

Hail 25th Year Of Fighting for Socialist U.S.

By Murry Weiss

This week we celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Socialist Workers Party and a quarter of a century's battle for a Socialist America. On Oct. 27, 1928, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman and Martin Abern were expelled from the Communist Party by its Central Committee. They were expelled for their views on Trotskyism — support of Leon Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism. These views were set forth in a Statement, "For the Russian Opposition! Against Opportunism and Bureaucracy in the Workers' Communist Party of America."

From October 1928 to October 1953, the line of continuity is unbroken in the struggle of American Trotskyism to build a revolutionary party in this country. But 1928 was really not the beginning — it was a landmark — a landmark in the history of American radicalism.

Our pioneer Trotskyists of 1928 were the custodians of the precious experience and lessons of the pre-World War I Wobblies, the Socialist Party of Gene Debs, and the foundation period of the American Communist Party. At the same time our

SWP Founder



JAMES P. CANNON

Weiss Scores Wagner, Halley Labor Records

NEW YORK, Oct. 16 — In a speech presented on radio station WNEW, David Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, today exposed the major party candidates whom he said try "to paint themselves up as friends of labor before election day."

He pointed out that both Wagner, the Democratic candidate, and Halley, the Liberal Party candidate, did nothing while in city office to aid the repeated struggles of the New York longshoremen to clean out gangster rule of their union and

SWP Candidate In S.F. Addresses Bldg. Trades Body

Frank Barbaria and Frances James, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for supervisor in the San Francisco municipal elections, addressed 18 more union meetings last week.

The speech made by Frances James to the Building Trades Council was given a full and friendly write-up in the semi-monthly newspaper, *Organized Labor*. Reporting her statements on inflation, taxes, the witch-hunt and the threat of a third world war, the AFL paper concluded its account of the speech with the comment, "President John Hogg courteously expressed everyone's sentiments when he said that 'we're all certain that a fine-looking girl like yourself will be a credit to the Board of Supervisors."

The President of a Local of Electrical Workers heard Mrs. James talk, and declared, "I was proud to present Mrs. James to-night, and would certainly like to see her sitting on the City Council."



FRANCES JAMES

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Campaign for 30-Hour Week, 40-Hour Pay Gains in Unions

Fear Another Cicero Case In Chicago

By Marjorie Ball

CHICAGO, Oct. 14 — Jim Crow violence flared here again on the Southside as three Negro families moved into the Trumbull Park public project. Although the Chicago Housing Authority had the families accompanied by 13 police cars, hooligan elements, aware of the anti-Negro sentiments of the police, shouted invectives and hurled tomatoes and rocks at the families. Four demonstrators were finally arrested. Only one lives in the project. This prolonged anti-Negro terror is being organized and maintained by elements outside the project.

Second, the Kremlin introduced the practice of handpicking and corrupting the leaders of the Communist Parties. It thereby assured itself of a spineless, functionary-type party leadership which could be relied upon to carry out Kremlin dictates but were worthless in the struggle against capitalism. Thus the revolutionary party could be built only in irreconcilable struggle with Stalinism.

Special conditions fostered the (Continued on page 3)



NEWS ITEM: Eisenhower on Oct. 14 ordered government agencies to fire any federal employees who dare to exercise their rights under the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and refuse to testify at Congressional witch-hunt hearings.

UPSET OF GOP IN WISCONSIN SHOWS QUICK SHIFT IN POLITICAL MOODS

Whether the Oct. 13 upset of the Republicans in Wisconsin's Ninth District congressional election is viewed as a "flash of lightning in the political skies" or a mere "straw in the wind," it clearly indicates the instability of political loyalties in America today and the rapidity of shifts in the political mood.

Only last November the Ninth District, predominantly farmers although there is a good block of union workers in Eau Claire, gave the late Republican Merlin Hull 65% of their votes. This same district also ran heavily for witch-hunting Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy both in 1946 and 1952.

In the election to fill the vacancy left by Hull's death, Democrat Lester R. Johnson got 57% of the vote to Republican Lester R. Padrutt's 43%. Johnson is the first Democratic congressman ever elected from this district. However, Roosevelt carried it three times as did Truman in 1948. But it gave a landslide vote to Eisenhower.

The Democrats, of course, are elated by the outcome, although

not that these farmers are starving and facing dispossession, as many did in the early thirties. But the whole point is that even a slight threat to their economic security meets with immediate political response. The same is true of the workers. An Eau Claire hotel manager who gets a good bit of business from union workers quotes them as saying: "We're sore about layoffs and loss of overtime pay."

Even a slow economic downslide and a "small" depression today can set off sweeping political trends, reversals and new tendencies. It's not written in the stars that such trends must be completely back to Democrats, repudiated last November. These moods and trends can gain a swift momentum, carrying over into a movement for a decisive political change, a movement for a labor party, for instance.

Since the start of the Korean war, corporations have been allowed to write off \$17 billion against taxes for capital expansion over five years.

West Coast GM Locals, Illinois AFL Endorse Plan on Unemployment

By Art Preis

Sentiment is rapidly growing in the labor movement for a shorter work-week with no loss of take-home pay to meet the rising threat of unemployment. Both CIO and AFL bodies in important industrial areas have adopted official resolutions in the past week or two calling for the "30-hour week at 40 hours pay."

This slogan has just been endorsed by a number of West Coast General Motors locals of the CIO United Automobile Workers. Similar action has been taken by the 900,000-member Illinois State Federation of Labor.

These actions are in line with the most important resolution adopted by the recent national convention of the American Federation of Labor. The AFL, taking cognizance of the impending serious economic situation, called for a 35-hour week "with no loss of take-home pay."

The *Militant* is especially pleased to see the movement of "30 for 40" begin to take on momentum because we initiated this proposal as part of our program to meet unemployment.

We urged the unions to adopt this program back in 1938 and 1939 before Roosevelt "solved" the depression with a war economy. We revived the slogan in the period from 1945 to 1949, before Truman was able to again avert an economic crash with huge war spending and the Korean War.

