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EIGHT YEARS AFTER TROTSKY'S DEATH

(See Page 2)

Grace Carlson Addresses Ford Union Meeting

DETROIT, Aug. 15—Dr. Grace Carlson, Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, opened her Michigan campaign, by addressing the largest section of the largest Local Union in the world, the Motor Building section of Ford Local Union 600 of the CIO auto union. The meeting was attended by 200 of the best militants employed in the Motor Building.



She was greeted with a big round of applause as she ended her talk in which she called for a Workers and Farmers Government which would establish a society of peace, plenty and prosperity in the United States.

CHICAGO, AUG. 11 — Speaking before an audience at the University of Chicago this afternoon, Grace Carlson, SWP candidate for Vice-President, declared that the United States is heading toward a new war because of the failure of Wall Street imperialism to solve its underlying problems during and since World War II.

The topic of her speech was "Why I Went To Prison." Grace Carlson was the only woman among the 18 Minneapolis Labor and Socialist Workers Party leaders imprisoned during World War II under the Smith "Gag" Act. "The Smith Act," declared Dr. Carlson, "represents the most flagrant violation of civil rights in America since the notorious Alien and Sedition Law of 1798. The Socialist Workers Party was the first to be prosecuted under it because the party remained firm and steadfast in its refusal to abandon its opposition to imperialism and capitalism after the war broke out."

"The arrest of the 18 was protested by over 5 million organized workers, supported by Jewish, Negro, and other minority groups," continued Dr. Carlson. "While these organizations saw the serious danger of the Smith Act, an act signed by Roosevelt and upheld by Henry Wallace,

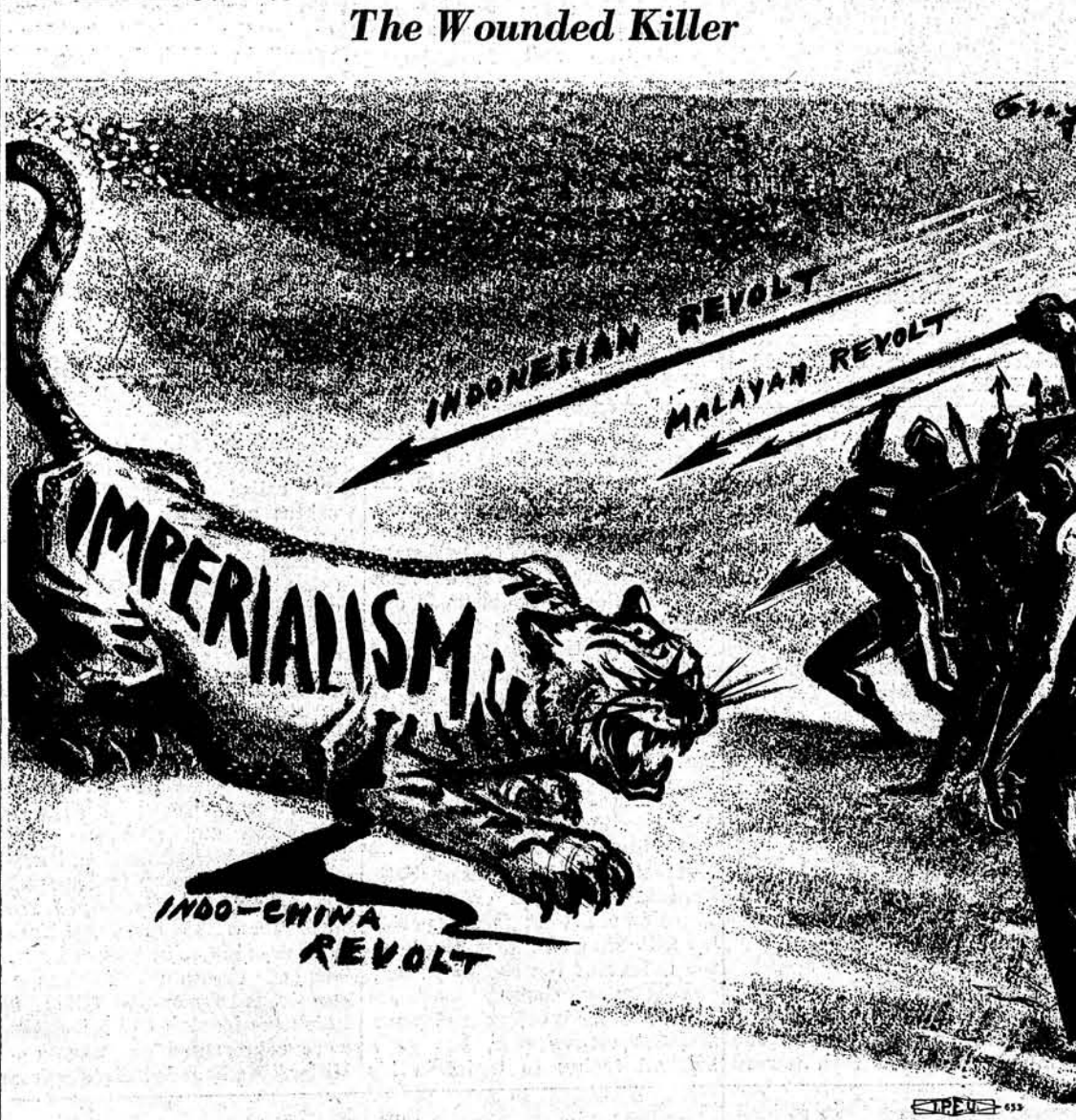
the Stalinist Party — to its eternal disgrace and shame — supported the government drive against the Socialist Workers Party leaders and the fighting Truckdrivers Union of Minneapolis and the Northwest area. Now the very same act is being utilized against the Stalinist Party."

Dr. Carlson read from The Militant the recent appeal for united front action against the Smith Act addressed by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party to the Central Committee of the Stalinists. The CP has not as yet responded to the united front appeal. "We will continue our efforts," concluded Dr. Carlson, "to forge a united front movement, involving the millions of workers whose unions came to the defense of the 18 in the Minneapolis Trial, against the Smith Act and the other actions of the Wall Street government designed to smash the opposition of America's working masses to the new war drive."

INDIANA HARBOR, Ind., Aug. 11 — The Calumet Branch sponsored an open meeting for Grace Carlson, SWP vice-presidential candidate, this evening at its local headquarters.

Comrade Carlson gave such a clear picture of the role American capitalists are playing in both world affairs and at home that no individual could leave that hall without his eyes having been widely opened. They knew she was telling the truth, as the every-day experiences of these union workers in the mills provide positive proof that the capitalists, intend to oppress the workers into complete submission in order to maintain their vicious profit system. Carlson's remarks were enthusiastically greeted, especially by the Negro workers present, when she carefully explained the difference between the SWP program for racial equality and fair employment practices, against that of President Truman's sham civil rights bill.

Dates for the Carlson tour are as follows:
Aug. 24-26 Cleveland
Aug. 27 en route
Aug. 28-30 Toledo
Aug. 31 en route
Sept. 1-3 Akron



The Wounded Killer

Colonial Revolts Stagger Imperialists in Far East

Colonial revolts continue to sweep the Far East. Guerrilla bands roam throughout Malaya, disrupting communications and endangering British imperialist holdings. The British forces, under the direction of Malcolm MacDonald, British Governor-General of Malaya, are trying to stem the revolt by the most savage repression. On Aug. 15, the United Press reported that four Chinese and one Malayan were hung without trial, under the government's emergency decree, for carrying arms. An AP dispatch meanwhile brought the news that the British are flying in headhunters from the Borneo jungles to help track down insurgents in their jungle hiding places.

A DIM VIEW
At the same time British difficulties are mounting in Burma. The present ruling coalition,

known as the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, is breaking up under the pressure of conflicting social groups and the premier, Thakin Nu, has resigned. In Arakan and Central Burma, armed bands control wide areas of the countryside. The London Economist takes a dim view of the whole situation. "The political future of Burma," it declares, "is now overlaid with threats of further violent upheaval."

Burma differs considerably from India as the former has no native strong and wealthy bourgeois class. Almost all capital in Burma is in British and foreign hands. Thus Burmese nationalism vents its full fury on the foreign imperialists. Under the implacable mass pressure, even the recent government, which collaborated with Britain, was forced to pass a bill calling for the nationalization of the British-owned Irrawaddy Flotilla and about a third of the foreign-owned teak forests.

In Indo-China, the native Viet-Nam is winning the war to drive out the French imperialists. The fight is costing France 200 million dollars a year and pulling the French empire apart.

The authoritative U. S. News and World Report sums up the situation in the Far East as follows: "Western powers, on their part, seem unable to get things right side up in Asia. All of them—Dutch, French, British, Americans—are in trouble."

IN TROUBLE
"Americans have their hands full in China, not to mention Japan. It's trouble with labor in Japan, and a continuing uncertainty over U. S. policy in China. No one expects present aid program to do much good; few are sure what to do."

"British are fighting a war in Malaya, against Communist guerrillas, are also worried about Communist threats in Burma. Big investments, exports are at stake."

