

THE TITO AFFAIR AND STALINISM

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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BANKERS' SPOKESMAN PREDICTS 'BUST'

Dobbs Brands Beck 'Traitor' For Scabbery

By Farrell Dobbs

SWP Candidate for President

When a union official helps a corporation fight a striking union, he is no less a traitor than the copperheads who sabotaged the Union Army to help the slave owners during the Civil War.

Such a traitor in labor's ranks is Dave Beck, West Coast AFL Teamsters Czar. Beck has



FARRELL DOBBS

stabbed in the back the striking Machinists Union at the Boeing Aircraft Company in Seattle. He has sent trucks through the picket lines, signed up Boeing scabs in the Teamsters Union, sent his attorneys into government hearings to parrot the corporation's arguments—in short, Beck has done everything he could to break the machinists' strike.

So scandalous is Beck's conduct that the Washington State AFL has condemned his tactics. An opposition movement is developing inside the Seattle Teamsters Union in protest against the indignities and injuries inflicted upon the membership by this strikebreaking dictator.

THE MAD DOG

Small wonder that Beck has become the heir-apparent to the throne of Teamsters President Daniel J. Tobin, who has been aptly called "The Mad Dog of the Labor Movement." Beck has learned well in the Tobin school. Tobin is notorious for his strikebreaking: smashing of democracy in local unions; driving workers who oppose him off their jobs; and organizing gangster attacks in jurisdictional raids on other unions.

The Brewery Workers Union can tell a hair-raising story of men beaten with blackjacks, workers' homes destroyed by fire-bombs and dynamite, as Tobin plied his union-raiding activities. Beck was a star performer in that Tobin show.

In St. Louis, the rank and file of a Teamsters Local Union sent a committee to protest to Tobin because the union contract was

not being enforced; nor could they get a financial report from the local officers. Tobin ignored their complaints, despite the fact that the union boss was a gangster with a known criminal record.

But when these outraged truck drivers went on strike to force the employers to abide by the union agreement, Tobin moved fast. He sent in reinforcements to help the local union bosses, who united with the employers to smash the strike. The rank and file leaders were expelled from the union, fired from their jobs and left to take care of their families as best they could.

I am thoroughly familiar with the methods of Tobin and his henchmen like Beck. I used to be on Tobin's field staff, but I got out when I saw what it was like. And when Tobin attacked my home local in Minneapolis in 1941, I learned plenty more about The Mad Dog of the Labor Movement.

Tobin tried to impose a dictatorship on the Minneapolis local. His candidate, by the way, was none other than Dave Beck. The union membership rose to a man in opposition to this Hitler-like act.

Tobin shipped scores of his goons into Minneapolis. With the help of blackjacks, the local cops and the then governor of Minnesota, Harold E. Stassen, the goons "persuaded" the truck drivers to sign up for the Tobin dictatorship.

Then Tobin hollered for help from the federal cops. The leaders of the local union, including myself, were railroaded to the federal penitentiary under the Smith Cag Act. That is why I know all about Tobin, Beck and their kind.

When I visit Seattle on my national campaign tour, I shall be glad to put my knowledge at the disposal of the striking machinists and the Seattle truck drivers who are fighting against the Boeing corporation and strikebreaker Beck.

Malayans Revolt For Independence From British Rule

The flames of national uprisings continue to spread in the Far East and shake to their foundations the empires of the Western imperialists. To the growing list of Asiatic peoples fighting for their independence is now added Malaya.

Malaya forms the long Indo-Chinese peninsula which runs down from the mainland of South-East Asia. For upwards of a century, its natives have been ruled and exploited by British imperialism through a system of indirect rule of native sultans, the Malay equivalent of the Indian Rajahs. The country is a key sector of the British Empire as it is the world headquarters of the rubber and tin industries and forms the hinterland to Singapore, "The Gibraltar of the Far East."

REVOLT RISING

At the end of the Second World War, Britain tried to ward off the growing nationalist movement by establishing a phony consultative body under the "Union of Malaya." But the natives, suffering from food shortages and a raging inflation, and influenced by the rising tides of revolution throughout the Far East, have now risen in revolt, determined to drive the imperialists out of the country.

The British have replied in the same manner that Hitler employed against recalcitrant nationalities in Europe. Regulations have been issued giving the government unlimited powers. Newspapers are suppressed, individuals arrested and held indefinitely without trial and "suspicious persons" in danger areas are shot on sight. Strikes are banned. Malcolm MacDonald, British Governor-General of Malaya, representative of the British labor government and son of the late Ramsey MacDonald, has been denouncing the insurgents, in language reminiscent of Goebbels, as "Communist bandits."

BITTER STRUGGLE

But British savagery and repression will not save their empire. Major General Charles Boucher, Commander of the British forces in Malaya, estimated that it would take at least 15 months to wipe out the guerrillas. When it is recalled that despite the pouring-in of huge numbers of troops and armaments, the French and Dutch have been unable to suppress the uprisings of neighboring Indo-China and Indonesia, and are losing the wars, it is obvious that the British are in for a long struggle with every chance of defeat.

The Same Old Baggage



Boss Parties Offer Only Depression To Halt Inflation

The pre-election debate is raging: Who is responsible for the inflation?

Truman says if the Republicans had only passed his "anti-inflation" program of mild government controls, prices would be "rolled back." Taft, the Republican mouthpiece, answers that prices shot up under far more stringent controls than Truman proposes, and if we'd just get rid of Democratic tinkering with the "natural laws of economics," prices would "level off" by themselves.

Taft's "natural laws" have been in full force since the end of the war. These are the "laws" enforced by the "private government" of monopolies that fix prices, regulate production and allocate raw materials on the basis of what's best for their profits. Under these "laws," prices today are the highest since the founding of the Republic—and going up.

TRUMAN'S PROGRAM

Truman's program sounds better, but is just as fraudulent. His chief proposal is for "stand-by authority to impose selective controls"—a piecemeal price control. Truman's "theoretician" on prices, former OPA director Paul Porter, likened Truman's program to that of Canada. But in the Democratic Digest for July, Porter admitted that "stand-by controls at this time would not bring the American cost of living in line with Canada's relatively low prices. The lid has been off too long."

Indeed, it appears to have been "off too long" for Canada. The Aug. 10 N.Y. Times reports: "Steady increases in the price of food are mainly responsible for the new record high of 156.9 in the Canadian June cost of living index." Potatoes, eggs and meat rose 41.5 points in 12 months. That's what Truman's program looks like in practice.

BOOM — BUST

Republicans and Democrats have a common "solution" for inflation. It is nothing but the classic capitalist "boom-bust." Let prices zoom until the consumers are priced out of the market. Then comes a glut of production, factory shut-downs and depression.

Marriner Eccles, former head of the Federal Reserve Board, declared flatly before the Senate Banking Committee three weeks ago: "We certainly are going to have a bust, but as to just when it will be, I can't predict." Asked "what would you say?", if he were given full power to set up protective measures against a bust, Eccles replied: "I would say it was too late."

PRICE LOCKOUT

It is too late for decayed capitalism to "solve" inflation except by depression. That is what makes sheer demagoguery out of the Stalinist and Wallacite yapping about "buyers' strikes." If you can't exist at present high prices, they say — eat even less! Telling people who can't buy to go on a "buyers' strike" is idiocy. The truth is the workers are suffering from a LOCKOUT — a price lockout from the necessities of life.

The only effective program against high prices is the program advanced by Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President: 1. For a sliding scale of wages (cost-of-living escalator clause) in all union contracts, providing automatic pay increases, above the basic wage rate, for all rises in the cost of living. 2. For mass consumer committees of workers, housewives and dirt farmers empowered to fix prices and enforce price ceilings. 3. For the nationalization of all basic industries and their operation under the democratic control of the workers.

General Motors Workers Resist Intolerable Speed-up Conditions

Speed-up has become the burning issue for General Motors workers. Under the recent contract, considered the worst in the industry, the corporation is putting an intolerable squeeze on the workers for more individual output per hour.

GM workers in the Michigan auto towns are beginning to resist the corporation's drive to impose inhuman increases in production schedules. The intensified speed-up has already provoked strikes and strike votes by CIO United Auto Workers members in Flint and Pontiac.

Crank-shaft workers at the Flint Chevrolet plant went on strike Aug. 6 after the company arbitrarily raised the output quota from 40 to 51 cranks per hour.

The Searchlight, official publication of Chevrolet Local 659, reported on July 29 that the crank-shaft men "have been subjected to speed-up beyond anything imaginable since the days of the open shop." The previous quota had been in effect 12 years, and

no technological improvements have been introduced to warrant an increase. Higher output is to be secured by driving the workers harder.

On Aug. 5, the entire afternoon shift at the Fisher Body plant in Pontiac walked out in protest against speed-up. They returned to work and demanded a strike vote authorization by their local. A strike vote was scheduled for Aug. 11 and 12. Here too the big issue is speed-up.

At the Flint Buick plant the company has put the heat on by a sudden frontal attack on the union. It handed out 10 dismissal notices, 31 penalty lay-offs of one to four weeks, and hundreds of "reprimands" in a move to halt the long-established practice of taking a few minutes daily for a little lunch on the job. This action was taken without even notification to the union. Other corporations are following GM's lead. Ford is reported attempting to boost production by 25%.