UAW LOCALS ACT

The UAW-GM Sub Council No. 7, which includes all GM locals in California, adopted a "30 for 40" resolution after its con-

stituent locals had acted on this issue. Among the locals are the Buick, Oldsmobile and Pontiac Local 216 and the Chevrolet Local in the Los Angeles area and Local 76, Chevrolet Local 1031 and Fisher Body in the Oakland area.

Some 1,700 delegates to the Illinois state AFL convention in Springfield recently voted overwhelmingly for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay to meet a possible crisis in which, according to union leaders, as many as 200,000 could lose jobs. (Story on page 4).

These practical unionists are pushing today the shorter work-week program which was only recently brushed aside by top labor bureaucrats as "unrealistic." It now appears as a logical, realizable and absolutely necessary step. For the unionists are no mere "calamity howlers" when they accept with deadly seriousness the real possibility of a depression.

Since early August, the *Militant* has warned of the great possibility of big lay-offs and cutbacks. The most important economic factors and statistical trends now more than confirm this. Our recent issues have given an abundance of figures. Here are some further recent ones.

Paul G. Hoffman, board chair-

(Continued on page 2)

Soviet Farm Crisis -- 1

Malenkov Caught By the "Scissors"

By John G. Wright

What is the matter with Soviet agriculture? To believe the Kremlin and its apologists, it is simply a question of assuring a "sharp upturn" of production with the aim of assuring an "abundance" of food and raw materials within the next "two or three years."

The Stalinists portray matters as if nothing more were involved than the growing pains of "Further Development of Agriculture in the USSR," as the official documents put it.

The capitalists for their part have seized upon the Kremlin's unavoidable admissions to raise a hue and cry about the "bankruptcy of communism." The shocking admissions of existing "shortcomings," "abnormalities," etc., have been used by the imperialists to besmirch nationalized property and planned economy — the conquests of the 1917 Russian Revolution — which permit rhythms of industrial growth wholly impossible under capitalism. It is not the first time that the Kremlin despots have supplied the imperialists with weapons to attack the Soviet Union and to try to discredit the struggle for the socialist future of mankind. Both sides are deliberately misrepresenting the situation.

The truth is that one of the unresolved contradictions of Soviet economic life — the contradiction between agriculture and industry — has once again erupted to the surface. At no time, under the bureaucracy's method of administration and rule, has progress in Soviet agriculture been in the remotest degree comparable to progress in industry. Leon Trotsky long ago likened the gap between agriculture and industry to a "scissors." The task is to close the blades. The reality is that the two scissor blades — the one representing

agriculture, the other industry — remain today wide apart, as they have for the last 30 years. The backwardness of agriculture inherited from Czarism is the primary cause of this gap. What perpetuated and aggravated it has been the policy of the bureaucracy. In its planning, the Kremlin has persistently ignored the need of the mass of the people, the vital needs of the workers as well as of the peasants. The bureaucratic over-emphasis on expansion of heavy industry resulted in a chronic lag of the light, consumer-goods industry, accompanied by a chronic lag of agriculture. Throughout the entire history of the USSR under Stalinist rule the agricultural policy has zig-zagged between administrative, coercive measures of the most brutal sort, and concessions to stimulate private, individual production. These violent shifts of policy failed to produce stabilization. The struggle of the peasants against the state, while changing in form, has all the while continued. The Stalinist lie remains, as it has been, that this struggle has long ago been liquidated; that the peasants have grown into socialism, and will "gradually grow into communism."

WHY PEASANTS RESIST

Just the opposite is true. The peasants today under the new conditions, refuse as in the past, to voluntarily supply foodstuffs and raw materials. Why? Because the "scissors" between industry and agriculture has not

Half the above-listed families were \$600 or more a year short of this minimum "modest but adequate" standard; two-thirds of them did not make it.

Income

Percent of Families

Under \$500	5.9%
\$500 to \$999	4.1%
\$1,000 to \$1,499	4.2%
\$1,500 to \$1,999	5.9%
\$2,000 to \$2,499	8.3%
\$2,500 to \$2,999	8.7%
\$3,000 to \$3,499	10.8%
\$4,000 to \$4,499	9.5%
\$4,500 to \$4,999	6.5%
\$5,000 to \$5,999	11.0%
\$6,000 to \$6,999	6.7%
\$7,000 to \$8,999	7.0%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	1.6%
\$15,000 and over	0.4%

NO EXTRAS

The U.S. Department of Labor in 1951 estimated \$4,218 was necessary for a "modest but adequate" living standard for a mother, father and two children in the average city or town family. This "modest but adequate" standard provided for no extra — no new auto, television, operation, a college education or money in the bank.

That "Average Income" Gimmick

By Joseph Keller

Last week I took up the little matter of every "average family" in this country being owed \$1,063 this year because of the difference between what the government claims we've been making in family incomes and what we're really getting due to price rises

I showed that when the government says that the "average family" was \$850 "richer" in 1950 than in 1944, because its money income rose from \$3,610 a year to \$4,460, we were actually \$478.87 poorer in real buying power. While income went up 23.5% in the same period rose 36.7%. By August 1953 prices had gone up 53%, leaving the "average family" \$1,063 in the hole compared to 1944 in purchasing power.

The only mayoralty candidate who has been a real, consistent supporter of the rank-and-file longshoremen and all other workers is the Socialist Workers Party candidate David L. Weiss. The SWP has been exposing Ryan and the waterfront situation not just recently but since Ryan got his stranglehold on the longshoremen, Weiss and his party have publicly supported every rank-and-file movement against the Ryan leadership and every "outlaw" strike.

