

THE MILITANT

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How We Began And Where We Are Going

By James P. Cannon

(The following address by James P. Cannon, founder of the Socialist Workers Party and editor of The Militant when it published its first issue 25 years ago on Nov. 15, 1928, was delivered at the New York meeting on Oct. 30 to celebrate a quarter-century of American Trotskyism. Comrade Cannon was greeted with a rising ovation. This is a transcription from a tape recording.)

The first speech I made for the program of Trotsky was at a meeting just about this size 25 years ago this week — it was a joint meeting of the Central Executive Committee, Control Commission, the functionaries and goon squads of the Communist Party. They rose up too (laughter), but not in so friendly a manner as you did tonight, when I hurled into their face, for the first time, the announcement that the banner of struggle against Stalinist revisionism and degeneration was going to be raised in this country and fought for.

That is symbolic of the character of our party — not as a critical propaganda circle of wise-acres, but as a part of the working class, participating in the fights of the workers and trying to rouse them to action in their own interests, even when they as yet fear to speak, and some of them even fear to listen.

The party throughout the country is proud of Local New York for this great campaign, by far the best, the most militant, the most genuinely Trotskyist campaign we have ever conducted. For that the whole party gives its thanks to our candidates, David Weiss and Cathy Gratta and Joyce Cowley, and to all the rest of you who helped to make the campaign possible, helped to contribute one more great action, to stamp on the minds of hundreds of thousands of workers the fact that there is one party, even in the midst of all the reaction and the witch hunt and the indifference, that is not afraid to tell the truth, and tells it, straight.

But first I want to tell you it's a great joy and satisfaction to be here with you tonight, to join in the celebration of our 25th anniversary. And it's especially satisfying that the celebration of our glorious anniversary is held in connection with an election campaign meeting, that it is linked to an action in the class

Imprisoned and Slandered

I don't think I need to tell you that I'm strongly in favor of these candidates. I am. I gravely regret, however, that I can't vote for you, Cathy, and Joyce, and David, because they took my vote away from me. That's one of the things I'm sore about. During the Second World War, I suppose most of you know, they put me and 17 other comrades in prison, because we were opposed to the war and we said so — out loud.

But they weren't satisfied just to put us in prison. They slandered us, accused us of disloyalty to our country. And I resented that. Because I love this country and I'm loyal to it. All I want to do is to get it back into the hands of the people who made it, and take it away from the 60 families and the other grafters and hangers-on who've stolen this country from the people who made it. I consider our whole work of organizing this party, which is going to organize the masses in struggle for a revolution, as nothing more nor less than an operation for the recovery of stolen property. There's nothing disloyal about that. The accusation is a slander (Applause).

All this talk of disloyalty is a slander added to the indignity of depriving us of our liberty, which was an injustice. And then on top of that, because we had become convicts, they took our vote away from us. That's when I really got mad. They said that since we belonged to the Socialist Workers Party, we had to go to prison. And then because we had been in prison, we couldn't vote for the party we belonged to. They got us on a run-around there, and I'll never be reconciled until we get our vote back, and get our country back, and either tear

(Continued on page 3)

Our Founding Editor



JAMES P. CANNON

Elections Show Shift Away from GOP

By George Breitman

Political currents in this country definitely have shifted since the Republican sweep in 1952. The upset election of a Democratic Congressman in a normally Republican Wisconsin farm district last month was confirmed by the Nov. 3 elections as the beginning of a trend toward the Democrats. This trend points to the strong possibility that the Democrats may recover control of both houses of Congress in the 1954 elections.

In industrial New Jersey, a traditional Republican stronghold in non-presidential years, a liberal Democrat, Robert Meyer, won the governor's seat by a landslide over Republican Paul Troast. The GOP accepted the backing of the Hague machine in Jersey City, and resorted to red baiting against Americans for Democratic Action, which backed Meyer. The Republicans also got an endorsement of Troast from Eisenhower. But that didn't stop the Democrats from winning their first gubernatorial election in the state since 1940.

Eisenhower also endorsed the GOP candidate for Congress from the 6th District in N. J. This seat, which the Republicans won by a 54,000 margin last year, has never been held by a Democrat. But a little-known Democrat won on Nov. 3.

MARCANTONIO QUILTS ALP

As was expected in New York City, Robert Wagner, the Tammany-New Deal candidate running with the support of most of the labor leaders, didn't have much trouble getting elected mayor. Rudolph Halley of the Liberal Party ran third, behind the Republicans. Halley's candidacy looked formidable only three months ago, when it seemed the conservative Impellitieri would be his Democratic opponent. But it wilted when he ran against a New Dealer like himself and when he failed to gain any labor support outside of the AFL garment workers.

Clifford McAvoy of the American Labor Party, who got 104,000 votes in the contest for City Council President two years ago, ran fourth with only 54,000 votes. Thereupon, former Representative Vito Marcantonio resigned as

ALP state chairman and quit the party. He said it would become more "a mimeograph machine rather than a political party."

But outside of New York City there were numerous surprises in municipal contests. In Buffalo, the Democrats won the post of mayor and control of the City Council, ending eight years of Republican rule. In New Haven, Democratic mayor took over for the first time in eight years. In Columbus, a Democrat upset all predictions by winning the office of mayor — the first time in 18 years the GOP lost it.

