DOBBS' SPEECH ON LABOR PARTY

— See Page 4 —

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. VII—No. 30

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JULY 26, 1948

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

MOBILIZE LABOR FOR SPECIAL SESSION!

Dobbs Denounces Fueled by Newest Smith-Act Arrests

The following press release was issued by Farrell Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate, after the FBI arrests of the leaders of the Communist Party.

"The indictment of the twelve Communist Party leaders under the notorious Smith 'Gag' Act is a monstrous blow against civil liberties, another step in the direction of establishing a police state and thought-control in this country," Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist), declared today.

Mr. Dobbs was himself among the first to be convicted under the Smith Act, together with 17 other leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Union 544, in the famous Minneapolis Labor Trial of 1941. Mr. Dobbs served a 16-month sentence in the federal penitentiary at Sandstone, Minnesota.

Mr. Dobbs' statement continued: "The irreconcilable opposition of my party to the Stalinists does not blind us to the sinister threat in this new application of the Smith Act. "The American Civil Liberties Union, the CIO, AFL and

thousands of unions over the country protested the enactment of the Smith Act and our conviction under this act. Our case was carried to the Supreme Court of the U.S. But the court refused to review the appeal apparently because it considered the case too hot' to handle since it was well known that President Roosevelt had himself ordered our indictment.

"The charge that Stalinist leaders were advocating the doctrines of Marx and Lenin is fantastic and false. The Stalinist leaders long ago abandoned the philosophy of Marxism. Their shift in position in 1945 after the expulsion of Browder, upon which the indictment is hinged, did not indicate a return to Marxism but was merely an adaptation to the new foreign policy of the Kremlin.

"The present prosecution is likewise the result of a recent reversal in attitude by Washington toward the Communist Party. The Federal Government was more than willing to accept the super-patriotic support of the CP during the war, their strikebreaking and their hounding of union militants.

"The Department of Justice was also more than willing to accept the support of the CP in railroading us to jail under the same Smith Act during the war. Despite the hypocrisy, deceit and treachery of the Stalinist leaders, we have no intention of imitating their unprincipled abandonment of civil rights and outrageous treachery toward us during the war.

We consider it our duty to fight the present prosecution to the limit and to alert the entire labor movement to oppose

"I propose to make the issue of the administration attack on civil rights a major point in my campaign for the presi-

Steel Price Boost By Arthur Burch The Big Boys are at it again. The mere hint some weeks ago

Raging Inflation

by the U.S. Steel Corporation that it intended to jack up steel prices was the cue to the whole pack of monopolists to give all prices an extra heave upward. Iron Age, authoritative steel journal, predicts a \$10 a ton hike in steel when the new price list is made public. With the recent change

in the base-point pricing system,

Big Steel is expected to take as

much as a \$15 a ton increase. It was the boost in food prices, however, which took the heaviest tell of the workers' living standards. The Dun and Bradstreet wholesale food price index hit an all-time high for the week ending July 13. The index of 31 foods in general use rose in that week from 7.12 to 7.36. This compares with 6.52 a year ago and 7.28 last January 13, when the previous high point was reached.

1 er hundredweight a month ago rose to an all-time high at \$40.50. record of \$67 a hundred pounds as against \$55 to \$58 only two weeks ago. Pork chops are now selling for 95 cents per pound, loin of lamb for as much as \$1.50 a pound and steaks and roasts for \$1.35. The housewife has long ago learned that there is suffered a crushing defeat. Nevertheless, they are due to go

Even before the most recent price increases, the Bureau of Agricultural Economy admitted that the public in 1948 was eating less meat, poultry and dairy products than in 1947. Total meat consumption will be down 7% per capita, fruit 3%, coffee 4% and sugar 2%. Bread consumption is expected to decline 15% from last year.