"Dutch can't seem to come to terms with the natives in the East Indies."

"French admit privately that their situation in Indo-China is going from bad to worse."

MINNEAPOLIS CIO ASKS RESTORATION OF RIGHTS OF 18

Stalinist-Ruled Council Forced to Reverse Wartime Stand Against Smith Act Victims

MINNEAPOLIS, Aug. 16—The Hennepin County CIO Council here has adopted a resolution demanding that the Truman administration restore the civil rights of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Drivers Local 544-CIO leaders imprisoned during the war under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

This resolution, adopted Aug. 11, completely reverses the position of the CIO Council at the

time of the famous Minneapolis Labor Trial and the subsequent federal imprisonment of the 18 Trotskyists.

The Minneapolis CIO, in the past as now under the domination of the Stalinists, opposed the defense of the 18 Trotskyists during the war and sought to sabotage aid by other unions. Now 12 leaders of the Communist Party itself are under indictment on the same count of the Smith Act for which the Trotskyists were railroaded to prison — "advocacy of the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

Stalinist forces in the CIO Council last week attempted to push through a resolution dealing with the Communist Party case, but making no reference to the first and only convictions under the Smith Act which set the precedent for the present CP indictments.

Wallace Demagogy On Capitalism Exposed by Dobbs

Farrell Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate, issued the following statement in response to Wallace's August 12 radio speech:

In his radio speech of Aug. 12 Henry A. Wallace characterizes international capitalism as "the truly great menace which needs bridling and our own country is the headquarters for international big business. Our own Government today is dominated by the men of international big business."

Nothing so much as this statement shows the inconsistency and demagoguery of Wallace. On May 24 at Portland, Oregon, Wallace described himself "as the best friend capitalism has in the United States today." There is only one inference that can be drawn from these speeches and that is that Wallace is ready to defend the vicious system of capitalism despite the fact that it is "the truly great menace."

But apparently that is not the impression that Wallace wants to leave with the working class. Without showing how he would turn the trick Wallace promises to transform the capitalist rattle-snake into a cooing dove. A vain hope. Marx long ago predicted the course of evolution for the capitalist system. The monopolistic and imperialist character of capitalism flows from the dynamics of capitalism itself. Wallace must either accept this evil or work for the overthrow of capitalism. He cannot, have his cake and eat it.

The Socialist Workers Party agrees with the characterization of international capitalism which Wallace made in his August 12 speech. But the only cure for "the truly great menace" is the nationalization of industry and its operation under workers' control. That is the road to socialism. That is what the Socialist Workers Party stands for.

Two public meetings, a radio broadcast, a press conference and a campaign social are scheduled for Dobbs during his stay in the Twin Cities. A public meeting will be held on Friday, Aug. 27, at 8 p. m., in the Brunswick Room of the Andrews Hotel in Minneapolis where Comrade Dobbs will speak on "A Socialist Program for American Workers — The Only Road to Peace." On Sunday, Aug. 29, Dobbs will address a public meeting at the American House in St. Paul at 8 p. m. He will make a 15-minute radio broadcast over station WDGY on Tuesday, Aug. 31, at 6 p. m.

During the first week of September, Dobbs will tour the state and plans to make either personal or radio appearances in such centers as Duluth, Virginia and William.

Open house will be held in the Minnesota Campaign Headquarters, 10 South Fourth Street, in Minneapolis on Saturday evening, Sept. 4.

The next Dobbs tour dates are as follows: August 24, Plentywood, Montana Aug. 25-26 en route Aug. 27-Sept. 4 Twin Cities

cialist Workers Party members in 1941."

In addition to demanding the quashing of the indictments against the CP leaders and repeal of the Smith Act, the resolution states: "We demand that all victims of this vicious un-American law in the past be restored to all of their civil rights, of which they have been unjustly deprived."

RESTORE CIVIL RIGHTS

Art Hopkins, a Council delegate from CIO Auto Workers Local 722, introduced a counter-resolution which linked the case of the CP to the case of the Trotskyists. It contained the demand for the restoration of civil rights to the 18 who had served prison sentences of 12 to 16 months in 1944 for their socialist anti-war stand and militant defense of labor.

By a big majority, the CIO Council delegates voted to instruct the resolutions committee to combine the two resolutions, including a section on the case of the 18 and the demand for their civil rights. The resolution was re-drafted and passed. Twin Cities UAW-CIO Local 722 has adopted a similar resolution.

The resolution condemns the government's "all-out war on civil liberties" and charges that the planned frame-up of the 12 CP leaders under the Smith Act is part of a pattern to turn this country into a "thought-control police state."

By contrast with the Council's wartime opposition to labor support for the 18 Trotskyists, the present resolution states that "such indictments have in the past been prosecuted for lack of a united mass protest of the labor movement, as witness the indictments of the 18 Minneapolis CIO-Socialist Workers Party members in 1941."

BACK 18

Actually, hundreds of labor, Negro and civil rights organizations, representing more than five million members, gave the 18 Smith Act victims financial and moral support.

The SWP and its presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, are being commended in labor circles here for their principled stand in calling for working-class solidarity and a united front to defend the indicted CP leaders from a frame-up, in spite of the shameful policy pursued by the Stalinists against the 18 convicted Trotskyists.

BOARD ACTION

At the hearing, the Board, run by the Republican and Democratic parties, admitted the validity of 1,503 signatures, against a required 1,501. However, it insisted upon throwing out some 80 signatures on the grounds that six sheets each contained one signature from another county. This arbitrary and high-handed action was taken despite repeated assurances from the Board in advance of the filing of the petitions that on no account would an entire petition sheet be thrown out. The Braverman campaign committee prepared its petitions carefully exactly in accordance with the Board's instructions. The Board now claims that a new ruling has been made in the two weeks since that time.

found the petition over 200 signatures short. The local Trotskyists thereupon rolled up their sleeves, and in four days of strenuous work uncovered an additional 170 signatures of registered voters on the petitions. The candidate and his attorney brought this result in to the Board hearing, to the great discomfort of the Board members and clerks.

Prior to that time, the Board had claimed that even if the signatures thrown out on the technicality were allowed, the petition was still short 160 names. By finding 170 signatures, the Trotskyists succeeded in throwing upon the Board the onus of barring Braverman from the Congressional ballot on a pure technicality. This fact has received prominent publicity in the local press.

Braverman was represented at the hearing by Clyde Osborne, outstanding local attorney, whose presence at the hearing occasioned considerable local comment. He was accompanied by T.G. Selander, Ohio State Secretary of the SWP, and by a stenographer who kept records of the statements made. The local Wallace group had an observer at the hearing.

Bass Seeks Presidency Of CIO Rubber Workers

By Joseph Andrews

AKRON, Aug. 15—George R. Bass, militant president of Goodrich Local 5, today announced that he would fight for the Presidency of the CIO United Rubber workers of America at its coming convention, in order to put into effect a program to establish a master contract in the rubber industry.

According to an article in the Akron Beacon Journal, Bass declared he stands for the miners' slogan, "One union—one contract." He bluntly charged International President L. S. Buckmaster with failure to mobilize the strength of the union in the recently concluded negotiations. "I am firmly opposed to dividing the strength of our union and to negotiating on a one-at-a-time basis," Bass declared. "By negotiating one-at-a-time we only diffuse our power."

Bass also struck at the two year agreements signed by Buckmaster, which he said would "seriously hamper efforts of the rubber workers to better their conditions in the future." Goodrich local unions were the only group to get a one-year contract in the wage negotiations in rubber last June.

CALLS FOR UNITY

In calling for an industry-wide policy in bargaining, Bass stated: "We need the greatest possible unity in pressing for our demands. We must present a common militant front if we are to make gains for the rubber workers. If that is what it takes to substitute a progressive policy of unified strength for the present

policy of divided strength, then I will most certainly be a candidate," Bass asserted.

"I am primarily interested in policy," he said. "I am willing to do whatever necessary to implement what I believe to be the correct and necessary program."

Thus, for the first time since the struggle for industrial unionism against William Green, and his stooge Coleman Claherty, the rubber workers union is in the midst of an open struggle for leadership, based upon clearly divergent policies.

Heretofore this union has seen fights for posts, but always in the form of power blocs organizing purely on the basis of a personal struggle for power, with the rubber workers kept completely in the dark as to the issues at stake.

Bass's statement performs the service of acquainting the rank and file of the union with the issues and problems involved, which are due to be settled at the 13th annual convention of the union, to be held in Omaha, Nebraska, beginning Sept. 20.

BUCKMASTER'S SELL-OUT

The issue of one-at-a-time versus industry-wide bargaining is particularly acute in this

union. The International Policy Committee voted prior to the last wage negotiations to fight for industry-wide bargaining. But Buckmaster did no more than write letters to the various rubber companies requesting an industry-wide meeting. When they refused, he instructed the policy committees of the respective corporations to negotiate separately.