In Akron, O., a Democrat became mayor for the first time in ten years.

In Cleveland, O., a Democrat won in the race for mayor, replacing another Democrat, Thomas Burke, who was appointed to the U.S. Senate. But this too was regarded as an upset because the successful candidate ran without the support of a large part of the regular Democratic machine, and a GOP victory had been expected.

GILT BEGINNING TO PEEL

Naturally, the Republicans made some gains in municipal

contests too, but theirs were fewer and less important than those chalked up by the Democrats. Viewed as a whole, the trend was away from the Republicans in both the East and Midwest. A special election on Nov. 10 to fill a congressional seat formerly held by a Republican in California also has the GOP high command worried.

It is only one year since Eisenhower was elected, and the gilt is beginning to crack and peel on the Eisenhower myth. In September the Gallup poll reported that 75% of the people queried thought Eisenhower was doing a good job as President (this is not the same thing as saying that they would vote for him). But just one month later, on the eve of the Nov. 3 election, the same poll reported a drop to 65% in his popularity — the lowest point it has reached since he took office.

OTHER CONSEQUENCES

This indicates that falling farm prices, cuts in overtime work and the beginning of layoffs in the plants are proving more potent than the artificial glamor which the political ad-men and ballyhoo-artists built around the general

Eisenhower staked his prestige in the Nov. 3 elections by calling for the victory of all the Republican candidates, but it didn't do his party or himself any good.

The Democrats, of course, are the first ones to benefit from the decline in Republican strength. But the failure of the GOP to consolidate and hold onto the positions won last year will have other and more far-reaching consequences: It will counteract some of the moods of pessimism and conservatism created among the workers after Eisenhower's election, and will encourage workers to engage in more militant strike and political actions. And that's what's needed to hasten the day when the labor movement will break with the capitalist politicians who control the Democratic Party and form an independent labor party to fight in the true interests of the working people.

Secretary of Agriculture Benson has set 42 2/3 cents an hour as the "fair and reasonable" minimum wage to be paid Louisiana sugar cane workers. This was in addition to transportation costs since the pair got free rides from the Military Air Transport Service.

At the heart of the insoluble problem of the profit system — as The Militant has analyzed it for 25 years — is the tremendous accumulation of idle capital that Big Business cannot convert into "useful" — that is, profitable — capital investments. American capitalism is being literally choked by a titanic total of \$88-billion of working capital that cannot "find a home," unless it be in other lands. That is the cancerous source of war and depression that fatally afflicts American imperialism.

Capitalism cannot be cured. American workers must build a whole new system of their own. They must build a party of their own and a government of their own to establish the new social order that history sets as our generation's supreme task.

Sen. McCarthy's investigators, Cohn and Schine, each drew \$74 a day for their junket around Europe last spring investigating "subversion" and waste. This was in addition to transportation costs since the pair got free rides from the Military Air Transport Service.

Spirited Rally Climaxes SWP Campaign in N.Y.

NEW YORK, Oct. 30 — One of its most spirited and best-attended rallies in years was held here tonight by the Socialist Workers Party in celebration of its 25th Anniversary and the wind-up of the party's city election campaign.

The rally responded enthusiastically to the words of David L. Weiss, candidate for mayor, Joyce Cowley, candidate for comptroller, and Catherine Gratta, candidate for President of the City Council, who ably chaired the meeting.

James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the SWP and its founder, was the principal speaker.

Discussing the accomplishments of the party's election campaign, Weiss said that "during this campaign we spoke on radio and TV to hundreds of thousands of people. I am convinced that hundreds of them were won toward our ideas. I am equally convinced that many more times that number will be won tomorrow."

Pointing to the low registration, Joyce Cowley said, "This expresses the widespread belief that none of the major parties are concerned with or will do anything about the problems of the workers. It was a privilege for me to express the ideas of our party in this campaign. It was an opportunity to express the feelings of the workers who today remain silent. Tomorrow that silence will turn into a mighty roar of protest."

The entire audience arose in a spontaneous ovation as Catherine Gratta introduced James P. Cannon, "the man without whom the 25-year history of American Trotskyism truly could not have been written." (The full text of his stirring address begins in an adjacent column.)

NEW FRIENDS ATTEND

Along with the many active party members and sympathizers who attended, scores of new friends participated who were brought by shopmates or fellow-students or were attracted by radio announcements.

The spirit of the meeting was eloquently expressed by the generous response to Catherine Gratta's appeal for funds to aid the SWP activities. \$144 was collected.

The rally opened with splendid renditions of American labor and folk songs and Spanish Civil War songs by Timoteo, talented young guitarist and singer.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the participants gathered



Only Labor Can Avert Disaster

By Art Freis

American capitalism is heading for depression and war. The private profits system holds out no hope for economic security and peace. The organized working class, by taking the fate of this country into its own hands, alone is capable of averting catastrophe.

This is the prospect we see ahead as The Militant enters the second quarter-century of its publication. As in our first issue of Nov. 15, 1928, when we warned American labor of the depression and second world war that lay ahead, so in this issue marking our 25th anniversary we tell American labor: There is no hope under capitalism.

Socialism alone can guarantee the peace, plenty and security we seek. The means of production and distribution must belong to the people as a whole. They must be operated under the control of the workers, with national planning and without profits.