Retail coal prices have also scared to new high levels with a \$1.25 a ton boost. Transit fares donation of \$50 from Chris have been jacked up in 300 cities Andrews, one of our staunchest of over 25,000 population. Chicasupporters on the West Coast. go after two yearly boosts tops national headquarters this past Other friends of the Dobbs-Carl- the list with 15 cents for a rapid son campaign have so far con- transit ride. Many cities like tributed approximately \$600 to New York have doubled their fare recently. It is estimated that We urge every reader of the the family budget in New York Militant to do his part in will be upped \$60 a year as a spreading the message of social- result. This item alone is roughly

> The average American home mobile spokesman did not hesitate to say: "Car prices simply will go up with the steel prices." But while prices and profits are soaring to new highs, the stock

come tax reduction.

market is plummeting downward reflecting the fact that the inflationary wave carries within itself the seeds of disaster for the economy, and brings closer the danger of a new bust. An escalator clause in all union

contracts is the most effective immediate protection of the worknecticut achieved the legal quota ers' living standards against the date on August 1 in Salt Lake ravages of inflation. The escala- City. From there she will proceed tor provision in the recently- to Denver and the mining areas signed General Motors contract of Colorado. Farrell Dobbs, cansets a precedent in this respect didate for President opens his New Jersey. William Bohannan, dential, vice-presidential, and for the whole labor movement. campaign on August 18th in the Of course the escalator clause in GM contract can stand great imquired to place Alvin Berman, provement, especially on the matter of its reliance on the inacstruggle against the war-mong- Large, on the ballot. By Saturday | curate Bureau of Labor Statistics. Nevertheless, the GM workers in the 1948 elections. In response ready been obtained for both na- will be able to obtain periodic wage raises while other unions the picnic contributed \$75 in cash work of securing signatures will will have to wait a full year till and made pledges of over \$500 to continue until a goal of 12,000 their contracts expire. All unions signatures has been reached. The must utilize the GM precedent to broadcasts of the candidates will Among the first branches to deadline for turning in the signa- insist on the inclusion of an es- lay the basis for successful meet-

A Cracked Egg

The uncalled-for spurt in livestock prices was mainly responsible for the new record high. Steers which were selling for \$36 Stalinists Suffer Crushing Itogs climbed in the same period from \$25 per hundredweight to \$30.50. Lamb likewise set a new record of \$67 a hundred nounds

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK CITY, July 20—Ten years of tight Communist Party machine control over the CIO National Maritime Union drew to an end this week. Counting of the 43,000 votes cast in the three-month long election for 131 official union posts made clear that the Stalinists had

very little difference in price between cheap and expensive cuts between cheap and expensive cuts yet been announced, the vote is The Pilot.

The alection campaign was from the replication to the replication of the replica of meat. The average family can-running well over two to one likewise singularly free from will now have few friends. The

furiously to save itself. Its reck- very many that their opponents restoring their standing with the less factional tactics during the were agents of the shipowners. broad ranks. campaign served to paralyze the The ineffectiveness of the Stalinclimax to this frenzied campaign worn this device so thin that it and 1936-37 has long been dissicame at the last New York port fools very few. meeting when CP-led hoodlums deliberately broke up the membership meeting.

For the Stalinists some 400 volved in the domination of the NMU. Vest-pocket control of this machine control of the CP. union has for years proved/a lucrative source of income as well NMU marks the end of the road as a valuable lever for the execu- for them in the maritime industion of their various crooked try. All that remains of their schemes and campaigns.

The Stalinist leadership was rejected in a completely free and of the West Coast and the top Stalinist ship. democratic election campaign. apparatus of the CIO longshore-Each side issued its own election men's union. material with no restrictions. In addition, the Stalinists had the sometimes go down to defeat be-

strength and renewed support

The election campaign was from the ranks, the Stalinists ned baiting. Try as they might, unsavory record and cynical The Stalinist apparatus fought the Stalinists couldn't convince treachery precludes their ever

EXPOSED CP RECORD

The opponents of the Stalinists simply exposed the record of jobs were at stake, to say nothing CP control and its high cost to of the prestige and power in the union. They fought for a democratic union against the

The Stalinist defeat in the once formidable position is the small cooks and stewards union

Unlike genuine militants who

discover that many of the officials they put into office and protected will be somewhat less than grateful. They will see many of them going to any lengths to get off the sinking

against them.

The Daily Worker, in conceding efeat, announced that the ousted officials plan to return to sea. Actually it is doubtful that any but a minority will do so. Most of these "pie-cards" find the notion of actually going back into the foc'sle extremely distasteful.

