

**THE**  
**SOCIALIST**  
**WORKERS**  
**↓ PARTY**

*What It Is*  
*What It Stands For*

by

**JOSEPH HANSEN**

**PIONEER**



**PUBLISHERS**

**10c**



Published for the  
**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY**

by

**PIONEER**



**PUBLISHERS**

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

October, 1948

### **About the Author**

Joseph Hansen was born 38 years ago in Salt Lake City, Utah. His family moved to McGill, Nevada, a mining camp. There he received an early introduction to the class struggle when he saw imported gunmen fire on striking smelter workers.

In Richfield, Utah, a farming town where his family later moved, he read a pamphlet in the Public Library on the tariff question by Daniel De Leon, one of America's socialist teachers. On repeating De Leon's powerful arguments in school debates, Hansen found himself called a "socialist," a label which stuck through the years he worked his way through high school and university.

In 1934 in the depth of the depression he joined the Trotskyist movement. Two years later he served as Associate Editor of *The Voice of the Federation*, official newspaper of the West Coast maritime unions. In 1937 he became Secretary to Leon Trotsky and was with that great revolutionary socialist when a Stalinist assassin struck him down in 1940.

Hansen was candidate of the Socialist Workers for U.S. Senator from New York in 1946. At present he is a staff member of *The Militant* and member of the Editorial Board of *Fourth International*. He is author of *Father Coughlin, Fascist Demagogue*; *Wall Street's War—Not Ours*; and *American Workers Need a Labor Party*.

#### **SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY**

116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

- ☐ I would like more information about the Socialist Workers Party.  
☐ I would like to join the Socialist Workers Party.

Name .....

Street .....

City..... State.....



# The Socialist Workers Party

## WHAT IT IS WHAT IT STANDS FOR

Who rules America?

"Why naturally *we* do," some people might say. "What a stupid question!"

Let's see.

The cost of living is at an all-time high. Were YOU asked what prices YOU can afford to pay for groceries, meat, clothing, housing and other necessities of life?

Every payday the company subtracts a sizable part of your wages and hands it over to the government as taxes. How much voice did YOU have in the decision to make this deduction from your family earnings?

What about the transportation taxes, gasoline taxes, tobacco taxes, telephone and telegraph taxes, movie taxes, drug store taxes and countless other sales taxes that drain your family purse? Did YOU agree to these extortionate assessments on your income?

Take some other decisions vitally affecting your welfare.

What about the anti-labor drive? Did YOU decide that the press, the radio and the government should be mobilized against the trade unions? After a war allegedly for "Four Freedoms" did YOU decide that the Wagner Act should be ripped out of the statute books? Did YOU vote to have your union strangled by the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law?

Take the threat of *depression*. Who decides that America with its incomparable resources and vast labor power shall endure the suffering and misery of depression? Do millions of workers deliberately choose to close down the factories, beggar themselves and pound the pavements looking for jobs? Do millions of farmers deliberately pass a motion to let bumper crops rot unharvested?

Consider the plight of millions of poor people in the United States condemned to discrimination, segregation and denial of their civil rights. Have they concluded that this is a just penalty for being born of colored parents or for holding a religion that doesn't happen to be the same as that of the rich?

Look at the ominous war clouds today—after 60,000,000



casualties in World War II. Are the youth of America consulted about being hustled into training for World War III? Is it their wish to die on foreign battlefields while Wall Street counts the profits? Who gave the order to militarize America?

Who decided for the United States that no wiser use can be found for atomic energy than stockpiling atom bombs? Who decided to stake our lives and risk civilization itself in the atomic slaughter now in blueprint stage?

Who decides whether we have hunger or plenty—fascism or democracy—war or peace—barbarism or a great advance in the freedom of humanity?

Who rules America?

## **The Government of Money**

In 1937 a book called *America's 60 Families*, written by Ferdinand Lundberg, former financial reporter for a big New York newspaper, created a nationwide sensation. The facts presented in that bestseller have not been successfully challenged to this day. Here are the first two paragraphs of this highly important work:

"The United States is owned and dominated today by a hierarchy of its sixty richest families, buttressed by no more than ninety families of lesser wealth. Outside this plutocratic circle there are perhaps three hundred and fifty other families, less defined in development and wealth, but accounting for most of the income of \$100,000 or more that do not accrue to members of the inner circle.

"These families are the living center of the modern industrial oligarchy which dominates the United States, functioning discreetly under a *de jure* democratic form of government behind which a *de facto* government, absolutist and plutocratic in its lineaments, has gradually taken form since the Civil War. This *de facto* government is actually the government of the United States—informal, invisible, shadowy. It is the government of money in a dollar democracy."

With a wealth of evidence, this conscientious research expert exposes the tentacles of this small ruling group in every field of American life. They monopolize the mines, the railways, the ships, the mills, the factories, the natural resources of America. They control public education and the churches. They finance and maintain the Republican and Democratic parties.

This "informal, invisible, shadowy" group, a grand total of 500 richest families—the Morgans, du Ponts, Rockefellers, Fords,



Mellons, Vanderbilts, Baruchs, Tafts, Goulds, Astors and the rest—constitutes the "Government of Money" behind the puppets in Congress, the White House and the Supreme Court.

They are the ones responsible for skyrocketing prices, taxation of the poor, the anti-labor drive, the housing shortage, maintenance of Jim Crow, the "peacetime" draft, the stockpiling of atom bombs, the war scares, the fear and dread of the future that every working person feels.

They make up the core of the capitalist class.

They are the rulers of America.

## **The Alternative**

"Capitalism has its faults"—someone might admit—"but an honest man willing to work can usually get a job and support his family. Who knows what might happen under a different set-up?"

Unfortunately for those afraid of change, capitalism came to the end of its usefulness much sooner than either the slave system or the feudal system which it replaced. Capitalism no longer permits the workers and farmers to settle down into a comfortable rut. You only have to recall how many depressions and wars we've had since Woodrow Wilson became President to understand that. Capitalism won't leave us in peace! It can't!

Stupendous family fortunes could be amassed in the early days of capitalism without denying the bulk of the population a living. Depressions and wars shook society from time to time. Child labor, endless hours, vile job conditions, brutally low pay, savage anti-labor laws and other evils cried out for reform. The sword of imperialism soaked the colonial lands in blood. Yet despite all its crimes against humanity, this system represented a long stride forward.

Today capitalism staggers from one catastrophic depression to another. Wars come more frequently. The intervals of peace grow shorter. Each conflict exceeds in frightfulness the previous one. Fascism gives but a glimpse of the inferno that lies in store under capitalism.

Our generation now faces the most fateful decision in the history of America.

We have the greatest industrial capacity of any country in the world. We have the most highly skilled labor force. Our natural resources are among the richest on earth. We have now tapped atomic energy, that fabulous source of power.