The armaments expenditures are continuing. The U.S. armed forces in Korea, Japan, West Germany — half the countries of the globe, in fact — are being maintained and expanded. Government expenditures remain close to their all-time "peacetime" high. Yet, even the Korean War level of government spending is not enough to keep the American capitalist economy from showing serious symptoms of decline.

War spending and the speedier approach of H-Bomb annihilation are all that the Big Business leaders and their political agents offer as the means to keep the shaky economic structure from speedy collapse.

They are the people who got subscriptions in house-to-house campaigns, in the factories, in the unions and sold the paper on the streets.

They are the people who, especially in the early years, hocked their valuable possessions and went without eating to save the paper and pay the printer.

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Our Militant Paper Alone Has Told the Truth

By Murry Weiss

The members of The Militant staff have for some time been preparing for this 25th birthday of our paper, which coincides with the 25th anniversary of the Socialist Workers Party. Part of the preparation was to look through the files of The Militant. What an experience! Through these years The Militant has become a rich, storehouse of Marxist treasure. The keenest revolutionary thinkers of the international workers movement provide some of their most lucid contributions to socialist thought in our pages. Leon Trotsky, for example, was a regular contributor from the period of his exile from the Soviet Union, (1928) to the day of his assassination by the Stalinists in Mexico on Aug. 21, 1940.

Students of Marxism will undoubtedly assemble all of Trotsky's writings for The Militant and publish them in more accessible book form. The Militant files also contain a comprehensive record of international working class struggles, particularly the great theoretical and political disputes in the workers' vanguard. This record likewise constitutes an invaluable tool for Marxist scholars.

While searching through The Militant files we became determined to bring to our readers some of these treasures of Marxism during the coming period. In these lines, however, we can deal only with some of the basic conceptions and principles that were formulated in the founding years of our paper and have remained our guiding principles to this day.

STALINIST REVISIONISM

Volume 1, Number 1 of The Militant on Nov. 15, 1928, published the first installment of Leon Trotsky's fundamental work, "The Draft Program of the Comintern, A Criticism of Fundamentals." In this work, Trotsky demolishes the revisionist theory of establishing socialism in one backward country, a theory which means in effect abandoning the international revolution. He establishes that this reactionary, nationalist bureaucratic theory is a break from the whole theoretical tradition of Marx and Lenin.

Stalinism, like all revisionism, attacked the foundations of Marxist theory — in the name of Marx and Lenin! In this way it covered itself in the eyes of the workers with the authority of these revolutionary thinkers. Therefore, it was imperative that this fraud be exposed.

Trotsky showed how this theoretical departure from Marxism-Leninism could be the source of future betrayals of the working class and would lead inevitably to the degeneration of the Communist International. In a chapter entitled, "The Theory of Socialism in One Country as a Source of Inevitable Social



These are some typical headlines in The Militant during the late twenties and the thirties. At the bottom is the historic first issue of Nov. 15, 1928, with its declaration, "For the Russian Opposition!" The Opposition was the militant workers in the Soviet Union who, under Leon Trotsky's leadership, fought

the Stalin degeneration. Other headlines tell of the great strike victory of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544 in 1934, the Trotskyist campaign calling for a working-class united front against Hitler, and Roosevelt's moves toward dictatorial power before World War II.

OUR MARXIST ANSWER

The Militant of Feb. 15, 1931 gives a Marxist answer to this ultra-left phrase mongering of the Stalinists:

"The crisis still continues in its downward sweep... But to present this as the final crisis of American capitalism would be false. It is still the world dominant power within a declining capitalist imperialism."

Showing how the economic crisis, which put millions of workers on the breadlines, has become a social crisis of world capitalism the Militant made a realistic appraisal of the situation:

"There is not a 'widespread workers' radicalization,' nor a 'revolutionary upsurge of the American masses' at the present time. To proceed from such a fictitious analysis can lead only to fundamentally false conclusions and isolation... But the situation is full of promising potentialities for a rise in the labor movement, for its entering into a more active resistance and struggle for its needs."

This forecast of the coming awakening of the labor movement from its state of shocked helplessness in the depression to a new militant upsurge was constantly hammered at in the early years of The Militant.

The platform of the Communist Opposition (Trotskyists), published on Feb. 15, 1929, says:

"The main reservoir of labor militancy is the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the unorganized basic industries... The party must turn its face to these unorganized masses, put itself at the head of their struggles and lead in the work of organizing them into new industrial unions... In this protracted struggle on all fronts extending over a period of years the decisive break of the workers with the ideology of capitalism will be effected and the genuine class movement of the workers will be built."

These were the two points that the Trotskyists fought for from

1929 for the overthrow of the government, the Fish Committee was in reality an expedient to distract attention from the misery of the unemployment crisis... It is imperative to arouse the widest possible movement against this Fish Committee... Elihu Root has already advanced the idea of creating a special secret federal police... to spy more effectively over the revolutionary workers... the coming storm and stress period in the class struggle will mark more and more vicious attempts to place heavier shackles on the labor movement. The Department of Justice will be more extensively subsidized and its stool-pigeon activities re-enforced.

The industrial espionage system will be intensified... The criminal syndicalism and sedition laws of the various states will be brought into more frequent play." With the approach of World War II, the Federal Smith "Gag" Act supplanted the repressive state laws. It was used for the first time in 1940 to prosecute 18 Trotskyist and union leaders of Minneapolis and to jail them for their opposition to capitalist war.