The credit they had won as a

pated. Their record during the

period when they had the unchal-

section of this industry consti-

tutes a damning indictment

The Stalinist defeat will un-

doubtedly have a deep effect in-

side the CP ranks. They will

enged leadership of an important

The Communist Party rout was administered by a rank and file caucus that took in all those NMU members subscribing to a simple program of restoring internal democracy and smashing the machine control of the Stal-

The first victory for the rank and file came at last year's convention of the union when a number of amendments to the constitution strengthening democratic controls were introduced. These were later approved by an overwhelming vote of the membership, and prevented the Stalinists from using their control of the top apparatus to flout the will of the majority. Every important decision of the National Council had to be submitted to the membership for approval. It was this provision that restricted and restrained to some extent the Stalinist wrecking crew.

FINAL VICTORY

The rank and file caucus registered its final victory with the same time, this brings to an end the rank and file caucus that

(Continued on page 4)

Big Business Congress Must Feel United Power of Unions Behind the People's Demands

The discredited Democratic Party is making a desperate last. minute bid to retain its dwindling labor and Negro support. Faced with almost certain repudiation at the polls next November, the Democrats have put a bit more "liberal" bait on the hook of their platform.

Truman has hastily donned the mask of "liberalism." He hopes the workers will forget his record of wholesale government strikebreaking and use of Taft-Hartley injunctions. He hopes the Negro people will overlook the 16-year Democratic sabotage of civil rights

Now that they are about to be booted out of the Administration, the Democrats solemnly promise us that if we'll just vote them back in again, they'll carry out all the promises they've lied about for four consecutive terms.

Truman has cooked up a "grand strategy" to put the Republicans "on the spot." He's called a special session of Congress to start July 26—three months before elections. Everyone knows it's strictly a partisan political maneuver in hopes of embarrassing the Republicans more than the Democrats. Not that the Democratic strategists aren't plenty scared it may boomerang.

Partisan Politics

Truman knows in advance Congress won't pass the measures he says he will propose, starting with price regulation and housing, This bi-partisan Congress has just rejected these propositions—with the support of a majority of the Democrats! Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans expect or want to pass any of the progressive legislation the people demand. Both gangs plan to exploit the special session for whatever partisan political capital they can get from it.

Truman hopes, through this Congressional extravaganza, to divert attention from the consequences of 16 years of Democratic misrule. He wants to make the American people forget that their crucial problems didn't arise over-night. Government strikebreaking, soaring prices, the housing shortage, the assault on civil rights. the sinister drive toward a Third World War-these didn't begin with the 80th Congress. They are the end product of 16 years of Demos cratic national rule.

Trying to Palm Off Democratic Deceit

At the start of the Democratic National Convention, the liberals and union leaders, like the CIO-PAC big-wigs, were holding their noses at the very mention of Truman's name. Now they are giving more than a hint that they are preparing once more to palm off the deceit and demagogy of the Democratic Party as good coin.

They are not so naive as to believe the "liberal" hog-wash being organization at a time when the ist campaign of filth and slander result of their participation in ladeled out so lavishly by the Democratic Party. They are conscience union needed all its strength. The demonstrates that they have the waterfront struggles of 1934 less shysters who have sold their very souls to capitalist politics and deserve only the back of the hand from the union ranks.

Does anyone really believe the "pro-labor" pretensions of the Democratic Party because it promises to work for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act—an act supported by a MAJORITY OF CONGRESSIONAL DEMOCRATS? The union leaders have been strangely silent about this labor plank in the Democratic platform, with its auspicious clause about replacing the Taft-Hartley Act with "such legislation as is desirable." Truman's "draft strikers" bill, perhaps? It's odd the Democratic Party's platform says nothing about the use of government injunctions—those Taft-Hartley injunctions Truman has been wielding so often and so ruthlessly against striking workers.

We are now promised Democratic Party action on civil rightslegislation to end discrimination against Negroes. This promise comes from the very party which has for 16 years scuttled every attempt in Congress to pass anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bills.

The Democrats didn't lack for laws when for 16 years the Administration failed to enforce the right of Negroes to vote in the South. And Truman doesn't need any special law to end segregation in the armed forces. He could end it tomorrow if he wanted to. As commander-in-chief he could issue an order ending military Jim Crow in 24 hours-if he were serious.