Here's the table of figures

\$18,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
PHILADELPHIA	\$ 400	\$ 493	123
AKRON	150	175	117
CHICAGO	1,500	1,725	115
MILWAUKEE	400	430	108
MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL	1,200	1,247	104
BUFFALO	1,500	1,546	103
ST. LOUIS	75	77	103
CLEVELAND	350	354	101
ALLEGTON	60	60	100
BOSTON	550	550	100
FLINT	250	250	100
LOS ANGELES	2,500	2,500	100
NEWARK	500	500	100
OAKLAND	250	250	100
PITTSBURGH	30	30	100
SEATTLE	450	450	100
New York	4,500	4,044	90
Youngstown	450	396	88
San Francisco	1,000	851	85
Detroit	1,500	883	59
General	385	224	58
Total through Oct. 21	\$18,000	\$17,035	95

Fund Campaign Ends; Final Total, \$17,035

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Manager.

The Socialist Workers Party campaign to raise an \$18,000 Party-Building and Publication Fund has ended. On Oct. 21 when the scoreboard was posted for the last time, the final total was \$17,035 — 95% — 5% short of the \$18,000 goal.

This showing represents a great victory for the party. Every branch scored 100% or better on its local quota excepting only New York, Youngstown, San Francisco and Detroit.

The campaign finished with Philadelphia taking first place with a score of 123%. Akron, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Buffalo, St. Louis and Cleveland likewise oversubscribed their quotas. But each and every branch wins top honors for the extra push and effort that brought the campaign so near the goal.

We want to quote a letter from H. Maher, Milwaukee Financial Committee Chairman, because we believe it expresses the feeling of "IN FULL AND ON TIME."

Negro Families Brave Racist Hooligans in Chicago Project

(Continued from page 1) anti-Negro stories in the Daily Calumet, a neighborhood newspaper, and the activities of the South Deering Improvement Association. Real estate interests have spurred the activities of the hoodlums.

TENSION IS HIGH

I walked into the area Wednesday and felt the tension immediately. Police cars blocked off the area two blocks from the project. Four cops were on every corner. Every driver turning into a street leading to the project had to identify himself as a resident or turn back. On the project grounds there were more squad cars and other cops strolling and lounging everywhere.

Many children were kept from school by apprehensive mothers afraid to let them out of sight. For the kids it was a holiday. Adults spoke in whispers. There was no bantering as the women hung up their wash. The women I talked to had the same story: The property owners outside the project were starting the riots. Any antagonism of the tenants to Negroes in the project stems more from living in this tense atmosphere than to having non-white neighbors.

TIMID OFFICIALS

City officials, civic bodies and Negro organizations have met the situation so far only with expressions of fear and timid half actions. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has limited its intervention to filing a federal suit against the Chicago Housing Authority to enjoin them to accept qualified Negro applicants. To date they have not issued any literature on the subject.

The Daily News and the Chicago Sun-Times, both slightly liberal, have condemned the activities of the Jim Crow hooligans and are fearful that another Cicero will occur. Their program, however, is to merely plead with

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on

The Truth About Yugoslavia

Speaker:

Lewis Scott

Friday, Oct. 30, at 8:30

at 52 Market Street

Is an Eisenhower-Malenkov "Peace" Pact in Cards?

By Joseph Hansen

(Last of a series.) To readers of the *Militant*, Secretary of State Dulles' announcement to the press Oct. 6 that a "nonaggression pact between the United States and the USSR" is "being studied" among the Western powers came as no sur-

prise. The probability of such a turn in diplomacy was forecast by the *Militant* as long ago as last January — some weeks before Eisenhower was sworn into office.

Even the *Wall Street Journal* now admits that "In some form or other, a non-aggression pact

with the Soviet Union is clearly becoming an integral part of American foreign policy." (Oct. 9.)

But it is one thing to offer such a pact — quite another to actually sign one. It takes two to make a bargain, as the old saying goes. What are the chances?

of our actually seeing "a kind of peace treaty for the cold war," to use the formula of the *Wall Street Journal*?

First of all, I do not know of a single serious political observer who believes a long-term pact is in sight. Such a course, advocated by Wallace in 1946-48, was ruled out by Truman under the pressure of Big Business. The reason for this was that the capitalist tycoons who are the real rulers in America require world domination to maintain their economic system. They need colonial areas for investments, raw materials and cheap labor power. By taking these and also smashing the Soviet Union, they could gain a new lease on life for their profit system. Being realists of a kind, they knew that the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union would not voluntarily commit suicide, and therefore they projected the new world war for which they are now preparing.

Their main strategy is designed to further this objective.

SHORT-TERM PACT?

But what about a short-term pact? Here the possibilities, in my opinion, are far from ruled out. They hinge on Wall Street's timetable for war and on the advantages such a pact might offer in preparing for the conflict. We should not forget that Hitler, too, in readying his invasion of the Soviet Union found it advantageous, some two years before he sent his panzer divisions into the Ukraine, to sign and seal a non-aggression pact with the Kremlin.

As I have pointed out in previous articles, Wall Street has postponed the scheduled outbreak of hostilities several times. Eisenhower last spring cancelled all projected dates. Charles E. Wilson, head of the Defense (formerly "War") Department, recently saw a "three-year" period at least "before the Soviet would be ready to attack," which is the formula generally used for the projected date.

American Big Business needs this time (1) to complete the rearmament of Japan and Germany, (2) to wipe out the worldwide impression that it wants war, (3) to tame the American workers, possibly through a "small" depression.

Wall Street is especially con-

cerned about knocking out the opposition to the war within the labor movement by stepping up the witch-hunt still more and dealing some paralyzing blows to the unions.

A temporary pact with the Kremlin could facilitate achievement of these ends. Just as the Stalinists painted up the Stalin-Hitler pact as a great achievement for peace, thereby helping to lull workers everywhere into a false sense of security, so a Malenkov-Eisenhower pact would be pictured by the Stalinists as a new guarantee of peace. The intended effect would be to divert workers from taking the only possible road to enduring peace, that is, the road to socialism.

While the Stalinists are thoroughly discredited in the American labor movement and consequently have little influence in this country, in other places such as France and Italy where they head the bulk of the labor movement, they could play a most pernicious role.