As we embark on the second 25 years of our fight for socialism The Militant will rally the working-class youth of the generation to the revolutionary banner. The youth of today are looking for a revolutionary philosophy and program.

They are disgusted and repelled by the decay of the capitalist world which can offer them no better future than atomic war and depression. Our paper and the Socialist Workers Party will find a road to the worker and student youth with the socialist message of hope and struggle.

damning proofs of the treacherous character of their party.

The Trotskyist movement is a revolutionary movement. Therefore it has always been a movement of youth. On June 1, 1929, the Militant published the first letter from Leon Trotsky on "Tasks of the American Opposition." In this letter, he said:

"Every member of the Opposition organization should be obliged to have under his guidance several young workers, boys from 14 to 15 up, to remain in continual contact with them, help them in their self-education, train them in the questions of scientific socialism, and systematically introduce them to the revolutionary politics of the proletarian vanguard... Those who are afraid of rough work we don't want. The calling of a revolutionary Bolshevik imposes obligations. The first of these obligations is to struggle for the proletarian youth, to clear a road to its most oppressed and neglected strata. They stand first under our banner."

With the approach of World War II, the Federal Smith "Gag" Act supplanted the repressive state laws. It was used for the first time in 1940 to prosecute 18 Trotskyist and union leaders of Minneapolis and to jail them for their opposition to capitalist war.

The Militant has waged a struggle for the defense of all victims of the witch-hunt persecution down through the years. From the struggle for the release of Mooney and Billings to the defense today of the Stalinist victims of the Smith Act trials, the Militant has fought for the basic principle of working-class solidarity in defense of civil liberties.

The fact that the Stalinists systematically violate this principle, as they did in the Minneapolis trials, is one of the most

THE MILITANT ARMY

Chicago Militant salesmen are warming up for the 25th Anniversary Militant Mobilizations to begin Nov. 8.

Literature Agent Alice Wiley reports sales of 77 papers in the past week. "We feel we are making a good beginning for the national campaign," she writes. "This week Bert, Mari and Jacki sold 14 Militants at an NAACP membership rally.

"Benny sold five copies at the University of Chicago. Elaine sold 18 copies at the CIO-PAC rally. And 25 copies were sold on one of the newsstands. In our work on the South Side semi-slum area we sold 20 Militants, and one sub was sold.

"Comrades Dot, Mari, Bert, Alice, Dot, Benny, Bernie, Jacki and Elaine participate in this door to door work each Saturday afternoon. The Chicago slums, what do about them?" and our program is our major talking point. We find this an excellent project which will eventually pay off in new recruits to socialist work."

"At many of these meetings the appearance of The Militant evoked a sympathetic response. Many workers who have never heard of The Militant before have become acquainted with it as a result of its widespread distribution, sales, and constant reference to it by our candidates over radio and TV. The Militant has become synonymous in the minds of hundreds of workers with a fighting party and a socialist program.

"Here is the week's roundup: Oct. 27, 800 papers were distributed at an ALP rally by Johnny T., Johnny A., Manny and Mery. Oct. 28, a distribution by three comrades at a CIO rally for Wagner. Oct. 30, at an extremely well attended and highly enthusiastic combination rally of the Socialist Workers Party, celebrating the windup of its local election campaign and the 25th anniversary of the party, 60 copies of The Militant were sold.

"Nov. 1, Pauline and Berta sold 10 copies at an election forum held by the Community Church. Here, as at previous meetings, The Militant was recognized by those attending the forum. On Oct. 30, David L. Weiss, appearing on Barry Gray's television show, had a chance to show the front page of the latest issue of the paper to the television audience. Once again this served as an indelible reminder that The Militant is a newspaper fighting for workers' demands and fearlessly expressing the truth."

Minneapolis writes to increase their Militant bundle order in preparation for Anniversary sales. Literature Agent Helen Sherman writes, "This is a starter. We hope to increase it still more. Look for another extra order for the Militant Anniversary issue when the time approaches."

"The new sub sent in from the office last week was obtained by Millie from one of her regular customers at the Labor Temple. Consistent sales in front of a union hall make new readers for The Militant and new friends for socialism. Over a period of time, here in Minneapolis, Millie has made this record. She also brought in one of the enclosed renewals. The one-year renewal comes from a militant convinced socialist who lives out of town." Helen reports good sales also of Fourth International, theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism.

Congratulations go to the com-

CHICAGO

Thanksgiving Civil Rights Banquet

Speaker: M. Marten

Turkey Dinner with all the trimmings \$1.25

HA 7-9403 Nov. 21

rades in Flint who sent in 16 Militant subs in the past two weeks. This response indicates good possibilities for the coming Militant mobilizations.

New York wound up its Militant sales and distributions in connection with the local election campaign this week. Literature Agent Murray Forbes reports that over 1,200 copies of the election campaign issue of The Militant were distributed to workers at street meetings, forums, and rallies this past week. He writes:

"At many of these meetings the appearance of The Militant evoked a sympathetic response. Many workers who have never heard of The Militant before have become acquainted with it as a result of its widespread distribution, sales, and constant reference to it by our candidates over radio and TV. The Militant has become synonymous in the minds of hundreds of workers with a fighting party and a socialist program.