Obviously we have all the material means to enjoy a stand-



ard of living far higher than anything ever seen. It is necessary only to break the stranglehold of the "informal, invisible, shadowy" Government of Money, integrate industry under a Workers and Farmers Government, set nationwide production goals in accordance with the people's needs and—*go forward!*

What miracles of production will then be possible! Imagine the food, clothing, houses, automobiles, radios, refrigerators, civilian planes, all the modern conveniences required for good living, that we can turn out! To what heights we can expand industry! Picture our grimy, tenement-cluttered urban areas turned into modern, beautiful cities, filled with parks, clean and shining in the sun!

That is only the beginning. The work week can be shortened as more and more machines take over the burden of labor. Vacations can be lengthened. Workers can retire young enough to enjoy years of leisure. With life-time security guaranteed—an ample living from cradle to grave—think how free and joyous life will become! Everyone will be able to develop his talents to the fullest, to contribute his best to the world.

## **The Perspective of the 60 Families**

In face of this attractive future, what is the perspective of America's 60 richest families?

From the industries of America they expect the flood of profits to continue pouring into the swollen fortunes they inherited. They count on processing our natural resources into private bank accounts of astronomical size. They intend to continue treading the juicy grapes of rent that grow in sub-standard housing.

They dream of regimenting the American people, prussianizing the youth, hurling mechanized armies across the Atlantic and Pacific. They look on atomic energy as a weapon far more destructive than anything they have yet turned upon the centers of civilization in their wars. They vision themselves as conquerors of the earth, the house flags of their giant monopolies dotting the entire globe.

What do these schemes of America's power-drunk, richest families mean to the working people?

They mean reducing the capitals of the world to rubble like Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They mean the destruction of the great achievements of civilization, the product of centuries of bitter toil. They mean a reign of terror and the spawning of a barbarous reaction worse than anything yet experienced in



Europe or Asia. They mean fear and agony, slavery and death. What a monster an American Hitler would be, financed by Wall Street, armed with the atomic bomb and enforcing the racial hatreds of the Southern Bourbons!

America stands at the crossroads. Decline and ruin lie down one road, the road of capitalist barbarism. Peace, abundance, well-being and boundless new horizons under the beneficent guidance of science lie down the road of socialism.

Which road shall we take?

## **What About Reforming Capitalism?**

An objection might be raised: "If another war destroys civilization, the rich are not likely to survive either. Surely in their own self-interest they won't object to a few reforms. And even if they do squawk, why can't we kick out the worst politicians, curb the monopolies and put better labor legislation back on the books? Then if we sit down at a conference table and iron out the differences with the Soviet Union, that will strengthen the United Nations and save the peace. What could be more sensible and practical?"

Three assumptions are made in this argument: (1) leading capitalists can be persuaded to act for the good of the people; (2) the capitalist system can be reformed; (3) the capitalist system is worth reforming.

All three assumptions are false. Leading capitalists cannot be talked into giving up their drive for profits. The capitalist system is suffering from ills that cannot be cured. And in place of the present economy we can set up the far superior, modern one of socialism.

No doubt many capitalists shrink at the consequences of another war. But if we check the record of the capitalist class as a whole, then we must say they will not draw back from the catastrophe of war and fascism.

For instance, some Italian capitalists did not care for fascism. Nevertheless the class as a whole supported Mussolini, financed his party, kept him in power and converted Italy into a battlefield of World War II.

Likewise in Germany. Certain capitalists felt uneasy about Nazism. But German Big Business backed Hitler and headed Germany straight into the abyss of imperialist war.

The same was true for Japan.

And what about Spain? Didn't the capitalists there install the fascist butcher Franco?



"In America things are different," a trusting supporter of things-as-they-are might respond. "The capitalists are not as reactionary as in other countries; and even if they are, today things are different—fear of atomic war will hold them back."

If this were so, we could breathe easier about the future under capitalism. But American imperialism was *first* to use the atom bomb—moreover, against a civilian population. Remember how the homes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, without the slightest warning, were wiped off the face of the globe? And how Truman boasted about his decision to incinerate these helpless victims?

Every resource is being strained to manufacture atom bombs right now . . . what for? To hand out as souvenirs of the good neighbor policy?

Like depressions, imperialist war is part of the cycle of capitalist economy. No matter how much individual capitalists may fear another conflict, no matter how well they know the risks, forces beyond their control sweep them into the maelstrom.

The American capitalist class is no exception. The fact that Big Business has already plunged the country into two world wars is sufficient to prove that. It happens to be capitalist nature to put profits first, no matter what the cost in suffering to others. It is a total delusion to expect the government of money to change its way of doing business.

## **A Look at the Inside Works**

A thorough understanding of capitalism can be gained only by turning to Marxism. In the works of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V. I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky and the other outstanding revolutionary socialists, you will find the full truth about this economic system and its politics.

The working people of the entire earth owe boundless gratitude to these men of genius. These men devoted their whole mind, heart and energy to the most pressing problem facing humanity today—the task of bringing full understanding, planning and order into social relations.

One hundred years ago Karl Marx and Frederick Engels formulated with scientific precision the main laws observable in the operation of capitalist economy. For one hundred years the spokesmen of the capitalist class have sought to refute them. All these efforts have failed. The principal findings of Marx and Engels remain unshaken to this day. Indeed, events have confirmed and reinforced what they said.



You are urged to study the writings of Marxism. The reward will be a profound understanding of the society you were born in. You will be able to see behind the surface of events. You will know where society is going and why.

## What Private Ownership Means

The heart and soul of the capitalist system is the *private ownership of the means of production*. This does *not* mean ownership of the goods that we buy as consumers, such as tooth brushes, soap, razor blades, face cream, shirts, nylon hose, fur coats, television sets, automobiles, bread, butter, milk, T-bone steaks, shoes, newspapers, ice cream, vitamin pills, bubble gum and other necessities. It means *private ownership of the natural resources and machines that make possible the mass production of these consumer goods*—the system whereby a handful of colossally wealthy families can inherit and own the big ranches, estates, forests, buildings, mines, mills, smelters, oil wells, power plants, foundries, factories, packing plants, railways, steamships, air lines, telephones—all the basic industries of the land—and use them for their own private enrichment at the expense of the public.

It is very important to understand this clearly. For the planned economy of socialism will not abolish the private ownership of consumer goods such as we buy across the counter today—when we can meet the price. Instead, by freeing production from capitalist restrictions, socialism will make possible a vast increase in the amount and quality of such goods and ensure their full and fair distribution.

The private ownership of the country's industrial resources leads to all the major evils we see under capitalism.

