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# 'END CAPITALISM TO STOP WAR'-DOBBS SWP Presidential Nominee on NBC Network

## Text of National Broadcast **Delivered by Farrell Dobbs**

Less than three years after the termination of the Second World War we are threatened with the imminent outbreak of another war. Within the lifetime of one generation, we have gone through a vicious cycle of war; then depression; then another war; then the present inflation; and the frenzied preparation for a Third World War. This is the cycle of capitalism — war, depression, inflation, and again war.

The capitalist masters of America and their political tools at Washington are deliberately plotting and preparing to drag the American people into another war. Capitalist production for profits cannot be reconciled with peace and prosperity for the people.

Hardly two years after converting industry to peacetime production, the home market is already saturated. The workers can buy back only a small portion of what they produce, and the ruinous inflation, combined with a refusal to grant even a cost-of-living wage increase, only aggravates the contradiction: The countries of Europe and Asia, ruined by the war, are unable to buy the surplus American goods. The ruling capitalists see no way of postponing the threatened depression, which will be far deeper and more devastating than that of the Thirties, than by shifting to an armaments economy in preparation for an actual war. In their minds, peace is identified with the demands of organized workers for a larger share of the products of their toil, for a greater degree of security. Peace is identified in the minds of the profit-mongers with the nation-wide strikes of the miners, railroad, packinghouse, auto and steel workers. They want to make an end of that. They want to break up the unions and free themselves from the necessity of dealing with organized

The war which they are plotting and preparing is directed of humanity throughout the world.

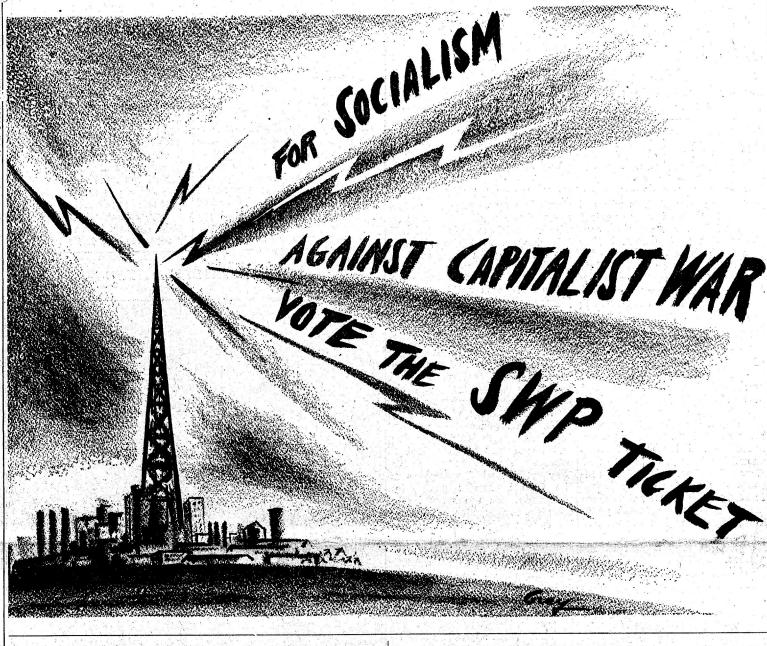
The drive against the unions was spearheaded by the passage of the anti-union Taft-Hartley law whose provisions are now being used to smash strikes with injunctions and police terror. The Steel Trust, giving the lead to the major corporations, has refused to disgorge a single penny of its fabulous profits for wage increases to meet the increased cost of living of workers in

The Chrysler Corporation, wallowing in excess profits, has forced its workers to strike for modest cost-of-living increases

#### Calls for Socialist America



FARRELL DOBBS 



The packinghouse workers have been battling injunctions tion of the power of life and death over the entire al. against the American people as well as against the rank and file and police terror on the picket lines for more than two months. human race now possessed by a handful of madmen. With all my heart I greet the heroic auto and packinghouse

strikers who are fighting the battle of all workers today.

#### War and Dictatorship

The preparations for war coincide with preparations for human needs, without profits, classes or exploitation. military dictatorship at home. The major posts in the cabinet and the chief positions in important government agencies are occupied by the brass hats of the army and the navy or the overlords of industry and finance.

Under the direction and inspiration of this notorious Wall Street-Brass Hat combination, democratic rights and civil liberties are under constant attack. A bill to militarize the youth is being rushed towards passage. Government employes are subjected to Gestapo-like inquisitions. Congress itself is the scene of wild orgies of officially organized witch-hunting.

Foreign-born trade union leaders are picked up every day and held for deportation. The notorious Mundt Bill, now in preparation, would make all opposition to the military dictatorship a crime punishable by long prison sentences, by deportation and concentration camps.

The monopolists are determined to take all the colossal costs of the war out of the hides of the American workers.

#### "Nothing Left But the Whip"

tally admits to this purpose in its issue of April 24th. I quote: "Living standards would have to go down — not up. . . we couldn't fight another war without dictating to everyone where to work, what to do and what to get paid for it. . . All the candy the memory of Debs by jumping on the war bandwagon the day has been passed out now. This time there would be nothing after the United States entered the war. left but the whip.'

So speaks Business Week, an authentic voice of the monopoly capitalists, who are the chief enemies of the American people.

This is the outspoken program of military dictatorship the iron heel of the capitalist oligarchy stamping out the lives, the hopes and the liberties of the masses of American people.

The military dictatorship is the inexorable product of a system which is driven inevitably, by the iron laws of its own contradictions, and of its insoluble crisis, from one global war to another. The conclusion follows with the same inexorable logic

There can be no effective struggle to defend the unions, to protect and improve the living standards of the workers, to safeguard and extend the rights and liberties of the American people, unless it is directed against the capitalist oligarchy and its agents in the bipartisan coalition which rules in Washington.

war-breeding capitalist system; towards the destruc- beings without poverty and without fear!

There can be no effective struggle against the twin monsters of war and military dictatorship unless it is directed towards the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government, which will organize this country and the world for a society based on

Only one party stands on the basis of such a program in the United States today. That is the Socialist Workers Party whose banner I shall be proud to carry in the coming presidential election campaign.

The party of Henry Wallace, despite its loud agitation for peace, disarmament and against internal repression, is not a genuine anti-war party, because it is not an anti-capitalist party.

#### The Swindle of Pacifism

A movement for peace pledged to disband at the outbreak of war is nothing but a mass swindle of the millions of people who have placed their confidence in this movement. The Communist Party, by supporting this Wallace swindle, is once again selling out the American workers to serve the momentary diplomatic interests of Stalin and his Kremlin gang.

There is another so-called peace party, not as large as the Wallace Party but just as loud in its anti-war pretensions. am referring to the party of Norman Thomas. This party bears the name of the organization which once claimed Eugene V. Debs Business Week, an authoritative Wall Street magazine, bru- as its leader. But this is a cruel deception. Debs fought the First World War before official entry of the United States. He went to jail for continuing this struggle after the declaration of war by Congress. Norman Thomas and his cohorts betrayed

The struggle for socialism does not cease in time of war. On the contrary those who quit the struggle when war breaks out cease to be socialists.

The Socialist Workers Party took its position in the tradition of Debs in the Second World War. It continued its struggle against war and capitalism, even though eighteen of its leaders suffered imprisonment for their fidelity to the working class and to the cause of socialism.

The Socialist Workers Party will continue the same uncompromising struggle today on the brink of the Third World War.

Workingmen and Workingwomen! In your great numbers, and in your mass organizations, rests the power to stop this fatal plunge into war and dictatorship. You have the power to change everything.

Organize this invincible power!

Unite with the Socialist Workers Party!

Bind your ranks together with a socialist pro-There can be no effective struggle against war gram, and begin the march to a world where we unless it is directed towards the elimination of the and our children can live in peace as free human

## 4th International Hailed By Cannon in Introduction

In a nation-wide radio broadcast over the NBC network, Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party nominee for U. S. President, on May 15 called on the American people to "unite with the Socialist Workers Party" in order to stop war by ending the capitalist system that breeds

James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary, opened the SWP radio program with an introductory statement, the text of which

The Socialist Workers Party launches today its first presidential campaign, and presents its candidate, Farrell Dobbs.

The Socialist Workers Party s the sole representative in this cuntry of the authentic socialsm of Marx and Engels, of Debs and Haywood, of Lenin and Trots-

We are called "Trotskyists" and we are proud to bear that

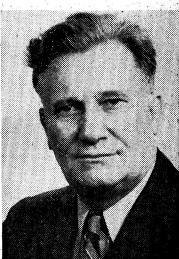
For Trotsky - side by side with Lenin — was the leader and organizer of the Russian revolution - the greatest and most progressive social action in all

Even more than that, Trotsky defended the Russian revolution - and the principles of world labor emancipation which it embodied - against the Stalinist betrayers up to the very moment of his death, at the hands of a talinist assassin, in Mexico-City

eight years ago. "Trotskyism" is a world-wide movement which unites revolutionary militants of all countries and nationalities, of all races and colors, in a common world organization, founded by Trotsky, and rolls truckdrivers' strikes. known as the Fourth Internation-

The Fourth International has successfully concluded its World Congress in Europe, with delegates in attendance from 19 countries and four continents. Although prevented by the reacreoples from capitalist exploitaion and oppression.