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PHILADELPHIA

Fri. Night Forum

presents a talk on

The Crisis in

British Guiana

Speaker:

George Lavan

Militant Staff Writer

Fri. Nov. 13, 8:30 P.M.

Militant Labor Hall

1303 West Girard Avenue

Questions, Discussion

— Admission Free —

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The first issue of the Militant after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, declared: "Defend the Soviet Union!" It called for a revolutionary workers' defense of the nationalized property in the Soviet Union against Nazi capital-

ism. Other headlines tell of the Socialist Workers Party's fight against fascism in America, leading a series of huge demonstrations against native fascists, like Father Coughlin's Christian Front, from New York to Los Angeles in 1939.

How Socialist Workers Party Began and Where It Is Going

(Continued from page 1)
tinuity, and by that same token is connected in its actions with all the actions and efforts of all the working class of all countries of the world for 105 years; and all their experiences, all their victories and defeats, are assimilated and generalized into the program of the party today, and are a part of our strength and our confidence.

More specifically, in this country, the Socialist Workers Party goes back to all the great struggles and movements of the past, of the American working class, and represents their tradition too. So we speak here not only for ourselves. We speak for all those who went before us and broke the trails for us, and whose banner we carry, and whose cause we represent.

We are the direct descendants and the sole heirs of the Haymarket martyrs of 1886, the pioneer fighters for the eight-hour day, to whom every union man who enjoys a shorter workday and union conditions today, whether he knows about it or not, whether he ever heard their names or not, owes a debt of gratitude that some day will be recognized. We go back to the old Socialist Party of the time of Debs, which roused a whole

generation to an elementary understanding of the class struggle, and to the movement which they created, which made it possible for us to build on, and to be here today. We are the direct descendants and heirs of the old IWW, the heroic IWW of Bill Haywood and Vincent St. John and Frank Little.

And we are also the heirs and the sole continuators of the early Communist Party in this country, which was founded in 1919. It grew up out of the left wing of the Socialist Party which had fought the struggle against the first imperialist war, and out of a section of the IWW which had suffered persecution of all kinds in its strikes and battles during the war and the pre-war period.

That whole movement of left-wing radicalism of the American workers which was unified and given a sharpened program by the great Russian Revolution of 1917, was all brought together and concentrated in the Communist Party as it was launched in 1919. That's where we come from. We come from the party that took shape in the fight against the first imperialist war, out of the cadres of American radical workers who first responded to the great Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky.

The Origin of Our Party

The Socialist Workers Party is the heir of all of that. And we can say proudly that in its 25 years it has represented it honorably and creditably. In addition to all that has gone before us, on which we built, and which is part of our strength and our confidence, we have made our own contribution in 25 years of battle.

We date the origin of our party to 25 years ago, because it was at that point when it seemed, for a time, that the chain of continuity of the revolutionary movement and of revolutionary thought and revolutionary program was almost broken. Under the impact of world events, the reaction that set in after the first revolutionary post-war wave, the old program of Lenin, was revised and discarded by the usurping clique of Stalin that had gained power in the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party in this country had been softened up by the long prosperity, the long period of hopes deferred. Its leadership had turned conservative and Stalinized — and it seemed for a moment that continuous line of revolutionary activity according to the program of Marxism was suddenly about to break. But not everybody gave up. Not everybody capitulated. Those who resisted the degeneration in this country found inspiration and guidance from the writings of Trotsky in far-away Russia. Trotsky was conducting the great heroic fight against the degeneration, against the revision and discarding of the program. And we who heard his voice, who had the opportunity, after many years of suppression, to get hold of his writings, revolted against the Stalinist degeneration of the Comintern and of the Communist Party in this country. We raised the banner of Trotsky on October 27, 1928.

That's why we trace the origin of our party, the origin of the SWP as a distinct party, of our own making and our own building, to that day, 25 years ago this week, when a small group in the Communist Party raised the banner of Trotsky and his program. They expelled us for that, and we struck out on a new road, to build a new party, to replace the one that has been corrupted and degenerated, to build a new party on the old program.

The issues that were raised that day, at that meeting, have been put to the test of 25 years — and surely, those have been the biggest and the most eventful years in all history. I think no one can deny tonight that the test has shown who was right and who was wrong. You have it vividly illustrated at this very meeting in the speech of David Weiss, recounting the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party against the whole capitalist war set-up and its scathing denunciation of the campaign program of the miserable Communist Party, wiping the spit of Wagner off their faces and still saying "vote for Wagner."

In that alone is strikingly illustrated the verdict on the dispute that was raised in the meeting 25 years ago — who would be revolutionary and who would capitulate. And by showing who was right, and who was wrong, the events of the last 25 years have shown to whom the future belongs. The future belongs to those who link themselves with the progressive course of the historic process and help it along. The future belongs to those who stand firmly by the program.

That wasn't so clear to many people in October 1928. Now, if some comrades, feeling the weight of the long war-boom and the conservatizing effect of it on the working class, and on the labor

market boom of the twenties, with

movement, and the accumulated effects of the reaction and the witch hunt — if they find that it is not so easy to stand firm for revolutionary principles and to be active and aggressive for them — if you think it's difficult now, I can tell you there have been harder times.