First of all, the national income is unevenly distributed. A tremendous proportion is drained off in the form of profits and frozen in the hands of a tiny minority. No matter how they throw money around in extravagant living, they cannot possibly use up the vast sums they receive. Consequently their fortunes expand virtually automatically. A stockholder can go sail-boating 365 days of the year in Bermuda or pickle himself in gin without the least detriment to the business that sends him his spending money.

This unequal division of the national income has far-reaching results. Lacking full purchasing power, the mass of people are unable to buy all the consumer goods they produce. A surplus is left over. This surplus accumulates.



How do the capitalists get rid of this so-called "over-production"? One way is to curtail production. The big monopolies deliberately run industry in low gear to keep goods scarce. However, this only stretches out the process. Mass purchasing power still lags behind output.

Another way is to shut down the country's factories until the accumulated surplus is disposed of. Depriving millions of workers of their jobs doesn't improve their purchasing power. We then see what is known as a depression. The surplus goods are got rid of somehow or other—dumped into sewers, the ocean, allowed to spoil, or sold on foreign markets. Then the capitalists generously permit industry to start up again for the next cycle of boom and bust.

Competition among the capitalists leads to still other evils. The small ones are squeezed to the wall. Like big-time gangsters, the monopolists take over. To increase profits, wages are driven down and hours lengthened. Labor-saving machinery is introduced—not to lighten work or shorten hours but to slash the number of employes and make the pay roll smaller. This leads to technological unemployment. Machines replace workers and their skills.

All this is bad enough, but it is only the beginning. In their high-pressure search for markets to absorb "overproduction," the capitalists comb the earth. In the first era of capitalism they conquered the more backward lands in the Americas, the Far East, India, Africa and the islands of the Pacific. Today little remains free from their clutches outside the Soviet Union. Consequently competition between different national gangs of capitalists leads to ferocious trade wars that periodically explode into armed conflict. The real dispute among these national gangs of capitalists is not at all over fascism, morals or "Four Freedoms," but over who shall monopolize these foreign markets, spheres of influence and rich colonial areas.

From this analysis, it is easy to see what America's 60 richest families hope to gain in their projected World War III. They expect to crush the Soviet regime and open up the vast area of the USSR to capitalist exploitation. They plan on inheriting the collapsing British Empire along with the colonial holdings of the Dutch and French imperialists.

Thus blind economic forces drive the capitalists from one depression to the next, from one imperialist slaughter to a worse one. Their rule costs the working people untold suffering, misery and bloodshed. Their rule, therefore, no longer inspires



confidence and enthusiasm. Where it is not openly hated it is suffered solely because the people do not yet see the way to obtain a better system.

That is only temporary. Deep down among the bulk of the world's population, the conviction is growing that a basic change is needed.

This is why the capitalists are forced to depend more and more upon violence, brutality, fascism and military-police dictatorship to maintain their rule. And this is why a permanent blight seems to rest upon education, art and science. The capitalists fear thought. They insist upon harnessing educators, artists and scientists to the war machine. Thought-control is the magic formula the Government of Money expects will keep the working people content with their miserable lot. The "loyalty" oaths, purges and witch-hunts only reveal how far America's 60 richest families have already marched down the gloomy highway to the police state.

Leon Trotsky spoke the truth in 1940 when he warned that "the only way out for humanity is the world socialist revolution. The alternative to it is the relapse into barbarism."

## **The Child of Capitalism**

If capitalism really represented the end of all progress in economic systems, it might seem best for our peace of mind to shut our eyes to the future. Actually, that is not the case at all. Marx and Engels called attention to heartening evidence that capitalism is destined to be followed by something far superior.

First of all, no capitalist can exist without workers. He depends on workers to build the plants, process the raw materials, transport them where needed and turn out the finished products. Without labor power, his capital is worthless.

For the sake of profits, capitalism mobilized the mightiest armies of labor the world has ever seen. Capitalism itself collected millions of human beings and taught them how to cooperate in producing goods on a mass scale.

This mighty social force constructed the modern machine industry that combines raw materials from every continent into the finished products we need.

These two world-wide products of capitalism, the working class and modern industry, provide the basis for something new.

Suppose, for example, that the workers grow tired of enduring depressions and fighting imperialist wars and say to the 60 richest families: "We've had enough of your rule. Now get out



of our way. We intend to take over industry and run it for the benefit of the people. From now on, no person, no matter how wealthy, can own any section of industry for his private benefit."

That simple straightforward action would mean the end of the capitalist system and the beginning of socialism.

Obviously socialism is the child of capitalism. You can see how the new society is being shaped for birth right before our eyes. Only we must add that capitalism can scarcely be considered a normal mother. Instead of looking forward to the birth of socialism and dreaming of its brilliant future, capitalism hates its child. It disowns it, considers it alien and immoral, and seeks to kill it before it is born.

What will socialism be like?

When the United States goes socialist, a number of other countries will follow suit, eventually all of them. A new powerful means of expanding production then comes into play. The industrial system of the entire world will be united into an efficient, streamlined, smooth-functioning, interlocking whole, run according to scientific plan.

Under socialism there is no economic motive for war. The opposite force drives economy. Producing for use instead of profits, the colossal power of international cooperation is directed with full force into the production of consumer goods. That is why socialism *guarantees* peace.

As for the former capitalists, it will really be a tough dish, having to work for a living after being born with a billion-dollar spoon in their mouths. No doubt the sympathy of the workers rubbing elbows with them will help ease the mental strain. If the thought of honest work is too depressing, however, here is a suggestion to the capitalist class: If you will guarantee a peaceful transition to socialism, the Workers and Farmers Government in return might well guarantee life-long pensions enabling you to live with little change in your personal routine. That would be much more profitable to both you and the country as a whole than forcing America to undergo another civil war. The Workers and Farmers Government will not be a government of revenge. It will treat former capitalists, particularly the older generation, with far more consideration than they ever treated aged workers under their rule. Socialist America can afford to be generous and big-hearted.

The Socialist United States of the World will for the first time make possible genuine civilization. The bounteous living



assured everyone will eventually eliminate the blinding hatreds, base jealousies, cruel prejudices and unworthy superstitions that now poison human relations. Reason placed in control of economy will speedily extend its rational sway throughout the social structure.

The first right in the socialist world will be the right to happiness. Disease, malnutrition, insanity, nervous disorders, will gradually disappear as science turns its powers away from war to these age-old problems. Family life will undergo a change for the better. Men and women will meet on terms of equality, free from economic worries and — just as important — guided by full knowledge of their own deepest mental and physical needs and the means of satisfying them.

A new type of human being will emerge in the new world society. Many people will achieve the level once reserved for the rare geniuses who appeared by accident in previous systems. Among them will appear titans not yet seen on earth.

## **The Obstacles**

"It sounds too good to be true," a pessimist might contend. "People are too stupid to give up capitalism. No matter how much better off we'd be under socialism, we're not likely to see it in our lifetime."