From this national radio forum salute the World Congress of kyist newspaper the Fourth International in the name of the Socialist Workers troduce to you this evening the Farty of the United States.



JAMES P. CANNON

ers Party, has spent most of his active life in the socialist and labor movement. He was one of the leaders of the great Minnea-

For years he served as secretary-treasurer of the famous Local 544 of that city. As international representative of the 200,000 motor transport workers in eleven states.

tionary Voorhis Law, from affi- Farrell Dobbs was one of the liation, the Socialist Workers 18 leaders of the Socialist Work-Party is in full sympathy with ers Party and Local 544 who he world struggle of the Fourth served prison sentences in 1944 International for the emancipa- and 1945 for their defense of tion of the workers and colonial democratic unionism and opposition to the war. For a number of vears he has been the editor of The Militant, the weekly Trots-

It is my great privilege to incandidate of the Socialist Work-Farrell Dobbs, the presidential ers Party for President of the candidate of the Socialist Work- United States, Farrell Dobbs.

#### Vice-Presidential Nominee



GRACE CARLSON, SWP nominee for U. S. Vice-President. Served 4 years as delegate to St. Paul AFL Trades & Labor As sembly. In 1940, resigned post in Minnesota Education Department to run for Senator on SWP ticket. One of the 18 SWP leaders imprisoned in 1944 for opposition to capitalist war.

# How New Mechanization Affects Miners

By Morgan West

On March 15 coal miners throughout the nation sloshed the water from their buckets. the traditional strike signal, and walked away from the pit mouths. Within a few days virtually all of the 400,000 miners were out, "unwilling to work." Two weeks later Pittsburgh - Consolidation Coal Company, largest mining company in the world, and the Joy Manufacturing Company, producers of mining machinery, jointly announced the successful completion of a new "continuous mining machine" which might well "displace half of all miners presently employed." Jubilantly, Time magazine crowed that "The timing could hardly have been

Mechanization came late to the mines. Long after assembly line technique brought mass producmajor industry, mining remained scale. The Second World War with mechanization. any price gave a great impetus hand loader were, in a sense,

are inadequately mechanized.

carbide lamps for illumination. cutting and loading machines which handle many tons per minute, electric illumination.

showed 60 cents of every dollar huge mechanized monsters. going to labor in the form of with large companies. But today tion into almost every other hundreds of thousands of dollars are required to open a mine com an occupation of individual toil. parable to those operated by the Only late in the depression did larger companies. And since the loading machines begin to dis- end of the war the large complace hand loading, on a broad panies have gone in heavily for

of independent producers of even their own tasks. They could set revolutionary development in min- that the introduction of the engagement (with the exception medium size (3 to 6 thousand their own pace, they could develop tons daily output), run mines that skill and experience worth many UMWA." The gentlemen of the duction of conveyor belt trans- every campaign. The wage scale separated by a century. One em- labor to one or two special funcplovs ponies or mules for trans- tions. More and more, youth, portation, hand labor for cutting stamina and speed supplanted the coal, hand labor for loading, skill and experience. In mines mechanized during the depression The other is equipped with 60 few men worked after they were on motors or conveyor belts, 40 or 45. During the war many rubber tired shuttle buggies, were hired again. Today they are crew will be possible." Today it tered in the hands of a few mam-

In the coal areas it is very wages; the highest of any major difficult to find employment other ready many orders had been trolled by one dominant operatindustry. At that time, small than in the mines. Technological placed although the machine will producers lucky enough to lease unemployment thus not only dis- not be produced commercially Virginia, for example, is coma favorable area could compete places workers from the coal in- until the end of the year. A its insatiable demand for coal at In the past, the digger and the transformation of the mining in their own experiments and

day a remarkably large number at least they were masters of hailed this machine as "the most in production soon. It is evident less. The miners have won every

"CLOSER SUPERVISION"

Another important factor, pointed out by Mr. Morrow of the Joy Co. "is that closer supervision of a single machine and its being weeded out. Today older is customary for one boss to be men find employment in the small responsible for a crew of 12 men. marginal mines which will go out It is probable that the continu-As late as the middle 1930's, of business overnight when they ous loader will eliminate 50% of the coal industry expense sheets are forced to compete with the the men engaged in actual production at the face.

The press announced that aldustry but effectively eliminates European operator heard of the them from all work. Displaced continuous loader, wired for 30 miners automatically join the "in- sight unseen, and leaped on a dustrial reserve army the untrans-Atlantic plane for Pitts- ceaselessly subjected to ever employed who try to survive on burgh. A week later the Bituminpublic relief. If the continuous ous Coal Institute, composing the ister and hidden hand of capitalmining machine displaces 50% of 12 largest operating companies, the present personnel a complete announced similar developments is no longer a simple campaign community will result. It is signi- predicted that they too, would to mechanization. Yet even to- artists. Their labor was hard but ficant that the Pittsburgh press have continuous mining machines

times brute force. Machinery in press counterpose the machine to portation, thus further displacing has gone up but the standard of Mines operate side by side troduced the factory system un- the union. What the UMW has men. Gassification of coal is al- living has remained as it was which in point of technique are derground and restricted a man's gained, the machine will take ready beyond the experimental The miners have won a yearly stage. These developments will in vacation but seven days of time limit independent operation idleness in a coal camp are days, to the production of "custom not of joy, but of despair. The coal" for local consumption in dirt remains, the shacks remain, archaic mines of little economic urban culture finds no welcome importance. Production of commercial importance will be cen- speed-up grows more intense. moth companies.

The mine workers, already gravely weakened by technological innovations, will be forced to bargain with a few major companies. Already today, whole geographical districts are coning company. Northern West pletely at the mercy of the Consolidated Coal Company in the event of a lockout.

greater domination by the sinist production. What is involved strengthened.

in the company towns, and the

PENSION PLAN

But all is not beer and skittles in the camp of the operators. Before the mining machine and the other technological improvements which it typifies can do their work certain conditions have to be met. One of the foremost is that the UMW has to be defeated decisively. When the continuous mining machine is spoken of today the question is asked, "What will the UMW do?" The answer has already The miners thus see themselves been given in part. The pension plan is Lewis's reply to technological unemployment.

The pension plan provides \$100 each month to miners over 62, with at least 20 years experience for higher wages against small in the mines. The inadequacy of operators. The miners see their this is obvious. With the new community, their union, their machinery men will find it hard very means of livelihood threaten- to get work after their 40th year. ed, while their opponents are The pension is also cold comfort to the young miners caught in In the face of the technological the speedup and the meaninglessrevolution of mechanization, the ness of the miner's life. But the centralization of monopolistic pension plan is the first hesitant ownership, and the unashamed step in the direction of com-Headed by Goldman, they entered peet that the capitalists will can sheprecise by the halfway house of despair, ap- a truce in their offensive against ary violence against the workers on the side of the operators, the made. As such it is wholehearted intervention of the government munity welfare which Lewis has

rigid conformity.

Law School and at the same time took lessons with a teacher who prepared operatic singers. After wo years of voice study in New York he gave a recital before a group that included a leading critic. The verdict was unfavorable and Dewey abandoned hopes of an operatic career and concentrated on law.

elected to its highest committee.

Dewey's big break — the one that really put him in politics was meeting George Z. Medalie, an important Republican politician, the 1932 Republican candidate for Senator from N. Y. He was also a lawyer and Dewey assisted him in preparing a lawsuit. Medalie took a liking to his assistant and a short time more against it. later, when Medalie was appointed U. S. District Attorney York, he made Dewey is chief assistant.

gangsters as "Waxey" Gordon than Roosevelt's. and "Legs" Diamond. The ensung publicity for Dewey enabled Lehman to appoint Dewey special

'crusading" district attorney. Dewey was well aware of this. He put on a campaign filled with

ballyhoo New Dealers.

Presidential Aspirants IV ——— Thomas E. Dewey

By George Lavan

Thomas E. Dewey, present Governor of New York and the man with the inside track for the presidential nomination at the

Republican convention, was born in 1902 in the small town LaGuardia ticket Dewey resumed of Owosso, Michigan Dewey's his career as "gangbuster." This family was part of the thin upper was the period in which he got crust of Owosso society. His his most famous convictions such father was active in politics and as that of "Lucky" Luciano. In was editor of the town's weekly 1938 he was the Republican candinewspaper. Dewey's uncle — in date for Governor but lost the the middle name Edmund—was the town's richest man and undisputed Republican boss of the district.

The Dewey family was very religious and young Thomas' upbringing was conventional. His school career was marked by his

campaigned for Governor while at college, Dewey played no part n campus politics and was unknown to his class as a whole.

earnings from church singing. In wide singing contest which carried with it a trip to Ashville, N.C. to compete in a national contest. Here he won third prize. At the same time, he studied law. Graduating from the University of Michigan he went to New York to study at the Columbia

At the time of his marriage in 1938 Dewey was an assistant in the law firm of McNamara and Seymour. He began to take steps protested the methods which into that adjacent field of lawthe political machine. Dewey took on political chores for the Repubican machine — visiting voters before election, helping with headquarters office work, poll-watching, etc. He joined the Young cussion of Roosevelt or the New Republican Club, volunteered for

THE "GANGBUSTER'

Carried into office with the York City.

whose honor Thomas was given election. In 1940 he made a bid for the Republican presidential nomination but was swamped by the Willkie boom. In 1942, still campaigning on his record as a "gangbuster," he was elected Governor of New York.