In the Aug. 22 Nation, Mark Gaynor suggests some of the counter-revolutionary services the Kremlin might perform for American Big Business in return for pact: "... we might find Moscow and Peking ready to sacrifice the Communist regimes in East Germany and Indo-China, as Stalin once sacrificed the Communist rebels in Greece... And a Communist pledge to still the spirit of revolt and conspiracy in the more turbulent segments of the non-Communist world might prove a better incentive to American investments than an uncertain stability based on our threats. A time of peace is also a time when our best allies, Japan and Germany, France and England, can regain economic health through world-wide trade."

Of course, it is another question whether or not the Stalinists can deliver the goods. But in combination with direct force applied by the U.S., Great Britain, France, etc., a Stalinist betrayal might prove decisive. In Indo-China, for example, French troops supplied from American arsenals might prove sufficient to put down the freedom-seeking movement if the Stalinists cooperated with a stab in the back.

Under the Stalinist rule the mass of the Soviet people have several times in the past suddenly learned that the situation in agriculture doesn't at all look the way the authorities had portrayed it the day before. Everything is turned upside down. Previous plus signs give way to minuses. New criteria are proclaimed in place of the old. An abrupt shift of policy is decreed. It is not hard to show that this has happened again.

Less than a year ago, last October, at the 19th Congress of the Russian party, Malenkov claimed that progress in Soviet agriculture had kept pace with the stormy growth of industry. Soviet factories were assured supplies of raw materials. Soviet industrial enterprises experience no shortage of raw materials or other supplies," boasted Malenkov. The people, the cities in particular, were assured growing food supplies. "Our agriculture," he said, "is becoming more and more perfected, more productive and is turning out more and more products for the market."

In September 1953, from the lips of Khrushchev came the following: "A definite disproportion has set in between the rate of growth of our large-scale socialist agriculture... and the present level of agricultural production." As a result of this "obvious lag" Soviet agriculture "does not fully satisfy the population's growing need for food, or the light industry's need for raw materials," said Khrushchev. This happens to be poles apart from Malenkov's picture of an agriculture "... coming more and more perfected." Instead of denying shortages Khrushchev now affirms them. Shortages exist in every branch of agriculture with the sole exception of grains. Moreover Khrushchev now warns that the lagging agriculture "retards the further development of the light and food industries." In other words agricultural lag threatens an industrial lag.

Corresponding to this abrupt about-face in official claims concerning agriculture, there has been decreed an abrupt shift in agricultural policy. It is a shift to the right, marked by sweeping concessions to the individualist, proprietary elements among the peasantry. Special emphasis is placed on developing the free market and stimulating production on individual plots.

There is evidence, as we shall show in subsequent articles, that the process of differentiation of the peasantry has been speeded up in the post-war years. The new reforms will speed up this differentiation still further, preparing the ground for new collisions at the next stage.

it, "So State Department officials figure they can't lose. At the least, if the Russians will make a gesture calculated to help cement relations with its Western allies. At the most, the U.S. will have won important concessions in three hot spots: Germany, Austria, and Korea."

Far from the impression that the press may have given recently, the negotiations are not out in the open. William R. Fay of the *Christian Science Monitor* reported Oct. 8 in relation to the Korean conference that an American message "needs to be read... in the context of private negotiations which have been taking place both among the western nations and indirectly between East and West in recent days."

Why certain of the negotiations are held in secret is quite clear. Main victims of the pact would be the insurgent colonial peoples and working people of the entire world. The common understanding between Western imperialism and the Kremlin would be reached at their expense. It would be a united front against mass uprisings that could unseat either of these counter-revolutionary forces.

It is noteworthy that in the June uprising in East Germany, the Western powers refrained from giving any serious aid to the insurgents. By their course they demonstrated their capacity to give tangible support to the Kremlin against a common foe.

By way of reciprocity, in the August general strike in France, the Stalinists refrained from guiding the most promising movement since 1936 toward government power, thereby demonstrating their capacity to give tangible support to Wall Street against the class they both fear.

These reciprocal stands of Wall Street and the Kremlin in East Germany and France are in the pattern of a tacit understanding. This pattern could simply be extended, and it could turn out that a non-aggression pact might not actually be put down on paper but just go into effect as an uneasy and unstable "gentlemen's agreement." Such an accord would be in keeping with the traditions of capitalist diplomacy.

NO CONFIDENCE

The lesson to the working class of these "peace" maneuvers can be summed up briefly: No confidence whatsoever in the intentions of either Wall Street or the Kremlin. Even if a "peace" pact were signed, it could prove only short-lived. At most it would turn out to be not much more than the lull before the storm of World War III. To save civilization from the threat of atomic war, it is necessary to take the revolutionary road to socialism.

Eisenhower-Churchill may only be probing, hoping that the Malenkov regime may be so interested in gaining time to take care of a precarious domestic position that it will grant unexpected concessions. The Western powers may settle for less. In any case, they count on coming out in these maneuvers with the aura of "peace-lovers."

As the *Wall Street Journal* puts it

THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agent Murray Forster reports good sales and distribution of the *Militant* at street meetings in the current mayoralty campaign. He writes, "The following listing of sales and distribution for the past two weeks should indicate what we can accomplish in the future. We view this only as a first step toward a more intensive and concentrated literature campaign in New York.

"Our first sale was at an open-air election rally held on the lower East Side. Thirty *Militants* were sold. Several papers were sold the following Wednesday at a small meeting in the Bronx. The weather was cold and there were only a few people on the streets but one woman who bought the paper was especially impressed with the headline 'APL Urges 35-Hour Week With No Take-Home Pay Loss.' The same night Johnny T., Johnny A., and Manny went to Transport Workers Union meeting where they were able to sell five *Militants* in a few minutes.