The results of the one-at-a-time bargaining were settlements which provided less than gained by the auto workers. The Firestone group, dominated by Buckmaster, signed a two-year freeze and set an 11-cent pattern. The Goodyear group, by holding out a little longer, managed to get a 20-month contract plus the 11-cents, plus an additional week's vacation pay for men with 15 years service and over. The Goodrich chain wrested a one-year contract, 11-cents and the vacation award from the company, after taking a strike vote.

It was obvious to the rubber workers that the fault of the negotiations lay in the one-at-a-time strategy. A unified fight would have forced the rubber barons into a settlement at least as good as that won by the General Motors and Chrysler workers.

BIG ITU LOCALS URGE A CONGRESS OF LABOR

The 90th annual convention of the AFL International Typographical Union, which is currently meeting in Milwaukee,

was highlighted on Aug. 17 by appeals from two of the union's largest locals, Chicago and New York, for the convention to call a Congress of Labor in Washington of the AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, United Mine Workers and other independent unions to plan a concerted campaign against the Taft-Hartley Law. It is significant that this demand against the Taft-Hartley Law for a Congress of Labor comes from the two sections of the union which have been in the forefront of the fight against the Taft-Hartley Act and who, through their own experience, have learned the necessity for a united labor campaign to smash this menace to free unionism.

Whether the ITU is going to continue to spearhead the fight against the Act is the question that is dominating all convention proceedings. Woodruff Randolph, ITU president, made it clear from the start that he proposes to carry on the fight without any letup. The ITU, he declared in his address, "will not take a backward step in upholding our legal rights and prerogatives as free men... It is our determina-

tion to win the strikes and lockouts now in progress regardless of size or place, and regardless of time and expense."

Randolph went on to attack the other printing unions for their lack of solidarity in the ITU strikes. "That these other printing trades have benefited immeasurably from our efforts is obvious," he stated. "That they have failed to recognize the danger of the situation and do something about it is also obvious. That the employers have been willing to pet them and reward them for their attitude and that they are anxious to accept such favors is likewise shamefully clear."

Randolph gave full credit to the Chicago newspaper strikers, cut since last Nov. 24, for the agreements that the union was able to force through in New York and elsewhere. The union's attorney, Gerhard Van Arkel, declared that the ITU has been the spearhead of labor's fight against the Taft-Hartley Law and that the 8-month strike of the Chicago workers was "the tip of that spearhead."

Eight Years After the Death of Leon Trotsky

By Art Preis

Eight years ago on August 21, 1940, the greatest teacher and leader of the international working class in our times, Leon Trotsky, died from a pickaxe driven into his brain by Stalin's hired killer. The assassination of the co-organizer, with Lenin, of the Russian Revolution, builder of the Red Army and founder of the Fourth International, was a truly symbolic crime. Its very method — a blow at the brain — befitted the intent of Cain-Stalin, as Trotsky had branded him, to wipe out in blood what the Kremlin despot feared most — Trotsky's ideas.

Reaction through all ages has always used violence and murder in its vain effort to halt the march of ideas. When Socrates was handed the bowl of hemlock poison, when the Inquisition burned Bruno at the stake, when the slaveholders' government hanged John Brown, these were desperate attempts to destroy ideas by physically destroying their creators and proponents. History records the ultimate futility of such attempts.

Great and correct ideas, derived from mankind's needs and guiding its upward climb, have an immortal life of their own. Once born, they thrive and grow, acquire ever more power and vitality, sweep aside opposition and, in the end, conquer.

AFTER EIGHT YEARS

Judged by the time-table of history, we can say that Trotsky's ideas are steadily advancing. In eight brief years, those questions of theory and principle, which appeared so academic and abstract to most people when the exiled Trotsky died his martyr's death in Mexico, have now become real and concrete for millions the world over.

We need but look at recent developments in Yugoslavia, at Tito's break with Stalin and the issues involved, to realize the universality and import of the ideas for which Trotsky lived, fought and died. The problems confronting the Yugoslav workers and peasants are precisely those foreseen and analyzed by Trotsky and the movement he founded. Their solution has long since been illuminated in his brilliant writings.

Twenty years ago, in 1928, there was published in this country the program of the Trotskyist opposition, under the title, "The Real Situation in Russia." It contained the platform of the Russian Left Opposition, drafted in 1926, dealing exhaustively with the question of the method by which the small-proprietor class of Russian peasants could be transformed into a sector of a classless, socialized economy.

It pointed out that the solution of this problem — so crucial to the survival of the Soviet Union — could not be achieved by bureaucratic violence and force. That it was first of all necessary to make a distinction between the poor peasant and rich kulak, and then to demonstrate the superiority of collective farming and the advantages of a nationalized economy. To do this, it was essential to industrialize the country according to plan and to provide the equipment so indispensable for the superior collective method in agriculture.

Stalin and his gang of bureaucratic usurpers brutally expelled Trotsky and the Left Oppositionists from the Russian Communist Party in 1927. Then, in 1928, the unfolding economic crisis in Russia forced Stalin to adopt — in highly distorted form — Trotsky's program for industrialization. Bureaucratic planning, devoid of mass initiative and participation,



This rare picture shows Leon Trotsky, then co-leader with Lenin of the Soviet Union, as he addressed the Second World Congress of the Third International in 1920.

could tide Soviet economy over, but could not free it from crisis. In 1931 and 1932 came the great revolt of the peasants, the forced collectivization, the death of millions by famine.

Today, the issue about which the Russian Left Opposition fought in 1926 and 1927 in Russia, the issue of collectivization that seemed so remote and obscure to the outside world, is among the most urgent questions for the Yugoslav people, as for the peoples of all Eastern Europe. The struggle of Trotsky in Russia more than 20 years ago is proving no abstraction, but of burning timeliness to the Yugoslavs.

THE KEY QUESTION

Let us take another example, the question of "socialism in one country" that bedrock deviation of Stalinism from the principles of Marxism and Leninism. That was the key question around

which Trotsky fought the Kremlin bureaucracy from 1924 to his death.

Even leading members of the Russian Bolshevik Party, co-workers with Lenin, failed to perceive the tremendous implications of the slight phrase, "socialism in one country," that Stalin had first slipped obscurely into a pamphlet in 1924. As for the press and commentators of the bourgeois world, they could not begin to grasp the issue at stake when news of the conflict between Trotsky and Stalin began to leak out. They treated this historic struggle of ideas as a personal feud, a clash of personalities — although their sure class instincts impelled them to nod favorably in the direction of Stalin as against Trotsky.

NO AID FROM STALIN

But the Soviet Union under Stalin — that prime example of "socialism in one country" — gives no aid. The Nationalistic Kremlin clique can only try to loot from the Yugoslav people the little they now have. Stalin — the author of the theory of "socialism in one country" — comes to the other peoples not as a socialist emancipator, but as a brigand trying to maintain his

When Trotsky pointed out that the theory of "socialism in one country" marked a turn toward

reactionary nationalism and abandonment of the international revolutionary socialist program, Stalin's henchmen howled him down. Few could then see the subsequent degeneration of the Soviet Union; the liquidation of the Old Bolsheviks; the tremendous expansion of the parasitic bureaucracy; the corruption and destruction of the international revolutionary party of Lenin; the counter-revolutionary betrayal by Stalin of the German, Spanish, Chinese, French and other revolutionary workers; the sellout of the world proletariat. Yet all these, as Trotsky predicted, were products of the false theory of "socialism in one country" — the theory that a single, backward country could achieve socialism by itself, in a world of hostile capitalism, without successful socialist revolutions in the more advanced capitalist countries.

Today the question of socialism in one country does not appear as a "sectarian quibble" to the Yugoslav peoples. It is an immediate life-and-death question for them. We read the declaration of Tito that he recognizes the limitations of a small, backward peasant country, that he does not seek to achieve "socialism in one country" and appeals for economic and political cooperation of the other East-European countries, and above all, of the Soviet Union.

own "socialist" regime with the stolen goods of others. We hear the cry from the cadres of the Stalinized Yugoslav Communist Party about the "degeneration of the Soviet Union." What are they speaking of but the predictions of Trotsky in 1923 made real today?

For already in 1923, Trotsky wrote his articles gathered together in the book, "The New Course," in which he described the growing bureaucratism within the Soviet Union and the Russian Communist Party and warned of inevitable bureaucratic degeneration if the Soviet leaders did not return to the paths of party democracy.

TROTSKY'S PROGRAM

As against reactionary nationalism, Trotsky represented revolutionary internationalism. As against bureaucratic repression, Trotsky stood for working-class democracy. As against political collaboration with the imperialists and Peoples Frontism, Trotsky called for international workers solidarity and unremitting class struggle against imperialism. As against Stalinism, in short, Trotsky upheld the program of Marxism-Leninism.

To destroy his implacable foe armed with the power of a correct program, Stalin mobilized all the resources of a great state. He sought to expunge Trotsky's name from the Russian text books, to rewrite history. He unleashed a campaign of falsification, vilification and slander — not without encouragement and support from the camp of imperialism — such as the world had never known. He murdered Trotsky's co-thinkers in Russia by tens of thousands. He staged monstrous frame-up trials in which the leading Old Bolsheviks were represented as "agents of Hitler." He hounded Trotsky from

country to country and thought to settle the issue once and for all by driving a pick-axe into Trotsky's brain.