Before examining Dewey's record as Governor it is worth considering his record as district Unlike Stassen who practically attorney. There is no question but that Dewey got convictions. However, it is not generally known that his methods of convicting are open to much criti-Two careers lay before the cism. Dewey used very highfuture presidential nominee: sing- | handed methods, for instance, he ing and law. Dewey's voice, a seized witness he wanted with rich baritone, won praise and led unauthorized grand jury subhim to devote considerable time poenas. Witnesses were held in and effort to cultivating it. He | "protective custody" in city supplemented his allowance by prisons or in the picturesque "hide-outs" that Dewey had set his senior year he won a state- up around the city. Sometimes these witnesses were held incommunicado for months, unable to get in touch with a lawyera right supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution. Illegal wiretapping was regularly resorted.

VICIOUS METHODS

Dewey's treatment of witnesses has been most frequently attacked-and his convictions were usually based on the testimony of witnesses. Witnesses were both frightened and bribed, it is charged.

At any rate Dewey's record as prosecutor does not show him as a great respecter of civil rights. Arthur Garfield Hays of the American Civil Liberties Union Dewey used to get convictions.

In his tries for the governorship Dewey tried to avoid controversy. In 1938 he told his running mates on the Republican ticket that there should be no dis-Deal. He allowed himself to be committees and in time was called a "New Deal Republican."

When he became Governor in 1942 he regarded his post as a mere step on the way to the White House and conducted himself accordingly. Dewey waited to see which way the wind of public opinion was blowing before he committed himself. As the New Deal became more and more discredited he spoke out

In 1944 the Republican machine, distrusting and seeing no further need for Willkie's "liberalism," gave Dewey the presidential nomination. Dewey had adopted This was the period when the Herbert Hoover and John Foster gangsters who had flourished Dulles of Wall Street as political under prohibition were going to mentors. Although Dewey's electthe wall. Dewey got convictions oral vote was only 99 his popular against such newspaper-famous vote was only 31/2 million less

Dewey's strategy in the 1948 campaign has been to sit tightly Medalie to persuade Governor on top of the N.Y. state treasury surplus and ward off all controprosecutor of all "rackets" in versial questions, with a sharp "No comment!" Thus for exam-Any movie goer knows that a ple he never opened his mouth tried and true pattern for a on the subject of the Taft-Hartpolitical career leading to the ley bill. However, events within governor's chair is that of a the state of New York forced Dewey to take some positions. These have been for the most part reactionary. The strike of Buffalo school teachers, Rochest-In 1937 Dewey was included er city employes and the threaton the LaGuardia slate for the ened strike action of N.Y. subpost of district attorney. This way workers led him to push meant he was running as a through the Condon-Wadlin Act. "liberal" and a candidate of the This forbids state, city or town American Labor Party. It is in- employes from striking. All orgteresting to go back and read anized labor opposed the bill. His Dewey's speeches of that cam- actions on the state budget have paign delivered before labor worked against school teachers, groups. He sounded as much a and veterans who need housing. "friend of labor" as any of the He was also party to the plot against the five-cent fare in New

## Renegades Peddle Old Poison chance to pass judgment on them. barbarism? It is too much to ex- finally they tried to fortify this

By George Breitman

In previous articles we have necessary only to add a few re- row, drew back at the last minute have a debate. marks about the history of the from the futile prospect of wastsmall group associated with Van- ing their time in the WP and, nier which left the Socialist still avowing their allegiance to Workers Party.

Vannier's evolution into an their own. open enemy of Marxism is a culmination of the revisionist fight which his friends, Felix Morrow with the Trotskyist program.

REVISIONIST PATH

James Burnham and Max Shacht-proposal he advances after reman, did in 1939 - by succumb- jecting Marxism: ng to the powerful pressure of capitalist ideology, which is alfelt by intellectuals isolated from the life and struggles of the infected with a disease — one at this late date to go on re-workers cannot take power is the political capacity of the working might call it the occupational di- peating the basic hypothesis [of attempt to stop them from tryover the ability of the working well be widely divergent; only every group in the labor move-

determination not to yield an inch trine and plan of action." by their experience with the

revisionist program had fully talk to his heart's content and ism in one country" and interna- the more remarkable since the of war plants and in the purchase on its arrogant program of war unfolded, the Vannier-Morrow- maybe listen to some other fel- tional class collaboration were requirements now call for a 75% of the machinery and tools. All against the Soviet Union and its Goldman faction was confined to low's foolish ideas; in fact, where necessary in order to defend the margin whereas 15 years ago the monopolists have to do is to war against the workers at home a small handful of skeptics, who robody will have to do anything workers' state? realized their views had no future at all - while the world goes to in the SWP. One section there- hell on wheels. Meanwhile, what fore split away before the 1946 about the struggle against war

Marxism, decided to go it on

FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT

and Albert Goldman, launched in view article dots the i's and crosses the SWP five years ago. It is the t's. The real dispute, it shows, some great task, involving many to contend with it in their day, worth recalling that this evolu- was not over isolated formula- sacrifices and the risk of many and Lenin and Trotsky had to tion was predicted, from the very tions or even the nature of party casualties, if it is certain to fail. beginning of the fight, by the organization, but over fundamen- Renegades sharing Vannier's con- they could lead the workers to defenders of Marxism in the tal concepts of Marxism. His capts therefore can be expected the first successful proletarian party, long before the revisionists spiteful reference to "the degen- to advise the workers not to make revolution. We too must be on themselves understood what they eration of the Trotskyite Fourth were doing and where they were International" is merely an ad- aim at power; and in essence that its deadly effects wherever and going and while they were still mission of the revisionists' failprotesting indignantly that they ure to substitute their program But that is only a part of the The science of Marxism furhad no fundamental differences of prostration before capitalism for the Marxist program of the Trotskyists. Like most renegades, Vannier departs behind a shower Vannier and his friends began of pretentious phrases about his - as all petty-bourgeois revision- devotion to - socialism! But we ists do; as their most immediate can see what they are worth predecessors, the faction led by when we examine the "positive"

ways most quickly and deeply the past and of the present post tempt to persuade the workers prepare the conditions for the working class. They had become ing a future. Whoever is content outcome of the belief that the in action all questions about the sease — of intellectuals in the Marxism] without advancing ing — that is, support of the labor movement: A tendency to some new and decisive argument counter-revolution. class to fulfill its socialist mis- mutual criticism will make pos- ment that started out with skepcompanied by a violent barrage be held sacred — everything is becoming the mortal enemy of

of charges against the SWP lead- called into question. Only after the socialist revolution. Take the ership's "dogmatism," "bureau- having been put through such a Social Democrats. — what is the cratism," "bad morals," etc., by crucible could socialism conceiv- basis of their policy of class colwhich was meant the leadership's ably re-emerge as a viable doc- laboration with the capitalists? to the revisionist onslaughts. Now there's a real program of spread by the Vanniers, that the lative orgy that is reminiscent boom, it will plunge the country bonus the racketeering monopol. cussion society. A discussion so- the Stalinist degeneration in Rus- named day. The volume for the

Then the revisionists began to denounce the "chean like" death of you, and one that's workers don't have what it takes of the "glorious" Twenties. On into another world slaughter ists would have been obliged to denounce the "sheep-like" docilbound to strike a sympathetic to achieve progress through their May 14, 15 and 17 the New York which would assure more billions disgorge themselves of a part of ity and lack of "independent note among a considerable body own forces. Or examine the Stock Exchange witnessed the in profits for the monopoly their plunder, thus preventing thought" among the membership of tired radicals and disillusioned treachery of the Stalinists. What broadest markets on record, with sharks. What gamble could be profits from reaching astronomof the party, who had been steeled intellectuals — a perpetual dis- was the root of the beginning of 1,161 issues traded on the last safer? Burnham-Shachtman school of ciety, where everybody can get sia if not the idea that the work- brief Saturday session was the the boys in the money except to and the continuous downward revisionism to give a cool receptogether and chew the fat intermers outside of Russia could not largest since 1933. This bullish play the market and boost prices. Plunge of workers' living stand-Consequently, long before the do anything more difficult than oppressors, and therefore "social- tion of the petty bourgeosie is all all the expenses in the building thought twice before it embarked SWP convention even had a and militarization and capitalist

Headed by Goldman, they entered pect that the capitalists will call skepticism by counter-revolutiondemonstrated the spuriousness prehension and "honest pessim- labor while the discussion con- who had not become infected with union has been singularly power- by supported by the miners. ism," the Shachtmanite Workers tinues. But that doesn't bother this disease. And the Vanniers and shallowness of the argu- rarty, from which some of them Vannier because according to his are travelling the same road. ments presented by Jean Vannier have already departed for the view what goes on in the class NOTHING NEW in the March Partisan Review to purpose of supporting American struggle doesn't matter anyhow; justify his flight from Marxism. imperialism. The other section, the only thing that really counts of Thus there is nothing new in To complete the account it is influenced by Vannier and Mor- in "preparing for a future" is to Vannier's "fundamental hypothe-

not take and hold power, obvious-Now, Vannier's Partisan Re- harmful; in general, nothing is strengthen the position of their is what Vannier is doing now. whenever it arises.