There have been harder times to be a revolutionary socialist, and October 1928 was one such time. The situation then was somewhat different from now. Certainly the prospects for socialism didn't look very promising to anybody. And many got discouraged and lost all perspective of the future. The reason was they saw things from too close a view — what was before their eyes — and did not see them in process, with a historical perspective and a Marxist analysis.

Why, in 1928, don't you know?

— there were people who thought that the boom was going to last forever! The world situation seemed to have turned definitively to the stabilization of capitalism. The great promise that had been raised by the Russian Revolution of 1917, which carried with it a great revolutionary wave across Europe for five years, had finally subsided. The Russian Revolution survived, but it was isolated in a capitalist world. The German revolution, which had been counted upon as the great reinforcement, which would seal the doom of capitalism all over Europe, was sure that what was going on then would go on forever. And virtually all the leaders of the Communist Party eventually got reconciled to the idea that the Marxist prognosis of contradictions of capitalism leading to crisis and revolution were no longer operating in this country, that the "old books" didn't have the answer any more.

How the CP Was Softened Up

The Stalinist gang in the Soviet Union, limited and narrow in their outlook, concerned only with their own privileges, abandoned all hope of the international revolution. They began to think only in national terms and evolved a new "theory," revising Marx and Lenin and their theory of the international revolution developing in stages from one country to another until it engulfed the world and transformed the world. They evolved the monstrous conception of "socialism in one country," by which they really meant — revisionists never tell the truth, they never say what they really mean, they always speak in doublespeak — what they really meant was: no revolution outside of Russia.

One revolution is enough, they thought; let us try to save what we have here, come to terms with the capitalists for the status quo in the rest of the world, and transform the communist parties from revolutionary organizations aiming to lead the masses in revolution into miserable pressure groups in the service of Soviet diplomacy. That was the program foisted, step by step, upon the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by the Stalinists in the period of reaction in the twenties. This monstrous revisionism and betrayal — revisionism has always been the prelude to a bust and a crisis. And that this crisis would shake U.S. capitalism to its foundations and that out of that crisis and the misery and oppression and horrors that would follow would come a new working class. And a new labor movement and the conditions for building a revolutionary party.

And we said about the Soviet Union and the Stalin program, in our first number of *The Militant*, comrades, in the very first issue of our *Militant* published a few days after we were expelled from the Communist Party, we printed an assertion that the boom which had everybody fascinated, already showed signs of cracking and was heading for a bust and a crisis. And that this crisis would shake U.S. capitalism to its foundations and that out of that crisis and the misery and oppression and horrors that would follow would come a new working class. And a new labor movement and the conditions for building a revolutionary party.

And we said that the issue would not be decided by the vote at the meeting where we made our declaration and were expelled from the Communist Party. We said we would support the program of international revolution as advanced by Trotsky, and on that rock we would build a new party in this country. That's what we started out to do 25 years ago.

I'll admit now what I wouldn't

victory as Lenin's party did in Russia.

And on the basis of that terrible defeat, capitalism got re-established in Europe. Reaction set in. In one country after another, the labor movement, the communist movement was pushed backward. And in America, the great boom of the twenties was roaring along at such an unprecedented rate that almost everybody began to believe — it's hard for you to realize it now, perhaps, or to recall it, after the experiences later — but almost everybody believed, including the capitalists themselves! — they thought that out of their own thick heads they had found the solution of the contradictions of capitalism. And the economists in the colleges were writing, writing, writing: "Marx has been refuted! American capitalist geniuses has solved the problem!"

And Social-Democrats from Germany sent delegations over here to study the workings of American capitalism, so that they could go back home and tell their own capitalists: Why don't you like that and solve the problem and then we won't need a revolution or anything like that! And every labor faker in the country was sure that what was going on then would go on forever. And virtually all the leaders of the Communist Party eventually got reconciled to the idea that the Marxist prognosis of contradictions of capitalism leading to crisis and revolution were no longer operating in this country, that the "old books" didn't have the answer any more.

Workers Of America! You Must Take Power Into Your Own Hands!

LEON TROTSKY MEMORIAL ISSUE

VOL. IX—No. 33

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1945

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

THE MILITANT

THERE IS NO PEACE!

Only World Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic Destruction In Another Imperialist War

Workers Of America! You Must Take Power Into Your Own Hands!

MANIFESTO

of the
National Committee
of the
Socialist Workers Party

WORKERS, FARMERS — TOILERS OF AMERICA!
The second imperialist world war has ended. Six years of wholesale slaughter and devastation have been brought to an awful climax with the discovery of the atomic bomb and its use, with frightful effect, against the people of Japan.

The use of bombs has ceased, but now must continue, to prevent the next war. The pain and suffering, which the war has caused, people in every land are celebrating the end of the carnage, not so much with joy as with a sense of relief that the world has been spared another moment of fear.

Over their celebrations, like a lowering cloud, hangs a grim foreboding of things yet to come. Here in America, the capitalist press has been shouting the nuclear arms race, and for underground war by the peoples of Europe and Asia, joy that the war has ended is also tinged with dread for the future.

Revolutions and Anxiety.

The atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a compact population of 600,000 men, women and children, sent a wave of revulsion and anxiety throughout the world, especially among the toiling populations who are the principal victims of war. It is universally realized that the atomic bomb was invented to end World War II only because the atomic bomb was invented so late. There is also the conviction, amonging certainty, that another world war is inevitable.