What are the obstacles?

First, the reluctance of many to accept change. Trying to think along new lines is positively painful to some people!

Still, we do observe a certain encouraging capacity to overcome old habits and move forward. We no longer hang children for theft. A witch nowadays, instead of being burned alive at the stake, risks little more than being committed to a mental institution. For 85 years it has been illegal to buy and sell men and women in America, although for some two and a half centuries before that in wide sections of the land you were considered part of the lunatic fringe if you advocated the abolition of slavery.

Take industrial unionism. For decades the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) under the leadership of William D. Haywood and Vincent St. John fought for industrial unionism. Farsighted workers spent years patiently explaining its necessity to their friends and shop mates. The "practical" heads considered them crackpots and dreamers. "The workers are too stupid ever to organize industrial unions. You're simply wasting your life in a hopeless cause."

When the time was ripe, however, industrial unionism came



to the United States. And it didn't take centuries. The CIO sprang into existence in a burst of enthusiasm that swept from coast to coast with astounding speed.

Socialism can come to America like that.

The spirit of progress and the desire to better our way of living is deeply rooted in America. This is a powerful force — in the long run far more powerful than the force that says, "Stay put! Keep in your place! Give up hope! Stop trying to build a better world!"

Other obstacles besides mental inertia and laziness hinder many people from investigating the truth about socialism on their own initiative.

The distortions, slanders and lies about socialism pouring from the press, radio, pulpit and professors' podiums, bury the truth in layers of filth.

Against this torrent of misinformation, the truth makes its way slowly and painfully. But in the long run, truth is invincible.

Another obstacle not easily overcome is the two-party system maintained by America's 60 richest families. The two-party system is a political shell-game. When the people grow sick and tired of one set of political hatchet-men, Big Business graciously permits them to vote in the other set.

Today increasing numbers of workers are reaching the conclusion: "It's about time for a real house-cleaning!"

The two-party racket no longer works as smoothly as it once did. The Democratic Party has suffered deep splits and the Republican Party has no real vitality. Republican gains are possible only because the trade unions have not yet organized their own independent forces on the political front.

Another obstacle in the path of socialism is the political blindness, cowardice and betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy. These top officials, paid high salaries to defend labor's interests, are the keystone of the two-party system. Without this keystone the two-party system would at once collapse. Some of these officials, pressed by the rank and file, pay lip service to the idea of ending company unionism in politics and organizing labor's own party. When it comes to action, however, these same "statesmen" repeat their stock phrase: "Now is not the time!"

In election years they prod the rank and file about registering and voting. Then they thump the tub for those political con-men who pose as "friends of labor."



This political service has ensured Wall Street's monopoly of government office up to now. In Congress not one single representative of organized labor holds a seat despite the existence of 16,000,000 trade union members. With their families and friends this force represents the majority of the people.

In contrast to this, the 60 richest families in America have 96 Senators and 435 Representatives, besides monopoly control of the White House and the Supreme Court.

The political fire we see today under the trade union bureaucracy is bound to grow hotter. If that doesn't make them stir, then they are certain to be retired to the home for political idiots and replaced by more courageous, militant and politically intelligent leaders.

## **Wallace's Program and Promises**

Some workers may think that the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace is a step in the right direction. However, an objective evaluation of the Wallace program will lead to a different conclusion. Wallace promises a thoroughgoing job of plastic surgery on the capitalist system — despite the objections of the Government of Money to having its face lifted.

What political function do Wallace's promises perform? They attract people disgusted with the two-party system — to a third capitalist party that has the same avowed aim as the Democratic and Republican parties: Safeguarding and preserving the capitalist system. That is why Wallace emphasizes that he is the best, if most misunderstood, friend the American capitalist class has in politics today.

From the Marxist viewpoint, it cannot be denied that Wallace is telling the truth when he insists on his loyalty to the capitalist system. His party can act as a deadly trap. Workers can be lured into following this substitute for independent political action when the urgent task now facing them is to reject all capitalist parties and organize their own political party.

Stalinism likewise stands in the way of socialism. Some militant workers are attracted to the Communist Party under the mistaken belief that it can lead the working class in the struggle against capitalism. This error is due to lack of knowledge of the real history of Stalinism and its crimes against the labor movement.

Other workers, revolted by Stalinism, turn away from socialism altogether in fear that ending capitalism in America could lead to the growth of a monstrous bureaucracy such as we see in



Moscow today. This error is due to lack of knowledge of the true causes of Stalinism.

We need not be afraid that a Stalin will come to power in America. Russia was one of the most backward countries in the world, a land blighted by centuries of Czarism. After the ruin of World War I, the young workers' republic that came to power in this primitive country was beset by savage civil war. Invading imperialist armies, including those of the U. S., ravaged far and wide. Famine and disease decimated the population.

Trotsky's Red Army hurled back the capitalist powers; but not even these heroes could surmount all the odds singlehanded. The Soviet Union desperately needed help. No help came. Instead, world imperialism, above all America's 60 richest families, placed an economic blockade against the first workers' state in history, aiming to destroy it by slow pressure where armed assault had failed.

The Russian workers were bled white by all these ordeals. Having at their disposal an industrial capacity utterly inadequate to meet the needs of the Russian people, they could not raise production high enough to eliminate wide dissatisfaction over the lack of consumer goods. This dissatisfaction in turn paved the way for the revival of favoritism and all the other evils that had flourished under Czarism. The working class was not strong enough to overcome the vast weight of the peasantry where reaction found fertile soil. Lenin and Trotsky foresaw the downfall of the Soviet Union if a socialist revolution in an advanced country did not break the economic blockade in time.

That revolution did not occur. However, instead of going down in swift convulsion as might have been expected, the workers lost control over the government and the management of industry. Stalin set up a police regime that is smoothing the road for the return of capitalism.

None of the conditions that led to the appearance of Stalinism in Russia exist in the United States. Socialist America will be in no danger of imperialist attack or blockade such as the Soviet Union suffered. America is the most advanced industrial country on earth. The workers constitute the majority of the population and therefore enjoy far greater weight as a social power than did the wafer-thin working class of Russia. The American workers will unleash the full productive powers of the most highly developed industrial machine in the world. Consumer goods will pour in a vast flood from the factories. This abundance will prevent degeneration of the American socialist revolution.



The truth is that establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government will end forever all possibility of a police regime coming to power here. Moreover, it will spell the end of Stalinism. Much as the Russian people hate the Stalin regime, they fear to overthrow it at present, since imperialism might take advantage of the momentary turmoil to launch another assault. When America goes socialist, that worry of the Russian people will vanish. This, coupled with their enthusiasm over the victory of socialism in America, will blow up the hated Stalinist dictatorship. We shall then see the rebirth of the Soviet democracy that inspired the world in the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

## The Real Power

Will the American workers and farmers succeed in surmounting the obstacles to socialism which we have listed?