"At a Harlem open air rally 150 copies of the Oct. 12 issue of *The Militant* containing the New York election program of the Socialist Workers Party, and 25 copies of *The Socialist Workers Party — What It Is and What It Stands For* were distributed to those who listened to the meeting. Johnny A. sold 12 copies of the Harry T. Moore pamphlet. After the meeting two members of the audience spent the rest of the evening discussing with us.

"Sunday Dotty, Julie and Nat participated in a door-to-door sale in Brooklyn. Within a half hour they ran up the following score: Julie, seven papers and two SWP pamphlets; Dotty, six *Militants*; and Nat, one paper and three pamphlets. More sales are being planned for this week at which we hope to do as well and better."

An encouraging door-to-door sale last Sunday is reported by San Francisco Literature Agent Nick Bennett. "Eight of us went out with papers and programs and were able to sell 17 copies of the *Militant*. We plan to visit the same people again next Sunday and try for another sale or for a sub. The following week we will go again and try for a sub. Also we will hit new places.

"I have been using the *Militant* on the job. I give a copy away and then after discussing the paper I try a sale and later a sub. All I have spoken to have expressed their approval of our program and some are very enthusiastic."

Jacki Booth sends in the following roundup report on the work the comrades have been doing for the past eight weeks around one of Chicago's South Side slum areas.

"We are constantly expanding our area of work, and have worked up to selling an average of 30 papers each week. There is an interest and a need for the paper and the program it presents on housing — the setting up of tenants' organizations, etc. In the past month on this project Barney has sold 14 papers: Dottie, 12; Bert, four; Wilson, 15; Jacki, 12; Elaine, 14; Alice, 19; Carol, four; and Marj, four."



British imperialist troops, rushed to Georgetown, British Guiana, by warship, are shown (bottom) disembarking in move to crush elected government of the sugar colony. Gov. Sir Alfred Savage (top left) ousted prime minister Cheddi Jagan and his wife (top right) and other government officials. Sir Savage suspended the constitution. British government overthrew the Guiana government and suspended parliament with Washington's approval. London claims it was foiling a "Communist plot."

Malenkov Caught by "Scissors"

(Continued from page 1)

farm-yard fertilizer, etc., are by themselves uncontested proof that the struggle of the peasants against the state has far from ended.

The official Kremlin explanation gingerly skirts around this reaffirmation of the proprietary individualist tendencies in Soviet agriculture. III explodes the Stalinist lie of "socialism in one country." It underscores the utter bankruptcy of the Malenkov regime, that is to say of Stalinism which lives on although Stalin is dead. It underscores the complete irreconcilability between this regime and the needs and interests of the Soviet people and Soviet economy, industry and agriculture alike.

This is what the existing situation in Soviet agriculture discloses. We propose to prove this from the facts and figures

released by Malenkov-Khrushchev and Co.

Under the Stalinist rule the mass of the Soviet people have several times in the past suddenly learned that the situation in agriculture doesn't at all look the way the authorities had portrayed it the day before. Everything is turned upside down. Previous plus signs give way to minuses. New criteria are proclaimed in place of the old. An abrupt shift of policy is decreed. It is not hard to show that this has happened again.

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The people, the cities in particular, were assured growing food supplies. "Our agriculture," he said, "is becoming more and more perfected, more productive and is turning out more and more products for the market."

They are exempt from obligatory deliveries to the state. In addition, a special state fund of almost half a billion rubles has been set aside in order "to grant workers, engineers and technical personnel and other employees of the MTS loans of up to 12,000 rubles for a term of ten years, repayable beginning with the third year."

In this way, paralleling the midget households of the peasants there has now been set up a network of new individual proprietors in the countryside attached to state-owned enterprises and with privileges previously unknown. Their number is not insignificant. Inasmuch as the existing number of tractors and harvester combines is officially estimated at over a million, the drivers and their helpers, alone, counting two

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Eisenhower Scraps Fifth Amendment

When General Eisenhower on Oct. 14 issued an order prohibiting government workers from using the Fifth Amendment, he "liberated" with one stroke of the pen some 2,000,000 government employees from their Constitutional rights under this vital provision.

The federal order will now be emulated by state and municipal governments, so that before we are through, over 6,000,000 workers will be affected.

Including their families, that makes roughly 24,000,000 people in this country who will have been placed outside the protection of the Bill of Rights.

If anyone wants to argue that after all only one small right has been taken away from these workers, we say, "Don't delude yourself. If a tyrant cuts away one right, the others can go next."

Besides this is no "small" right. Not with McCarthy running wild. Any government worker who doesn't want to turn stoolie or who refuses to lay himself open to frameups is forced by this decree to "talk or else."

It therefore means heightened fear and insecurity for millions of Americans.

The Fifth Amendment plainly states that no one shall be forced to bear witness against himself. Now the witch hunters have it turned around — no one shall be allowed to use this provision without becoming a suspected, victimized and hounded outcast. Even the reactionary N. Y. *World Telegram* said Oct. 17: "One might get the impression from some Senators and Congressmen that the Commiss

Signed articles by contributors are not necessarily representative of The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

1928: James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern expelled from Communist Party Oct. 27 for supporting program of Trotsky against Stalinist degeneration. First issue of The Militant appears Nov. 15.

This gimmick of "immunity" is diabolical. It works as follows: They haul you before: McCarthyite inquisition committee. You are asked to give information as to the beliefs and political affiliations of your relatives and friends. You give that information and some McCarthyite official may fire your friends for "dangerous thoughts." Then of course you are a confessed "associate" of the victims. So you can be bounced and disgraced.

Aware of all this, you say: "I refuse to answer under the Fifth Amendment."

"Stop right there," they reply. "You can't refuse. We grant you immunity from prosecution."

But here is the trick. There is no question of "criminal prosecution" in most of these witch-hunt procedures. All they do is fire you, blacklist you, disgrace you, imply you are a spy, hound you, snop on you and your neighbors, intimidate and frighten your children. That's all. Otherwise you are as free as a bird. You're not going to be prosecuted. You're just a "poor security risk."