Hated of imperialist war, and fear of what the future holds, it drives the workers to revolutionary political consciousness, to present at all costs — they want to side-track the workers from the struggle to end the capitalist system and establish socialism, which is the only sure guarantee of peace.

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THE ONLY VICTOR



and that any nation could learn the secret in about five years of experimentation, assuming it had access to the necessary materials.

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There is a way — THE WAY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

No Time to Love!

DOPE LIFE

"There Is No Peace." We pointed out on Aug. 18, 1945, that a new and more horrible world war was in the making unless the workers take power and establish socialism.

admit then, that it was not easy at the start. The Stalinists gave us a rough time. We were only a handful of people. They expelled us. They broke up our meetings. When we tried to hold a meeting they brought in a mob and broke up meeting after meeting, and beat up all the Trotskyists. Beat us up on the streets. Bullygized our houses. In the same *Daily Worker* that is today boosting Wagner, the Democrat, for Mayor, they slandered us every day as "agents of American imperialism" and "counter-revolutionaries."

But we didn't agree. A few of us didn't agree. A few of us had read "the books." And from the books we derived a theory and a conviction that what was before our eyes was only temporary and superficial. We held on to the old theory that the contradictions of capitalism would explode and upset it and create the conditions for revolution.

In the very first issue of *The Militant*, comrades, in the very first issue of our *Militant*, published a few days after we were expelled from the Communist Party, we printed an assertion that the boom which had everybody fascinated, already showed signs of cracking and was heading for a bust and a crisis. And that this crisis would shake U.S. capitalism to its foundations and that out of that crisis and the misery and oppression and horrors that would follow would come a new working class. And a new labor movement and the conditions for building a revolutionary party.

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I'll admit now what I wouldn't

contact with Trotsky and had him and his advice and his thinking all the time.

And we still have Trotsky,

despite the fact that the Stalinists finally assassinated him.

The greatest political thinker, the most

genius-man of modern times —

they finally assassinated him in 1940. But we still have Trotsky's writings as our guide.

And we are convinced by all

the evidence that the whole course

of world development in the last

25 years has confirmed Trotsky's analysis.

The stabilization of

capitalism in 1928, which

was supposed to last indefinitely,

lasted only one more year.

Just one year and 2 days

after I made my speech in that

Stalinist Central Committee meet-

ing, and told them that this

boom would not last and would

run into a crisis which could

change the whole thing and open

up the perspectives of the revolu-

tionary party — just one year and

two days after we were ex-

pelled and organized the original

nucleus of the SWP, the great

boom blew up.

On October 29, 1929, the stock

market crash sent its rever-

berations throughout the world,

and capitalism began to writhe

in its death agony of crisis and war

and revolution from which it can

never be extricated.

We were confident of that when we started off on the

second 25 years of our struggle

upon which we have built our party —

the program derived from the

basic doctrine of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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As we start off on the

second 25 years of our struggle

By Albert Parker

The trade union bureaucrats, like the bureaucrats of false Communism, live in the atmosphere of aristocratic prejudices of the upper strata of the workers. It will be a tragedy if the Oppositionists are infected even in the slightest degree with these qualities. We must not only reject and condemn these prejudices; we must burn them out of our consciousness to the last trace. We must find the road to the most deprived, to the darkest strata of the proletariat, beginning with the Negro, whom capitalist society has converted into a pariah, and who must learn to see in us his revolutionary brothers. And this depends wholly upon our energy and devotion to the work."

This quotation is from a letter to *The Militant* by Leon Trotsky, printed May 1, 1929 — the first letter the exiled Soviet leader was able to send this paper, in which he outlined his opinions on the tasks facing American Marxists. Trotsky's attitude of uncompromising struggle against Jim Crow in every form was shared by *The Militant* from the beginning, and has characterized it throughout its 25-year history.

Every important battle in defense of Negro rights in this quarter-century has been reported and supported in this paper, every attack on Negroes and the fight for equality has been exposed and opposed vigorously. The Scottsboro frameup of 22 years ago is one example; EVERY important development of that historic case is recorded in the pages of *The Militant*.

We emphasize the word "EVERY" because that is one of the things that distinguished our coverage of the Scottsboro case from that of the *Daily Worker*. When the Scottsboro Defense Committee made a dirty and unprincipled deal with the Alabama authorities in the mid-1930's, agreeing to have some of the defendants plead guilty in return for letting others go free, our paper exposed the deal and called on the people to repudiate it.

The *Daily Worker*, being implicated in that deal, denied that it ever had been made and denounced us as "disrupters." But the truth came out into the open two years ago when the chairman of the Scottsboro committee admitted that our charges were correct, and that the Communist Party had approved the deal with the Jim Crow authorities.

But it was not until World War II that *The Militant* became widely known as the most reliable champion of the fight against Jim Crow. The big issues in the struggle before Pearl Harbor were segregation in the armed forces and barriers against employment in the plants, and thousands of workers were first educated and involved in the fight against these evils through this paper.

The Militant, to take one example out of many, was the only paper, outside of the Negro press, to report the facts in the case of the U.S.S. Philadelphia, where 15 Negro sailors were court-martialed in 1940 because they dared to sign a letter protesting segregation and abuse as mess-attendants. It was the only paper to organize a campaign of defense of the Negro sailors in the first open struggle against segregation in World War II.