The history of the United States should teach us to have confidence in the American people. America was born in rebellion and revolution. Four times in the wars against France between 1689 and 1763, the colonists fought for the legally-constituted government seated in England. When this government became intolerably oppressive they no longer recognized it as *theirs*. The most far-sighted and militant Americans saw it for what it was—an *alien* power. Political groups began forming in opposition.

The "rebels" suffered the abuse and slander that is always poured on those who stand in the vanguard. "The Americans are in general the dirtiest, most contemptible, cowardly dogs that you can conceive," said the British General Wolfe, according to the historians Charles A. and Mary R. Beard in *The Rise of American Civilization*.

Today those "cowardly dogs" and "rebels" rank among America's revered heroes. And rightly so. For they overthrew the rule that had become hateful and established a new government of their own. The establishment of this new government enabled the colonies to unite, to expand, to grow.

This revolution was not the only one in American history. As the United States grew in power and might, a few far-sighted, resolute individuals saw clearly the danger of the slave system.

Traffic in human flesh threatened our industrial development. The slave dealers insisted on their "moral right" to buy and sell human beings at the auction block. The clergymen of the Bourbon South "proved" from scripture that slavery had God's sanction. And the government, controlled by Southern slaveholders, upheld slavery as part and parcel of 'law and order.'



Men like John Brown, Thaddeus Stevens and Wendell Phillips viewed the question differently. The Abolitionists carried on the rebel tradition of America. They stood up against slander, lies and the hangman's noose in their heroic fight to abolish slavery from America.

New political groups began forming in opposition to the rule that had become alien to the will of the majority; and in 1860 the Republican Party, formed only six years before, swept into power.

Under Abraham Lincoln, the new government demonstrated that it knew how to defend America from the slaveholders' uprising. The Civil War, properly viewed, was a second revolution in America—the revolution that overthrew the slave system.

Thus America faced two great dangers to its development. It met both with revolution. If we judge from history, no obstacles are great enough to halt the American people long in their forward march. When nothing else will clear the road, they employ the irresistible force of revolution.

Today America is faced with the greatest danger of all—the danger that the Government of Money will plunge us into another World War—the danger that Big Business will drag us down into barbarism.

Can it be doubted that the American people of today will prove less far-sighted, less courageous, less energetic than their revolutionary forefathers?

Already we see the break-up of the old political alignments and the formation of new, more radical currents, such as we saw prior to 1776 and 1860. History is repeating itself in a new setting. We have every right to the conviction that we shall witness a third revolution in America, a revolution that will end the alien rule of the Government of Money and establish a new government of the people—a Workers and Farmers Government.

## **The Key to Success**

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

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



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

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

Through its program, the party keeps its eyes on the main goal and the major steps leading to its attainment. Through leaders trained in theory and practice, the party keeps up with events, correctly interprets them and prepares for what is coming.

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

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

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

## **The Socialist Workers Party**

The aim of the Socialist Workers Party is to become the mass party needed to build socialism in America. You may have heard of the Socialist Workers Party for the first time in the 1948 elections. So far as Presidential campaigns are concerned, the Socialist Workers Party is new in American politics.

Despite its newness, the Socialist Workers Party has a long tradition behind it. The labor records of its founders go back 40 years and more. James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the party, Vincent R. Dunne, National Labor Secretary, and the other comrades of their generation grew up in the IWW under William D. Haywood and Vincent St. John and in the Socialist Party in its revolutionary period under Eugene V. Debs.

The American roots of the Socialist Workers Party go back even further—to the Haymarket martyrs, Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, George Engel and Adolph Fischer, who died on the gallows erected by the Chicago capitalists in 1887.

The revolutionary tradition of the Abolitionists of the Civil War period and the rebels who led the struggle for independence in 1776, lives in the Socialist Workers Party. In their spirit, we place the great issues affecting the fate of America above all other considerations. Like them we seek a basic remedy for the



grave ills of our time. Following their example, we are prepared to devote our lives and battle all odds to save America from disaster.

Our leaders were among the founders of the Communist Party in the United States. They could have given up the struggle for a better world and sought comfortable careers as so many did in the boom days of the 1920's. But they preferred fighting for the emancipation of the working class, no matter how difficult the times. They knew that someone has to take the lead in this struggle. They knew that in the long run such a life, despite the personal sacrifice, is the richest and most satisfying.

When the Stalinist degeneration welled out of Moscow and poured over the young Communist Parties everywhere, these battlers rolled up their sleeves. They gave no quarter to political gangsterism. They fought to preserve internal democracy. Lies, slander, character assassination and physical violence could not break them. They stood up for the truth no matter what the consequences.

In 1928, when they were expelled from the Communist Party, these pioneers organized the nucleus that later developed into the Socialist Workers Party. Because they collaborated with Leon Trotsky in his historic struggle for genuine Marxism against Stalinist reaction, they became known as "Trotskyists." To this day we are called "Trotskyists" although Trotsky was murdered in 1940 by an agent of Stalin's dread secret police, the GPU. We do not object to the word "Trotskyism" to designate our program, because that is the present-day name of Marxism.

We are not insolationists or narrow nationalists who reject everything from abroad whether it be good or bad. Our views had their origin in Europe, the great cradle of modern civilization. Marxist theory, the highest product of that civilization, guides all our work.

This harmonious combination of the American revolutionary tradition with the best of international thought distinguishes the Socialist Workers Party from all other parties. In the program of the Socialist Workers Party the American working people will find the most highly developed political thought of our times.

The international solidarity of the working class is one of our guiding principles. Helping workers abroad in their struggles weakens the grip of the capitalist class in other lands and also weakens their rule here at home, thereby aiding American labor in its battles. In addition, the practice of international solidar-



ity fosters the cooperation essential in building the world system of socialism.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels organized the first world-wide party of the working class, the International Workingmen's Association. The "First International," as it came to be known, broke the ground for the socialist movement in the 12 years of its existence from 1864 to 1876.

A second international party of the working class was organized in 1889. This Second International had the possibility of establishing Workers and Farmers Governments in a number of countries during and after World War I, but only the leaders of the Russian section remained true to the program of revolutionary socialism. In most other countries, the top leadership became scarcely distinguishable from conservative trade union bureaucrats. Still, the Second International bequeathed a great heritage of socialist thought to those who came later and it popularized the ideas of socialism among millions of workers.

Lenin and Trotsky and their collaborators went ahead to organize the Third International in 1919. The Bolshevik Party, the leading section of the Third International, gave a practical demonstration of how the working class can win power. The establishment of the first workers' state in history was the mightiest achievement yet recorded by mankind.