The GM workers have been placed in a particularly disadvantageous position because the Reutherite leadership of the UAW gave the company a virtual blank check by agreeing to a contract that provides the most inadequate grievance set-up in the industry and permits the company to impose almost any working conditions it sees fit.

CARLSON REPORTS TOUR RECEPTION IN DENVER

By Grace Carlson

From the Mile-High City

Denver's citizens point with great pride to the fact that their is the only mile-high city in the United States. And they do not require visitors to do their own measuring. They take them to the 15th step of the State Capitol, where it is plainly marked that, at that spot, one stands 5280 feet above sea level. If this does not seem colossal enough to the visitor, other superlatives are brought forward, such as the fact that Colorado has the largest number of high peaks of any state — 1,080, which are more than 10,000 feet high.

Like every visitor to the Colorado Rockies, I was impressed by the superb scenery and the wonderful climate. Different from other visitors, I was more impressed by the fact that here were the early outposts of the militant American labor union movement. To mention the names, Ludlow, Cripple Creek, Boulder, is to recall the brave struggles of the labor pioneers of the Western Federation of Miners and the early IWW against the ruthless, labor-hating mine bosses of the West.

That we are now organizing the outposts of the new, militant workers' movement in Colorado and Utah was still more impressive to me. They are small groups, to be sure, but they are the first Trotskyist centers to be established in this area for many years. I am confident that, in time, this will mean that the voice of revolutionary socialism will once again be widely heard.

The following are the coming dates of Dr. Carlson's tour:

Aug. 15-21 Michigan
Aug. 22-23 en route
Aug. 24-26 Cleveland
(For Dobbs' opening tour dates, see Page 4.)

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY election campaign attracted considerable attention in both the Salt Lake City and Denver newspapers. The fact that there are national candidates, who are attacking the Communist Party from the left during these red-baiting days, seems to be newsworthy. I think that the readers of The Militant will be interested in a few paragraphs from a press interview run in the Denver Post of Aug. 6. They follow:

"Mrs. Carlson differs with the 'crude idea' that Stalin is setting out to conquer the world. She believes that the Kremlin is setting out to construct a set of buffer states for the protection of Russia.

"But from both the Marxist and military points of view, this action is futile," she declared.

And I think that Militant readers will also be interested to know that we are getting in a few licks at Norman Thomas, who still poses as a "Socialist." Here are a couple of additional paragraphs from the same interview:

"Thomas was boasting in a magazine article that the Democrats and Republicans have stolen his platform," Mrs. Carlson declared. "But there isn't any danger of them stealing our platform."

Taft-Hartley Act Incites Inter-Union Warfare

By Art Preis

One of the deadliest booby-traps in the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law is now spreading havoc among the trade unions. This is the "yellow dog" affidavit, a device cleverly designed to split the unions along "communist" and "anti-communist" lines. It has touched off virtual civil war within the labor movement at a time when all organized labor is under the heaviest assault in decades.

Employers and government, acting in collusion, are employing the refusal of unions to sign "yellow dog" oaths as the chief legal pretext to break strikes and deny collective bargaining rights to previously recognized unions. The union-busters are effectively using this weapon because of the connivance of many unscrupulous union officials who are working hand-in-glove with anti-labor employers to raid established unions and even scab-herd in strikes.

These scavengers — some of whom have shown exceptional ineptness in organizing workers within their own jurisdiction and in defending the interests of their own members — swarm down like vultures on unions made vulnerable by their refusal to submit to the Taft-Hartley Act.

A flagrant example of how employers, government and scav-

enging union raiders combine to try to destroy an established union is shown in the case of Oppenheim, Collins & Co., a large Manhattan department store, which refused to renew the contract of Local 1250, CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees.

Several weeks before the old contract was to expire, the company announced it would not renew the Local 1250 contract on the grounds that the union was "run by Communists" who had refused to sign Taft-Hartley affidavits. In response to an appeal from Oppenheim Collins and other big department stores, the House Labor and Education Committee sent a sub-committee to New York to "investigate" the "Communists" in New York department store unions.

This committee hauled the local union leaders before a typical inquisition. Naturally, the company loudly proclaimed it would have no dealings with "enemies of our government."

At the same time, scenting prey, officials of the AFL Retail Clerks claimed jurisdiction. The NLRB ordered an election—with the CIO union kept off the ballot because it had not signed a "yellow dog" oath. On the day the old contract ended and the CIO union went on strike, the NLRB held its "Ja" election, which the

AFL union naturally "won." The latter began to scab-herd for the company, which obtained an injunction limiting pickets of the striking union and placed a huge sign over its entrance: "The Issue is COMMUNISM!"

FINAL TOUCH

The final touch was added when national officials of the CIO union itself, opponents of the Stalinist leaders of the New York locals, gave aid and comfort to the employers, government, witch-hunters and AFL raiders. URWSE-CIO President Samuel Wolchok, on Aug. 9, stated: "The Taft-Hartley law is the law of the land and it must be obeyed. There is no reason why officers of locals should not sign the non-communist affidavits."

The type of jurisdictional warfare now being carried out under cover of the Taft-Hartley Act is far from limited to AFL raids on CIO unions. In fact, the Philip Murray machine in the CIO—which howls the loudest about "raiding" by the AFL—has turned the CIO itself into a battlefield of warring unions seeking to dismember and steal dues-payers away from other CIO unions—chiefly Stalinist-led—which are under Taft-Hartley attack.

The Walter Reuther leadership in the auto union is trying to tear the large CIO United Electrical

Workers to pieces, rushing in to grab off locals through direct raiding, or cooperating with the Taft-Hartley Board in government-run elections from which UE locals are excluded. Reuther is also conducting raids on the Farm Equipment Workers and Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Murray's catch-all set-up, the Shipyard Workers headed by John Green, is splitting off sections of the Public Workers, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and other unions as remote from the shipyard industry as the North Pole is from the South Pole.

One of the latest developments of this disruptive internal warfare is the move of the CIO paper workers to raid the CIO Office and Professional Workers, where the sole similarity between the two occupations is that one manufactures paper and the other uses it.

UGLY PICTURE

That is the ugly picture we see today. AFL unions raiding other AFL unions and CIO unions; CIO unions rushing in to tear apart other CIO unions; the top leadership of both completely indifferent to the fate of the labor movement.

We saw a similar situation in the AFL during the Twenties. Then the great need was for industrial organization. But the

narrow-minded AFL leaders refused to take this necessary step. They turned inward, engaged in jurisdictional squabbles, forced the unions to devour themselves.

The present situation flows from the fact that the top union leaders again are drawing back from the next great forward step demanded by the times. Unable to advance a step further because they reject genuine independent labor political action through the formation of a labor party, having no program to advance the interests of the workers or to defend them from government assault, these union leaders are trying to protect their own narrow interests and salvage a little for themselves no matter if the rest of the union movement goes to hell in a high-speed elevator.

NEW LEADERSHIP

So long as the narrow outlook and primitive aims of these union leaders continue to dominate the labor movement, the unions will be torn with internal strife and dissension. Only a new leadership, with a broad and fundamental understanding of the great class issues and with will and courage to lead the unions into a new political avenue, can save the labor movement, restore its unity and inspire the workers to successful struggle against their enemies.

The Tito Affair and Stalinism

By E. Germain

The Tito affair has thrown considerable light on the much debated question of the social nature of Stalinism. With one blow, Stalinism has lost the peculiar fascination of success, which, since the end of the war, it exerted even on certain revolutionaries. The Russian regime, whose admirers as well as those most implacable enemies — in words! — proclaim its "astonishing stability," has become a regime devoured by internal crisis. The territorial expansion of Russia, cited by so many of our superficial critics as a "definitive refutation" of the Trotskyist thesis, revealed itself as a projection outside the Russian borders of the internal contradictions gnawing Stalinism.

INTENSE CONTRADICTION

The Tito affair defines the essential elements of Soviet policy in Eastern Europe. This policy seeks to utilize and exploit these countries for the strategic, political and economic objectives pursued by the Soviet bureaucracy. It is true that experience has taught Stalin that it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain the desired results through collaboration with the traditional capitalist elements. But the Kremlin has also learned another no less important lesson. The elimination of the bourgeoisie from control of the economy and the state cannot be realized without a mobilization, however limited, of the masses. The Communist parties of these countries can achieve such a mobilization only to the extent that they maintain their effective influence among the laboring masses. But the more these parties seek to keep their mass base, the more sensitive they become to the pressure of the workers. The more they take into account the sentiments of the workers, the more their power tends to correspond to the social conditions of their own countries — and to become independent of the rigorous control of the Kremlin.

STALINIST PUPPETS

That is why it is not enough for Stalin to rid himself of Petkov, Mikolaczky and Masaryk. He has to seek to eliminate the Stalinist leaders who are most closely connected with the workers' movement and replace them with mere puppets who owe their power exclusively to the Kremlin. That is why Stalin tries in Rumania, Hungary, Poland and elsewhere to push into prominence

in the Stalinist parties such personalities as the Rumanian Bodnarus, who have no past of any sort in the Communist movement of their countries and who spent a decade or two of their lives in Russia. This is why he seeks to maintain the non-Communist political organizations while imposing on them a new leadership subservient to the Kremlin. That is why in Eastern Germany he authorizes and even favors the creation of a new middle class nationalist party which serves him as a counter weight to the Stalinist SED party.