But Stalin has again proved what history has long taught. You can murder men; you cannot murder ideas. The ideas of Trotsky are today an indestructible force in the world — an organized force. They live on, more dynamic, more powerful, more wide-spread by far than on the day he died. For Trotsky left the inheritance not only of his program, but of his organization, the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution.

Last April the Fourth International held its Second World Congress in France. Since Trotsky's death and during the war, it had been forced to work without the living guidance of Trotsky's genius. But armed with his program, it survived the cruelest blows ever dealt any revolutionary organization.

In some countries, whole sections of the Fourth International had been physically exterminated by war, disease and famine, by Hitler's Gestapo or Stalin's GPU. But the Fourth International endured, revived and emerged from the war stronger than ever.

Its Second World Congress was attended by delegates of sections in 19 countries, from all continents. Adhering to the program of the Fourth International today are groups and organizations in 32 countries.

The Second World Congress of the Fourth International cemented together more firmly the vanguard of the world revolutionary socialist movement. It drew up a program of action, world-wide in scope and objective; to rally and mobilize humanity for the triumphant struggle for international socialism.

The building of his world party, the continuation and development of his struggle through this party, is the greatest monument to Trotsky's memory. He would have wanted no other.



TROTSKY, WAR MINISTER 1924

TROTSKYISM IN ALBANIA

The forthcoming August issue of Fourth International carries information about the spread of Trotskyism into still another country, Albania. An article on Trotsky by E. Germain states the following:

The history of the young Albanian Communist Party, which we shall soon publish, will provide another proof of this. It shows how, 20 years after Stalin's victory, in a country completely bereft of Marxist traditions, under conditions of military control by the Stalinist machine, an entire generation of young Communist leaders has been brought — by their class instinct and by their education in Marxism, distorted though it was, received in the Stalin schools — to a complete break with the policies and organizational methods of Stalinism. "When they used to accuse us of Trotskyism," we were told by their leader who has just joined the ranks of the Fourth International, "we did not even know what Trotskyism was, and we used to protest violently. Today I understand that at that time we actually were Trotskyists, without being aware of it..."

Ohio State Picnic

all day
SUNDAY, SEPT. 5
at the CABIN CLUB, on the Akron Peninsula Road.
speaker:
GRACE CARLSON
** softball, barbecue, games, fun for all—dancing
EVERYONE WELCOME

The True Aims of the Socialist Revolution

This is the final instalment of the Manifesto issued by the Second World Congress of the Fourth International.

Program of the Communist Revolution

The Fourth International is not attempting to patch up the capitalist system, nor does it seek substitutes for "too radical" solutions. Its program is one of mobilizing the masses for the overthrow of capitalism. That is why the transitional demands bear no trace of a "conformist" or "evolutionist" spirit. Leaping over the old antithesis of minimum and maximum programs, these demands on the contrary, link up each day-to-day problem with the most burning problem of our epoch, the revolutionary conquest of power. All propaganda is sectarian which limits itself to repeating this general goal of the movement like a ritualistic formula, without supplying the working class with the means of acquiring an understanding of it in the course of its own experience. All propaganda is opportunistic which introduces, even if surreptitiously, a conception of struggle by stages, "momentarily" limiting itself to immediate demands, transforming each transitional slogan into an end-in-itself, and considering the workers as too backward to have the program of communist revolution explained to them right from the start.

In the face of the frightful prostitution of communism by the Stalinist bureaucracy and the resultant innumerable distortions and falsifications, it is necessary today to reaffirm the fundamental characteristics of the communist revolution.

It means the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and its destruction as a class; it means the taking over by the proletariat of the means of production and exchange. It means destruction of the bureaucratic state machine of the capitalists and its replacement by the proletariat organized as the ruling class into workers' councils, in which proletarian democracy rules.

Collectivization of the means of production and exchange, concentration of all credit establishments into a single State Bank which is collective property; setting up a monopoly of foreign trade; establishment of a planned economy—all these are not in themselves the goals of the revolution; they are merely the means of progressively raising the standard of living and cultural level of the masses, of decreasing the length of the work day to the point where the immense majority of the workers will be able to administer the economy and public affairs, where the division of society into classes will disappear and where the State will wither away. That is why there must be: the establishment and development of workers' control of

production; active participation of the masses in elaborating, executing and checking production plans; intervention of the human factor on an ever more decisive scale at all levels of economic life, ever greater subordination of production to the needs of consumption.

These are the indispensable elements in the economy after the overthrow of capitalism; and they constitute so many indices of the real progress of society towards socialism. That is why a drastic reduction of the body of professional functionaries, the fusion of legislative and executive functions and their exercise in rotation by a growing number of educated workers constitute the clearest indices of the definitive liquidation of counter-revolution, of stabilization of the new society and of the drastic decrease in its internal contradictions.

The program of the communist revolution is that of the emancipation of all nationalities, of the granting of the right of self-determination to all peoples, including the right to secession. Eliminating all exploitation and oppression of one people by another by eliminating the exploiters in each nation; giving each nation the possibility of freely developing its own cultural entity, the revolution will at the same time destroy the sources of chauvinism, will pursue nationalistic and racist mysticism down to its last refuge and will eliminate everything which could prevent the realization of a genuine universal federation of the peoples of the entire world.

The communist revolution will not only release the enormous productive energy of the masses on the economic plane. It will penetrate into all spheres of society and will everywhere liberate the great creative potential pent up among the masses. Education, scientific and technical training, the artistic and literary movements, organization of public health, building cities and shaping human behavior will for the first time be opened to millions of proletarians and peasant poor whose economic slavery now systematically cripples their countless talents. Thereby the very nature of all these activities will in turn undergo a radical and continuous transformation. Upon finally becoming the master of its own fate, humanity will by means of critical thought and method penetrate beyond the last remaining shadows of the unknown and the spiritual growth and transformation of man's own nature will become the ultimate object of the permanent revolution. From the kingdom of necessity mankind will pass into the domain of freedom.

In a society which is running the risk of foundering into barbarism, but which is still pregnant with all these glorious possibilities, the Fourth International considers as realistic only that program which firmly sets for itself the goal of communism. To consecrate one's life today to the cause of the revolutionary emancipation of humanity is the only way to preserve human dignity amid the nightmare of the world in agony. To bewail the decline of civilization without offering the peoples a way to a better future is in reality to convert oneself into one more factor in the prevailing process of social decomposition. Only the program of communist revolution merits today sacrifices for its realization. Only this program gives the Fourth International the right to appeal today to the advanced workers of all countries to group themselves under its banner.

Under the Banner of the Fourth International!

Twenty years ago Stalin brought the heavy hammer of his state machine down upon this program. Fanatically brutal, Stalin allied himself with the police of all countries in order to pursue, jail and assassinate the precious revolutionary cadres who remained faithful to Leninism. A reactionary wave without parallel submerged the world. Today, after countless sacrifices and on the eve of new blows, the fighters of the Fourth International in 25 countries can proudly state that they have passed the test of this dark period of history. The example of the heroes of the Russian Civil War who refused to capitulate to Stalin's police; the example of the militants of the Russian Left Opposition struggling to the last breath of their lives in solitary prison cells in Siberia and the example of young *Komsomols* dying before GPU-execution squads with the cry

of "Long Live Trotsky" on their lips—all this has not been in vain. Today Bolshevism lives again on five continents, its ideas are spreading and its organizations are gaining strength. For every lost martyr ten new militants are arising. Having survived the terror of Stalin and the fury of Hitler, the Fourth International is confident of its future, for in it lives the sole Marxism of our epoch, all the unconquerable emancipating will of the world proletariat. On the scale of a human life-span, its progress may seem slow. On the scale of history, its victory is already assured.

Locked in a life-and-death struggle with the Stalinist bureaucratic-usurpers, the Fourth International proudly lays claim to the traditions, ideas and lessons of the October Revolution. All the crimes of Stalin will not succeed in stamping out from the hearts of the workers everywhere the memory of the most titanic overthrow in the history of humanity. Confronting capitalism in its ever more hideous decay, the Fourth International raises on a world scale the central idea of the Bolshevik revolution: "All Power to the Workers and Poor Peasants." Confronting the miserable agents of the class enemy inside the labor movement, the Fourth International forges the decisive instrument of the proletarian victory: the world Bolshevik party. Confronting wars, ruins and devastation, the Fourth International firmly follows its historical mission: TO PREPARE THE WORLD-WIDE OCTOBER.

