remarked that Lenin made his leap to greatness not merely in the revolution of 1917. He did that in 1903 when he broke with the Mensheviks, with all conciliators, and struck out on the course of building the Bolshevik party. That is when Lenin attained his greatness. And from then on he grew, as every leader in the move-

Servant of Big Business



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

WHAT WALLACE-JONES DISPUTE REALLY MEANS

By Paul Abbott

boxing the match between "reaction" in the person of Jones and the "common people" in the person of the millionaire Wallace 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-time prize-fighter.

Consider Wallace's record. During the depths of the depression when ten to twenty million were unemployed and starving while factories remained idle and crops rotted in the fields, how did Wallace help out the common people? He plowed under cotton 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 drag the people into the slaughter, Wallace not only did not breathe one word in opposition, but proved extremely useful 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 wielding the gavel for one of the most reactionary senators in the history of the country.

Now this ex-killer of little pigs, ex-destroyer of crops and ex-wielder of the Senate's gavel has proclaimed himself the battling champion of small business. This is the traditional ballyhoo of the "radical" type of politician. Wallace comes out of the same political gymnasium as Theodore Roosevelt who entered office as a trust buster and went out of office with the trusts larger, stronger and healthier than at any previous time.

WALL STREET BUILD-UP

Wall Street is doing its part to build up Wallace. As Wallace himself remarks: "My good friend, Senator Bailey, knows that senatorial rejection will enhance my personal prestige." The demagogic attack by Big Business against Wallace is designed to 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.

WALLACE'S VIEWS

This champion of the liberals, however, represents the "common people" in a very peculiar manner. His avowed program is to avoid a post-war depression and provide 60 million jobs. He does not advocate ending the capitalist system which is the real cause of depressions and imperialist wars. On the contrary, he declares that the United States must have "new Kaisers, new Higgins, new Fords and new Edisons." He maintains that the cause of the depressions of 1921 and of 1929-33 was nothing but "economic illiteracy." He is completely vague on precisely how it would be possible for capitalism to produce 60 million jobs. His solution is to make himself—Wallace—Secretary of Commerce with full power over the vast resources of the RFC. However, he has declared himself willing to settle for the Secretariat without the necessary financial powers if the Senate so sees fit.

To experts in political shadow

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

Lenin armed us with a program. He taught us his method, his method that is embodied in the whole history of the Bolshevik party, in the history of the Russian revolution. He lighted the road to victory. And this is why Leninism lives. It lives in the Fourth International. Under Lenin's banner, armed with Lenin's program, with Lenin's method, with Lenin's iron will to victory, the Fourth International will complete Lenin's work.

NEW YORK Socialist Youth Forum
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 Refreshments

Twin Cities Hold Banquet In Honor Of 12

By Barbara Bruce

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 Hansen, Max Goldman, and Carlos Hudson, who served 13 months at Sandstone Federal Correctional Institution, and Grace Carlson, who served the same sentence at the Federal Reformatory for Women at Alderson, West Virginia, were the honored guests. Harry DeBoer and Clarence Hamel, who returned to Minneapolis from Sandstone last October, were seated with their 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 solidarity.

Miles B. Dunne, president of Local 544-CIO, opened the speaking program by welcoming the prisoners back on behalf of the workers of the Twin Cities. After greetings from Harry DeBoer and Clarence Hamel, Grace Carlson spoke.

GRACE CARLSON

"I used to think," she said, "that maybe I was a little bit abused because unlike the men in Sandstone I was alone and didn't have any comrades to talk to. Then I would look at the other prisoners, girls who had been turned into criminals by the terrible conditions of society—conditions created by this broken-down capitalist system. I would think, 'Well, here I am with all these hundreds of thousands of friends outside who are working for me, who are doing everything they can to see that my conditions are better and are furthering the cause that we all believe in so much.'

"And I would say to myself, 'I have an understanding of why I am here and they don't know why they have been put away—don't realize that it wasn't their own fault but the criminal conditions of society that sent them here.' We had so many young girls—15, 16 and 17 years of age—just children, living with a stigma upon them, thinking that they had done something criminal but, of course, they had not. The American capitalist leaders who perpetuate this system of poverty and injustice were the real criminals. These girls didn't understand that but I did."