class struggle continues, and that forces and developments - the under modern conditions it inevitably moves in the direction of a working class attempt to take to rescue the world from the power, no matter how many in- abyss to which capitalism is drivtellectuals desert the struggle ing it. Let us use the weapons and no matter what kind of ad- placed at our disposal by Marxvice they give the workers. At ism not only to expose the reac-"Only by a rational and meth- that point, the next step of the tionary and capitalist-inspired odical scrutiny of the lessons of Vanniers develops into an at- concepts of the renegades but to sibilities will we be enabled to not to revolt by means other than socialist revolution which, in work effectively toward prepar-words. In short, the logical passing, will definitively settle

The very same concept being

Democratic disbelievers in the 10%. workers' capacities started out with full-fledged counter-revolu-Marxist method of analyzing ers and capitalists; then they succumbed to skepticism; and

#### St. Louis Forum on Labor's Weapons

LABOR'S WEAPONS — THE ECONOMIC AND THE POLIT-ICAL will be the topic of the Militant Open Forum to be held Thursday evening, June 3, at 8 The address of the Branch is

sis" about the workers' incapacity to establish socialism. It is a byproduct of capitalist propaganda The ultimate logic of the Van- and pressure, reeking of ancient niers is this: If the workers can-betrayals. Its infiltration, through weaklings and traitors, into the ly it is foolish for them to try. workers' ranks serves only to de-Not only is it foolish, but it is moralize the workers and more harmful than to attempt exploiters. Marx and Engels had overcome its influence before such a foolhardy attempt as to the alert to recognize and combat

nishes us with the only realistic History has shown that the appreciation of class struggles, basis of our unshakable confidence in the ability of the workers

An Unholy Farce

Robert N. Denham, general counsel of the Taft-Hartley board. gets an honorary delegates' badge from President Sol Hoffman of the AFL Upholsterer's International Union holding its 25th convention in Washington. It is labor leaders like Hoffman who have made possible the passage of the Taft-Hartley Slave Law.

# labor movement: A tendency to overestimate the power of decaying capitalism and to despair over the ability of the working ove This defeatist mood was accompanied by a violent barrage be held sacred — everything is becoming the mortal enemy of

By Arthur Burch

chasing power of the masses. SAFE GAMBLE

Washington expects to take up through war preparations any slack that might appear in the

ington has served notice in un- Europe. If the "labor statesmen" The stock market is once mistakable terms that at one had led a militant fight for highmore the scene of a wild specu- stage or another of this arms er wages and a cost of living

inably; where nobody will have to be depended on to overthrow their enthusiasm and wide participa- The government is taking care of ards. Big Business would have traders could often plunge in on operate these plants at a guaran- and abroad.

SERVILE LEADERS

which alone capitalism is able to their assignments of Marshall run this country.

ical proportions. We would not There is really nothing left for now be reading of broken strikes

Neither the Stalinist nor Social a shoe-string margin of only teed profit. The atomic plant at With the continued upward Oak Ridge is only one of a score spiraling of prices and reduction Like in the recent commodity of similar cases. To make sure in the mass purchasing power boom, easy profits are the incent- that the capitalist freebooters there will be a curtailment of nonary practices. No, they work- ive here. The speculators figure don't run short of change, Con- consumers' goods to make way ed their way up to them gradual- that they can't go wrong. The gress obligingly reduced their for the full-fledged war effort. ly. First they abandoned the government has virtually under-taxes. Of course the Big Boys There will be further curtailment In Sub Drive written profits to the corpora- have more money than they know of funds for education, housing, capitalism and the development tions whose issues are listed on what to do with but in order to public service and welfare to of the struggle between the work- the Big Board. Washington has provide a maximum profit for make room for increased expendserved notice that it intends to them, the Treasury has continued itures for planes, tanks and feed the inflation, at least for the its easy money policy to make other instruments of destruction. very near future. By asking for sure that they don't have to pay Thus we can be sure that the a huge armaments outlay, it has much more than 11/8% interest working class will not gain from become the largest customer for on their short-term loans to the present arms boom. Only a the monopolies whose markets finance their stock speculation. militant policy on the part of the were being rapidly exhausted as The biggest freebooters accumul workers can prevent the capitalresult of the dwindling pur- lated their stocks many months ists from continuing with their with so many branches helping valescence. ago, before they ordered Wash- frenzied speculation to the detri- on strikes or active in election ington to embark on its new war ment of the American people. campaign work. However, sub Only such a determined effort on imperialism in forcing another But with all these favorable bloodbath on the peoples of the four from St. Paul and others scription to Fourth International, p.m. by the St. Louis Branch of faltering economy. And by refus- factors, Big Business and its world. "The Gods make mad those the Socialist Workers Party. Mili- ing to institute controls it has government would not have dared they would destroy." Nothing so tant readers are urged to attend. given the green light to the intant readers are urged to attend. Bob Williams, spark plug of regularly costs \$\pi z\$ a year (FZ istant readers are urged to attend. Harlem Branch, New York, has sues) and The Militant \$1 a year dustrialists to jack up their pric- lation and inflation had it not es and profits. It has again arti- been for the servility of the labor much as the current stock market boom indicates the madness of been laid up for a couple of weeks (52 issues), but by subscribing to Rm. 312 Olivia Bldg., 1023 N. ficially stimulated scarcities on leaders who are carrying out the arrogant monopolists who with illness, but didn't let it get both together you get them for

## THE MILITARY ARMS Flint Scores 47

Flint branch, which is conduct-

this week with 38, bringing the The Militant, with friends or That batch of 38 from Flint strangers. He keeps a steady equaled the entire national total flow of subs coming from Harbecause last week was one of the lem — even to the point of makdullest in Militant sub history, ing this activity a means of conreturns were rapidly picking up Militant sub for 50c for a full labor's part can stay the hand of already this week, with 11 from year - if you combine it with a Milwaukee, 17 from New York, new or renewal one-year subfrom a dozen different cities.

him down. When he finally had \$2.50, a saving of 50c.

to go out for some air and sunshine, he made his walks useful by calling on neighbors and Militant subscribers. Result: 10 ing a six-weeks campaign for Militant subs, two for one year 460 Militant subs, surged ahead and eight for six months.

monthly theoretical organ of American Trotskyism. The magazine

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## THE MILITANT

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Bundle Orders (5 or more

Monday, May 24, 1948



Vol. XII-No. 21

TROTSKY

"Twenty-five years in the scales of history, when it is a question of profoundest changes in economic and cultural systems, weigh less than an hour in the life of man. What good is the individual who, because of empirical failures in the course of an hour or a day, renounces a goal that he set for himself on the basis of the experience and analysis of his entire previous lifetime? In the years of darkest Russian reaction (1907 to 1917) we took as our starting point those revolutionary possibilities which were revealed by the Russian proletariat in 1905. In the years of world reaction we must proceed from those possibilities which the Russian proletariat revealed in 1917. The Fourth International did not by accident call itself the world party of the socialist revolution. Our road



-Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, P. 15.

#### A Historic Broadcast

History was made in the 15 minutes of the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign program that was broadcast over the NBC national network on May 15, 1948.

For the first time in years, the genuine party of Marxism and Leninism in this country has broken through on a national scale the conspiracy of silence of the monopoly press and radio.

For the first time—in a brief 15 minutes -hundreds of thousands of workers, poor farmers and oppressed Negroes learned that there is a party in this country which has the only realistic and effective program against capitalist war, Jim Crow, exploitation and repression.

And the response to the speech of Farrell Dobbs, SWP nominee for President, is striking proof of the tremendous appeal of the international socialist program, and the eagerness with which millions will make this program their own, given a chance to learn of the SWP and its platform.

From coast to coast, from New England to many parts of the Deep South, from all the great industrial centers have come postcards and letters filled with friendship, praise and encouragement.

A Northern listeneer—no doubt an oldtime socialist—wrote "Please send me a copy of Eugene V. Debs speech over the radio May 15." The confusion of the name of Debs with Dobbs, in this case, is understand-

If the physical Debs has lain in his martyr's grave since 1928, his struggle, his ideas, his spirit live on in the program of the Socialist Workers Party and its presidential banner-

An Iowa student, requesting a copy of Dobbs' speech, correctly assails as a "disgrace" the one-sidedness of the so-called free capitalistic press. Presumably, his professors distort and falsify the truth just as much.

Certainly, the youth and students of America will get no hope, no light, no truth from the venal intellectuals and the capitalist press. They can turn only to the party of revolutionary Marxism, the Socialist Workers Par-

To meet the growing demand for our literature stimulated by the Dobbs' broadcast, to secure more radio time and reach other millions, to make the SWP presidential campaign a telling blow against the imperialist warmongers and for socialism, YOUR aid is indispensable.

Support the SWP campaign with your activity and your dollars. Join the SWP. Write today to the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y., for full information on how you can help to build the socialist world of peace and plenty.