What fraud and hypocrisy is contained in the Democratic Party's platform claim that if we only give them another chance they "will put a halt to the disastrous price rises."

Bi-Partisan Crimes

Are they going to put vanishing cream on the \$250 billion war debt with which they've saddled this country? While they talk out of one side of their mouths about "halting inflation," out of the other side they clamor for a bigger and better military machine. The bipartisan Congress-at the direct behest of Truman-has voted to spend this year alone some \$18 billion on direct war preparations. It has voted to finance and arm capitalist dictators abroad to the tune of over \$4 billion a year. Will the Democrats halt these real causes of inflated prices?

Truman has no program to solve the problems of the American people. He has called the special session just as a stunt that may help him salvage his sadly depleted political fortunes. He is making

a campaign football out of the crying needs of the people. To the workers, the Negro people, the poor tenant farmers, however, this special session is serious business. For them, it is one

more opportunity to get Congress to act on their crucial problems. They can expect nothing-absolutely nothing-from either the Democrats or Republicans. The only power in this land capable of forcing through a program in the interests of the people is the labor movement. That power must now be brought to bear upon the Congress of Big Business in Washington.

On the very day the special session convenes, there must assemble simultaneously at the very door-steps of the Capitol a Congress of Labor. This Congress of Labor should be summoned at once by the union leaders.

It should include rank and file representation from every union in the land. These genuine representatives of the people will have the responsibility counting of the ballots. At the and duty to draft a legislative program and mobilize the masses for action to force Congress to adopt this

\$25,000 Election Fund Drive Is Off to Flying Start

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

Socialist Workers Party branches have pledged \$24,000 toward the \$25,000 Election Campaign and Party Building Fund.

and Carlson is a token of the tremendous enthusiasm in the Trotskyist ranks for the presidential campaign. Heartening reports of this zeal

have been streaming in to the week. The New York organization, which has taken the quota of \$7500, may well oversubscribe that amount. The Industrial branch voluntarily increased its share from \$300 to \$400. Brooklyn has likewise pledged more than its \$500 allotment. The New York Youth expect to double their quota of \$50. All other New York branches have accepted their

New York has already turned in \$1,162.08 on its pledge, the biggest part coming from the Chelsea branch.

Vice - presidential candidate Grace Carlson writes from Min-Grace Carlson writes from Minneapolis that the Twin Cities Election Petitions comrades held a fine meeting at which reports were given on the SWP convention and election plans. "About \$800 was pledged at the meeting," wrote Grace. "We were happy about this and are confident that we will be able to fill our quota."

NEWARK PICNIC

The Newark branch held a pienic on Sunday, July 17, to launch its election campaign in SWP candidate for Congressman, Educational Director, spoke on

make payments on their promises tures to the Secretary of State is calator clause in all union conings. are Flint, which sent \$23 on its September 2.

the appeal for support to Dobbs \$400 quota, and St. Louis, which, at the head of the party procession as usual, has already for-

warded half of its \$50 pledge. In the mail this morning comes

ist liberation among the American equal to the recent meager inpeople by contributing generously to the Socialist Workers Party campaign. Mail your donation now costs \$11,035 compared with paign Fund, 116 University Place, boosts in car prices an auto-New York 3, N.Y.

Connecticut SWP Top Legal Quota

NEW BRITAIN, Conn., July 18—The campaign to put the Socialist Workers Party presiden-

8300 signatures are needed to place Farrell Dobbs, Grace Carlson, and Morris Chertov, presigubernatorial candidates on the and William Warde, National ballot. 6700 signatures were rethe importance of the Trotskyist candidate for Congressman-aters, union-busters and race-haters night, 8300 signatures had alto appeals for support, those at tional and local candidates. The

campaign. Mail your donation row costs \$11,035 compared with today to the Dobbs-Carlson Camsaign Fund. 116 University Place. boosts in car prices an auto-**WILL BEGIN AUGUST 1**

of the SWP Presidential candidates scheduled to begin in August and wind up on election day in November. The candidates will cover the major cities of the country from coast to coast.