Today, in these proud days of celebrating the first centennial of scientific communism, on this May Day 1948, the day of struggle of the workers of the world, the Fourth International, amid the gathering of its best militants from all the continents in its World Congress, pauses in remembrance of all the heroes who have fallen in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. The fighters on the barricades of June 1848, the soldiers of the Paris Commune, the workers of the First Petrograd Soviet, the victors of October and the Russian Civil War, the Spartacists of Germany and the fighters of the Hungarian, Bavarian and Cantonese Communes, the dynamiters of Asturia and the militiamen of Barcelona, the warriors of the Vienna Schutzbund, and the Greek and French partisans, the countless soldiers of the colonial revolution—they will remain forever enshrined in memory as proof of the determined effort of the exploited class to tear the world out of the chaos of exploitation. The memory of all these warriors together with the already long list of its own martyrs, the Fourth International entrusts to the young generations of the world working class. To be worthy of their example means today to take one's place under the banner of the Fourth International.

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

The Second World Congress of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, calls upon the exploited and oppressed of all lands, to unite in the struggle against all forms of slavery, against all governments and their agents. The struggle of the workers throughout the world is today one and the same—it is the struggle for the communist revolution.

Workers of the old revolutionary citadel of Paris, unite with the unconquerable young revolutionists of the Viet-Nam, who are in revolt!

Miners of the Urals, unite with your fellow warriors of the United States!

Break out of your ruins, German workers, and unite with the workers of Great Britain!

Unite, workers of China, India and all the colonies, with the workers of the mother countries in a single battle against imperialist slavery!

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE under the banner of the Fourth International, so that this old war cry of the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO will become on the morrow the sovereign emblem of Communism triumphant!

Second World Congress of the Fourth International May 1, 1948.

THE END

JUST OUT! A NEW PAMPHLET

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THE MILITANT ARMY

Michigan Leads In Sub Sales

Detroit with 496 new subs and Flint with 291 still lead the Presidential Campaign subscription drive, while a number of other branches keep a steady stream of subs pouring in. Last week nearly 500 reached this office and this week promises to be nearly as good.

Flint leads this week with 70 more subs obtained in Saginaw and 21 in Flint. In Saginaw "our comrades stood on street corners and approached passers-by with 'The Militant,' the comrades write us. 'They find this better on Saturdays than going door to door.' And in Flint, 'by the time our campaign ends we are going to see to it that every GM plant has a good-sized group of Militant readers.'"

rades got 26 subs Saturday. "We now have covered the whole housing project," wrote B. Allen. "We plan a big street rally there with Grace Carlson as speaker. "A big mobilization is planned this Friday. We have been preparing for Grace's Detroit meeting, after which we can concentrate on subs again." Comrade Allen sent in 85 subs this week.

Copies of nearly all issues of The Militant containing radio speeches of Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson have been sent to all persons writing for any radio speech. Some other issues have also been sent. Only those who subscribe will continue to receive the paper. Subs were received this week from radio listeners in Florida, Washington, D. C. California and New York. We now have them from nearly every state. Only Delaware and New Mexico have not been heard from in response to broadcasts.

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THE MILITANT

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Monday, August 23, 1948



TROTSKY

"The human race has a right to be proud of its Aristotle, Shakespeare, Darwin, Beethoven, Goethe, Marx, Edison and Lenin. But why are they so rare? Above all, because almost without exception, they came out of the upper and middle classes."

—LEON TROTSKY, Copenhagen Speech, 1932.



LENIN

Dixiecrat Fascism

The Dixiecrat movement headed by South Carolina's Gov. J. Strom Thurmond is more than a mobilization of the Southern lynchocracy for the preservation of "white supremacy" below the Mason-Dixon line.

Almost half the delegates at last month's Birmingham convention of the so-called "States Rights" Democrats were connected with such fascist outfits as the Ku Klux Klan, the anti-Jewish Party, the Christian Nationalist Crusaders, etc.

Thurmond stressed the national character of his movement in his speech at Houston, Texas, where he bellowed, "this is no sectional or regional matter. It is as important to the people of Arizona as it is to the people of Alabama; as important to the people of California as it is to the people of Connecticut."

This is in fact, the most ambitious fascist movement yet launched in this country. As such it is directed not alone against oppressed minorities like the Negro people, but against all progressive movements, and particularly the labor movement.

This Dixiecrat movement makes no bones about its intentions to defy and violate all laws for the protection of civil and democratic rights. Its very composition, the very adherents it has attracted are proof positive that this movement bases itself upon "lynch law."

Let no worker dismiss the Dixiecrats as some two-bit assemblage of "crack pots." It already has deep roots in the official governmental structure of the South. Its seed is falling upon a rich political soil of reaction, fertilized by the manure of bigotry and prejudice.

This fascist rally is a warning to the labor and minority movements that it is not enough to simply fight for the passage of laws reinforcing and extending democratic rights. At a certain stage, the capitalists mobilize their fascist hordes and brush aside and violate their own laws, as they did in Italy in 1922 and in Germany in 1933.

The Negro people, especially, must take cognizance of this new development and act accordingly. Their fight for civil rights legislation will henceforth have to be viewed as simply a part of the general struggle to build a powerful mass movement, ready, willing and able to resist the lynchers and secure their rights.

CIO News on SWP

Last week, The Militant reprinted an item from the CIO News commenting on the Socialist Workers Party proposal to the Communist Party to form a broad united front to fight the Smith "Gag" Act, under which 18 SWP leaders were imprisoned during the war and 12 CP leaders are now indicted.

While reporting the facts correctly, the CIO News article contains one very serious error. It states that the SWP and our Presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs, have called on the CP "to forget" our profound political differences for the purposes of a united front against the Smith Act.

The SWP and Dobbs never proposed to forget the differences that separate Trotskyism from Stalinism. We have proposed a specific united front for a limited and specific end IN SPITE OF our unbridgeable political differences.

We do not intend for one second to abandon or even modify our mortal struggle against Stalinism. Stalinism is a cancer in the labor movement. We have fought for 20 years and will continue to fight to destroy this deadly disease within the working class.

But we have always regarded it as an elementary class duty to unite with all elements within the labor movement, however much we differ from them politically,

to fight against attacks on the working class by its capitalist enemies.

The use of the Smith "Gag" Act against the Communist Party is an attempt by the capitalist government to sharpen a weapon that can and will be used against any and all sections of the labor movement. We call for class solidarity in the struggle against this infamous law.

We have always defended Stalinists when they were being made the victims of anti-democratic and anti-labor laws and attacks. We opposed the railroadings of Earl Browder to prison in 1940. We defended Harry Bridges against deportation in 1944.

In the same spirit, we would defend Philip Murray or William Green—with whom we have the most profound political differences—if they were attacked by the reactionary government and bosses. We abhor John L. Lewis's politics and dictatorial methods. Nevertheless, we have consistently defended him and his union when they were under capitalist attack.

If the whole labor movement becomes imbued with this same spirit of class solidarity, it will be able to settle its internal differences by democratic processes within its own ranks, while maintaining an impregnable wall of defense against its common class enemies.

Russian School Teacher and Stalinism

The sensational development of the Russian school teacher who jumped out of the third story window of the Soviet Consulate in New York has for a few days driven all other news off the front pages of the country's newspapers. The events that led up to this lurid incident are well known by this time and it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

The incident highlights the gangster character of the Kremlin ruling clique, the frightful degeneration of the Soviet Union since the days of its founding in 1917. It indicates how Stalinism provides capitalism with material for blackening genuine socialism with falsely identifying socialism with totalitarian terror.

During the early years of the Russian Revolution, under Lenin and Trotsky, the Soviet Union was a shining beacon for the oppressed and exploited throughout the world. At a time when the Soviet regime was beset by countless enemies inside and outside the country, right in the midst of civil war, the government of Lenin and Trotsky practiced the widest kind of democracy. Because of this, it attracted to its cause not only millions of workers everywhere, but the best of the bourgeois intellectual world, writers, scientists and professional people.

Today, when the Stalinist rulers boast that the Soviet Union is at the peak of its

strength and has expanded its influence over half of Europe, the Stalin regime can only rule by the most naked terror against its own subjects, and outrages progressive public opinion everywhere by its arbitrariness, its tyranny, its despotism. This terror of the Stalin regime is not a sign of strength but of woeful weakness. It demonstrates that the regime is unstable and opposed by the majority of its own peoples.

The affair of the Russian school teacher demonstrates, furthermore, that even the more privileged hate and fear the regime. Increasingly common has become the news of Russian nationals right up to ambassadorial rank attempting to escape the clutches of this murderous regime, when presented with the opportunity.

An incident of this type should open the eyes of many misguided militants who still think that Stalin carries on the traditions of Lenin, or who think that the bloody Kremlin clique enjoys the support of the Russian people.

Socialism will again resume its victorious march, and the Soviet Union itself will be regenerated when the workers break with perfidious Stalinism and group themselves around the banner and program which produced the first victorious workers revolution in Russia in 1917. Today that banner is carried by the world Trotskyist movement.

Allentown, Rochester First to Top Quotas in Election Fund Campaign

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

The first two branches went over the top this week in the \$25,000 SWP Election Campaign and Party Building Fund. Allentown, Pa. and Rochester, N. Y. are the first members of the One Hundred Percenters Club.

Allentown proudly reports that it hopes to continue sending additional contributions. And Rochester deserves considerable credit for fulfilling its quota so speedily despite adverse conditions.