Jake Cooper, Oscar Coover, Max Goldman and Emil Hansen briefly expressed their happiness at being home and their gratitude to all those who helped in their defense.

The next speaker, Carlos Hudson, remarked: "The thirteen months at Sandstone I consider to be a cheap price to pay for the privilege of working for the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Responding generously to this appeal, those present contributed \$353.97.

In conclusion, the popular working class song "Solidarity," was sung with deep feeling by the audience of working men and women who had come to pay their respects to these trade union and political leaders who had been railroaded to prison because of their devotion to the working class.

The January issue of *Fourth International* now on sale is a Lenin Memorial number. It features a biographical sketch of Lenin's life and work by Zinoviev, one of the leaders of the Bolshevik 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 not 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 from this standpoint. "Above all else, above all his other contributions—and they are immense—Lenin looks as the supreme leader of action, who showed by example what kind of a party the working class needs to make a 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*.

READ
'THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL'



The released Minneapolis Case prisoners at the welcome-home 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 Goldman. Felix Morrow and Albert Goldman, not in the picture, had already left for Chicago.

VINCENT DUNNE

"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 rotten capitalist system for the first time in 1917. We suffered 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 support us and who are friendly to the ideas that we represent."

"My thanks to you for what you have done and for the honor you pay us. In reality you accord this honor to the great revolutionary ideas of socialism. The human race cannot find peace on this world until it finds the means of wresting the power from the capitalist class and takes the world and mankind on to a socialist day. To those ideas in a certain way you are according honor here tonight. I would like to thank you and assure you that we will take our customary places now in the ranks of the struggle for the freedom of the workers."

Checks totaling \$150 were presented to each of the released prisoners. Arthur Sternberg, chairman of the local Workers' Defense League branch, pointed out the need for continuing the fight against the Smith "Gag" Act and appealed for funds to carry on the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Responding generously to this appeal, those present contributed \$353.97.

In conclusion, the popular working class song "Solidarity," was sung with deep feeling by the audience of working men and women who had come to pay their respects to these trade union and political leaders who had been railroaded to prison because of their devotion to the working class.

their struggle for the workers of the world.

AFTER LUNCH

The spell was broken. With shouts of joy the crowd of newcomers engulfed the 11 men. Farrell Dobbs' youngest daughter jumped into his arms. On all sides happy faces, hearty greetings, comrades clasping comrades' hands, the excited faces of young children, the moist eyes of wives, kisses and embraces. The deepest emotions surged up and transformed the dreary station into a temporary abode of love and warmth.

Jim Cannon whispered to his wife, Rose: "I'm still doing time . . . prison is no joke . . ." He looked around. "No whistles three times a day—no count every two hours—no routine . . . you feel lost." Like all the men he was lost and tense.

EAT AT HEADQUARTERS

"Everybody up to the headquarters for lunch!" The word swept around. Within ten minutes the crowd had reassembled at the 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 newcomers, big pots of good, hot coffee. The comrades who formed the kitchen crew issued orders like generals. Their faces beamed, they embraced the newcomers—but they carried out their work. "How do you like our new headquarters?" they asked proudly.

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 room, which served a multitude of uses, a specially prepared table had been set up for the 11. Although Felix Morrow and Albert Goldman had departed to catch their connecting train, they were still 11 in number, for Clarence Hamel and Harry DeBoer were part of the honor roll table. Because these two had been out of jail now for a couple of months, they guided the newcomers like big brothers through the bewildering first hours and watched their needs at the lunchroom table.

The sun shone through the windows and from the white tablecloth was reflected back in the faces of the men sitting around the table. Now in this light one could observe the effects upon them of 13 months of regimented prison life. Not all of the effects were visible. Behind the smiles and jests, their eyes revealed much more than strain. Behind the hollow cheeks were muscles gravely set in determination. Eleven men, Trotskyist leaders, who we felt more strongly than ever would go through to the end in



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.'"

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' education."

HO TO STUDY

Jim Cannon rummaged around the literature stand in the library. Several comrades brought him their copies of his book "The History of American Trotskyism" for autographs. "Let's see," he said with elaborate innocence, "what day is this? Oh, yes, January 24." And he wrote the date firmly in the book.