#### Ford's Wage-Cut Offer

A new stage in the Big Business anti-union offensive was opened with the Ford Motor Company contemptuously answered CIO United Auto Workers demands for a 30-cent

raise by offering a wage cut. This ultra-bold and arrogant move by the billionaire Henry Ford II goes beyond a mere rejection of the union's demands. It aims to strip the union of past gains, undermine its influence and prestige, whip it into a corner and finally destroy it.

Seven years ago the Ford workers rose in their wrath and brought the Ford empire to its knees. Since then the Ford company has tried to lull the workers with the impression that it will "play ball." Only a few months ago, Henry Ford II paid a highly-publicized personal visit to UAW President Walter Reuther.

Now the Ford company once more bares its anti-union fangs. It makes the most provocative and insulting counter-offer yet made by any major corporation to any key CIO union in the current wage fight. And it dares make that "offer" to the largest and mightiest union in the land, the union that spearheaded the rise of the CIO and the titanic strike wave

Ford's present inflated arrogance doesn't come from some new power of his own. His confidence is strengthened by the unity of Big Business against labor's wage demands. It is bolstered by the Taft-Hartley Act and government strikebreaking. It is reinforced by the flabbiness and weakness of the top CIO leadership, who are obviously trying to duck a real fight, and, above all, by the lack of unified militant strategy and action within. the CIO and specifically the UAW.

Ford thinks the time has come to cut the UAW and CIO to pieces. He sees CIO President Philip Murray capitulating abjectly to the steel corporations and covering his surrender with a hue and cry against the "communists." He sees the CIO Packinghouse Workers abandoned by the top CIO leaders and forced to fight it out alone against the meat trust and government. He sees General Motors and Chrysler defying the UAW, with the 75,000 Chrysler workers forced to carry the brunt of the struggle alone because of the ineffective one-at-a-time strategy of the UAW

Ford's overblown arrogance can be changed in short order. But the CIO and specifically the UAW leaders will have to CHANGE THEIR COURSE. They will have to be made to realize that their present feeble and divisive policy is heading the CIO wage program to disaster.

The auto workers, first of all, must be mobilized into one giant striking force and hurled as a single army at the united front of the "Big Three" auto corporations. A unified strategy of militant action must be speedily worked out by an emergency conference of Chrysler, Ford and General Motors workers. The UAW conference must demand an emergency conference of the whole CIO to coordinate and revitalize the wage fight on a national scale.

A unified, simultaneous struggle of the auto workers can set the entire CIO once more on the road to victory.

## Fight the Mundt Bill!

The Mundt Bill, which has been passed by the House, under the guise of suppressing the unpopular Communist (Stalinist) Party, would actually blot out political and civil liberties. The American Civil Liberties Union finds the bill "permeated" with unconstitutionalities. Many law school professors and jurists have denounced the bill as a wholesale violation of the Bill of Rights.

As with all witch-hunting legislation, the immediate target—the "reds"—are not the sole target. The bigger, though unmentioned, target is the trade union movement. The CIO finally awoke to this fact and has undertaken a campaign to defeat the bill. The inaction of the AFL, however, seriously weakens the fight against this fascist-like measure.

But still more reprehensible are the actions of the Stalinophobic Social-Democrats. Louis Waldman and A. A. Berle actually appealed last week to the AFL Hatters Convention in an effort to secure endorsement of the Mundt Bill. Aftr their speeches the resolution committee withdrew a previously drafted resolution pointing out the dangers of the bill.

What criminal folly these Social-Democrats commit! Apparently they refuse to realize that in capitalist eyes they are but once removed from the "communists." Do they think they and their parties will go untouched after the Stalinists are outlawed? Let them remember the great witch-hunt of the early '20s. After the persecution of the Communists, the Social-Democratic assemblymen in Albany were expelled from elected offices.

Don't the leaders of the Hatters Union recall the union-busting open-shop drive that followed on the heels of the Palmer "red" raids and the "criminal syndicalism" laws? If they give any support to the Mundt Bill they will be inviting a repetition of one of the blackest chapters in U. S. history.

The labor-haters are fully aware of the real purposes of the Mundt Bill. That is why they back it to the hilt. The American workers must 'also understand its true purpose and mobilize all their power to block this infamous police-state bill.

# Stalin Repeats His Bid for 'Peace' Deal with Washington

This new public bid for a deal with Washington was made by none other than Generalissimo Stalin himself. In a statement roadcast over the Moscow radio on May 17, the Kremlin dictator accepted the propositions contained in Henry Wallace's "Open Letter" (issued one week before), as a "good and fruitful" basis for an 'agreement between Moscow and Wall Street.

Repeating the lie that he has peddled for years, that the Soviet Union can co-exist peacedisarmament and the "prohibition of atomic weapons"; to as "encouraging." conclude peace with Germany and Korea.

respect for the sovereignty of jected

tary bases in member countries than those already made.
of the UN; world development of Those Kremlin "peace maneuv- quite crassly by pointing out that quite obvious. For the second time within international trade excluding any ers" are undoubtedly producing war scares will be "more difweek, the Kremlin moved to sort of discrimination; in the profound repercussions among ficult to generate in the future," intensify its "peace offensive." framework of the UN, assistance the masses in Europe. Nor have and warns that continued rebuffs to and economic restoration of they passed without telling effect to the Kremlin might produce a countries which suffered from the in this country as well. war; defense of democracy and insuring of civil rights in all in among those business circles countries; and so on."

ed silent, the State Department cation of the "cold war" and the hastened to reject this offer, resulting stepping up of the arms giving virtually the same argu- program. ments as in the case of the Smith-Molotov episode, namely, that issues involved are not subject to "bi-lateral" negotiation, that Moscow is to blame for previous failure to arrive at agreement, fully with capitalism, Stalin of- etc. At the same time, the State fered to negotiate a general Department cautiously characterized the Kremlin's latest move

From the standpoint of effecand Japan (the question of Aus- tive propaganda and diplomatic tria was for some reason maneuvering, the Stalinist moves omitted); and to arrange for the have placed Washington in a evacuation of troops from China highly embarrassing position. In addition, Stalin assured that January, the White House and the agreement could be reached on State Department already re-"peace" overtures three individual countries and non-times, and face the prospect of editorial recently, asking only for cy" here at their home at City interference in their domestic af- | having to parry other offers | fairs; the inadmissibility of mili- which may be even more direct

### THE "FIVE-YEAR PLAN" OF U.S. MILITARISM armament program, to over 2 million. Where are the

bigger, according to the plans of Congress.

For the year ending June 30, 1948, the expenditure for war that is only a tiny trickle compared to the flood of billions destined for the coffers of the arms industries by the new fiveyear plan of Congress. Here are the estimated figures:

1949	14	bill	ions
1950	17 <sup>1</sup>	/2 " "	
1951	20	Sec ??	own - Ma
1952	$-21^{1}$	/2 "	
1953	-221	/2 "	

After that, the annual expenat around the 1953 figure, we and their friends in Congress. That is—if war hasn't broken out in the meantime.

This five-year plan it does not include such other items as the hundreds of millions allocated annually for atomic warfare preparations, and the billions that will be demanded soon for lend-lease arming of Western

far beyond the billions that will and economic life of the nation. be extorted from the working | That can be done only by estabpeople through ever-higher taxes. lishing a Workers and Farmers The larger number of arms makes necessary a larger number of men working people and therefore to handle them, specifically, an having no interest in imperialist ncrease from about 1-1/3 million war and conquest.

**Editorials** 

May Day 1948

Italian Elections

The Marshall Plan II

in Palestine

Order from

Presidenial Campaign Notes

From the Arsenal of Marxism

making war preparations the men coming from? Through conscription, naturally. That means U. S., is scheduled to grow much | That means, a huge conscript | army as a permanent part of this country's life.

In addition to paying for the was 10% billion dollars. That power for the armed forces, the demands. Alas — they met to disting of the strike. . . Example: the sit-down days of 1937, so too, drained away 7 cents out of every masses of people will also be cuss relief sewers for streets. dollar of the national income. But required to tighten their belts in prospect of still higher prices. from increased arms spending. . As a result, people in general will enjoy fewer goods than they might otherwise have enjoyed." THE CONSEQUENCES

No country in the history of the world ever had such a "peacediture for arms will "level off" time" arms program. And no country with such a program are promised by the brass hats can escape the militarization of every sector of life-economic, political, social, educational, cul- I listened with interest to the tural, etc. If Wall Street's Conway, the United more than 95 billion dollars, and States will be one big barracks from the Atlantic to the Pacific Militarism has become a permanent feature of capitalism, as well as its most dominant one. To avert the Prussianization of America, it is necessary to end

the grip of Wall Street and its The effects of this program go capitalist agents on the political Government controlled by the

By Joseph Hansen

By John Fredericks

Business Manager

By Pablo

Discussions with Leon Trotsky

Now on Sals

Fourth
International

CONTENTS FOR MAY

Randolph's Drive Against Army Jim Crow

Self-Determination for the American Negroes

Book Review: Malaparte's "Kaput" By Paul Shapiro

25¢ a copy · yearly subscription

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

New Evidence of Stalin's Fear of Trotskyism

Against the Stream-The Trotskyist Position

A mood of uneasiness has set

which counted on profiting the While the White House remain- most from a continued intensifi-

The capitalist press is becoming more and more filled with complaints, veiled or open, that the Truman administration has permitted itself to be badly "outmaneuvered.