The Militant was also in the forefront of the fight to win jobs for Negroes in the war industries. Its support of the Negro March on Washington Movement, before anyone had ever coined the expression FEPC, was one of its proudest achievements. While many Negro papers tried to duck the issue and omitted all news about the MOWM, this paper gave it the most

publicity and support — more than it received from any other paper in the country, white or Negro — and hundreds of its readers became active participants and local leaders in the fight that forced Roosevelt to create the wartime FEPC.

The Militant's reputation in the Negro community rose by leaps and bounds with every month of the war because everyone could see that there was no more fearless opponent of white supremacy. The contrast with the *Daily Worker*, especially after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union and the Stalinists became the most rabid patriots, was plain for all to see. While the Stalinists told the Negroes to subordinate and postpone their fight for equality until after the war, we won thousands of new friends by opposing the war and championing every just demand of the Negro people and the workers generally.

In fact, this was one of the things about us that most irked the Roosevelt administration. In 1943 the Justice and Post Office Departments set out to suppress *The Militant* by cancelling our mailing privileges, and prominent among their charges against us was the fact that we had vigorously supported the March on Washington Movement and called on the Negro people to fight without compromise and without delay for all their social, economic and political rights — despite the war.

The attempt to suppress this paper for telling the truth was defeated — thanks, partly, to the protests raised in its behalf by Negro and labor groups.

War is test for every socialist paper and movement, and *The Militant* met the test face-on and honorably. It did not run away or try to hide its opinions, but stood up, unafraid of persecution, and spoke the truth as it saw it. A paper that does that establishes its right to existence, and proves that it can be relied on in peace as well as in war.

In war and in peace, *The Militant* has fought the good fight. It struggled to save the life of Odell Waller, Virginia sharecropper who was legally lynched in 1942 for defending himself against a white man. It revealed the truth about the 1943 anti-Negro riot in Detroit and the anti-Jim Crow demonstration in Harlem. It organized a national campaign against the Fontana, Calif., atrocity where a Negro family was burned to death by Ku Klux Klan forces.

The Freeport case of 1946, where Negro veterans were shot down in cold blood by cops; the terror in Tennessee the same year, where a whole community was attacked; the trial of James Hickman, Chicago worker indicted for killing a landlord responsible for the death of Hickman's children; the case of the Trenton Six in 1948; the Groveland, Fla., lynchings and legal lynchings in 1949 and 1951; the Cicero riot in 1951 and dozens of bombings of Negro homes in Chicago; the brutal murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, the NAACP leaders in Florida — in all these cases no paper surpassed *The Militant* in exposing the guilty and in summoning white and Negro workers to combat them.

If it had done nothing else, *The Militant* would have sufficient reason to be proud as it celebrates its 25th anniversary. But it has done more, much more. Among other things, it has armed white and Negro workers with the program to end Jim Crow altogether. When the conditions become favorable, the seeds planted by the *Militant* will produce their proper fruit in a society completely free of segregation, discrimination and exploitation.

Notes from the News

STRUGGLE IN THE ACLU. The American Civil Liberties Union is in the throes of a struggle over basic civil liberties questions. A referendum of ACLU branches was recently taken on propositions to water down the organization's stand on guilt-by-association, loyalty purges, and discharge of those who invoke the Fifth Amendment. The referendum went against watering down the traditional civil liberties position. Of the ACLU's 23 branches, 19 voted against the propositions, three voted for, and one abstained. It is feared, however, that the ACLU's Board of Directors is about to override the referendum.

AFL SECRETARY-TREASURER William Schnitzler told the Kentucky Federation of Labor convention how the Eisenhower administration had dealt with "the mess in Washington." They cleaned it up, all right. They washed its face, pinned a rose on it, put it in the Social Register and gave it membership in the Country Club," said Schnitzler. However, he credited the Republicans with having got rid of five-percenters: "They brought in scabs who do the work at four per cent and even three per cent. Those are just about the only prices, other than farm prices, that have gone down since the last election."

"MILLIONAIRE'S CABINET." U.S. News & World Report carries an article to show that appointing millionaires to cabinet posts didn't originate with Eisenhower. Under Roosevelt 28 per cent of cabinet rank appointees were millionaires; Truman appointed 19 per cent; however, Eisenhower's record to date is 50 per cent.

FASHION NOTE. That weekly Bible of executives, *Business Week*, points out a new trend in men's clothing including a \$10 bow tie made of mink.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY has increased by over a quarter million in the last year, bringing the total to 6,100,000. Of the increase, local party units accounted for half, while

the trade union bureaus, like the bureaucrats of false Communism, live in the atmosphere of aristocratic prejudices of the upper strata of the workers. It will be a tragedy if the Oppositionists are infected even in the slightest degree with these qualities. We must not only reject and condemn these prejudices; we must burn them out of our consciousness to the last trace. We must find the road to the most deprived, to the darkest strata of the proletariat, beginning with the Negro, whom capitalist society has converted into a pariah, and who must learn to see in us his revolutionary brothers. And this depends wholly upon our energy and devotion to the work."

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But it was not until World War II that *The Militant* became widely known as the most reliable champion of the fight against Jim Crow. The big issues in the struggle before Pearl Harbor were segregation in the armed forces and barriers against employment in the plants, and thousands of workers were first educated and involved in the fight against these evils through this paper.

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