Before he sat down, Jim felt the chair. It didn't seem real to him.

"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 behind the barred windows to wave goodbye to us." And Emil Hansen agreed: "These boys will miss us." Like Clarence Hamel, Emil had lost a lot of weight, but it was good to see the "Big Twins" again.

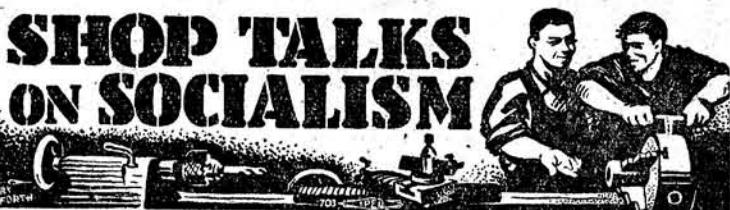
Max Goldman fumbled for a cigaret in his prison-made suit. All the men were dressed in cheap prison-made garb. "It's kind of hard to get used to pockets again," Max apologized laughing. There was something in the eyes of Max and Jake, his brother-in-law, that made one's throat tighten. Jake Cooper was the youngest of the prisoners. "Jake grew to manhood right under our eyes," said Jim Cannon quietly. "He showed himself to be a leader of men—a man you want beside you in hard action."

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)



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 Manpower Commission tells everybody where to work."

"So what?"

"So what? That's regulation, ain't it? That's planned production, 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's got 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, tear-gassed strikers, their wives and children, and arrested 94 (workers) . . . charged with rioting and inciting to riot," reported The Militant.

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.

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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

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 cat's-paws 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 Saloniaka, 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 events.

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, Massillon 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 yet 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 vice 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.

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Tresca Meeting

Editor:

There was another side to the memorial meeting for Carlo Tresca which you did not deal with. To me it was a tragic side.

Those in charge of the meeting were a conglomeration of "has-beens" and escapists from Marxism, and the meeting reflected their unimilitant and patriotic attitude.

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 expressed the living spirit of Carlo Tresca rather than those "has-beens" who basked in the glory of his struggles for the working class.

M. Freed
New York

Flag-Waver

Editor:

In the shop a few days ago I overheard a heated discussion taking place among several workers on the merits of the no-strike pledge.

The pledge had only two supporters in the group and one of them 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 anyone who was listening to him by his flag-waving.

A few days later I saw in the evening paper that he had been taken out of the plant by the F. B. I. for dealing in black market gas coupons.

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

bail and reappeared at the shop. He came in with a whole stack of literature for the no-strike 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 even the patriot he claims to be.

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.

A. C.
Toledo

Ideas and Reality

Editor:

Many of the old sayings and proverbs cannot stand the light of reason. One such is, "As a man thinketh so is he." Perhaps one day in the far distant past, before 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 something entirely different. An owner of a small retail store may think that by being in business he ranks in class with the DuPonts, Fords et al. Should the war end tomorrow war work would cease, and the chances are a hundred to one that within a short time he would be one of the millions of men seeking a job.

Not so the DuPont-Ford class; possessing their millions they would continue living in affluence, thinking that their class was ever to continue "as is." Time will prove to them that they too are not as they think.

R. H. M.
Carbon, Ind.

Technocrats and Labor Conscription

Editor:

I wonder if the Technocrats aren't launching a campaign in the unions for their "total conscription" campaign, taking their cue from Roosevelt's latest "slave labor" conscription demand. Or perhaps the incident in Buick Local 599, UAW-CIO, here was an isolated incident.

A young fellow, who recently took a withdrawal from the local, was granted a few minutes under "good and welfare" to talk on "total conscription."

He explained he favored labor conscription, (at army pay, etc.) but it ought to include also conscription of wealth, etc. etc. It 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 easily showed what a fraud "total conscription" would be when administered by Wall Street's agents. Only labor would be really conscripted. One speaker drew a parallel with the "equality of sacrifice" program, under which only labor sacrificed. "Equality of conscription" would be the same thing.