The collections last week amounted to \$1,447. This lifted the total to \$9,029 or 36 per cent. This is somewhat behind the weekly average that has to be maintained if the entire \$25,000 is to be raised within the time set. A little quickening of the contributions will take care of that lag.

Youngstown writes that their pledges exceed the \$600 quota and they feel confident of reaching it without too much difficulty. Tacoma and West Virginia should soon pass the 100 percent mark. Cleveland has started its rise on the scoreboard while Flint continues to be among the most regular remitters to the Fund.

Here is what one Militant reader, John Miller of Harrisburg, Pa. wrote when he enclosed his second contribution last week. "I only regret I am not able to give more. It is truly a tremendous, staggering indictment of American 'Democracy' that in one single four-page paper alone can one learn the real truth."

"You must never give up. You must remain a lighthouse to those who are drowning in the sea of capitalist injustice. You must keep banging away at the working man with meetings and pamphlets, whether you win the election or not. Someday the people will wake up."

"You must never stop defending the oppressed. You must con-

tinuously open the door of racial slavery in the South. You must constantly dwell on World War I and II as classic examples of capitalist crimes and betrayals. You must keep accusing and indicting. Keep them always on the defensive."

"Whatever you do, keep your paper going."

With the help of more sup-

porters like John Miller, we'll do the job. Next week Campaign Manager George Clarke is sending a personal appeal to all Militant subscribers to help finance the Dobbs-Carlson Campaign Fund. But you don't have to wait for his letter. You can anticipate it by sending your donation now to 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

SCOREBOARD FOR \$25,000 SWP ELECTION FUND

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Quota, Paid, Percent. Lists various cities and their progress towards the \$25,000 goal.

"Meat Strike"



This New York demonstration against the outrageous price of meat is part of the farcical "meat strike" organized by the Stalinists, which is totally ineffective in bringing down prices. A real program to fight the high cost of living has been presented by Farrell Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate: 1. For a sliding scale of wages in all union contracts. 2. For mass consumer committees of workers, housewives and dirt farmers empowered to fix prices and enforce price ceilings. 3. For the nationalization of all basic industries and their operation under the democratic control of the workers.

vance this program (for workers' control of military training) to front position without regard to its immediate effectiveness."

convention, excepting the ideas in contradiction with the general line." Lens and Weiss voted for both motions.

Letters on Broadcasts

FROM PITTSBURGH, PA. I listened in amazement to the radical proposals made by your speaker over KOKA tonight.

Raise wages up and up but never down, although cost of living might be in a downturn! I am for fair wages for all workers, but has it not been shown that higher wages bring higher costs in a never-ending spiral — and is one of the causes of our present day inflation? A few workers benefit, the majority are injured.

Confiscate without reimbursement all private industry and nationalize same! Great Britain tried it — is still struggling with it and the people, the workers, are worse off than ever before. Would anyone be safely able to own his own home or farm?

Why are the Socialists so hatefully critical of our American way of life? A system which has made America the grandest all around benefactor, to a greater proportion of its people than any other country in the world? Why is an honest profit so abhorrent to a socialist? Is a profit not needed to restore worn out tools, equipment, machinery, plant etc., to provide the means by which a good job is provided for the worker and a small recompense as well for the thrifty who save some of their wages for insurance, for savings accounts, etc.?

What would you, under socialism, substitute for all this? Where would you get the money to replace? How would you tax? What miserable doles would you hand out to those who have worked all their lives, saved nothing, and are no longer able to produce? H.R.D.

FROM NEW YORK CITY Don't you believe that it would be in the interests of all workers to support Mr. Wallace, or the Progressive Party? We must vote for the party that will give the wage earners the best chance to improve their condition: I believe under Wallace we would all, personally as well as labor parties, have a better chance to improve our position and that too many different parties weaken our effort.

TOLEDO!

GRACE CARLSON, SWP Vice-Presidential candidate will speak at a PUBLIC MEETING Saturday, August 28, 8 p. m. Kapps Hall, 413 Summit Street top floor (admission free)

RADIO BROADCAST GRACE CARLSON in an interview over station WTOD Monday, Aug. 30, 1:00 p. m.

fort and effect. Why can't we all get together to help ourselves? R.M.

FROM OCEANO, CALIF. Please send me a copy of the speech delivered by your presidential candidate on the radio on Aug. 6. This was the most truthful speech I have heard in the campaign. Mrs. E.T.

Believes Russia Has Socialism

Someone sent me a copy of your paper in the mail, and as a loyal member of organized labor, I want to express an opinion or two. For some time now, I have been watching and wondering just which one of the various groups supposed to be fighting for "Socialism" really desires socialism, or if you are all just trying to kid someone.

Socialism, to me, is that state of society wherein all the means of production, distribution and exchange are, socially owned and operated on behalf of the people and without profit. If this definition is not correct, then I wish someone would enlighten me.

I fully agree that such a social system would establish an economic heaven on earth, and am willing to do everything within my power to bring it about. The Socialist says he wants socialism; the Trotskyist says he wants socialism; the Socialist Laborite tells us that he alone will bring us a socialist society, while the Communist says that socialism is already in operation in the Soviet Union, etc. As far as my information goes, (and I have honestly tried to find out) the Soviet Union has in fact destroyed the capitalist system, and has established a system of socialist society.

What I cannot understand is, why do all the other so-called parties striving for a socialist society, condemn the Soviets, and in the case of the Socialist Party, actually assist the imperialists in combating the Soviets in Europe?

Here in America we have an ex-preacher named Thomas, claiming to be a "Socialist," who is more bitter in his criticism of the Soviet Union than even Randolph Hearst.

If a socialist society has replaced capitalism in the Soviet Union, (and I feel sure it has), then what is all this hullabaloo about the wicked "Stalinists" etc, etc. Or are you just peeved because the Russian workers got out from under?

Moreover, there will be precious little progress made toward any improvement in the workers' con-

dition in America while the various warring "Socialist" factions quarrel over whose blueprint must be used. What in hell difference does it make who brings socialism to America, just so it gets here?

Besides, the Soviet Union has a working socialist society, and it ill becomes anyone claiming to have the interests of the working class at heart, to spend nine-tenths of their time and effort criticizing and condemning this first socialist country, and condemning it in much more vitriolic terms than you ever did British imperialism or our own brand of exploitation for instance.

In the current warfare going on inside the CIO, I find the members of your particular faction giving all help possible to the Reuther-Murray-NAM-Roman hierarchy axis. How come? J.C.H. Los Angeles, Calif.

Ed. Note:

1) The Manifesto of the Fourth International on Page 2 restates the Marxist understanding of what a socialist society is. The Russian Revolution of 1917 destroyed capitalism there, but present-day Russia, with its low standard of living, its monstrous inequalities, its slave labor, its huge bureaucracy and its police regime, is a long way from being socialist. And what is more serious, under Stalin, the trend is not toward socialist equality and freedom, but back towards capitalist barbarism.

2) Our conflict with the Stalinists is over basic principle, certainly not over who is going to get credit for bringing Socialism to America. The policies of Stalinism can't and don't bring Socialism anywhere. They are a degenerate variety of the same kind of People's Front politics as practiced by the Russian Mensheviks. In fighting them, we, as authentic Marxists, are following in the footsteps of the great Lenin and his struggle against all the opportunists in the labor movement.

3) If you will read our press, you will find that you are in error in your claim that we support the Reuther-Murray-ACTU machine in the CIO. We oppose it.

Takes Issue with Militant Report

The July 12 Militant, in reporting the SWP National Convention discussion on the resolution, "Militarization of the USA and Tasks of the SWP", says that "the Convention rejected their (Lens' and Weiss') amendment on the grounds that it made it mandatory for the Party to ad-

THE MILITANT is published for him



Not for him



THE MILITANT is your newspaper —

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Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

- List of activities and meetings for the Socialist Workers Party in various cities: Akron, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Flint, Los Angeles, Lynn, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New Britain, New Haven, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Tacoma, Toledo, Washington, Youngstown.

By Art Preis

Whenever you pin a good Republican to the wall and ask, "What is your program to combat inflation?" he'll answer quick as a jack rabbit, "Supply and demand!"

This mysterious little formula — sometimes spoken of as "the natural law of supply and demand" — is supposed to provide the answer to all economic questions.

However the capitalists — and that goes for Republican and Democratic varieties — don't demonstrate in practice any too much confidence in the workings of their all-inclusive "law of supply and demand."

You don't see food prices coming down any, for instance, through the operation of this "natural law." And the reason is very simple. The government is taking hundreds of millions of your tax money and giving it to the big grain, potato and meat producers to "prop up" prices.

Read the 1948 Republican platform from cover to cover and you won't find anything about the government's policy of spending your money to keep up food prices. The Republicans even boast about what they've done for "farm support" — meaning government financing of inflated food prices.

Right now, the government is buying potatoes for \$1.55 a bushel to keep up the prices. You get soaked twice — first you pay high taxes for "price support" and then you pay the high price for the tax-supported potatoes.