The weekly, U. S. News, May counter-move, but its intention

'political kickback [that] would

Anne O'Hare McCormick, forthat Washington is now faced precisely with the prospect it operation of the ERP, and the 'has been dreading for the past two months.

be too much, too strong. . .'

Basically, however, the situation after the Wallace-Stalin interchange remains much the same affair. Washington is in worse

We repeat what we wrote last week in connection with Molotov's

bid for a deal: The possibility for such a deal at a later stage cannot be excluded. But first Washington expects to jam the draft through eign-policy specialist of the N. Y. Congress and to still further Times, flatly points out, May 19, strengthen its relative position through rearmament, through the

consolidation of all its positions in Western Europe and in Asia. The very course of recent developments is by itself striking proof that even should another as it was after the Smith-Molotov | deal eventually be concluded, it would merely denote an armed need than before of an effective truce prior to the unavoidable

# Chrysler Strike Sidelights

Counting Moscow's private bid in anti-labor, claim they are solely union will have no part of this the LaFollette Investigation Comconcerned with law enforcement Jim Crow setup. We wonder what mittee who said, "It is a practice during the strike. The Detroit Edwards and Common Council we have grown up with. News, for instance, carried an have to say about this "democrathe law's "consistent enforce- Hall? ment." It is only incidental that aw enforcement means executing to enter the plant, as the first on anything a union wants. step to allowing the scabs in.

Detroit Common Council President George Edwards, and former UAW-CIO "leader," found time for a conference with Henry Ford II. One might think that bargaining?" Yes, what? biggest single business in the either the draft or UMT, or both. with the Ford Company faced with wage demands of its workers, and with a strike vote being bulletin of the Dodge Local Motor Co. who has built up a taken at GM, and a strike in states: "All salaries and expens- huge reserve of club-swinging progress at Chrysler, they would es, except those of our office cops. Just as reliance on their arms and providing the man- be discussing auto workers' wage help, are cancelled for the dura- ewn power won for the union in

> As the weekly U. S. News & of the Detroit Common Council, World Report of May 14 points we notice the City Hall is decorout, "Inflation, about to give way ated in honor of the American \$275,536.90 for tear gas, guns and profit-bloated Chrysler Corporato some mild deflation, is almost Bowling League. This is the out- spies to fight unionism. So testi- tion is being referred to by picksure to get a shot in the arm | fit denounced by the UAW for its | fied Herman Weckler, vice-pres- ets as the "six-cent insult."

an injunction which permits su- 14 is aghast. The NLRB has ruled won recognition on April 6, 1937. pervisory personnel and officials that a corporation must bargain is there... to prevent labor's participation in the management and legitimate subject for collective

And while we're on the subject Committees, etc. get no pay. . " | wage increases today.

Even after the passage of NL-RA, Chrysler still refused to recognize the union. It was not until The Detroit Free Press of May the sitdown strike that the union

Today the Chrysler Corpora-Whines the editorial: "If the tion can cut its expenses for spies unions can pick their topics, what and machine guns for use against workers. Congress provided them with a Taft-Hartley Slave Act. operation of plants from being a The State legislature provided them with the Bonine-Tripp Act. And Mayor Van Antwerp provided them with Police Commission-The daily mimeographed strike er Toy, former agent of the Ford The Editor, Financial Secretary, only the power of the union in Fresident, Officers and Standing numbers and militancy will win

Chrysler Corporation spent The six-cent wage offer of the

# **WORKERS FORUM**

#### Comments on Dobbs' Radio Speech

U. S. presidency over the NBC operated? Also any other articles over radio station WRC. speech of your candidate for the radio network.

Will you please send me literature about your party and a copy of Mr. Dobb's speech. I would particularly desire to know if I should be liable for criminal or civil persecution if I should desire to become a loval and legal member of your movement.

G. B. Providence, R. I.

Please send me the speech transmitted over the radio, May 15. Also send me literature and the socialistic doctrines that your organization favors. I am in- propose to do, if elected. terested in the field of socialism.

P. B. Greenville. S. C. P.S. Send six sets as some other students are interested.

Eugene V. Debs speech over the maybe I've got a contact. radio Sat., May 15. I will thank you very much.

Thiells, N. Y.

Hearing Mr. Dobbs radio speech yesterday has acquainted me for the first time with the name of the SWP and aroused an interest to know more about the history, program, membership and backing of the party, as well as its stand on various domestic and foreign issues. Also its relationship to the proposed Mundt Bill I would appreciate any literature and information you have avail-

Paterson, N. J.

It was very wonderful and would like to read it.

Philadelphia, Pa

I heard a radio address today given by your candidate for President, Mr. Dobbs. I was quite surprised by some of the things he said, and I would like a copy of the speech in order to study it more closely.

Princeton, N. J. Please send me 25

your May 15 speech.

R. A. NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 855 Baltimore, Md. Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p. m.

Would you kindly send me a | Permit me to congratulate the

would be appreciated. It's a disgrace that one can't get the other side of a question from newspapers and magazines which make up a so-called "freedom of

the press.' As a political science student must have more facts to back up my arguments for the banishment of capitalism here in the United States.

Sioux City, Iowa.

I should also appreciate learning what Mr. Dobbs and the SWP

Champaign, Ill.

My boy made me come out of the show to which he begged me to take him, so he could hear the Please send me a copy of radio talk. Not bad at 11 years,

Indiana Harbor, Ind.

somewhat brief outline of the commentator regarding world history of Socialism here in conditions and the duty of the America and other countries of American public toward rectifythe world in which it has ing such conditions as delivered

I hope there may be more such programs in the near future.

Please send me, if possible, about 6 copies of Farrell Dobbs

Washington, D. C.

radio speech of May 15. B. Z. Chicago, Ill.

I heard your talk over NBC on Saturday and would like to receive the script of your talk. I am

a pro-Wallace man, but bitterly opposed to the Communists as you are. I feel that the minor parties can accomplish more by merging their strength and then purging

the CP'ers instead of having 4 or

5 men running against each other. S. C. Jamaica L. I., N.Y.

Freehold, N. J.

Please rush it to me. M. V.

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Open daily, **YOUNGSTOWN** — 115 E. Federal St., Rm. 302. Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

By Farrell Dobbs

BOSTON, May 14 — If the 928,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America looked to their Fourth Constitutional Convention for a fighting program to halt the savage onslaught of the monopoly corporations, they were cruelly disappointed. Instead, they witnessed a wild

orgy of red-baiting, used by President Philip Murray to smother criticism of his policies which deprived workers in basic steel of a wage increase, and to ram through the convention the following decisions:

1. "No-strike" contracts with United States Steel and other corporations will be lived up to "notwithstanding the failure of the employer to agree upon a wage increase." Negotiations with respect to insurance plans will be carried on in the hope that the profits-glutted corporations may toss the workers a dry bone.

2. The Inland Steel pension case will be used to test the constitutionality of the "anti-Communist" affidavit and other provisions of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act. However, Murray and the other International officers were authorized to sign the yellow-dog affidavit if they so decide. Murray reported that the steel corporations had informed him they would not renegotiate wage contracts next year unless the affidavit

3. The Wallace Party was denounced. Resolutions favoring formation of an independent Labor Party were rejected in favor of the bankrupt policy of supporting "progresive" Democrats and Republicans. The International Executive Board was authorized to decide "the matter of endorsing a candidate for the Presidency of the United States" after the Democratic and Republican parties have had their conven-

4. Murray and the Executive Board were authorized to come out in support of peacetime military conscription in case of "a possible further worsening of international relations." The Marshall Plan was endorsed.

. 5. Members of "the Communist party or of any Fascist, totalitarian or other subversive organization" were barred from holding office in

#### REPRESENTATION REDUCED

6. Representation at future conventions of the union was reduced from one delegate for each 100 members to one delegate for each 500 mem-

7. The term of office for the International officers and district directors was increased to four years. Previously they were elected for two years. The United Steelworkers thus becomes the first major CIO union to ape and institute practices similar to the anti-democratic practices of the AFL dictatorships.

8. Membership dues were increased to \$2 per month, a hike of 50 cents.

9. Murray got a \$5,000 raise, giving him an annual salary of \$25,000. Secretary-Treasurer David J. McDonald and International Vice Presidents Van A. Bittner and James G. Thimmes were raised \$3,000, netting them \$15,000 annually. The district directors got a \$2,000 hike for a total of \$8,000 a year.

After three days of unrestrained red-baiting during discussion of foreign policy, political action and the Taft-Hartley Act, the stage was set about 5 P.M. on Thursday to jam through a resolution endorsing Murray's wage policy. Resolution No. 26 on wages was read by the secretary of the resolutions committee, who moved

Delegate Hunter, Local 2898, on a point of information said, "Since this question of wages is a most important one and I am sure will be discussed by many people, and since a half hour is all that is left of this session. I should like to ask that the resolution be brought up tomorrow morning.'