NOT AN ACCIDENT

It is not by accident that Stalin has seen his first failure in Yugoslavia, where the Tito regime has the greatest mass support, where the country has experienced the most profound social overturn, and where the bourgeois opposition is the most insignificant and prostrate. Stalin wants to decapitate the most solid CP. It is wholly logical that the first refusal to capitulate should come from there.

SEEKS COMPROMISE

Contrary to all false appearances, we have never ceased to repeat that Stalin, far from seeking to extend a new social system over the entire world, sought fundamentally a compromise with world imperialism. The Tito affair provides explosive confirmation of our analysis. It uncontestedly shows how impossible it is for Stalinism to expand in an unlimited fashion.

The relation between the Kremlin and the Stalinist parties in "power" are modified to the extent that these parties enjoy the confidence of large masses. It is evident that Stalin, who views favorably the armies of Mao Tse-tsun harassing the forces of

Chiang Kai-shek in China — a formidable trump card in his bargaining with Washington — considers with growing uneasiness any definitive victory on the part of Mao Tse-tsun. If Tito, in a country so tiny in comparison to Russia, has already dared to rebel, what would be the attitude tomorrow of a CP dominating a country such as China? The more Stalinism expands, the greater become the centrifugal forces it unleashes.

Smelling the sensational aspect of the conflict, the ignorant section of the capitalist press shouts from the roof tops that the Tito defection breaches the strategic potential of the USSR in Eastern Europe. It is true that Tito has created a breach, but not in the place where the capitalists are looking for it. A breach has just been created in the ossified consciousness of scores of thousands of Communist members in Yugoslavia, in Switzerland, in all the countries of Eastern Europe, and one hopes, of the entire world; a breach in their belief in the infallibility of Stalin. This means a breach in the whole ideological edifice so painstakingly constructed on the basis of the USSR as "the only fatherland of all the workers." The word "degeneration" is already circulating in the Yugoslav CP cadres, and not only there!

It is now ten years since the end of the Moscow trial when Stalin massacred the old Bolshevik guard. That was the end of the initial period of Stalinism, during which Stalin did not yet dare break openly with the formulas of Leninism. The following period witnessed a series of abject crimes, not the least of which was the systematic poisoning of the workers of the USSR and the entire world with nationalist poison.

Today history is beginning to reveal itself on Stalin. We cannot but feel a certain satisfaction before the spectacle which makes the very instruments of Stalin's crimes, the instrument of his punishment.

TEN YEARS

If the Communist advance guard of several countries will succeed in drawing conclusions from the Tito affair — and they should be helped in this task with all our strength — it will signify an important step toward the regeneration of the world labor movement as well as the regeneration of the USSR.

(Condensed from the July 5, 1948 issue of La Lutte Ouvriere, organ of the Belgian Trotskyists.)

At New York AFL Convention



On the platform for the opening session of the New York State Federation of Labor convention are (l. to r.) Francis Cardinal Spellman, state AFL President Thomas A. Murray and Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York. Federated Pictures

CALIFORNIA SWP OPENS CONGRESSIONAL DRIVE

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 9. — James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will address a public meeting launching the presidential and congressional campaign of the Los Angeles Local on Aug. 20. The date was selected as fitting tribute to the memory of Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International, who was murdered by a Stalinist assassin on that day eight years ago.

Comrade Cannon will speak on "The Presidential Campaign — The Men, the Parties, the Issues." The meeting will be held at 8 p.m. in the Assembly Hall, Embassy Auditorium building, 837 South Grand.

Comrade Myra Tanner Weiss, selected at a membership meeting of the Los Angeles Local last week as SWP candidate for Congress in the 19th district, will speak on the local campaign.

California's undemocratic election laws, which practically bar minority parties from the ballot, make it necessary to cast a written vote for Dobbs and Carlson in this state. The Aug. 20 meeting will launch a campaign to place the name of Comrade Weiss on the ballot in the 19th district by securing the signatures of 3,000 registered voters who did not vote in the primary election.

"I welcome the opportunity to counterpose our program to that of the Truman, Dewey and Wallace candidates in the 19th district race," Comrade Weiss said. "Our campaign will provide the only working class alternative to the capitalist parties for voters in that district, just as the Dobbs-Carlson campaign does on the national scene."

Readers of The Militant and friends of the Socialist Workers Party who are interested in aiding the Los Angeles campaign may obtain information by calling Richmond 4644 or writing Militant Publishing Ass'n, 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd.

Workers and peasants would put up if American troops occupied Soviet territories, Yankee imperialism would install there a terror regime similar to Hitler's.

The imperialist war not only would not liberate the workers from the totalitarian dictatorship, but it would prevent them from proceeding along the socialist road. Imperialism would at the most combine its search for capitalist profits with the wastefulness engendered by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Far from cleansing the structure of planning and eliminating the gangrene of profiteering from it, imperialism would bring the whole structure down with the hammer blows of its own exports and capital.

The violent ejection of the bureaucratic regime is today an urgent task of the Russian working class; otherwise what remains of the October conquests is in danger of being stifled under the weight of this parasitic regime. That is precisely the reason why the Russian workers cannot farm out this task to imperialism and will fiercely defend the remnants of the October conquests against imperialism without for a single moment relaxing their revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the Stalinist Bonapartist clique.

Revolutionary Defense of USSR

By his reactionary policies in the countries occupied by the Russian army, Stalin primarily defends the privileges of the bureaucracy. Just as the bureaucracy undermines the foundations of the workers' state in the USSR, its counter-revolutionary policies outside the USSR constitute a permanent threat to these same conquests. The Fourth International defends what remains of October solely by revolutionary class struggle methods. Everything which weakens the proletariat inside and outside the USSR: everything which poisons its thinking or lowers its consciousness is a direct blow against the revolutionary defense of the USSR. That is why to defend the conquests of October today means to struggle against the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy, against its oppression, looting and occupation of "buffer-zone" countries, against its secret treaties and deals on the backs of the peoples. The only form of defense of the USSR advocated by the Fourth International is the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in each country against its "own" bourgeoisie — the struggle to smash all obstacles in the path of socialist revolution, even when these consist of Russian occupation troops.

In the absence of a powerful revolutionary pole of mass mobilization, the war, the defense of the Soviet State, and the pressing needs of reconstruction have assuredly brought about an acceptance of the bureaucracy by advanced workers as an unavoidable, lesser evil. On the other hand, the partisan struggles, the military victories and contacts with the advanced countries of Europe have also undoubtedly increased the critical spirit of the Soviet workers, their hatred of the parasites responsible for all the frauds and thefts; and has tempered their will to take the direction of the state into their own hands again. The

Rebels in American History

JOHN BROWN

By George Lavan

On the morning of December 2, 1859, they led the old man out of jail. His steps were slow because his wounds had not healed completely. All around him were soldiers with fixed bayonets. On the road was a wagon with a pine coffin. The old man got up on the wagon and set on the coffin. The procession finally reached the execution grounds. Around the scaffold 1,500 troops were massed in a great hollow square with cannon trained on all approaches.

They put a hood over his head and led him onto the drop of the scaffold. The rope was adjusted around his neck. Then they made him wait. They were still hoping for a display of weakness from the old fighter whom they hated and feared. Minutes passed as the troops were put through parade maneuvers. The old man with the hood over his head and the rope about his neck never flinched. Finally after 12 interminable minutes the commanding officer gave the signal and the trap was sprung. The body jerked and then hung quietly.

The colonel's voice rang out: "So perish all such enemies of Virginia! All such enemies of the Union! All such foes of the human race!"

SINGING HIS NAME

John Brown was dead. But his indomitable spirit was to inspire the anti-slavery forces of the nation. And two years later Union troops marching to smash the

slave power would be singing his name. Brown was born in 1800 and named after his grandfather who had died in the Revolutionary War. He was brought up on the Ohio frontier, and was deeply religious.

During the War of 1812 he witnessed the horror of slavery. He was then 12 years old and was delivering cattle to the army. There he saw a boy slave, with whom he had become friends, cruelly manhandled. As he later wrote, this "made him a most determined Abolitionist, and led him to declare, or swear eternal war with slavery."

In 1837 Elijah Lovejoy, an anti-slavery editor, was lynched by a mob at Alton, Ill. This murder convinced John Brown that the slave power could be destroyed only by force. It was in this period that he first conceived his plan of invading the South and freeing the slaves. He kept his plan secret and went about his business as a wool merchant. On business trips east he visited leading Abolitionists and sounded them out.

AROUSED THE NATION

His plans were interrupted by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act which opened the territories to slavery until the settlers should vote on the issue. The opening of hitherto free territory to slavery aroused the nation. Northern settlers went to Kansas to make it a free state while the slave owners sent hordes of hired gunmen to insure a victory for human bondage.

The planters openly campaigned to win Kansas by force. Southern Senators and military men called for the wiping out of all opposition in Kansas. General Stringfellow, addressing a band of gunmen about to leave for Kansas, stated, "I tell you to mark every scoundrel among you who is the least tainted with abolitionism and exterminate him. Neither give nor take any quarter, as the cause demands it."