But that's not all. In 1946, the government spent 90 million dollars for potatoes that it dumped or burned. This raised an outcry from

the suffering public. So now the government freights and ships potatoes at the cost of another 40 cents per bushel and sells them to alcohol processors for 9 cents a bushel. Some of the potatoes it mills into flour and sends to Germany and elsewhere at a cost of another 70 cents per bushel.

This year we are going to pay, through the government, another 70 million dollars so we can have the privilege of buying potatoes at twice or three times the price they would be without "price support." And that goes for corn, wheat, oats, cotton, beef and other essential products.

The latest Department of Agriculture estimates reveal that the grain and cotton crops this year will be the greatest on record — far exceeding anything expected by the government or farm experts. Do you hear the Republicans clamoring for the "law of supply and demand?" Not on your life!

The Aug. 16 N. Y. Times reports that Chicago Board of Trade members claim "that the Government's support of prices for grains are the only preventives against a decline in the market."

A decline in the market means a decline in profits — and that's a fate worse than death for the capitalist. So you don't hear any talk about "the natural law of supply and demand" when it comes to letting that "law" operate to the detriment of the commodities speculators and food frusts. That's when Republicans and Democrats alike say "to hell with the law of supply and demand" and vote with both hands for "price support" — that is, inflation.

Palmer Raids

By F. Forest

This pamphlet* on the red hysteria following World War I is a timely, well-documented piece of work. Despite the "progressive" Popular Frontish style the Stalinists use in presenting the facts, the facts themselves are indisputable. From these, many valuable lessons can be learned by us who live in the era of the Smith Gag Act and the Taft-Hartley Slave Law and are daily fed by spy scare stories, war mongering, red-baiting and government by injunction.

As is well known, the red hysteria after World War I culminated in the notorious Palmer raids. The raids carried out on the night of January 2, 1920 by the then Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer and his right-hand man, J. Edgar Hoover, in arresting without warrant, and throwing into jail, no less than 6,000 persons, are without precedent. But the general character of the present government-sponsored red hysteria is the same as the previous one. We need but state four instances to see the deadly parallel:

1. The campaign against the trade union movement. The concerted drive against organized labor in 1919-1920 decimated the trade unions. It took no less than 16 years before the steel workers could again organize and force the Steel Trust to recognize the union. It is true that the union movement today is too strong to be wiped out with one stroke. But the Government again rules by injunction and the labor movement is saddled with the Taft-Hartley Slave Law.

2. The attacks upon the Negro people. Precisely because this most oppressed group forms a natural bulwark against capitalism, the Government is especially sensitive about its own crimes against this tenth of the nation and moves the more viciously against them. In the hearings of the infamous "Committee Investigating Seditious Activities" headed in 1920 by the New York state senator Clayton R. Lusk, an attempt was made to prove that The Messenger was the mouthpiece of the Soviet Government because it was "committed... to the proposition of organizing Negroes for the class struggle." ("Revolutionary Radicalism, Part I, Revolutionary and Subversive Movements Abroad and at Home," p.

* THE PALMER RAIDS, Edited by Robert W. Dunn, International Pub., 30c.

Politics of the Spy Scare

By Joseph Keller

Spy scares are a standard and well-worn part of the political techniques of all reactionary regimes. They are whipped up artificially for the purpose of smearing political opposition and providing a pretext for its suppression.

The current spy scare in this country is no exception. It is strictly politically motivated. It is intended to whip up "anti-communist" and war hysteria among the more gullible section of the public nourished on the cloak-and-dagger type of popular spy fiction and movies.

Truman, it is true, is now squealing "red herring" because the Republican-controlled Congressional committees have turned his spy scare into a smear of the Democratic administration itself. But that is only an ironic and incidental aspect of the spy hysteria being generated by Washington.

The fact is that the Truman Administration for the past three years has been building up a spy scare as part of its "cold war" propaganda against the Soviet Union. The spy scare is a natural complement of Truman's highly-publicized "loyalty purge" of government employees, his political blacklist of "subversive organizations" and the frame-up now being attempted against 12 indicted Communist Party leaders.

It was, in fact, Truman's Department of Justice and FBI which introduced the testimony of self-confessed former GPU agents before the Federal Grand Jury that indicted the CP leaders. But after getting the Grand Jury steamed up over the spy testimony, the government recommended that

the Stalinists leaders be framed under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act for the patently false charge of "advocating overthrow of the government by force and violence."

By this procedure, the Truman Administration hoped to avoid the necessity of producing evidence in court which, if closely investigated, might prove embarrassing to the Democratic Administration.

For, of course, during the wartime honeymoon between Washington and the Kremlin, there was a considerable free interchange of information and collaboration of their intelligence services. Not that they didn't try to hold out on each other and do considerable spying on each other. But that was understood and winked at by both sides.

Principally, the American and Russian intelligence services co-operated in tracking down working class revolutionists and suppressing anti-capitalist movements in Europe. In this country, the Stalinists were the chief wartime agents of the government in putting the finger on militants in the unions.

Neither the Roosevelt nor the Truman administration was greatly disturbed about the known criminal activities of Stalin's secret agents on American soil as assassins of Stalin's political opponents. There was the case of the murder of Walter Krivitsky in Washington itself. And most flagrant of all, the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico, long known by the FBI to have been prepared, in part, in this country according to the self-implicating confessions of former GPU agents Louis Budenz and Elizabeth Bentley.

Notes from the News

N. Y. AFL CONVENTION — The just-concluded N. Y. State AFL Convention went on a real red-baiting spree. They first proceeded to unseat 29 duly elected delegates because they were "communists." Then, they solidarized themselves with Catholic censorship by commending the action of the New York Superintendent of Schools in banning The Nation for its critical articles on the Vatican. This action, it was reported, was passed unanimously. That means the phony liberals of the needle trades unions voted for it along with the other "labor statesmen."

CIVIL LIBERTIES LAW — Breaches of civil liberties and the spread of anti-red hysteria have reached heights comparable only to the Palmer raid days of the 1920's, declared Arthur Garfield Hays, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union.

DIE CASTERS AFFILIATE — The CIO auto union executive board approved an agreement for the affiliation of the National Association of Die Casting Workers, involving approximately 20,000 workers. The Die Casters withdrew from the Stalinist-dominated Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in June.

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THE MILITANT

Maritime Unions Face Battle On Crucial Hiring Hall Issue

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Aug. 18 — Negotiations have been concluded in the maritime industry by the AFL Seafarers International Union and the CIO National Maritime Union. Wage settlements calling for a \$12.50 monthly increase were made by the two unions which take in all unlicensed seamen on the East Coast and the Gulf. This increase of 6 per cent follows the previous increase of 5 per cent won in January of this year. The all-important hiring hall issue, however, has been by-passed.

Both the unions and shipowners have agreed to accept the present hiring hall setup and wait for the ruling of a "competent court" as to its legality.

Simultaneously timed with the announcement of the final settlement, the National Labor Relations Board issued a ruling that the hiring hall was illegal under the Taft-Hartley Act. The NMU has announced it will challenge the ruling in the courts.

The NLRB decision constitutes a stiff blow at every maritime union in the country. The hiring hall is the most prized possession of the seamen and its elimination would spell a body blow to unionism in the maritime industry.

COURTS SERVE OWNERS

The leaderships of both the AFL and CIO maritime unions have placed great hope in various legal formulas and evasions to get around the Taft-Hartley Act. The shipowners rest secure in the knowledge that the NLRB and the courts plan to do the job on the hiring hall which they themselves are not strong enough to do.

Six other maritime unions are still negotiating their agreements. Four of these are seamen's unions who have been waiting for the wage pattern to be set on the East Coast. The other two are the longshoremen's unions in the industry which are at present deadlocked over several important issues.

The CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union on the Pacific Coast is under a Taft-Hartley 80-day injunction which expires Sept. 2. The AFL International Longshoremen's Association on the East Coast is due to come under a similar injunction this week.

OVERTIME PAY

The principle issue deadlocking longshore negotiations is overtime pay. Operators are seeking to eliminate premium pay for night, Sunday and holiday work. A recent Supreme Court ruling held that this premium pay was base pay and overtime work had to be paid over and above this base. Back claims under this ruling add up to a considerable sum due to dock workers. In desperation, the operators and the treacherous Ryan leadership of the AFL longshore union are appealing to Congress for legislation to outlaw these claims. Meanwhile the operators are seeking to eliminate premium pay from longshore contracts.

The negotiations of twelve separate maritime unions, the majority of whom deal with the same boss, are proving to be lengthy and increasingly difficult to conclude. The old process of collective bargaining on a pure and simple trade union basis is breaking down. The government has taken over on an increasing scale the fight for the shipowners. In the latest NLRB action, it has challenged the very existence of maritime unionism.

For many years Stalinist control of the NMU made unity of the maritime unions all but impossible. Their crooked maneuvers to seize control of the industry only brought damage to maritime labor, and disrupted all attempts to build one union for the industry.