Murray replied that the Wage-Policy Committee would spend weeks on the wage question, adding,

#### SOLIDARITY

Nearly 1,000 inmates of the District of Columbia Reformatory, both white and Negro, were so incensed by the unjust life sentence given to Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons that they dug down into their small savings and earnings and chipped in \$339.80, which they sent to the NAACP Ingram Defense Fund.

The Frank Barnes case in Santa Monica, Cali-

fornia, teaches three important lessons to the

Negro people in all parts of the country. 1. That

government witch hunts serve to undermine every

progressive movement, including the fight for

Negro rights. 3. That it is necessary to fight

harder than ever before against Jim Crow and

red-bating, or else the Negro people will be

denrived even of the few rights they now have.

Frank Barnes is the president of the Santa

Monica NAACP branch and of the United Com-

mittee to End Discrimination at Sears, which the

NAACP and two dozen other labor, Negro and

civic organizations formed in order to win jobs

for Negroes at the local store of Sears, Roebuck

and Co. In this capacity Barnes did an excellent

job, leading a struggle on the picket line which

effectively cut down trade. Sears tried first of

all to get the picketing prohibited and then,

when mass protest prevented that, decided to go

Barnes makes his living as a mail carrier, that

is, he works for the government. Sears therefore

took its case to the Post Office and quickly

succeeded in getting Truman's Postmaster Gen-

eral, Jesse M. Donaldson, to suspend Barnes on

the charge that he is "disloyal to the government

of the United States"! Why? Had he expressed

any such disloyalty, had he called for the over-

throw of the government? He obviously had not.

But, said the Truman administration, Barnes was

guilty of being "affiliated or sympathetic with an

organization, association, movement, group, or

after Barnes himself.

the Truman administration,

class in preserving Jim Crow

practices in employment. 2. That

despite its promises to institute

— a civil rights program, is actually

an accomplice of the capitalist

The Negro Struggle -

"I think that will be sufficient to meet the needs

Lirector Germano of District 31 next took the floor to denounce Delegate Nick Migas of Local 1010, East Chicago, Indiana. Migas, a well-known Stalinist hack, had signed a leaflet, circulated to the delegates the previous day, which attacked Murray's "no-strike" policy and his opposition to Henry Wallace.

#### MURRAY WHIPS UP FRENZY

When Germano had finished speaking, Murray ordered Migas to the microphone in the center of the convention floor. As Migas stood there in the middle of a mass of 3,200 delegates, Murray proceeded to whip the convention into a frenzy against him. Then Murray called on Migas to explain why he "resorted to this treasonous

Migas defended himself as best he could handicapped as he was by his unsavory record accumulated through years of following the zigzags of treacherous Stalinist policy. As he spoke, he was booed, cries arose to "throw him out," and several delegates sought to attack him physically. Murray ordered the ushers to protect

When Migas finished speaking Murray said, "Is that all? Are you finished? The convention will remain in order now. Remain in perfect order, please. The question now occurs upon the motion to adopt the report of the committee. Those in favor of the motion to adopt the report of the committee will say aye."

With the all-important question of wage policy having been so completely submerged under the hysteria against Migas, Murray declared the motion "carried by unanimous vote" and proceeded to the next order of business.

#### SEVERELY BEATEN

Meanwhile, Migas had tried to slip quietly out of the hall, but almost one-third of the convention followed him out onto Huntington Avenue where he was caught and severely beaten.

All this time Boston police had been in and around the convention hall, obviously tipped off to what was coming. When they thought Migas had been beaten enough, the cops dragged him out of the hands of his attackers, threw him into a patrol wagon they just happened to have with them and hauled him to the police station under

The next morning the constitutional amendment barring "Communists" or "other subversives" from union office was easily put through the convention.

But when the question of a four-year term for International officers came up, the steam roller was slowed down quite a bit. Red-baiting proved less effective on this issue, so the question of loyalty to the officers was thrown into the gap. Opposition to the proposal was centered mainly against giving district directors four-year terms. About one-third of the delegates voted against it on a standing vote.

#### SHARP OPPOSITION

**Defend Frank Barnes!** 

- By Albert Parker

Opposition was even sharper on the constitutional amendment reducing convention representational amendment reducing convention representations of the strike is settled so that workers is the beginning of what the Governor close the plants. The National Guard will not be gight Business and anti-labor forces to work for \$19.25 a Governor Youngdahl's half-week?" tion to one delegate for each 500 members. Secretary-Treasurer McDonald, who was in the chair, ruled the amendment adopted on a voice vote. Pandemonium broke loose and McDonald then called for a standing vote in which he again declared the amendment adopted. A mighty wave of protest went up with cries for a roll call.

Murray took the chair, declared there would be no roll call, and again took a standing vote, instructing the ushers to count the delegates voting for and against. A total vote of 2,384 was reported, with 1,563 voting for the amendment and 821 against.

Opposition to the dues increase adopted on the last day followed the same general pattern. Election of International officers and district

directors for a four-year term will be held by referendum in February 1949. Local union elections for a two-year term of office take place next month.

The next convention is scheduled for May 1950.

combination of persons designated by the At-

organizations affiliated with the United Com-

And so Barnes has been deprived of his job in

only for what he thinks or does, but even for

the company he keeps and the people he associates

with. That is the brand of democracy the ruling class is preparing a new world war to defend.

and which they will order the Negro and white

This practice of "guilt by association," if

permitted to continue, will destroy democratic

rights altogether. For that reason alone it is

necessary for the labor and Negro movements to

rally to the defense of Frank Barnes and force

his unconditional reinstatement. But there is

another and equally urgent reason, which will be

quickly recognized by anyone studying this case:

What the government is really driving to put

over with this persecution is the notion that

militant opposition to Jim Crow can be punished

as "disloyalty to the government of the United

States." If they can get away with that, then

Some people hope that as the outbreak of the

next war approaches, the government is going to

soften up and get rid of some of the Jim Crow

regulations and practices. But if you disregard

the token gestures and third-rate concessions,

you can see that the reverse of such hopes seems

to be the case. Instead of getting softer, capital-

ism in its death agony is accentuating its get-

tough policies not only abroad but at home as

well, not only against labor but also against the

naked dictatorship will be around the corner.

workers to shed their blood for.

# THE MILITANT

# Minnesota Governor Sends Troops To Aid Meat Trust Against Strike

By Barbara Bruce

SOUTH ST. PAUL, May 17

- National Guardsmen with drawn bayonets today patrol the streets of the world's second

largest meat packing center. Called out by Republican Governor Luther W. Youngdahl last Saturday, more than 1,000 guardsmen moved in from all parts of the state. All units are mechanized and motorized. Youngdahl's strikebreaking ac-

tion followed upon a week of clashes between striking packinghouse workers and South St. Paul police who had failed in their attempts to crash the tightly-knit picket lines around the Swift, Armour and Cudahy plants. Mass picketing, in defiance of a court restraining order, was the strikers' answer to the packers' attempts to break the nine-weeks-old strike with imported scabs.

Provoked by a report that a refrigerator car filled with strikebreakers, recruited in neighboring states, had been moved into the Cudahy plant, 200 angry pickets stormed into the plant early Friday morning. Every scab was removed from the plant. It is also reported that locks were broken on live-stock pens and several hundred hogs were released to run wild through the streets.

The Cudahy "incident" provided the pretext for Governor Youngdahl to mobilize the Minnesota National Guard. Packing company officials had been demanding this action for several weeks. All units of the National Guard are being housed in the three packing plants and are being fed in company cafeterias.

#### JEERS AND BOOS

n South St. Paul Saturday morning: "Vets Must Fight the Army

attempted to escort scabs through | "merely to keep law and order" the picket line at Swift's, the pickets defiantly tightened their lines. "Are you going to let those scabs in?" a picket shouted to a the area. The lieutenant nodded. an audience with the Governor. car attempting to pass through. The halftrack was rushed to the

"Step aside," the captain ordered The pickets refused to budge. A lieutenant colonel ran from a nearby gatehouse. He conferred briefly with the captain and then ordered him and a group of strikers. Fighting broke out as other strikers ran from a crowd nearby to help their fellow work-

#### DRIVEN WITH BAYONETS

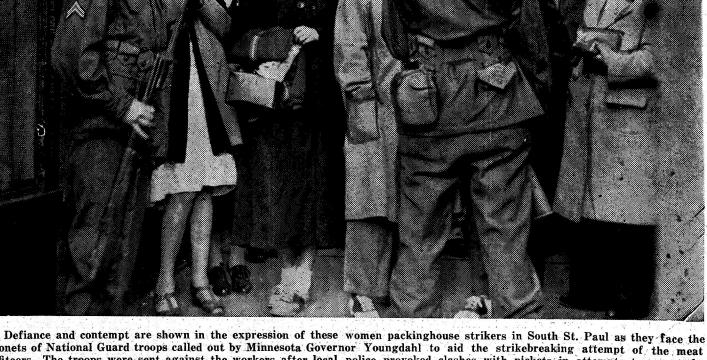
Several clashes occurred and pickets were subdued only at the point of fixed bayonets. The three torney General as subversive." Proof? One of the pickets were arrested and hustled off in jeeps to the city hall. They mittee to End Discrimination at Sears was the were Ed Johnson, Theodore Thompson and George Rosse. The mass of strikers were driven the Post Office, pending a hearing before the back step by step by 600 armed Loyalty Board. As in Hitlerite Germany and guardsmen. Streets were cleared Stalinist Russia, a man can be persecuted not

#### **SWP Leaders Hit** Use of Troops by Gov. Youngdahl

Leaders of the Socialist Workers Party in Minnesota on May 16 wired Governor Luther W. Youngdahl their condemnation of his use of troops against Packinghouse

Crace Carlson, SWP Vice-Presidential candidate, said: "The most elementary rights of the working people of Minnesota are being violated by your troops. The doors of all packing plants in Minnesota should be closed until these workers are granted a living wage."