The opening gun of the speaking tours will be fired by Grace Carlson, vice-presidential candi-Pacific northwest and will proceed from there eastward.

Reports from campaign workers reveal that the candidates are being awaited with great enthusiasm reminiscent of the days when Eugene Victor Debs covered the country in his famous "Red Special" train. Everywhere they re-

In many centers ambitious

Preparations are now being plans are being projected to take completed for the stumping tours | the candidates into working class organizations and cities that have never heard a Trotskyist speaker, before factory gates and into working class neighborhoods. In some places radio time is being obtained on local radio stations.

General dissatisfaction with intolerably high prices, with constant threats of war, with the bankruptcy of the labor leadership, with the curbing of civil rights among the working class sections of the population has convinced campaigners throughout the country that substantial audiences will await with interest the revolutionary socialist message on the burning questions

of the day. The following are the first dates of the tour by Grace Carl-

August 1 Salt Lake City August 2 Salt Lake City August 3 en route August 4 en route

August 5 Denver August 6 Denver

August 8 en route

August 7 Denver

Forging the World Revolutionary Leadership

Second World Congress of the Fourth International.

The "Third Force"

Caught in a vise between the pressure of world imperialism and that of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the sorry heroes of the Social Democracy distinguish themselves by all the traditional follies of the enraged petty bourgeois. In brief, their folly expresses itself in their trying to "delimit" themselves from the two world powers who are today pitted against each other.

As a matter of fact, speeches and articles backing a "Third Force" are merely a smoke screen to cover up the actual participation of the reformist chieftains in one or the other of the contending camps. The Mochs and the Van Ackers break strikes for the benefit of the corporation owners; the Fierlingers and the Cierankievichs are the accomplices of the Stalinists in suppressing what still remains of the workers' rights. This is the fundamental contradiction in the "Third Force." It has given birth to the "Information Committee" of the Socialist parties. Today both Washington and Moscow have "their own" socialists just as the monarchs of old used to have "their own" Jesuits, each medieval prince "his own" jesters and so on.

Even as war today tends to assume a more and more totalitarian form, just so the process of preparing for war increasingly involves the establishment of absolute control over the labor movement. American imperialism pursues its aims by leaning on both the Pope and the Social Democracy Under its magnanimous wing, there also "regroup" themselves all the invalids of the labor movement, united by their blind fear of Stalin and by their acceptance of Yankee domination as the "lesser evil." While Washington's ideological front is thus reinforced by petty-bourgeois panic, specialists far less fastidious organize the Marshall Plan propaganda; cause the "reds" to be driven out of the factories and public administration; destroy the unity of trade unions.

The Social Democracy, however, is able to accomplish its tasks only because the far greater crimes of the Stalinists periodically drive new layers of the working class in its direction. Compared with Stalinist bureaucratism and corruption, the reformist betrayers by no means represent a more "democratic" variety. They are merely a breed of bureaucrats who are very closely integrated in the apparatus of their respective national

As in 1919, the Social Democratic leaders are trying today to divert the instinctively revolutionary upsurge of the masses with the myth of "economic democracy." Actively supported this time by the Stalinist chieftains, they preach to the workers that there is no need for revolution so long as they are able to occupy such posts as that of Minister of Economic Affairs, so long as they nationalize — with full idemnities —, the coal mines. establish labor-management committees, and introduce other reforms by legal means. Like Hilferding who wanted to couple the Soviets with the German bourgeois constitution, the Bevins and the Morrisons are hailing the progress of "socialist" economy within the framework of the British Empire.

After World War I capitalism was still able in certain historically favored countries to grant the workers the fortyeight hour week and other social legislation as a means of diverting them from the revolutionary path. Today the champions of "economic democracy" undertake to compel the workers to accept the cynical super-exploitation on which the whole economic selves in the working class and gaining its respect and conrecovery of Europe now rests. The policy of the British Labor fidence. It is necessary to build a genuine party which, through Government is the clearest expression of the present-day mission of the labor bureaucracy, namely, to permit the workers to rebuild with their sweat the capital that had been previously destroyed by shedding their blood.