That's the way the witch hunt works. It cuts deeper and deeper into the whole body of basic rights the American people won in more than a century and a half of bitter struggle. When are we going to put a stop to it?

Our Stand on Trieste

What is fundamentally involved in the Trieste dispute? The 270,000 inhabitants of this 80-mile strip of land are obviously not being consulted about their fate. Historically this may not be new to Trieste which has been fought over for 20 centuries, but that doesn't make it any the less oppressive to its citizens.

Trieste was "given" to Italy after World War I by the Allied imperialists. In 1947 the Italian Peace Treaty signed by the U.S., Great Britain and the Soviet Union set up the "Free Territory of Trieste" to be governed by an international administration. After some squabbling over who should be governor, Trieste was divided into "Zone A" to be governed by a joint U.S.-British military administration and "Zone B" to be governed by Yugoslavia.

Now the U.S. and Britain have violated the treaty and handed over Zone A to Italy. Yugoslavia protested. The USSR protested. The situation became tense when the Yugoslavs threatened military action. To this the U.S. State Dept. and the British reacted with customary cynicism. They seem to feel that treaties they sign need not be honored.

To our view the participants in this power play have the following roles: The U.S. and Great Britain are trying to bolster the decrepit Italian government and give Italian imperialism a new beachhead on the Balkan coast in

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY -- WHAT IT IS, WHAT IT STANDS FOR

(The following excerpts are from the pamphlet, *The Socialist Workers Party — What It Is, What It Stands For*, by Joseph Hansen. This extremely clear and interesting explanation of the program and history of the SWP can be obtained by sending 10 cents to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, New York. — Ed.)

viction that we shall witness a third revolution in America, a revolution that will end the alien rule of the Government of Money and establish a new government of the people — a Workers and Farmers Government.

NEED FOR PARTY

History has known many revolutionary struggles that failed despite every promise of success. Failure was due to lack of a political party based on a correct program and intimately linked with the people.

Organization of such a party in time means the difference between brilliant success and catastrophe. An outstanding example of success in the struggle against capitalism was the one scored by the Bolshevik Party under Lenin and Trotsky. Failures occurred in Germany, Italy, China (1925-27), Austria and Spain.

With the failure of the revolution, reaction swept triumphantly into power in these countries. Hitler, Mussolini, Chiang-Kai-shek, Dolfuss and Franco — these dictators won out because the workers did not succeed in building a revolutionary party soon enough.

A revolutionary party trains and educates the militant rank-and-file members of the working class who have qualities of leadership. It binds them together in a cohesive body of professional working-class politicians. It multiplies their individual strength a thousandfold.

Already we see the break-up of the old political alignments and the formation of new, more radical currents, such as we saw prior to 1771 and 1860. History is repeating itself in a new setting. We have every right to the con-

tinued in theory and practice, the party keeps up with events, correctly interprets them and prepares for what is coming.

Through the party membership and the party press, the working people as a whole gain understanding of the political issues affecting their interests.

The party is the head of the working class, its eyes, its ears, its tongue, its brain and its will.

The most essential task facing the American workers today is building such a party on a mass scale.

THE SWP

The aim of the Socialist Workers Party is to become the mass party needed to build socialism in America. The harmonious combination of the American revolutionary tradition with the best of international thought distinguishes the Socialist Workers Party from all other parties. In the program of the Socialist Workers Party the American working people will find the most highly developed political thought of our times.

To this right-wing conception of the Lovestoneites the resolution counterposed the conception of American capitalism approaching catastrophic decline. It showed how economic contradictions were compelling Big Business to open an offensive against the living standards of the workers. It marked out the features of the depression already underway in 1928 and predicted that "the present economic depression must

inevitably become the forerunner of a deep-going crisis."

This remarkable forecast of the pioneer Trotskyists was swiftly confirmed. Their analysis was all the more noteworthy because it calmly rejected the noisy and aggressive capitalist propaganda about how American prosperity had refuted Marx. Wall Street's

Black Friday in October 1929, put a stop to all that nonsense.

The crisis opened a new stage in the history of the American working class. The great CIO

upsurge of the thirties followed after the first revivals of industry from total stagnation. The American working class revealed its enormous capacity for militant action. In this upsurge the Trotskyists were in the thick of their battle and demonstrated their

capacity to lead workers in struggle and become a part of the mass workers' movement.

But before the American Trotskyists could enter the broad arena of class struggle they had to pass through the most difficult test of their early history. From 1929 to 1934 the ordeal of terrible isolation from the mass of radical workers was inflicted on our pioneer movement. The radical workers and youth turned to the official Communist Party. While the capitalist world was demonstrating its bankruptcy the Soviet Union was forging ahead economically. The first Five Year Plan was introduced and showed the superiority of nationalized and planned economy over the anarchy of capitalism. The Communist Party exploited the radical moods of the workers with left phrasology. The Trotskyists, expelled and hounded by the Stalinists, seemed to be an obscure sect quibbling over some abstract theoretical differences.

These were hard years. But it was precisely during this period of Stalinist "leftism" that the American Trotskyists showed their mettle. They stuck firmly to their principled positions. Inspired by the leadership of Leon Trotsky they insistently warned that the false policies of Stalinism would lead to defeat and catastrophe. History offered tragic confirmation of the correctness of these warnings.

In the process of the struggle for program the American Trotskyists assembled a cadre that was immune to Stalinist opportunism and corruption. That is why, when the Stalinists turned the helm of their policy to Peoples Frontism, to collabora-

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Highlights of SWP's History

The SWP Alone Did Not Betray



Fourteen of the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union Local 544-CIO march in closed ranks Friday afternoon, Dec. 31, to the U.S. Marshal's office in Minn. There they were taken into custody and sent the following Monday to the Federal Penitentiary at Sandstone, Minn., to serve their prison sentences for opposing imperialist war and advocating socialism. In the lead (left to right) are Vincent R. Dunne, James P. Cannon, Oscar Coover and Carl Skoglund.

of American Trotskyism. The AWP and CLA fuse and form Workers Party. Lead National Unemployed League in struggle involving hundreds of thousands.