In the reaction of the early Twenties, when Stalinism raised its head, Lenin and Trotsky organized the struggle against this sinister force.

The death of Lenin, the continued sweep of reaction and successive defeats of the workers in other countries played into the hands of the traitor, Stalin. This modern Cain smashed the party Lenin had built, and converted the Third International into an instrument of his foreign policy.

## **The Fourth International**

For many years Trotsky tried to reform the Third International. When the Stalinists permitted Hitler to come to power in Germany without lifting a finger to fight him, Trotsky declared that a new world party of the socialist revolution must be built.

The Fourth International was organized in 1938. It was barely a year old when World War II broke out, yet it proved its capacity to survive the harshest persecution. It has a long list of martyrs, Trotskyists slain by Hitler's Gestapo and Stalin's



GPU. Its followers and sympathizers know the inside of capitalist prisons from China and India to the United States.

Today the Fourth International has healthy sections on all continents and is growing steadily.

The Socialist Workers Party does not belong to the Fourth International. The reactionary Voorhis law bars us from that; but we are in full sympathy with its ideas and aims. We believe the Fourth International faces a future even more brilliant and solid than that of its predecessors. Our confidence stems from the fact that we stand on the shoulders of the previous Internationals. Their heritage is ours.

The staunchness of the Socialist Workers Party to the program of socialism received an acid test during World War II. For opposing imperialist war and advocating socialism, 18 of our leaders were railroaded to prison. Organizations representing more than 5,000,000 workers rallied to their defense, a heartening indication of the sympathy a firm stand for socialism in the face of persecution can arouse in the ranks of labor. Upon their release, these Trotskyists resumed their places on the firing line. Dobbs and Carlson were chosen to head the national ticket of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1948 election.

## **The Development of Class Consciousness**

How does the Socialist Workers Party go about taking on Big Business and fighting for socialism?

Until we cease being a *minority* party, this will remain a question of *education*, a matter of convincing the majority of the working people of the grave dangers facing us and the pressing need to build a better world. We concentrate on fostering and developing the *class consciousness* of the workers.

It is not easy for a worker to arrive at complete class consciousness by himself. The pattern of thought instilled in us as children prevents that. We are led to envy the rich and respect their high-placed stooges. They are held up as models and the legend is hammered into our heads that anyone with sufficient industry, initiative and ability to save, can rise into their ranks.

This legend is called the system of "private enterprise." The fairy tale about "private enterprise" happens to be one of the ideas of the ruling class handed down from former times and thus one of the dominant ideas in force in America today.

Opposing this illusion is the reality of our position as workers. We slave on a belt line as simple cogs in a vast social process. For the majority of us there is absolutely no hope of



becoming wealthy. Those days are past. At best we are lucky if we can earn enough to feed, clothe and house our families and provide a better education for our children than we had.

Thus there is a sharp conflict between the wish to become rich and the uncomfortable thought that it isn't possible. Workers who waste too much time imagining themselves to be exceptions, puzzling out schemes to beat the system and day-dreaming over what they would do if they were rich can end up with grave mental and emotional disturbances. Their minds are split between the world of reality they live in and the world of fantasy planted in their heads as children.

On top of this, capitalist reaction fosters the unhealthy hatreds, prejudices and superstitions inherited from former economic systems. These not only divide the working class into hostile camps, but every worker infected with them becomes prey to irrationality, unable to find genuine satisfaction and peace of mind, driven by evil moods to act against the best interests of himself, his family and his fellow workers.

In this mental conflict experienced by virtually every worker, the Socialist Workers Party takes sides. All our propaganda, all our activity at this stage of development of the American working class is designed to bring working people to full realization of their true position. The Socialist Workers Party says in effect: Start from reality—the reality that we are workers and can never become capitalists. Then the party tries to show how, starting from this reality, we can build a new society where class distinctions and all force and violence will eventually disappear.

The fight for socialism, at this stage, boils down to spreading a correct understanding of our real position in society and its inspiring possibilities, and opposing the false capitalist ideology drilled into us in the family and in school. This is not a humdrum task. Class consciousness is more potent than atomic energy. It is the dynamic force that will one day break through all capitalist restraints and reshape the world.

## **A Party of Action**

In the development of class consciousness, action is just as important as theoretical study. In fact, the final purpose of Marxist theory is to ensure correct action at the correct time.

The action of a revolutionary socialist party depends upon its size and strength in relation to opposing forces. When it has won millions of supporters and convinced the majority of the populace of the correctness of its program, then it faces the



greatest action possible in our epoch: leading the people from capitalism to socialism.

The Socialist Workers Party has already established its capacity for action. The first big, Trotskyist-led action to gain nationwide attention was the series of teamsters strikes in 1934 that converted Minneapolis into a union town.

The subsequent organizing drives spearheaded by Trotskyists built the Teamsters Union into the largest union in the United States.

## **The Influence of Trotskyism**

The influence of Trotskyism in the trade union movement is especially manifest in the popularity of certain slogans advanced by us. For instance, in 1946 the CIO Auto workers union in the strike against General Motors demanded that the corporation open its books to public inspection.

This demand has been urged by the Socialist Workers Party since 1938 as an effective answer to the contention of Big Business that it cannot afford wage boosts.

Another slogan long advocated by the Socialist Workers Party as an answer to inflation is the sliding scale of wages, a provision in union contracts for wages to go up automatically in accordance with advances in the cost of living. Since the end of the war this slogan, under various names such as "escalator clause" and "cost-of-living bonus" has become widely accepted. The provision was recently included in the auto workers contract with General Motors.

Another proposal of the Socialist Workers Party, that the trade unions organize a nationwide Congress of Labor to mobilize the labor movement against the Taft-Hartley Act, has received a favorable response. The powerful International Typographical Union recently urged the convening of such a Congress to fight this slave labor law.

In the struggle against fascism in America, the Socialist Workers Party has played a prominent role. Before the war we took the lead in arousing the labor movement to the danger of Coughlinism and the strong-arm squads who called themselves the "Christian Front." In February 1939, some 50,000 New York workers responded to our call for a demonstration against a rally the fascist scum staged in Madison Square Garden. At the end of the war when the fascist demagogue Gerald L. K. Smith attempted a nationwide organizing drive, the Socialist Workers Party sounded the alarm. In a number of



cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Detroit and the Twin Cities, the labor movement gave Smith such a hot reception that this would-be dictator crawled back into his hole.