Seven of Brown's sons went to Kansas as settlers. They wrote him of the rule of terror instituted by the slave power. Brown went out to Kansas to lead the fight. He found the leadership of the free settlers in the hands of timid compromisers. Outrage after outrage was visited on the anti-slavery settlers. Finally their main city, Lawrence, was captured and looted by the "border ruffians." Brown saw that the only way to fight the terror of the slave-owners was with terror. He led a raid upon a slave settlement and executed five men named on his slave-owners' list. The slave men were quick in reprisal. They captured two of his sons who had not been in the raiding force and massacred them. They could not capture Brown's guerrilla band, however. A genius of partisan warfare, Brown

eluded pursuers and struck when he chose. He astounded Kansas by defeating and capturing a larger force than his own at Black Jack under Captain Pate.

Brown's methods finally resolved the situation in Kansas. The free-soilers took heart and the slavery elements became cautious. Kansas' status as a free state was assured. The foremost leader of the free-soilers later said of Brown: "He was the only man who comprehended the situation, and saw the absolute necessity of some such blow and had the nerve to strike it."

"ONLY ONE DEATH"

With victory sure in Kansas, the old fighter decided to get on with his plan for an invasion of the slave country itself. "I have only a short time to live," he said, "and only one death to die, and I will die fighting for this cause. There will be no peace in this land until slavery is done for. I will give them something else to do than to extend slavery. I will carry the war to Africa."

He collected picked Negro and white men, who were fighters and ready to die to destroy slavery. He collected arms and ammunition. He tried to raise money from wealthy Abolitionists. Then he marched his band from Iowa to the mountains of Virginia. His plan was to take a town and arm the slaves with pikes using his camp in the mountains as a base.

With 21 men he started towards Harper's Ferry. By early morning the town and the heavily stocked arsenal were in his hands. To avoid harming civilians he permitted a train to pass through. The news thus spread and quickly brought federal troops and the Virginia National Guard on the double. For two days Brown and his men held out, with half of his men, including two of his sons, dead or dying. Finally the troops, led by Robert E. Lee, broke into the arsenal.

The Virginia authorities, panicked by Brown's raid abandoned all pretense of judicial calm. Brown, badly wounded in the raid, was carried to the courthouse on a stretcher and the trial began a week after his capture. The verdict of guilty was predetermined from the beginning of the trial. But Brown's utter fearlessness and his noble bearing in the courtroom impressed the whole nation.

Brown was the revolutionary man-of-action in the struggle against the slavocracy. He inspired a whole generation by his dauntlessness and heroism. His raid on Harper's Ferry did not inaugurate the Negro uprising he hoped for, but it was one of the sparks that ignited the powder barrel of the slavery system and finally destroyed the slave power in four years of bitterly fought civil war.

Manifesto Calls for Overthrow Of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

This is a continuation of the Manifesto issued by the recent World Congress of the Fourth International.

For the Overthrow of the Stalinist Bureaucracy! For the Defense of the October Conquests Against Imperialism!

Confronted by the incredible degeneration of the Soviet Union, a number of disillusioned revolutionaries identify the Stalinist dictatorship with what still remains of the October conquests and refuse to defend the latter. On the other hand, all the "fellow travelers" who, only yesterday, sang praises to the "victorious Red Army" when it was a question of "fighting the anti-fascist war," suddenly again become conscious of Stalinist barbarism at the moment when it collides with the interests of their own capitalists. The militants of the Fourth International, who were the first in the workers' movement to denounce all that is monstrous and reactionary in the Stalinist regime, are the only ones who conduct a genuine struggle against Stalin within the rigid framework of defending the interests of the Russian and world proletariat.

The war which Washington is preparing against the USSR does not at all pursue the aim of introducing political democracy or respect for the rights of man in Soviet Russia. On the contrary, in the face of the ferocious resistance which the Soviet

workers and peasants would put up if American troops occupied Soviet territories, Yankee imperialism would install there a terror regime similar to Hitler's.

The imperialist war not only would not liberate the workers from the totalitarian dictatorship, but it would prevent them from proceeding along the socialist road. Imperialism would at the most combine its search for capitalist profits with the wastefulness engendered by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Far from cleansing the structure of planning and eliminating the gangrene of profiteering from it, imperialism would bring the whole structure down with the hammer blows of its own exports and capital.

The violent ejection of the bureaucratic regime is today an urgent task of the Russian working class; otherwise what remains of the October conquests is in danger of being stifled under the weight of this parasitic regime. That is precisely the reason why the Russian workers cannot farm out this task to imperialism and will fiercely defend the remnants of the October conquests against imperialism without for a single moment relaxing their revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the Stalinist Bonapartist clique.

Revolutionary Defense of USSR

By his reactionary policies in the countries occupied by the Russian army, Stalin primarily defends the privileges of the bureaucracy. Just as the bureaucracy undermines the foundations of the workers' state in the USSR, its counter-revolutionary policies outside the USSR constitute a permanent threat to these same conquests. The Fourth International defends what remains of October solely by revolutionary class struggle methods. Everything which weakens the proletariat inside and outside the USSR: everything which poisons its thinking or lowers its consciousness is a direct blow against the revolutionary defense of the USSR. That is why to defend the conquests of October today means to struggle against the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy, against its oppression, looting and occupation of "buffer-zone" countries, against its secret treaties and deals on the backs of the peoples. The only form of defense of the USSR advocated by the Fourth International is the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in each country against its "own" bourgeoisie — the struggle to smash all obstacles in the path of socialist revolution, even when these consist of Russian occupation troops.

In the absence of a powerful revolutionary pole of mass mobilization, the war, the defense of the Soviet State, and the pressing needs of reconstruction have assuredly brought about an acceptance of the bureaucracy by advanced workers as an unavoidable, lesser evil. On the other hand, the partisan struggles, the military victories and contacts with the advanced countries of Europe have also undoubtedly increased the critical spirit of the Soviet workers, their hatred of the parasites responsible for all the frauds and thefts; and has tempered their will to take the direction of the state into their own hands again. The

Newark Readers!

Election Rally Picnic and Trotsky Memorial Meeting

Speakers:

GEORGE CLARKE, National SWP Campaign Mgr. WILLIAM E. BOHANNAN, SWP Candidate for Congress from the 11th Dist. Dinner, Swimming, Baseball, Games

NAT'L WILLOW GROVE W. Caldwell & Harrison Ave. Transportation provided; cars leave for the Grove at 10 A.M. from 423 Springfield Avenue. SUNDAY, AUGUST 22

Southern California Militant Readers!

Hear

JAMES P. CANNON National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Speaking on

"THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN — THE MEN, THE PARTIES, THE ISSUES"

Friday, August 20th - 8 P. M. Assembly Hall, Embassy Auditorium Bldg. 837 So. Grand, Los Angeles



WILLIAM YANCEY

further reconstruction proceeds, the further the rate of accumulation declines as a result of bureaucratic leadership, all the sharper will be the economic difficulties and all the more exasperating will become the social inequality. In the course of constant upheavals which Soviet society will experience, the young worker generations will gain consciousness of their own interests. With the assistance of the revolutionary movements in capitalist countries they will find the way to overthrow the bureaucracy and will open up a new revolutionary chapter in the history of Russia.

(To be continued next week.)

THE MILITANT ARMY

Subs Make Possible 2 Michigan Branches

Two new Michigan branches of the Socialist Workers Party are in prospect as hundreds of new Militant readers in Pontiac and Saginaw are being signed up in subscription campaigns. Philadelphia, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles are also getting into high gear in sub drives, while radio listeners throughout the country continue to pour in their own subscriptions.

Detroit branch has already sold 73 subs in Pontiac and plans to set up a branch there.

"Sixty-four of these (69) subs were obtained on a trip to Saginaw last Saturday," reports Genora Dollinger of Flint branch. "Most of these new readers had never heard of The Militant or our party before. However, they displayed great interest in socialism and our program for attaining it."

"One comrade called at 17 houses and obtained 15 subs! Another stood on a corner by neighborhood stores and sold 20 subs. Our comrades ran across many auto workers who wanted to attend meetings and classes. One woman who answered the door replied 'Oh yes, I read The Militant. I get it in Chicago. I'm just visiting here.'"

"From this first campaign effort we have every reason to be confident that by the end of our election campaign a new branch of the party will be blossoming out in Saginaw."

Philadelphia "had two mobilizations this week, one in the rain. Three comrades went to a West-

inghouse union meeting and in a short time sold four subs, two at 25c and two at \$1 each. This makes six sold at distributions in the last two weeks," reports George. He sent 16 subs.

"Here are 24 subscriptions obtained at the opening of our sub campaign," writes Sarah Ross of San Francisco.

Los Angeles East Side branch sent 18, "results of first mobilization."

Fourteen from Seattle included subs donated to the library of the University of Washington and to the Pacific Dispatch. "We are experimenting with door-to-door sales of individual copies of the Special Convention Issue and returning one week later to get subs," writes Dan Roberts.

Subs from radio listeners came from Florida, California, Washington state, New Jersey, New York and Connecticut. New York comrades obtaining petition signatures in upstate counties to put the SWP on the ballot are also selling subs in many communities.