The shameful policy of the reformist leaders to integrate emselves completely in the campaign of reconstruction and to assist in the material and ideological rearmament of Big Capital can only continue to provoke discontent and revolt on the part of their socialist proletarian following, especially among

Stalinism is incapable of attracting those layers of workers who are today searching for a new pole of attraction. The parties of the Fourth International, firmly based on their programthe only one that offers a new road to the younger generation of workers—seek to approach these currents which are detaching themselves from the Social Democracy, without prejudice or sectarianism. By working closely together and by patient comradely education, they will guide them through their own experiences to surmount all the contradictions of centrism and embrace the organization and political principles of Bolshevism-Leninism.

"The New Democracy"

The powerful revolutionary wave which erupted simultaneously in Europe and Asia with the end of World War II faised the Stalinist parties to the peak of their power. As in all previous revolutionary movements, the masses surged in great numbers to the parties which, by their tradition, their past activity, and their cadres were solidly rooted in their class, and most closely corresponded to the level of radicalization among wide layers of the working class. Transformed by a single stroke into government parties in fifteen countries, the Stalinist organizations are just as responsible for the liquidation of this first post-war revolutionary wave as were the parties of the Social Democracy for the liquidation of the revolutionary movements

15

weeks

Regular 6-month

Regular 1-year

SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SUB cents Special 15-week subscription 25c

66 \$1.00

betrayal of 1945, in the name of "the New Democracy."

The defense of the "bastions" conquered within the framework of imperialist democracy—in reality, the defense of the privileges of the labor bureaucracy—that is the immediate aim, in the name of which the old-line reformists abondoned the historic goal of the proletariat. The defense of the "Russian bastion"—in reality, the defense of the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy—that is the aim in the name of which Stalinism abandoned the world communist revolution. But experience invariably proves that to abandon the final goal is to inescapably end by losing the very "bastions" which are allegedly being defended. Involved here is not a lack of "understanding" of these self-evident lessons of history on the part of the leaders. What is involved is rather the defense of their own special interests. Just as it is the function of reformism to reconcile the existence of the labor bureaucracy with the existing national bourgeoisie, so, too, it is the function of the Stalinist bureaucracy to reconcile the existing Soviet bureaucracy with the existence of world imperialism.

The practices employed in Soviet expansion, which invest the theory of the "New Democracy" with a semblance of justification for all the crimes committed by the Kremlin in the countries outside the Soviet sphere of influence, serves only to complete its basic function: The open abandonment of the Leninist strategy of the conquest of power and its replacement by a policy of compromises or adventures, for seizing the "levers of power in the bourgeois state." All this is an open expression of the attempt to reduce the world proletariat to the status of a pawn in the maneuvers of Soviet diplomacy, of its army, of its police-spy system, completely in the spirit of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Stalinist Traitors

On the basis of this general orientation, the Stalinist parties are less capable than ever of arriving at a consistent political line. As in the past, their tactics fluctuate from the lowest brand of opportunism to the other extreme of the most frightful adventurism, frequently combining the features of both extremes. Yesterday the Comintern is dissolved; today the Comintern is reconstituted. Yesterday they call for "Production First" today they call for sabotage of the Marshall Plan. Yesterday hey denounce the strikes as the "weapon of the trusts"; today they bureaucratically incite strike actions. All these shifts and turns, which so disorient and stupefy the working class, express one and the same desire of the Stalinist leaders—to reach a favorable compromise with world imperialism. They also express a supreme contempt for the workers, for their feelings, for their interests, for their integrity.

The power of Stalinism in the working class is a product of the material power of its apparatus combined with the revolutionary tradition of the past which it still represents in the eyes of the broad masses. As Engels pointed out a century ago, tradition represents one of the greatest forces for inertia in class, it is necessary to begin where the Social Democracy and the Communist Party left off. It is necessary to build powerful workers' organizations. It is necessary to educate a new generation of revolutionary worker cadres, who through numerous successive experiences in struggle, will succeed in rooting themever wider activities, will eventually appear in all mass movements as the real alternative to the bankrupt leaderships. By relying firmly on its revolutionary program, by orienting itself toward the most exploited layers of society, by maintaining complete confidence in the profoundly revolutionary combat ower of the proletariat—that is how the Fourth International will finally destroy the obstacle of Stalinism within the working class movement.