Similarly in the struggle of the Negro people, the Socialist Workers Party is known as the foremost advocate of militant methods. In Fontana, California, where a fire set by vigilantes burned two children of the Short family to death, the Socialist Workers Party took the lead in bringing the case to nationwide attention and urging organization of labor Defense Squads to meet the vigilante terror. In New York, the Socialist Workers Party helped set in motion the Harlem protest action against the cold-blooded shooting of the three Ferguson brothers by a sadistic Freeport cop. In Chicago, when James Hickman was dragged into court on a murder charge for shooting his landlord, the Socialist Workers Party came to his defense. The landlord had burned out the Hickman family, causing the death of four children. The Socialist Workers Party was instrumental in initiating the nationwide defense movement that won freedom for Hickman.

These typical instances from the record indicate the kind of activity the Socialist Workers Party engages in the year around. As we gain in size and influence, our field of action will correspondingly widen.

## **Trotskyism and the Labor Movement**

How does Trotskyism affect your membership in other labor organizations?

There is no conflict. Membership in the Socialist Workers Party fits in perfectly with membership in a trade union or other labor organization; in fact, it enhances the value of your union card. The Trotskyists have a well-deserved reputation in the labor movement for militancy, sincerity, truthfulness and devotion to principle.

Knowing that socialism is the inevitable end-product of the evolution of capitalism gives you a long-range perspective that makes you a better trade unionist. It is not a question of which comes "first," the party or the union, but what is the best way to build and strengthen *both* the union and the party.

A trade union is the most elementary united front the working class forms. Workers of all faiths, creeds, national backgrounds and political beliefs unite for one simple aim: to better their wage standards and working conditions. This is the progressive side of unionism, the side on which the Trotskyists appear as the best fighters and builders of the union.



By limiting their aims to this elementary goal, however, the unions leave the door wide open to capitalist ideology. A bureaucracy arises with a mentality that images the world of Big Business. The government exerts enormous pressure with its boards, mediators, anti-labor laws and threats of still worse legislation. Under this weight, unions tend to become timid, to retreat, to turn conservative and even reactionary so that they no longer carry out properly even the limited aim for which they they were organized.

Still worse—instead of developing and progressing so that they play an active role in all fields where the workers' interests are vitally affected, many unions degenerate, eventually becoming no longer an effective weapon of the workers but an instrument in the hands of the capitalist class and its government.

The top trade union bureaucracy is the main *transmission belt* through which the capitalist class makes its influence felt inside the unions.

Bad as a capitalist-minded trade union bureaucracy was in former days, it is today the most dangerous evil in the labor movement. In both Italy and Germany, for instance, the top trade union bureaucrats, faced with the imperious need of rising above pure and simple trade unionism—of mobilizing the mighty power of the entire trade union movement in the fight for socialism—tried instead to appease Mussolini and Hitler, these executioners of labor. This suicidal policy assured the victory of fascism and doomed the trade unions, including the bureaucracy, in both lands.

Under a Workers and Farmers Government, the trade unions can play an enormous role in smoothing the transition from capitalist control to workers' management of industry. In the United States, however, the top bureaucrats have shown themselves as blind to this great perspective and as thoroughly hypnotized by Big Business as were their pork-chop brothers in Germany and Italy.

The members of the Socialist Workers Party are in the forefront of the rank and file struggle against the pernicious penetration of capitalist customs, ways of acting and thinking, in the trade unions. We do everything possible to strengthen this struggle and help guide it along correct and productive lines.

The big task in the trade unions today is to build a new leadership that will uphold union democracy, fight militantly to safeguard and advance labor's standard of living, maintain the independence of the unions from government domination, and



organize wherever labor's interests are at stake—above all, in the *political field* where all major decisions affecting the unions are now fought out.

Against the fossilized top bureaucracy, the Socialist Workers Party advances the slogan, *Organize a Left Wing!*

From such a left wing will come the new dynamic leaders capable of guiding the unions out of the political blind alley in which they find themselves today.

Against the servile political policy of appeasing Big Business by supporting the two-party fraud, the Socialist Workers Party advances the slogan, *Organize an Independent Labor Party!*

Only the road of independent political action leads away from the abyss of war and fascism!

## **Inside the Socialist Workers Party**

The Socialist Workers Party, as we said before, is different from all other parties in America.

First of all, it is composed of working people, mainly active union militants, housewives, student youth and some in professional occupations.

The Socialist Workers Party draws no color line. We believe in the brotherhood of man. Complete equality is practiced. Every member enjoys the same rights, privileges—and duties.

The initiation fee is \$1 and dues are \$1 a month. (If you are unemployed, dues are only 20c a month.) In addition, however, many members contribute more on a voluntary basis to help sustain the party's activities. Sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party unable to participate as full, active members make regular contributions. This is how the Socialist Workers Party is financed.

Through their treasuries, the capitalist political machines are tightly controlled by Big Business. The Socialist Workers Party on the other hand is supported through the nickels, dimes and dollars of self-sacrificing working people. That is why our weekly paper, *The Militant*, and our monthly theoretical magazine, *Fourth International*, the party's best organizers, remain free from the pressure of capitalist advertisers and are able to speak the truth boldly and fearlessly.

The party is divided into branches, five members in a locality being sufficient to establish a branch. New members are assigned to a branch if one exists in their area, otherwise they remain "members at large" until they have recruited enough friends to organize a regular branch.



In the branch, your intensive education as a revolutionary socialist begins. Regular classes teach the fundamentals of Marxism and you are encouraged to deepen and broaden your understanding of Marxism by diligent study. Training in public speaking, writing and the application of advanced Marxist theory is fostered and encouraged.

The aim is a practical one—to educate every party member for political leadership in the working class. The goal is to build a body of skilled, professional politicians in the service of the working people and against Big Business. Each member is considered a valuable trainee, preparing for a key role in the coming socialist revolution in America.

Most branches of the Socialist Workers Party meet once a week, the meetings generally being divided into a business session where the practical work is organized and an educational session where topics of current political interest to the labor movement or broader theoretical questions are considered.

In the conduct of party affairs, we practice democratic centralism—the method perfected by Lenin. Full democracy governs the party in reaching its decisions. Everyone has the right to participate in discussion in the branches and to have his contributions published in the *Internal Bulletin* that is distributed to all party members.

The democracy that reigns in the Socialist Workers Party is a revelation even to members of those trade unions which enjoy a good reputation for internal freedom. Workers in unions ridden by a dictatorial officialdom are generally amazed at the free atmosphere they enjoy in the Socialist Workers Party.

Everything is done to give a minority the fullest opportunity to present its views. The practical object of this is to make sure that the party membership thoroughly understands what the differences are and why they have arisen. This cuts down the possibility of making wrong decisions or running into errors that could hurt the party and damage the long-range interests of the working class.

Once the majority has arrived at a decision, then that decision becomes binding on all. A minority agrees to subordinate its differences in public and to loyally do its best to make the common decision a success. If the minority is not convinced during the course of action that they were wrong, then they can again bring up their position in the next regular discussion period.