Gene P. of LOS ANGELES sold 19 subs on his way home from the Convention; 14 in Memphis, three in Chicago and one in Cleveland. Congratulations, Gene. We're sure some of your experiences getting these subs would make interesting reading. That gives L.A. a good start on the Presidential Campaign drive. E. Smith of L. A. South Side sent five regulars and a Militant-Fourth International combination.

SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SUB

THE MILITANT

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

15 weeks

25 cents

- ☐ Special 15-week subscription 25c
- ☐ Regular 6-month " 50c
- ☐ Regular 1-year " \$1.00

Name

Address

City

State Zone.....



Subscriptions: \$1 per year;
\$6 for 6 months. Foreign:
\$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months.
"Entered as second class
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N. Y., under the act of Mar.
3, 1879."

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Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People
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tors do not necessarily rep-
resent The Militant's policies.
These are expressed in its
editorials.

Vol. XII—No. 33

Monday, August 16, 1948



TROTSKY

"The human race has a right to be proud of its Aristotle, Shakespeare, Darwin, Beethoven, Goethe, Marx, Edison and Lenin. But why are they so rare? Above all, because almost without exception, they came out of the upper and middle classes. Apart from rare exceptions, the sparks of genius in the suppressed depths of the people are choked before they can burst into flame. But also because the processes of creating, developing and educating a human being have been and remain essentially a matter of chance, not illuminated by theory and practice, not subjected to consciousness and will. . . Socialism will mean a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom in this sense also, that the man of today, with all his contradictions and lack of harmony, will open the road for a new and happier race."

—LEON TROTSKY, Copenhagen Speech, 1932.



LENIN

Univis Strike and Labor Solidarity

One consequence of supporting the Taft-Hartley "yellow dog" oath is revealed in the Oppenheim Collins strike, as reported on Page 1. In this case, an AFL union has taken advantage of the Taft-Hartley Act and is scab-herding against a striking CIO union. The AFL leaders justify their scabbery with the pretext that the striking union is "communist."

What damage such a viewpoint can cause the labor movement is further shown in the case of the Univis Lens strike in Dayton, Ohio. In this instance, the workers went on strike May 5 after the company discontinued recognition and demanded an NLRB decertification election. A bitter struggle ensued, lasting over three months. The issue was unionism or non-unionism.

Because the striking union was a local of the CIO Electrical Workers, which is Stalinist-led, the right-wing controlled county CIO Council for months denied support to the strikers, in spite of repeated appeals for aid. Only when the police began slugging strikers right and left, when an NLRB "Ja" election was held decertifying the established union and when Dayton CIO workers were outraged by the CIO Council's conduct, did the right-wing leaders permit the Council to vote support of the strikers on July 20.

But just as the crucial moment of this bitterly-fought strike was reached on the day

the Governor directed National Guards into Dayton to smash the strike, the CIO Council leaders announced the cancellation of all further demonstrations in aid of the Univis Lens strikers. The CIO Council leaders preferred to have a CIO local smashed rather than support a strike whose leaders they oppose politically. The strikers have been forced to return to work, with eleven of them victimized and without union recognition.

The logic of this policy is borne out to its inevitable conclusion in the Seattle Boeing strike. This strike involves the International Association of Machinists, a conservative union which was one of the first to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavits. But if you can scab-herd against allegedly "communist"-led unions, you can always find a pretext for strikebreaking against any other union. And that's just what Daniel J. Tobin's lieutenant, David Beck, has ordered the AFL Teamsters to do against the Boeing strike.

Union leaders who advocate a policy that encourages or condones scabbing and strikebreaking for any reason should be branded as moral lepers and quarantined from the society of healthy union men. The great principle from which organized labor has always derived its strength is: "An injury to one is an injury to all." That is the principle the workers must always uphold, regardless of organizational or political differences, when any union is under boss attack.

CP Convention

The French have a saying, "The more things change, the more they remain the same." This just about describes the recent national convention of the American Communist Party.

There was a lot of loud ballyhoo about the new Marxist line of the Foster-Dennis leadership and a lot of cussing about the revisionism and pro-capitalism of the past leadership of Browder. But beneath the radical-sounding catch phrases everything remains as before. Stalinist politics are still Peoples Front politics—that is the politics of an alliance between the workers and the capitalists on the basis of a pro-capitalist program. Under Browder this alliance was carried through by backing Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. Now that the Democratic Party is part of the bi-partisan coalition pushing the "cold war" against Russia, the Stalinists attempt to carry through the policy through their alliance with Wallace and the creation of a new pro-capitalist Peoples Front under his leadership.

The old Browder line was a direct sellout of the American workers and their class interests. It was simply designed to cement an alliance between the Stalin regime and American imperialism. The new Foster-Dennis line is no less a sellout of the American working class. It is a variant of the same policy designed to aid Stalin in forcing through another deal with Washington.

The phony character of the CP's new "left" policy is shown up in the ludicrous incident in connection with Browder's reapplication for membership. The convention—unanimously, it goes without saying—rejected Browder's application for readmission because he was still supporting a pro-capitalist policy and

among other things, believe it or not, because his very "request for readmission was in itself a disguised form of anti-party activity." At the same time the Foster-Dennis leadership expelled another prominent Stalinist, Max Bedacht, formerly leading theoretician of the party, because he had the temerity to declare that the Wallace movement was capitalist and opposed the CP policy of supporting it.

The unregenerate character of the Stalinist party is further illustrated by the convention's conduct on the Smith Gag Law. At the very time that 12 of their own leaders are under indictment and face possible jail sentences, the convention is not permitted to even discuss the united front offer of the Socialist Workers Party to form a broad committee representing all tendencies of the labor movement to fight the indictments and seek the nullification of the Smith Act.

In the same way the convention ignored the communication of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which called upon the convention to record itself in favor of a presidential pardon for the 18 SWP and Minneapolis CIO Truck Drivers Union leaders, who were the first victims of the Smith Gag Act, and whose conviction is the precedent for the present indictment of the CP leaders.

Thus at a time when the CP is under fierce attack from the American capitalists it reveals itself again as a hard-boiled foe of the solidarity of the working class; as an organization that puts its own unworthy factional interests above the interests of the broad labor movement and as a vengeful agency of the reactionary, anti-internationalist Stalin regime in Russia.

The National Guard

Many youth have been fooled by the "out" given them in the Selective Service Act. They are joining the National Guard in the belief that it provides a "lesser evil" to conscription for possible overseas war duty.

They are going to find out quickly enough that by joining the National Guard they are signing up for possible military duty against their own fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, relatives and neighbors.

The capitalist military machine has a two-fold function. One is for foreign conquest. The other is for the subjugation of the American people themselves. The National Guard is specifically organized for the latter purpose.

We have had two proofs of this very recently, last spring in Minnesota and Iowa, and last week in Dayton, Ohio.

During the CIO packinghouse workers strike, the National Guard was sent in to subdue under-paid meat packing workers demanding a decent wage. They were sent in to protect the profits of the meat trust, now demanding as much as \$1.50 a pound for beef.

We have just witnessed the shameful spectacle of 1,500 National Guardsmen armed to the teeth and led by a tank unit, sent against a few hundred strikers in Dayton, Ohio, who were whipped back to work without a contract.

No, those who conceived the Draft Act, didn't do the youth any favor by putting in the tricky "escape clause" on the National Guard. They understood full well that they were preparing the instrument for a two-pronged war. Against the working people abroad — and the working people at home.

Contributions Average \$2500 a Week As Election Fund Reaches 30% of Quota

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

It's 30 per cent of the total on the third scoreboard of the \$25,000 SWP Election Campaign and Party Building Fund.

The branches have been raising the good average of \$2,500 each week.

Philadelphia goes to the top of the list this week with \$340 of its \$500 pledge already collected. Congratulations, Phillie, on your pace-setting.

Youngstown leaped in one bound from zero to tenth place with a money order for \$290 which represents 36 per cent of its quota. Milwaukee expects that its picnic will boost pledge payments quite a bit.

San Francisco-Oakland reports that "by all appearances we will go over our \$1,500 quota. The comrades are making every effort to get the money in early. We'll open our local election campaign with a meeting on August 22 at which James P. Cannon will be the featured speaker."

In New York City the Painters Branch has been successfully securing contributions from their shopmates and fellow-workers on the job. Over \$30 taken in to date.

Dobbs-Carlson collection lists have been sent out to all branches. Use them for circulating among your neighbors and fellow-workers and for mailing to contacts.

In response to our appeal, Militant readers are mailing in contributions. Here are a few of the encouraging letters received.

H. Anderson of Chicago writes: "To show you my appreciation for the courageous work you are doing in educating the workers to know their economic interest in society in times like these when there is so much confusion, misunderstanding and misinformation in the press and over the

radio, I'm sending you \$10. Hope I could send you more. Yours for the emancipation of the workers."

John Miller of Harrisburgh, Pa. urges our candidates to "Keep Fighting. Wall Street Monopoly Capitalism must go." And he's doing his bit to hustle it toward the grave.

From far-off Wiseton in Canada, Jim Seward encloses \$5 to help Dobbs and Carlson. "It thrills me through and through to read their speeches which are so full of courage and determination and loyalty to the working class. They will not go down to any disgraceful defeat. Their aim and object is a noble one."