Vincent R. Dunne, SWP National Labor Secretary, said: 'You out-Stassen Stassen. He tried to break strikes with a slick formula. You rely on the sharp bayonet."



bayonets of National Guard troops called out by Minnesota Governor Youngdahl to aid the strikebreaking attempt of the meat profiteers. The troops were sent against the workers after local police provoked clashes with pickets in attempts to run scabs Courtesy of Dispatch-Pioneer Press through the strikers' lines.

mounted with movable .50 calibre expressed by Jean Faddock, a workers in their daily broadcast machine guns rolled through the

When the National Guard had National Guardsmen, arriving taken over the city, and forced ng, were greeted with jeers and District 2 officials of the CIO tator" and "Strikebreaker" from called a mass meeting at the he mass picket lines. Veterans of state capitol. Fifty carloads of World War II confronted each strikers made the ten-mile trip other. Pickets carried signs read- from South St. Paul. Sixty national guardsmen were hastily to Get A Living Wage" and "Vets summoned and stationed about in the crowd shouted. But Gov. statement reads in part: Still Must Fight for a Living- the capitol building. Only the ernor Youngdahl walked out. area strike committee, composed hearted attempts to say that the When the National Guard first National Guard would be used

#### "CLOSE THE PLANTS"

Meanwhile, 700 strikers wait-

only when half-track trucks, sentiment of all the strikers was member of the Swift union, Local 167, when she said:

"We want the Guard used to close the plants. If they are all the strikers away from the plants, closed and scabs are not permitted to enter we'll be satisfied boos and cries of "Hitler," "Dic- United Packinghouse Workers and there will not be any farmers, small business men, violence.' demand, the Governor started to ing people to support the strikreturn to his office.

Reports are that thousands of Women pickets and wives of of 30 men, was permitted to enter postcards and telegrams are strikers shouted at the guards- the Governor's office. Little satis- flooding Youngdahl's office, demen: "We fed you during the faction was obtained by commit- manding that he close the plants war . . . now look what you're tee members who demanded that until the strike is settled so that

were received in hostile silence. headquarters in St. Paul. Strikers | the packinghouse workers is their roared their approval of Milton fight. . Siegel's suggestion that demands be made upon Governor Young- of Minnesota speak up on behalf lieutenant on a halftrack cruising ing on the capitol steps, demanded dahl to close the plants and cease of the packinghouse workers and strikebreaking activities. Field demand the following of Gov-When the halftrack moved away An overflow crowd was admitted Representative of District 2, ernor Youngdahl: from the plant gates, three to the Governor's chambers and Milton Siegel has been the strike pickets stepped in front of a the corridors of the capitol. The leader in this area and the radio

spokesman of the packinghouse "On the Picket Line.

#### CALL FOR SUPPORT A statement issued by the

meeting appealed to all sections of the trade union movement, to house-wives, white collar workers, Unwilling to reply to this professional people and all work ing packinghouse workers in their "What's your answer?" several fight against the meat trust. The

"During the nine weeks of the strike, the meat trusts have demonstrated that their real aim is to smash the union. This attack on the United Packinghouse Workers is the beginning of what hope will be a union-smashing The following day a huge mass drive on a national scale. Workmeeting of union packinghouse ing men and women everywhere workers was held at the CIO must recognize that the fight of

"1. that he close the packing plants immediately:

that he order the National Guard to halt all further strikebreaking;

"3. that Governor Youngdahl unequivocally declare, with the National Guard in command of the packing plants, that any settle-ment provide full guarantees against any discrimination, recriminations or reprisals on the part of the city, county or state authorities against any workers participating in the strike;

4. that the responsibility for adequately providing for the above named points rests squarely with Governor Youngdahl and any failure to comply them will place upon him the onus of strikebreaking and union-smashing that his predecessor, former Covernor Jake Preus, bears to this very day."

Rounding out the 63rd day of their bitterly fought strike, defiant packinghouse workers still marched the picket line in South

# A captain joined the lieutenant. Step aside," the captain ordered. Chrysler Pickets Hold the Line

#### By Howard Lerner

CIO United Auto Workers Chrysler contingent of 75,000 members in 19 plants continues its wage battle on this sixth day of strike.

Chrysler Corporation, with profits higher than in any war year, has an anti-union background of spies and violence. It is preparing to make full use of police, courts and state boards in unholy alliance against workers seeking wage increases first scaled down to 17c an hour but now back up to 30c.

Picket lines are organized at all plants, soup kitchens are in CUT WAGES full swing and flying squadrons patrol the strike areas ready for busting Chrysler Corporation, the taking care of the injured.

police to "guard law and order" ernor Kim Sigler. By edict of the tainly does." Governor, the National Guard is also being held in readiness.

#### USE PRETEXT

the federal government's tactics piece-work and to stop paying. against the miners, the Gover- union representatives for time nor's Attorney General ordered the Wayne County prosecutor here to start legal action against the union on the pretext that the Chrysler strike violates the state tightly welded trio against the law. Should the Governor's posi- union. Negotiations at GM are tion be upheld by the courts, stalemated. After 35 bargaining union leaders would be subject sessions, the corporation has ofto fines and imprisonment, while fered NOTHING. Company repstrikers would be denied welfare. resentatives laugh at the union Local union after local union committee.

is coming to the assistance of Strike votes are sweeping the

picket line, many flying squa- completed. Every plant so far is ards' body last week voted to DETROIT, May 17-Fight- drons were in battle for the first on record for strike. T.A. John- recommend an assessment of \$1 ing the combined power of Big time since the General Motors stone, acting director of the per week on the 15,000 Hudson guardsmen to arrest the three Business and government, the strike two years ago. Prominent union's GM department in the workers to help the strikers. Ford on the line were union caps from absence of UAW President Wal- Local 600 has set aside \$125,000 Budd Local 306, Briggs Local 212 ter P. Reuther, has stated: "Our for use of Chrysler workers. and Briggs Local 742.

300 pickets fought off more property after May 28." than 50 cops and persuaded All talk of "cooperating" with thousands of office workers, as the company has now been elimwell as officers and supervisory inated from speeches of the union personnel, from entering the leadership. Recent actions of the plant. It was first victory for the auto barons prove they will be week. union in the first skirmish.

the capitol to send state police, union. to prepare the National Guard, STRIKE FUND and to take "legal" action against union top officers.

action at any danger spot. Union Ford Motor Co. arrogantly profirst-aid stations are already rosed to cut wages. Refusing to sugar-coat this bitter pill, John The latest development in the S. Bugas, vice-president of the battle is the coming of state company, bluntly answered a question as to whether his proon demand of reactionary Gov- posal means a pay cut: "It cer-

Ford "offered" to reduce wages of his workers down to those paid by competitors, to cut wages in small communities to levels paid At the same time, following in small shops, to reintroduce lest in settling grievances.

General Motors is preparing to join this conspiracy and make the Big Three" auto companies a

the Chrysler workers. Today, on GM plants. In more than half of

members will not trespass on GM

satisfied with nothing less than Following this, orders came for complete smashing of the auto

cutive Board has levied assess-Yesterday, joining the union- a \$51/2 million strike fund.

#### Local 306 Parades To UAW Picketline

DETROIT, May 17 - About 500 workers paraded after work out of the Budd Mfg. Co. here today led by UAW, Local 306 militants and marched down the main thoroughfare to the Chrysler picket line. About 500 took part in the parade. With colors flying, and flying squadrons directing the parade and regulating traffic, we had a return to the spirit of '37 when unionists took over public functions in and about strike areas. The parade inspired the thousands who saw it as well as the determined pickets who were grimly walking the line. It was a real demonstration of solidarity in the tradition of this mighty

the Chrysler Highland Park plant the 80 plants votes have been The Hudson Local 154 stew-

Sentiment is growing on picket lines and in shops in this area for an industry-wide shutdown of auto. The men are saying that if this should occur, the auto barons would be forced to settle in a

The Motor Building section of Ford Local 600, representing 11,-000 workers, voted unanimously to demand an immediate emergency meeting of the CIO Execu-The UAW International Exe- tive Board to "call for an Emergency Convention of all CIO ments for June and July to raise Unions for united action on the "age issue."

In addition to calling upon Philip Murray, CIO President, to convoke a national CIO conference, the stewards' body of Budd Local 306 is demanding the convocation of a meeting of all stewards, officers and local union committeemen in the Detroit area for the purpose of organizing unified strategy in the Chrys-

The realization is quickly growing that while the corporations are solidly united, the auto workers themselves are weakened by the one-at-a-time strategy which permits the corporations to concentrate their forces against any single section of the union.

READ

Eourth Internationa