1936-1937: Trotskyists enter Socialist Party and merge with its left wing. Socialist Party left wing opposes treacherous policy of Social Democrats and Stalinists in struggle against Franco in Spain. Left wing likewise opposes support given by SP leaders to LaGuardia in New York. Right wing bureaucratically expels the left. Great majority of active militants and the entire youth organization (YPSL) rally to the support of expelled left wing. Stalin's monstrous frame-up trials reach their height. Through tireless efforts, American Trotskyists succeed in enlisting support of prominent educators and liberals to form John Dewey Commission to give Trotsky chance to answer Stalin's charges. Commission hearings held April 10 to 17 in Mexico. Trotsky exposes Stalin's "greatest frame-up in history." Commission publishes verdict: "Trotsky is Not Guilty." They declare: "The Moscow Trials were frame-ups." Trotskyist workers from coast to coast plunge into historic labor upsurge during rise of CIO. Fight militantly on picket lines and in sitdowns in auto, steel, rubber, textiles and other major industries.

1941: Twenty-nine leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truck Drivers Union-CIO indicted under notorious Smith "Gag" Act for opposition to capitalist war and advocacy

of socialism. First indictment under the infamous Act. Eighteen of the defendants convicted Dec. 8, 1941, same day U.S. declared war on Japan.

1941-45: SWP conducts vigorous struggle against Minneapolis Trial convictions. Socialist message against war and capitalism voiced by Trotskyist defendants in courtroom published in pamphlet form and distributed by the thousands. Eighteen sent to prison for their revolutionary socialist convictions on Dec. 31, 1943. Protest movement organized, enlisting support of organizations representing millions of American workers. SWP in the forefront of militant class actions of the American workers. The progressive left wing fights the no-strike pledge in the unions. Militant unionists and Trotskyists are fingered by Stalinist stoolies who worked with the FBI to destroy the left wing in the unions. SWP gains in members and influence because of its militant anti-war stand.

1945-47: SWP on the picket line in the post-war strike wave, the struggle against Jim Crow, the fight against American fascism. The party distinguishes itself in leading militant actions against the race-haters in the Fontana Murder Case (Calif.), the Ferguson case (New York), White City and Hickman cases (Illinois). The 1946 SWP convention adopts Theses on Coming American Revolution that forecast America going socialist in not-distant future.

1948: The first presidential election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. Farrell Dobbs candidate for President. Millions of people hear the socialist fighting program. James Kutcher, legless veteran of World War II, purged from a clerical job in the Newark Veterans Administration for his membership in Socialist

Workers Party. Kutcher launches fight to be reinstated. The Case of the Legless Veteran becomes a key test case in the fight against the witch hunt.

1950: SWP leader James P. Cannon attacked the Truman administration for plunging America into the Korean civil war. In a letter to Truman and members of congress he demanded: "Withdraw the American troops and let the Korean people alone." He scolded the capitalist rulers for their unprovoked, unauthorized assault on the Korean people: "You are a pack of scoundrels. You are traitors to the human race. I hate your rudeness and brutality. You make me ashamed of my country, which I have always loved, and ashamed of my race, which I used to think was as good as any . . . American boys are being sent 10,000 miles away to kill and be killed, not in order to liberate the Korean people, but to conquer and subjugate them. It is monstrous." The SWP is the only party in America that has persistently and unambiguously campaigned for immediate withdrawal of troops from Korea.

1952: In SWP's second presidential campaign, Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, candidates for President and Vice President, utilize nation-wide radio and TV programs to demand withdrawal of American troops from Korea, and oppose Wall Street's war drive, the McCarthyite witch hunt, Taft-Hartleyism and Jim Crow.

1953: SWP leads fight against Wall Street preparations for World War III. Party candidates conduct vigorous election campaigns in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Detroit and New York. James Kutcher publishes his autobiography, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, marking five years of his fight, and launches eleventh legal appeal.



Vincent R. Dunne, pioneer Trotskyist in the 1928 split from the Stalinized Communist Party, made American labor

Minneapolis truckdrivers strike in 1934 and in the subsequent building of famous Teamsters Local 544. He has served the cause of socialism for more than 40 years.

LEON TROTSKY

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But before the American Trotskyists could enter the broad arena of class struggle they had to pass through the most difficult test of their early history. From 1929 to 1934 the ordeal of terrible isolation from the mass of radical workers was inflicted on our pioneer movement. The radical workers and youth turned to the official Communist Party. While the capitalist world was demonstrating its bankruptcy the Soviet Union was forging ahead economically. The first Five Year Plan was introduced and showed the superiority of nationalized and planned economy over the anarchy of capitalism. The Communist Party exploited the radical moods of the workers with left phrasology. The Trotskyists, expelled and hounded by the Stalinists, seemed to be an obscure sect quibbling over some abstract theoretical differences.

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But the radicalization of the fifties will not be dominated by the Stalinists and the Social Democrats and thus suffer betrayal and defeat. The Socialist Workers Party has built for 25 years to create the nucleus of the revolutionary mass party of the American workers. In the stormy struggles ahead our program and our cadres will prove their historical validity.

The Socialist Workers Party, and only the Socialist Workers Party, has been built for the tasks that will face the workers in the coming showdown between the American working class and the capitalists. That is why the Socialist Workers Party can view the future with unshakable confidence.

LOS ANGELES Friday Night Forum presents

A Series of Lectures

(1) The Walter-McCarran Immigration Act

Speaker: Robert Morris

Chairman, Committee on Immigration and Deportation

American Civil Liberties Union

Fri., October 30, 8 P.M.

(2) Anniversary Russian Revolution

Speaker: David Dreiser

Marxist Lecturer

Fri., Nov. 6, 8 P.M.