We want to thank these readers for their donations and urge others to follow their example. Help the voice of socialist truth to be heard by sending your dimes and dollars to the Dobbs-Carlson Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

**Support the
Dobbs-Carlson
Fund!**

SCOREBOARD FOR \$25,000 SWP ELECTION FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Philadelphia	500	340	68
St. Louis	50	34	68
Tacoma	50	30	60
Allentown	50	25	50
West Virginia	100	50	50
Reading	150	75	50
Flint	400	160	40
Detroit	1,600	610	38
Minnesota	2,000	767	38
Youngstown	800	290	36
Milwaukee	400	140	35
New York City	7,500	2,584	34
San Francisco-Oakland	1,500	473	31
Baltimore	50	15	30
Chicago	2,000	596	29
Newark	750	200	27
Los Angeles	2,500	510	20
Pittsburgh	200	35	18
Cleveland	400	70	18
Boston-Lynn	400	60	15
Toledo	200	31	15
Seattle	600	70	11
Buffalo	1,000	37	4
Akron	400	10	3
Connecticut	250	0	0
Rochester	25	0	0
San Diego	50	0	0
General	1,075	69	6
Total thru Aug. 11	\$25,000	\$7,581	30

Letters on Broadcasts

From the flood of appreciations, criticisms and inquiries coming into our office in response to radio broadcasts, we are printing these excerpts of a number of the letters.

From St. Louis, Mo.

I heard a broadcast by your presidential candidate last Friday night. I wish to request a copy of his address and your party platform. I know you will not win in this election, but some day enlightened Americans will choose between the Socialist parties instead of from the rotten capitalist parties.

Also would you kindly send me the address of your party headquarters here in St. Louis.

B.K.K.

From South New Berlin, N.Y.

I am writing for a copy of the speech which was delivered over NBC August 6 by your candidate, Mr. Dobbs.

I have a copy of The Militant where your party platform is outlined, but if you would send a few copies of it, I would be very happy to distribute them for you.

In conclusion, I wish to say I think your party is just what this country has needed for a long time. I've gotten very tired of wondering where the next penny is coming from. I am the daughter of a construction worker, but you can't build roads in the winter.

P.T.

From Rochester, N.Y.

I am extremely interested in the platform of your party. I loathe Henry Wallace and almost feel the same about the Democratic and Republican parties. It is my opinion that the people don't have much of a choice in candidates such as Wallace, Truman and Dewey.

I have a sketchy knowledge of your platform and I would like to have more material on it. Of

what I know of it I like it and I think it is a sincere effort to improve this nation and not cater to monopolies.

I'm 26 years of age and have been going to college 5 years. At the quickest possible time I would like information on your party and its platform and if it is suitable, as I think it is, I will be a vigorous campaigner for the cause.

D.T.D.

From Pensacola, Fla.

I enjoyed very much your speech on Friday night on NBC and I wish all the workers, farmers and small businessmen of the entire country had listened to the true words you spoke. If those words don't open their eyes and ears at the same time, nothing will.

Would like for you to send me a copy of that speech. I consider it a masterpiece. If you can spare me several copies of that speech I will appreciate it and give it to some friends to bring those true words to the people who should know the facts and realize that the commentators, dramatizers on the air and would-be writers on the editorial pages are only for the oil interests, trusts and corporations. Your speech should be spread not only all over this country but all over the world.

L.R.

From Houston, Texas

Will you please send me 4 copies of Mr. Dobbs' address heard over a Houston radio station today and a copy of the party's platform. Wherein is your party different from the one led by Norman Thomas?

R.H.

Enclosed is \$1.25 and five special 25c 15-week subs. Hope to have more soon.

Heard the acceptance radio speeches and Comrade Dobbs' last network speech. Be sure to let

us know in plenty of time if you get more time on the air.

Also enclosed is \$3.00 toward Election and Party-Building Fund I see no hope outside of the Fourth International program, and it is our responsibility to prevent World War III. We have the program but we still have to get it to the masses. The election campaign will meet with a good response.

B.J.

FROM SAGINAW, MICHIGAN.

Please send me a copy of the aims and platform of the Socialist Workers Party.

If it's anything like England's poor socialist system, we don't want it!

Mrs. G.H.

FROM VINELAND, N.J.

Please send me information as to what the Socialist Workers Party stands for and your presidential candidate's speech of May 15, 1948.

M.B.

FROM ISANTI, MINN.

Please send me a copy of the acceptance speech of the nominee for president on the Socialist Workers Party, which I heard in part over WCCO one evening last week.

A.J.P.

Stay On The Picket Line

Stay on the picket line and fight... Like hell! Workers black and white unite, That's swell... May be a long pinch, so what? Don't give up an inch... Hold what you've got. Let the bosses blab, BUT STOP THAT SCAB! Fight for what you want, It's up to you... But if you don't, BY GOD, YOU'RE THROUGH!

Bill Armstrong
Detroit

Forces of "Law and Order" in Action



Three cops hauling off to jail picket Marylin Hasselbeck, member of the CIO Electrical and Radio Workers, on strike at the Univis Lens Co., Dayton, O. "Send her to the morgue," yelled Federated Pictures

FROM OAKLAND, CALIF.

Listened to your program over the air. Please send literature and all information. I would like to work for this party in the campaign. Will the candidate be on the ballot in November?

E.Z.

FROM SEATTLE, WASH.

Thank you for sending me your literature. From it I find that I could not support you if you were the only candidate running. How anyone can bear so much hate in their hearts is beyond me. If I were as unhappy in this country as you are then I would get out of it and go to Russia where your kind would be welcomed, as it would be a more fertile field for your kind of philosophy.

H.M.O.

FROM HAMBURG, N.Y.

Oddly enough, I first heard of the Socialist Workers Party in a list of organizations classified by the Department of Justice as "subversive or un-American," and I got your address from the 1948 World Almanac. It interested me to find three political parties on the list: the Communist, SWP and the Proletarian Party. I don't know what classification the SWP is under, but if it is "subversive" and "un-American" to oppose the control of the government by a handful of quasi-Fascists of Wall Street, and if it is "reactionary" to fight the Nazis, J. P. Morgan and the Du Ponts who would push us into World War III, then the Socialist Workers Party should be on that list!

I heard Farrell Dobbs' speech last Friday on NBC and it was excellent. You are getting some fine radio publicity.

R.W.G.

Ex-Veteran Addresses Buddies

My advice to Ex-Servicemen: I am an average fellow, 25 years of age, married, and a veteran of three years, including 2 years of overseas service in the U.S. Army. All my life has been spent in doing right, by living within

rules and regulations set up by the ruling capitalist society, and working very hard in order to make a decent living.

I returned home from the service and have since contracted a disease which required immediate hospitalization. As a reward for my service for "democracy," I was informed by a government agency that I would have to wait on a long list before I could be hospitalized in a government hospital even though my condition required immediate hospitalization.

As a result, my family has had to work extra hard to pay the high hospitalization fee of \$45 per week.

After reading The Militant, I came to the conclusion that it is the only workingman's paper that fights for labor's advancement and against capitalist ideology and capitalist domination.

If all my fellow ex-servicemen would realize my views, and pass them on to friends and relatives, we would be able to prevent a third capitalist world war.

Ex-Army-Sgt. L.
Liberty, N. Y.

SWP Chides CP

The Socialist Workers' Party, through Farrell Dobbs, its Presidential candidate, has called on the Communist Party to forget "our profound political difference" and form a "broad united front" against the Smith Act, under which 12 top CP leaders have been indicted.

Dobbs recalls that in 1941 the SWP had been the first victim of the Smith Act and 18 SWP leaders were tried and jailed. He recalled that the CP at that time "ignored the danger inherent in the conviction" and "sought to obstruct all efforts to arouse the labor movement." "While you did not come to the defense of the Trotskyists, we have already made public our opposition to your indictment," Dobbs said. (Reprint from CIO News, August 9, 1948.)

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting every Thurs. 8 p. m.
BALTIMORE—1121 E. Baltimore St. Phone Wolfe 17533. Daily 9 a. m. - 9 p. m. O. Coover St. MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale.
BOSTON—30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m. Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.
BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 829 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3890. Every afternoon except Sun.
CHICAGO—477 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Phone DEArborn 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a. m. - 5 p. m. Library, bookstore.
CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m. - 10 p. m. 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6297. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m.
FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.
LOS ANGELES—Militant Pub. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone YAndke 8061.
SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.
WATTS—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St.
LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., Rm. 11. Sat. 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p. m.
MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone Broadway 9645.
MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. - 6 p. m. Library, bookstore.
NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri., 7:30 p. m. Militant Labor Club, 163 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).
NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 850 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues., 8-10:30 p. m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bisboly 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p. m.
NEW YORK CITY (HQ.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR 5-8148.
EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St. 1st fl.
HARLEM—103 W. 110 St. Rm. 23 Phone MO 2-1868. Open discussion. Thurs., 8 p. m.
BROXN—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU 9-0101.
BROOKLYN—535 Fulton St. Phone ST 3-7433.
CHELSEA—130 W. 33rd St. Phone GR 2-0451.
OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.
PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.
PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Sunday evening discussions on "The SWP Election Program". Every week, 7:30 P. M.
SAN DIEGO (Cal.)—For information write P. O. Box 857.
SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-3:30 p. m.
SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., South & Washington. Phone Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.
ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Forum, Thurs., 7:30-10 p. m.
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The Tombstone

By Theodore Kovalesky

Jimmy and I sat quietly by the side of the creek. The current moved steadily by, tugging gently at the bright little corks on our fishing lines. We had worked the night shift and driven straight out to the creek, for we were off the next day and could afford not to sleep for a while. So there we sat, talking when we felt like it and enjoying the warm morning sun on our backs.