Twice the membership killed attempts to get favorable action on "total conscription" and then wound up with an almost unanimous vote that the secretary write to the UAW and CIO and to Congressmen and Senators in opposition to labor conscription and in support of the recent union statements against "slave labor." Two Stalinists tried in vain to head off this letter with flag-waving pleas to support "our Commander-in-Chief."

J. T.
Flint, Michigan

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Italy

The Stalinists in Italy are conscientiously performing their function as agents of Allied counter-revolution. On December 24, General Arnaldo Azzi, the Regional Commander of the Central Provinces, demanded speedier democratization of the Army and the removal of all Monarchist emblems.

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 protested against Azzi's republicanism. Someone jerked the strings on which the Allied puppet Bonomi dangles, and he acted in remarkable contrast to the slowness of his purge of former fascists and Nazi collaborators. Azzi got the sack.

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 powerful general sentiment to resist government policy. The Mackenzie King government is demonstrably growing more and more unpopular and it is doubtful whether it can survive a threatened general election.

France

De Gaulle who is depicted as a shining champion of democracy, is actually a reactionary set up by the Allies to govern France and suppress the revolutionary movement of the workers. Since the Allied occupation of France he has been busy consolidating his position. One of the forces he counts upon is a terrorist secret service modelled on the fascist OVRA and the Nazi GESTAPO. A few facts concerning de Gaulle's secret police have come out in the Consultative Assembly.

During the German occupation, all underground activity controlled by de Gaulle's emigre government was centered in a London committee called the Bureau Central de Renseignements et d'Action. Its chief was Colonel de Wavrin, one-time private secretary of General De Gaulle. He counts upon a terrorist secret service modelled on the fascist OVRA and the Nazi GESTAPO. A few facts concerning de Gaulle's secret police have come out in the Consultative Assembly.

The Bureau Central began setting up secret files on French partisans while the Germans held France, listing everyone suspected of critical views of de Gaulle. Now they have a secret card-index of Resistance members.

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In the Consultative Assembly, Paschal Copeau, former general secretary of the M.L.N. Resistance Movement, charged that de Gaulle's secret service is censoring legitimate political correspondence, is blocking purges of fascists and former collaborators.

They volunteered or not. This violation of government promises precipitated a major political crisis. Thousands of anti-war demonstrators appeared in the streets of many large cities of Canada with placards denouncing conscription and in some cases demanding the conscription of

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De Gaulle did not answer these charges. He simply ordered the French military censor to ban any mention of the matter in the French press.

On the following day new protests of de Gaulle's dictatorial actions were made in the Consultative Assembly. One of de Gaulle's entourage attempted an answer that was ludicrously weak, alleging that the secret committee had performed good services during the German occupation and that a former Socialist editor, Brossollet, had died in its service. Copeau answered angrily that Brossollet 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 terrorist organization.

Hungary

The government recently set up in Hungary with which the Allies have signed an armistice closely resembles the governments newly-installed in Bulgaria and Rumania. It pursues the policy of preserving capitalism, while remaining under the political control of the Kremlin. Stalin is using as his tools the most reactionary and venal figures from the old regime.

As head of the government of Hungary, for instance, he has placed General Bela Miklos. This blood-thirsty militarist backed up the former Horthy dictatorship to the hilt throughout the period of alliance with Nazi Germany. So outstanding were the services of Miklos to Nazism that he became the first Hungarian to receive personally from Hitler the Knight Grand Cross of the Iron Cross.

These services were not rendered wholly within the borders of Hungary. On the contrary Hitler decorated Miklos for what he did for the Reich on the Voronezh Front in Russia. Stalin has picked, consequently, a man who has already proved his worth as a defender of counter-revolution.

The Stalinists have made it clear that they do not intend to overthrow the capitalist system in Hungary. On the contrary, they announce that they will bolster it up.

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 more upon this government agency for diverting public wealth into the gaping 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 a Scrooge.

Unemployed workers during the depression had to riot and demonstrate all over the country to obtain even starvation "relief." But the Roosevelt administration poured out lavish billions to the big corporations. The bankers and bosses thrived on soaring profits siphoned from these government loans, while 10,000 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 (that's billions!) and has authorized "advances" and investments of over \$33,000,000.