The recent elimination of the Stalinists from leadership in the NMU and the rise of a considerable opposition in the West Coast longshoremen's union, still under their control, has removed the biggest barrier to unity. Now the AFL and CIO maritime leaders can no longer duck their responsibility for forging a united front in the maritime industry against the Taft-Hartley Act and its union smashing apparatus. That is the crying need of the hour in this crucial period of maritime labor unionism.

Support the Dobbs-Carlson Fund!

TRAINOR DENIED PLACE ON BALLOT IN MASS.

By J. J. Kelly

BOSTON, Aug. 17 — In an unbridled display of arrogance, the State Ballot Law Commission of Massachusetts at its hearing ruled Lawrence P. Trainor of the Socialist Workers Party off the ballot in the 12th Congressional District. Unknown protesters represented by Roy S. Remer claimed that enough of Trainor's signatures were forged to bar him from a place on the ballot.

Chairman James J. Hurley of the Commission showed his determination to throw Trainor off the ballot in every way possible. Stanley Epstein, lawyer for the Socialist Workers Party, was heckled and told "his place" time and again by Hurley. Trainor, when making his summary statement was likewise heckled with such childish questions as, "If you had a million dollars, would you still believe in this stuff?"

While Democratic and Republican defendants were allowed every possible leeway, given every courtesy possible and permitted to question the motives of their objectors, Epstein and Trainor were told by Hurley to "cut it out," "we're not interested in that story" and "Are you trying to tell the Commission how to hold the hearing?"

The Socialist Workers Party collected 4,270 signatures. After having almost 80 thrown out by the Boston Election Board the SWP came to the hearing with only a margin of 9 surplus signatures over the required 3,481. As reported in the Aug. 9 Militant, a writer of the Boston Herald, mouthpiece of State Street, practically called for someone to protest the nomination papers.

ONLY CLUE

The only clue as to who the protesters are is the fact that Roy Remer, the lawyer, was a member of the now defunct Friends of the Soviet Union in the 30's, and was a defender of Stalinism during that period. Thus there is the possibility that the Stalinists are involved.

Remer confronted the Commission with a so-called "hand-writing expert," Elizabeth McCarthy, who was sure that "49 signatures are invalid and perhaps more." When Epstein handed her a paper with the name Lawrence P. Trainor written 10 times and asked her to determine which had been written by Trainor she replied that it would take a day to give an answer and was different from "picking out obvious forgeries in nomination papers."

When Epstein suggested the possibility of error he was told by Hurley to get an expert to counter-act McCarthy. This was done and George Smith, former expert for the Boston Police Department, testified that outside of a couple of duplications on the part of husbands-wives he saw nothing wrong with any of the alleged forgeries claimed by McCarthy.

When Epstein started to make capital of this point, Hurley, who was plainly embarrassed, threatened to end the hearing by ordering the two experts to work with the Commission.

Trainor, in his summary statement, questioned the testimony of a witness produced at the last minute by Remer. The witness had not one identification with him — no social security card, no auto license, no billfold. While Trainor was talking, Hurley rose and said to the other Commission-

ers, "Let's get out of here." Their departure was so sudden and quickly executed that it looked staged.

To refute the decision of the obviously biased Commissioner would require a court action. This would call for the expenditure of hundreds of dollars that the workers of the Socialist Workers Party cannot afford. Thus the capitalist politicians once more have succeeded in barring the road to independent class politics to the workers of Boston.

NAACP Fights Discrimination Policy at Sears

By J. Hawkins

SANTA MONICA, Calif., Aug. 8 — The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People voted at its monthly meeting Friday night to continue its boycott against the Sears and Roebuck store because of the store's racial discrimination in hiring.

The latest offer of the store management to upgrade a Negro janitor to stock clerk, hire a Negro window dresser and reserve future warehouse jobs for Negroes has been turned down by the negotiating committee. The branch also voted to appeal to the national NAACP to enter into national negotiations with the store, to institute a nationwide boycott against the Sears Company, and protested against the issuance of a temporary injunction in Superior Court against picketing of the store.

The NAACP branch meeting was hectic, as the branch president and his supporters beat off efforts by the Stalinists to disrupt the meeting and capture the branch. The disrupters, who have only recently joined the branch, have never done a lick of work to build the branch or assist in its participation in the fight against Sears.

REPEATED BLOWS

The NAACP branch has suffered internal demoralization because of the succession of blows it has received from Sears and Roebuck and the federal government — and now, the Communist Party. Fighting for its very existence as the organization speaking independently for the Negro community, the action by the branch Friday night is the first sign of re-awakened determination to carry on.

The Post Office Loyalty Board has not lived up to its promise to inform the NAACP branch president, Frank H. Barnes, within 15 days, of his fate. Several months after suspending Barnes from his mail carrier's job, the Postmaster General sent a loyalty board to grill him unmercifully. Three weeks after returning to Washington, there appeared on the scene FBI agents, who have been going about the Negro neighborhood, inquiring into Barnes' political affiliations and opinions. The attempt to frighten the local Negro population out of continuing the fight against Sears will not succeed.

Kids for Sale



Mrs. Lucille Challifoux turns sobbing from the camera after putting this sign in front of her Chicago home. She and her husband, jobless and facing evictions, can no longer feed and shelter their four children, aged 2 to 6. Federated Pictures

Chevrolet Workers in Flint Strike Against GM Speed-up

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Aug. 11 — A two-day stoppage of 80 key crankshaft balance job workers shut down the huge Chevrolet-Motor Plant this week, affecting 5,000 workers. After the local union leaders, the regional director and Reuther refused to authorize the strike, the men returned to work. Today the Company made its first move of retaliation by suspending six balance job union men.

For five months the crankshaft balance men have demonstrated great solidarity in the teeth of the Company's efforts to speed up their jobs. Over the last eleven years they have put out 40 cranks an hour. The Company, in line with the GM speedup policy insisted that production be raised to 51 cranks. After a score of penalties and one firing, the union voted for strike action against the Company by a 7 to 1 margin, with 8,000 Chevrolet workers participating in the balloting.

Immediately after the strike vote the Company penalized three more men to bring the total to 15. This action precipitated the walkout; but not until the workers learned that Reuther had turned thumbs down to the request for strike authorization.

When the key motor division supplying most Chevrolet assembly plants with motors stopped

work, corporation officials frantically called the union and insisted they get the men back on the job or face suit under the Taft-Hartley law. The hesitant way in which management took action, and the bluff to sue the union, indicate that Chevrolet wanted motors. If the leaders had supported the strike they could have settled and won the immediate issue of speedup in this department.

RESENTMENT MOUNTING

Workers' resentment is mounting daily. Already there have been more wildcat strikes in Flint than at any time since the early organizing days of 1937-38. This is an entirely new development. Formerly, the rigid GM contract kept the men in tow. Wildcatting indicates the explosive nature of the grievances. Reuther's stock, as a result, has dropped to a new low here.

Both Fisher Body 1 and 2 are in the process of taking strike votes over speedup. Many workers wonder if there is any purpose to this when Reuther refuses authorization after they fully comply with the union constitution. It is the contention of many workers that Reuther's action in Chevrolet has all the earmarks of a "gentlemen's agreement" reached at the signing of the last contract.

REACH PETITION GOAL IN 61 NEW YORK COUNTIES

By Irving Beinin, N. Y. State Campaign Manager

Aug. 17 — The New York State petition campaign went over the top in all 61 counties this week. A total of 22,000 signatures were rolled up in 24 days. This impressive achievement was made possible because of the exceptional enthusiasm and devotion by the party membership in this state. It safely qualifies the party and its candidates for a place on the ballot. The election law requires a total of 12,000 signatures in the state including at least 50 in each county. The SWP campaign committee, however, set as its goal 150 signatures in each county and 25,000 in the state. This has now virtually been obtained.

A mobilization of all boroughs of New York City last Saturday night netted over 2,000 signatures. Marion Winters of the Central branch set a new record for the campaign with a score of 152 signatures in one evening.

The mobilization concluded with a highly successful social event sponsored by the B'klyn Branch. A humorous skit was presented which demonstrated the difficulties encountered in getting signatures in the upstate counties.

The petition campaign will wind

up this Saturday night with large open air political rallies in Harlem and the East Side of Manhattan. Thanks are being extended to the workers of these areas for helping to put Dobbs and Carlson on the ballot.

The opening campaign rally has been scheduled for Friday evening, Aug. 27 in the Hotel Diplomat, in conjunction with the Trotsky memorial meeting. The launching of the first presidential campaign of the SWP is the most fitting tribute to the memory of the founder of our movement.



LEON TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING

And Presidential Campaign Rally

Speakers:
E. R. FRANK, Editor, Fourth International
GEORGE CLARKE, National Campaign Director, SWP
MIKE BARTELL, New York City Organizer
Motion picture of the SWP Convention, launching its first presidential campaign
"SWP ON THE MARCH"

THE MILITANT CHORUS

HOTEL DIPLOMAT
108 West 43rd St. FRIDAY, AUG. 27
New York City 8 P. M.

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party