After one very long pause, Jimmy pushed a hand into his pocket and said, "Hey, I been meaning to show you this."

I took the crumpled bit of paper. It was a newspaper photograph of a tombstone, one like I had never seen before.

It was a large stone. Near the top were the words, "WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE." Also at the top was a five pointed star with a hammer and sickle cut into it. Beneath the star was the name of the man who lay in the grave, Morris Wohansky, 1882-1934. The inscription read, "Mourn not the dead, but rather mourn the apathetic throng, who sees the world's great anguish and its wrongs, yet dare not speak."

Jimmy watched me with a cynical smile as I read the little news item that accompanied the photograph. It seemed that the Canadian Legion had found out about Comrade Wohansky's gravestone in Mt. Hope Cemetery, Waterloo, Ont., and it had displeased them. They didn't act like the Nazis; they didn't steal into the graveyard in the dead of night and smear it with paint or oil or hack it with hammer and chisel. Had it been necessary, they probably would have done so, but it wasn't necessary.

They protested to the authorities. With the logic of red-baiters, they showed how a dead man had no right to have such a symbol on his tombstone. And the authorities gave ear to their protest. They saw the indecency of the situation and ordered the hammer and sickle removed. However, with the liberalism of these times, they otherwise left the tombstone intact.

"You think they'll dig him up to stand trial?" Jimmy asked.

I shook my head. "You got to be careful even after you're dead nowadays," I said.

"Who was the guy?"

"I don't know, Jimmy," I said. "I don't know who he was, but he was my friend. Any guy that will have 'Workers of the world, unite!' on his tombstone is sure as hell a friend of yours and mine."

Jimmy spat into the creek, and we watched the widening circles move slowly down toward the lake. "I got mad when I saw that," Jimmy said. "What are you going to do when people act like that?"

I grinned. "You know what we're going to do, all right. We're going to build the kind of world that won't produce half-witted slobos who want to desecrate tombstones and rob the dead. But there's something in that picture that's pretty wonderful to me."

"What's that?" Jimmy asked, looking at the clipping.

"You won't see it there," I said, "but there's the picture of the victory of the workers. When the ruling class and the scummy elements who do its thug work begin to fear the dead and the ideas of the dead, it shows the great power of the ideas of our movement. It shows that not even death itself can stop us."

A 100 Percent American

By Art Preis

The Chicago Tribune's biography of John Parnell Thomas observes: "He seems to have been molded by life for the job he now faces." That job is chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, first made notorious under ex-Congressman Dies and which is currently seeking to hold the spotlight in whipping up the spy scare.

In a more critical appraisal of Thomas, "White Knight or False Prophet?" by Milton Lehman, published by the Aug. 1 N. Y. Times, the job for which "the stocky, florid Congressman" has been molded is as "a hunter... he tracks down people he considers subversive, un-American and dangerous to the national welfare"—as defined by J. Parnell Thomas.

"In his hunt," says Mr. Lehman, "he is usually flanked by a battery of photographers and reporters, and when he fires, he sometimes brings down a few of his quarry. But his buckshot has also hit a number of innocent bystanders."

Congressman Thomas has a very simple definition of "Americanism." He told Mr. Lehman that "Americanism is conservative. We've got to stop the radicals and stop them now." You'd better not differ with his definition, either. Several who have done so in his presence are now studying his definition in jail under a conviction for "contempt."

When Mr. Lehman asked Thomas during an interview to define such terms as "communist," "fascist," "subversive" and "un-American," the man who can sneer you at will and send you to jail for any of these things "buzzed for his secretary and asked her to bring in 'that list on communism and the rest of it I always use.' He wagged his finger. 'Every time I define them,' he said, 'I do it differently.'"

This flexibility in defining terms like "com-

munist" and "subversive" is a wonderful aid to Thomas and his colleagues of the Un-American Committee. He can make these terms fit just about anyone he dislikes or who disagrees with him. Moreover, Congressional immunity gives him the right to question, accuse, smear or otherwise "expose" anyone, without fear of suit for libel or even cross-questioning.

The two terms Thomas seems to have most difficulty in defining are "fascism" and "democracy." He told Mr. Lehman: "Fascism—I guess I've never been asked to define it. I'd say it's just like communism, dangerous to America. And democracy—why, everybody knows what that is."

With respect to fascism, Congressman Thomas is in the same position as a man with halitosis—even his best friend won't tell him. His subcommittee on fascism recently reported there was "no danger of fascism in America" and declared that such organizations as the Columbians of Georgia and the Ku Klux Klan are "native-American institutions and not subject to investigation by the committee." Which just goes to show how nature blunts people to their own smell.

We might add to this portrait of a 100% American—who looks like a Laura Gray cartoon of a Wall Street capitalist—that his zeal for hunting down "subversives" was undoubtedly nurtured in his years as a successful Wall Street bond and insurance salesman. He also managed to get through the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton Business School, where, he now modestly admits: "I was never a good student, but I could always tell a troublemaker." And a troublemaker, for the New Jersey Republican who likes to make up definitions as he goes along, is anybody who makes trouble for J. Parnell Thomas.

The "Four Freedoms"

By Dinah Sanders

August marks the anniversaries of two proud achievements of American imperialism—the "Atlantic Charter" and Hiroshima! In August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill met aboard a battleship somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean, and announced with great fanfare the signing of the "Atlantic Charter" guaranteeing the "four freedoms" to the peoples of the world forever. This was supposed to represent the great principles for which millions were asked to shed their blood.

While the muddleheaded liberals cheered themselves hoarse, The Militant denounced the "charter" as a fraud. Who was right? Four years later, when the application of the Charter was being questioned, Roosevelt blandly announced that actually there never was any such document. Millions had gone to their deaths on behalf of a non-existent "Charter!"

As originally dictated to the press by Roosevelt, Point Three of this non-existent document read as follows:

"They (Roosevelt and Churchill) respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

The Militant files give an interesting account of how the imperialists have "celebrated" the succeeding anniversaries of this momentous proclamation:

Aug. 1942. INDIA: On the first anniversary of the "Atlantic Charter" the Indian masses got

their first taste of the "four freedoms" in the form of tear gas and bullets from Churchill's troops.

Aug. 1943. ITALY: Allied leaders through AMGOT prevent Italian masses from driving out the fascists and setting up their own government.

Aug. 1945. BERLIN: "The Big Three" (U.S., Britain, Russia) completed plans for enslaving the German people by dismembering the country, permanent strangulation of its economy and indefinite military occupation.

In 1945 U. S. imperialism staged a special commemoration ceremony in honor of the "four freedoms"—especially freedom from fear—by dropping the first atomic bomb as an "experiment" on Hiroshima's 344,000 inhabitants. Four days later they dropped the second atom bomb on the 250,000 men, women and children of Nagasaki. Just before the bombs were dropped, Washington assured the world that "We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation."

On Aug. 18, 1945, The Militant's banner headline warned the world that "THERE IS NO PEACE!" This warning has unfortunately been confirmed over and over again in the past three years—in China, Indonesia, Indo-China, Burma, Palestine, Greece, in the "cold war" between the U. S. and Russia and the ever more feverish preparations for the shooting war.

In this seventh year of the "Atlantic Charter," the world has less of the four freedoms proclaimed by Roosevelt than before the second world holocaust began.

The prospect under imperialist rule is not a greater perspective of freedom, but a new world war—this time of annihilation. That is why the fight to take power out of the hands of the imperialists and place it in the hands of the workers and farmers has become a life and death question for the American people and mankind.

Notes from the News

PRESIDENTIAL STAKES — Whoever wins the presidential elections will have about 500,000 federal jobs to dispense as patronage. H. Elliot Kaplan, Director of the Civil Service League, estimated that the total annual "patronage payroll" totals about one billion dollars.

SHAME-FACED SUPPORT—Jack Kroll, National Director of CIO-PAC strongly hinted that the CIO leaders would back Truman for reelection in November. He said the formal decision would probably be made at a meeting of CIO vice-presidents in Washington on Aug. 19.

POISON GAS — An NBC correspondent stated that Greek War Minister George Stratos charged U. S. officials with failure to make good on their promise to deliver poison gas for use against the guerrilla forces. He claimed that American representatives, including Gen. Wedemeyer, made the promise.

CHINESE DOLLARS—100,000 Chinese dollars are now worth one United States cent, as inflation continues to rage in China.

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THE MILITANT

N. Y. Transit Interests Move To Put Over New Fare Steal

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Aug. 9 — Fourteen private corporations controlling practically all surface transportation in the city are again reaching into the pockets of the city's working class population. They reason that if the city and the little coterie of bankers on the inside track of the city's subways could raise their fares then they too are entitled to more.