Democratic centralism gives the party great cohesiveness and the ability to hit hard. This method of organization en-



tures that the party will continue to be a party of *action* and not a debating club. At the same time, it gives everyone full opportunity to present his viewpoint, to criticize, discuss and win adherents to his position.

## Fulllest Democracy

A National Convention is held at least every two years, sometimes more frequently. Branches elect delegates according to the number of members, with every opposition viewpoint entitled to proportional representation. These delegates assembled in convention constitute the highest ruling body of the party. They have full voice and vote.

When they have completed their deliberations, they elect a National Committee with authority to carry out the convention decisions and guide the party until the next National Convention. Here, too, minority groups are given full proportional representation and placed in responsible party posts.

Outgoing National Committee members have the right to take the floor in conventions but not to exercise a decisive vote (only a consultative vote is permitted them), unless as happens in occasional instances, they are elected as regular delegates from the branches to which they belong. The aim of this provision is to make sure that control over the leadership remains with the rank and file so that ability, devotion to principle and experience in the class struggle continue to govern the selection of the party's leadership.

The National Committee, which is composed of members from all over the country, in turn selects a Political Committee from its ranks to guide the party between National Committee meetings. The Political Committee resides in New York, the political center of America.

Life inside the Socialist Workers Party is active and stimulating. Your horizon constantly widens as your understanding of Marxism grows and your ability to use its dialectic method of thinking improves. The emphasis upon the long-range view and the great emancipating goal of socialism lifts you out of the stifling, dreary circle of existence imposed by capitalism on working people. You become part of the *vanguard* whose lives are tied in with the magnificent future that lies before humanity.

Intense political activity keeps you young in mind, resilient in outlook. There is getting subscriptions for the press, selling pamphlets, distributing leaflets, organizing forums and public meetings, putting the party on the ballot in election years, col-



lecting funds, furthering progressive aims in your union, advancing the principles of socialism on all possible occasions. You live the hard-hitting, inspiring life of a revolutionary socialist.

It is true that at times the going is hard. Tough moral fiber is required to stand up against slander, abuse and misunderstanding from the corrupt and ignorant.

But there are great compensations. You gain respect and admiration from the workers for your integrity, your progressiveness and unselfishness. You become an authority in your shop and among your friends on the important social and political questions of the day. Your life takes on significance and meaning because part of the big responsibility of carrying society forward rests on your shoulders.

You enjoy the companionship of the finest product of the American working class—its best thinkers, its warmest-hearted people, those men and women capable of rising above our brutal times and fitting their way of living at least to some degree with the life of love and friendliness and consideration for others that will blossom under socialism.

Above all, you win your own freedom from capitalist mis-education. You see things clearly. You are no longer puzzled and bewildered by the big events that suck whole nations and continents into their vortex. You understand what is happening and why. You become a battler for your own rights and the rights of all the oppressed. Profound satisfaction and peace of mind come from the knowledge that you are taking part in the struggle to free the people, that you are helping in the greatest cause ever undertaken, and that your weight counts.

Socialism is the only road leading away from poverty, inflation, unemployment, imperialist war, fascism—all the world-wide scourges of decaying capitalism. Socialism can save us from capitalist barbarism and bring us enduring peace and plenty. The most courageous workers, those capable of the greatest sacrifices, those intelligent enough to see the task and endowed with the will to carry it out, must take the lead. That is our historic responsibility. When future ages look back at this time, they will judge our generation by the way it responded to this grave obligation.

There is no better life than participating to the best of your ability in the struggle for socialism. Why not apply for membership today in the Socialist Workers Party?

***Join in the fight for a better world!***



# A Selected List of Books and Pamphlets On Socialism and the Labor Movement

## BY LEON TROTSKY

First Five Years of the Communist International, v.I. . . . .	cloth 2.50
The Revolution Betrayed . . . . .	cloth 2.00, paper 1.00
In Defense of Marxism . . . . .	cloth 2.00, paper 1.50
Fascism—What It Is—How to Fight It . . . . .	.15
Stalinism and Bolshevism . . . . .	.10
Their Morals and Ours . . . . .	.20

## PIONEER POCKET LIBRARY

Death Agony of Capitalism and Tasks of Fourth Int'l . . . . .	.25
The Suppressed Testament of Lenin . . . . .	.25

## BY JAMES P. CANNON

American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism . . . . .	.15
The Coming American Revolution . . . . .	.10
The History of American Trotskyism . . . . .	cloth 2.00, paper 1.00
The Struggle for a Proletarian Party . . . . .	cloth 2.00, paper 1.50
The Russian Revolution . . . . .	.10
The End of the Comintern . . . . .	.10
Workers and the Second World War . . . . .	.10
Memorial Address "To the Memory of the Old Man" . . . . .	.05

## THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

The Voice of Socialism—by Farrell Dobbs & Grace Carlson . . . . .	.10
Fight the Slave Labor Law—SWP National Committee . . . . .	.05
Stalinists on the Waterfront—by Art Preis . . . . .	.10
Build a Labor Party NOW—by George Clarke . . . . .	.10
American Workers Need a Labor Party—by J. Hansen . . . . .	.15
Maritime—by Frederick J. Lang . . . . .	1.00
Trade Union Problems—by Farrell Dobbs . . . . .	.10

## THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

A Letter to American Negroes—by Wm. E. Bohannon . . . . .	.10
The Struggle for Negro Equality—by Saunders and Parker . . . . .	.10
Negroes in the Postwar World—by Albert Parker . . . . .	.05

Order from

**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**

116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Write for a free copy of our complete listing



*Vote for Dobbs and Carlson!  
For a Workers & Farmers Government!*



**FARRELL DOBBS**  
for President

Spread the Message of  
Socialist Liberation!



Support the  
Socialist Workers Party  
Candidates in the  
1948 Election



**GRACE CARLSON**  
for Vice-President

*Vote for Dobbs and Carlson!*

*Subscribe to*

## **THE MILITANT**

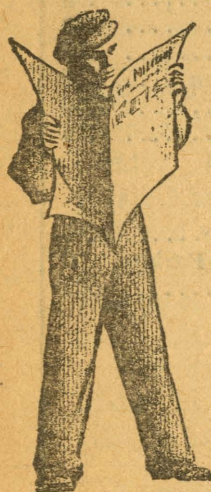
A weekly newspaper standing for the  
program of the Socialist Workers Party

MILITANT CIRCULATION DEPT.

116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

I enclose \$ ..... Please enter my name for  
a subscription to The Militant as checked below.

- ☐ Regular 6-month subscription . . . . . 50c
- ☐ Regular 1-year subscription . . . . . \$1.00
- ☐ Combination 1 year The Militant and 1 year  
Fourth International, Trotskyist monthly . . . . \$2.50



703-1220

Name .....

Street ..... Apt. ....

City ..... Zone .....

State .....