FORUM HALL

734 South Wabash

Dancing, Entertainment, Refreshments

Questions — Discussion

Refreshments

Subscription 35 cents

CHICAGO Socialist Workers presents

Burke on Jim Crow

By Jean Blake

You'd need a strong stomach and a big shovel to dig through the mountains of ballyhoo that appeared in the press last week about the man appointed by Ohio's Gov. Frank J. Lausche to succeed the late Senator Taft.

"Never in Mayor and Senator-Designate Thomas A. Burke's nearly nine years as Cleveland's chief executive has anyone been foolhardy enough to question his personal character and integrity," was the typical comment in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

"Never a Scandal in Burke Career" and "New Senator's Character Above Reaproach" were the headlines.

We beg to disagree. Politely, of course; a politician like Burke is liable to end up in the Supreme Court or in charge of some Senate investigating committee, so we don't want to provide any grounds for "contempt" proceedings against us (technical or otherwise) if we can help it.

But we charge Mayor and Senator-Designate Burke with scandalous conduct in giving aid and comfort recently to some of Cleveland's most notorious "race-haters" and white supremacists. In a situation that bordered on violence and bloodshed, instead of taking a firm stand against a group attempting to bar a new Negro occupant from living in the Lee-Seville area of Cleveland, Mayor Burke first temporized, then advised the bigoted white residents on how to evade the law.

The incident occurred when Mr. and

A Scrubbed Brain

By Myra Tanner

A new book was published this month in a nice, shiny, red, white and blue cover. *Freedom's Faith* by Clarence B. Randall, Chairman of the Board of Inland Steel, is "A fresh survey of the intangibles which command one American's loyalty," according to the publisher's blurb on the jacket. The almighty dollar is the tangible source of Randall's "patriotism" and requires no special "survey."

Randall begins his book with the following confession: "The whole process of writing a book constitutes a mental scrubbing that is very wholesome for a man in industry." The fact that the minds of business men need a scrubbing may not be very startling to most people, but it should be explained. Randall fails to do this, so I shall come to his assistance. Men in business live on the moral code of "free enterprise" which establish self-interest, profit, individual gain as paramount. Six days a week, therefore, a business man looks after his own welfare and that of his company, as long as these don't clash.

The mental scrubbing comes in when this business man has to take time out from his care of "self" to address the public. Then he must clean himself up and think of the common good. He must try to convince everyone that while he is looking after No. 1, still — whether he likes it or not, or intends to or not — he is really serving the best interests of all. And any socialist who thinks that the welfare of humanity should come first is just "un-American."

The defense of "free enterprise" by this steel magnate offers nothing new. It's a threadbare re-hash of all the fables and

Mrs. Wendell Stewart attempted to move into their newly purchased home in an area where unsegregated Federal housing projects have been fought consistently by private real-estate interests. The Stewarts were threatened, mobs were collected and hopped up so that police protection had to be provided.

But instead of issuing a firm statement upholding the rights of the Stewarts, and taking action against those threatening force and violence, as community relations groups urged the Mayor to do, he "negotiated" with some of the ringleaders.

What's more, the "spotless" Mayor expressed sympathy for the feeling of the residents that their property values might be harmed by Negroes moving into the area. He advised them that while there was nothing they could do legally to avoid this — in view of the outlawing of race-restrictive covenants by the U.S. Supreme Court — they could form neighborhood committees and agreements among themselves to sell only to "desirable" occupants. They did.

Despite all the double-talk, this was thinly concealed aiding and abetting of the local mob in evading the law. More important — it shows where the new Senator stands on segregated housing more clearly than all his high-sounding, liberal speeches.

The lesson, for the hundred-thousand time: No confidence in capitalist politicians!

"Repressive actions of this kind against minorities and opponent political parties are intended by the ruling class as a show of strength," said comrade Lee. "History has shown that in every such case the state is caught in a vice of contradictions. The truth is that beneath the display of brutal power lies a fearful weakness."

The defense of the Stalinist leaders, whether or not you agree with their political ideas, must be seen as an application of the basic principle of defense of civil liberties. In defending the rights of these victims, we are in reality defending the rights of all individuals, political currents and the labor movement itself."

After a lively discussion the meeting passed a resolution condemning the Smith Act, calling for the defense of rights of the Stalinists and offering to join in united front activities in their behalf.

Reuben G. Soderstrom, president of the ISFL, predicted a sharp slump in employment in the next eight months unless defense production continues or a giant federal-state-local public works program is begun to provide jobs.

The Executive Board of the ISFL called the Illinois manufacturers the worst safety law-breakers in the country. The chairman of the ISFL safety committee, John Fewkes, estimated that there were 200,000 industrial accidents in Illinois in 1952.

The Convention began a drive to win workers' compensation

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THE MILITANT

Phila. SWP Defends Nine CP Victims

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 16 — The Socialist Workers Party stands unconditionally for the defense of the nine Pennsylvania Stalinists as a fundamental necessity in the fight for civil liberties. Howard Lee, speaking at the Friday Night Socialist Forum made this one of his main points.

The speaker traced the course of the prosecution of the nine from the time they were picked up in pre-dawn raids July 30 and 31 on the charge of violating the Smith Act. The case shows a few new wrinkles in the methods of the witch hunt. Once arrested, the defendants found themselves in a maze. Their bails were set at the impossible sums of \$25,000 to \$75,000 each, and were dropped only after long, tedious appeals.

The chairman of their bail committee found himself under Senate Subcommittee investigation. The victims could not find a lawyer to take their case, since he ran the danger of being blackballed. After a two-month search proved fruitless, the Bar Association had to supply one. Newspapers and commentators act as if the nine were already condemned. They face trial with every card stacked against them.

"Repressive actions of this kind against minorities and opponent political parties are intended by the ruling class as a show of strength," said comrade Lee. "History has shown that in every such case the state is caught in a vice of contradictions. The truth is that beneath the display of brutal power lies a fearful weakness."

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