This outrageous hijacking is being attempted in broad daylight. The excuse for a fare hike is the new 24-cent wage increase granted the transit workers organized in the CIO Transport Workers Union.

Simple arithmetic reveals the extent of the proposed steal. The largest of the transit corporations, the Third Avenue Line and the N.Y. City Omnibus and Fifth Avenue Coach Company employ 1,000 workers and carry 4,000,000 passengers daily. The companies want to raise fares three cents.

The additional daily take thus would come to \$120,000. The proposed increase in wages amounts to \$13,440.

In order to put this scheme over, the transit corporations have to get the approval of Mayor O'Dwyer and his Tammany pals. The Mayor's board has tried during the course of several hearings to get the corporations to moderate their appetite. One corporation spokesman explained their point of view which bears repeating.

THIS IS AMERICA

"This is America . . . I hold bonds in this company and if it's any crime to hold a bond and make a profit I don't know what it is."

The Mayor and his cronies explained to the arrogant corporation attorneys that they, too, wished to see them get a reasonable return on their investment. A city expert had estimated a cent increase as being more than ample to cover increased costs

and still maintain the rate of return on their invested capital.

The transit barons turned down the cent increase with scorn. When asked what they considered a fair return on their investment the leading spokesman answered: "We're entitled to an 8 per cent return and we're entitled to as much of a fare as we can get."

The favorite financial swindle of public utilities is to load them down with paper debts, and thus drain off more than would come as a so-called normal return. In the case of the Third Avenue lines the Mayor's experts state that there is only \$11,000,000 invested. The Third Avenue's attorney claims that there is \$59,000,000 more invested. "There were actually 59 million iron men that went into the Third Avenue Company," he declared.

WATERED STOCK

This is so badly fraudulent that it brought laughter from the witnesses at the hearing. The Mayor answered: "They went in, but they came right out again."

"How long do you expect the Third Avenue riders to carry that \$60,000,000 in water that you have up there?" the Mayor asked.

The corporation attorney had the unbeatable answer: "We wonder how much water there is in the city's bonds?"

Neither got an answer. Both quickly passed over to a less embarrassing point.

With the hearings concluded last week, the corporations can now take the next legal step with seven cents recommended as the "compromise" fare.

These hearings simply served to momentarily lift the veil and reveal the cesspool of corruption and legalized thievery that goes on daily in every city of this country. As the transit corporation attorney boasted, fleecing the poor and gouging the public is no crime under capitalism.

PETITION GOAL REACHED IN 53 N. Y. COUNTIES

By Irving Beinlin, N. Y. State Campaign Manager

Aug. 11—A mobilization called Saturday night by the New York Local for petition gathering netted 3,200 signatures on Dobbs and Carlson petitions.

Signers of petitions included residents of all the boroughs of Greater New York. Friends of the party aided in the mobilization. One brought in 66 signatures and joined the party the same night.

The New York State total now stands at 15,000. This means that in 15 days of a 30-day campaign 60% of the 25,000 goal has been reached.

The Buffalo Branch is doing yeoman's work in this campaign. Its members have successfully organized all SWP petition work in Western New York State. The reports show that three times the necessary minimum signatures have now been obtained in each county of Western New York. The comrades expect to concentrate their work in the city of Buffalo itself and turn in 1,500 additional signatures.

Three times the required minimum of 50 signatures per county have been obtained in 53 of the 61 counties of the state. Petition work in the remaining counties has already been started and it is expected that all county requirements will be shortly fulfilled.

An Active Workers Conference is scheduled for August 29, upon the completion of the petition work. The conference will map plans for an effective campaign to aggressively bring the party's program to the working class of New York and bring out the vote for Dobbs and Carlson on election day.

LEON TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING And Presidential Campaign Rally

Speakers:

MURRY WEISS, National Committee member, Organizer, Los Angeles SWP
GEORGE CLARKE, National Campaign Director, SWP
MIKE BARTLELL, New York City Organizer
"SWP ON THE MARCH"

Motion picture of the SWP Convention, launching its first presidential campaign

THE MILITANT CHORUS

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

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

Fight Pressed Against Police Loudspeaker Ban

NEW YORK CITY — The opening of the presidential election campaign period in New York City finds the Socialist Workers Party, the Americans for Democratic Action and the American Labor Party engaged in a struggle with the police over the right to use loudspeakers at street meetings without police permits and the payment of big fees. The police have been making arrests, issuing summonses and otherwise harrasing the street speakers of the minority parties in brazen violation of the June 7 Supreme Court ruling on this question.

"Loudspeakers are today indispensable instruments of effective public speech," states the ruling written by Justice William O. Douglas. "The sound truck has become an accepted method of political campaigning. It is the way people are reached. Must a candidate for Governor or the Congress depend on the whim or caprice of the Chief of Police in order to use his sound truck for campaigning? Must he prove to the satisfaction of that official that his noise will not be annoying to people?"

On the strength of this decision, the SWP, ADA and ALP have been holding street meetings without applying for special police permits. There have been numerous arrests. But when the cases, which were in the nature of tests of the police ordinances on sound devices, were brought into court, the Police Department, fearing adverse court decisions, deliberately pressed for postponement. At the same time, the police continue to insist on their arbitrary rulings and restrictions.

Under pressure of the continued violation of these police rules by the minority parties, the Police Department has now announced that its Legal Bureau is drafting new legislation on the use of sound devices. This may result in regulations that merely get around the Supreme Court ruling, while withholding the concession which the ruling represents. The Socialist Workers Party in New York City is demanding that the Mayor call a public hearing at which spokesmen of all organizations concerned with this legislation can present their views.

L. A. School Board Hit on Prejudice

By Al Lynn

LOS ANGELES, July 20. — The reactionary Los Angeles Board of Education twisted into its opposite charges of racial prejudice and anti-racial sentiments brought against one of its principals at a hearing last night.

A committee to Combat Racial Discrimination in the Los Angeles Schools brought to light several months ago, a confidential memorandum from Mrs. Nell Haas, principal of the 28th St. School, in which she wrote her superiors that she wanted "to separate my union clique if possible," also "please do not send me any more Jewish teachers who want to reform the world."

She also asked for "a Caucasian teacher as all of my primary teachers, with one exception, are colored."

The Board of Education, elected despite labor opposition at the last elections demonstrated the necessity for labor to aggressively enter the political field. It reprimanded Mrs. Haas for being "indiscreet and unwise in the use of certain terminology." But its real fire was directed against Harry Jung, CIO representative and Harold Orr, president of AFL Teachers Union, Local 430, who were accused of acting in an unfair and undemocratic manner and of circulating "false, malicious and un-American slurs on the good names of the ladies and gentlemen who teach and who administer the Los Angeles City Schools."

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

AFL Raiding



CIO members picket Oppenheim Collins Dept. Store in New York extorting management to "Negotiate, Don't Redbait." The Stalinist-led union is trying to save its bargaining rights from a joint employer-government-AFL attack. Federated Pictures

Seattle SWP Plans Extensive Program for Dobbs on Visit

By C. Kaye, Wash. State District Campaign Mgr.

Goldman Quits WP To Campaign for Norman Thomas

CHICAGO, Aug. 3—Stalinist disruption and rule-or-ruin tactics were displayed last week at the University of Chicago. A Civil Rights Committee was organized and met on Monday, Aug. 26, to plan a campaign of protest against the Smith "Gag" Act, and the latest use of that infamous law — this time against 12 leaders of the Communist Party. At the initial meeting, it was voted to sponsor a public meeting on Wednesday, July 28 in defense of civil rights.

The Stalinists present were voted down on their attempt to prevent the selection, as a scheduled speaker, of Albert Goldman, defendant and attorney in the Minneapolis labor trial for the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, the first to be imprisoned under the Smith Act. The majority voted to invite Goldman and several other speakers, including a spokesman for the Communist Party. On Tuesday, the Stalinists again tried to get the committee to reverse its decision by refusing to invite Goldman. Again they were voted down.

On Wednesday, the day of the meeting, signs were posted everywhere listing Goldman among the speakers and mentioning that a spokesman for the Stalinist Party would be present. At the last moment the Stalinists pulled out and decided to boycott the meeting. They then attended the meeting on Wednesday evening and proceeded — as only Stalinists know how — to disrupt the meeting, to smear Goldman, and to whoop it up for the Communist Party.

GOLDMAN'S STAND

Both Goldman and a speaker for the American Civil Liberties Union condemned the Smith Act and protested against the arrest of the Communist Party leaders. A number of students present, however, were surprised to hear Goldman state that he would even defend the "rights" of fascists, a point of view that has nothing in common with Marxist class politics. Goldman's position on this question was warmly praised by the spokesman for the ACLU, an organization that has frequently given legal aid to fascists.

Goldman's decision to defend "even fascists" came almost at the same time that he decided to quit the Shachtmanite "Workers Party" in order to stump more freely for Norman Thomas in the election campaign. Actually, this was not necessary, since Chicago Shachtmanites are currently engaged in circulating petitions to get the Socialist Party's Maynard Krueger on the ballot.

Tax the RICH, not the poor!