The Selection of New Revolutionary Leadership

For thirty years humanity has paid for the delay of communist revolutions with a terrible crisis—wars, counter-revolutions, totalitarian dictatorships, nations decimated, civilization dragged into decadence. But this entire tragic period does not at all express any congenital incapacity of the proletariat to become conscious of its historical mission. On the contrary, from the civil war in Russia up to the Spanish civil war, from the insurrection of Canton to that of Athens, millions of workers have shown in action an enthusiasm, combativeness and revolutionary devotion without equal in history.

All the qualities which rise from the workers' specific function in capitalist society—its capacity for suddenly display. ing enormous creative energy, its keen sense of voluntary Century. The analyses and forecasts of the Communist Manifesto on this subject have not alone been confirmed; they have become established as the major reality of our times.

But the spontaneous revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat is today confronted by a bourgeois society which, with every police, spies, scabs, press, radio, school and church, which conafter 1918. The reformist betrayal of those days was carried stitute so many ramparts around the threatened citadels of in all countries, under a thousand different succeeding forms, remains the openly counter-revolutionary character of its inaugurated tremendous strikes to bring it about.

European bourgeoisie, infinitely more educated and better prepared, was able in its time to achieve only after two centuries of groping—can only bewilder those who have lost all

In the ascending period of capitalism, successive working minimum living wage will remain guaranteed. class leaderships gradually won some small reforms for the proletariat and substantial privileges for themselves. But one after another they rose above their own class and thus became economic life of the country. If the workers want to attack the the principal agents for the transmission of bourgeois ideology problem of buying power and of full employment in an effective into the workers' movement. It was only when the decline of way, they cannot leave the task of determining the cost of writes Dick Clarke of St. Louis, accidentally left out of the table capitalism precipitated the first powerful revolutionary waves living index or the rate of employment and unemployment to sending in three renewals and published last week,

This is the fourth intallment of the Manifesto issued by the out in the name of "Economic Democracy"; the Stalinist in Europe and Asia that the material conditions for selecting a the bosses or their government. That is why none of the precedgenuine revolutionary leadership, free from the ideological in- ing slogans has value unless they are tied up with workers' fluence of the ruling class, were established. But, because of the control. The sections of the Fourth International overlook no lack of an adequate leadership, these first struggles were opportunity for awakening the workers' distrust regarding the difficult conditions of a period of decline—that is the historical for immediate economic objectives become, in effect, a bridge mission of the Fourth International.

> The world general staff of the proletariat must assimilate in its entirety the program of communist revolution. It must enrich this program with a full revolutionary experience which makes it capable of meeting all sudden turns in the situation. It must inculcate this program and experience into great working masses by means of an organization which is closely linked to Fourth International was born.

course of an entire historical period of multiple activities. The a genuine world leadership proves so long and so arduous a task. That is why it must be undertaken consciously and must be consciously planned and executed.

The dialectic of history is such that the objective conditions which make so difficult the building of a world party of socialist revolution are likewise the sole conditions which make its construction possible. Thanks to the epoch in which it was formed, the Fourth International is free from reformist illusions, from parliamentary cretinism, from fatalism, from adventurism from naive faith which becomes transformed into disillusioned pessimism—in short, from so many of those feelings and ideas which formed and shattered preceding generations of revolu-

The Fourth International has surmounted the contradictions between the national origin of working class militants and the world mission of the proletarian movement; it is the first organization which has begun to produce a genuine international leadership. The Fourth International is the first world organization of the proletariat which combines a complete revolutionary program with the experience gained by past revolutionary movements. That is why the proletarian defeats of the past will appear on the historical scale as the inevitable conditions for the formation of a scientific technique of revolution just as epidemics were the necessary conditions for the develophistory. To wrest from Stalinism the leadership of the working ment of a scientific technique for cures. That is why the tragic period in which we are living will prove with the passage of time to be nothing but a pause of history in order to forge an adequate tool for the emancipation of humanity.

The Struggle for the Transitional Program

The cadres of the Fourth International gain the experience necessary for becoming the real revolutionary leadership of the proletariat only by indefatigable and organized participation in all the struggles and all the movements of the masses, the real school of strategy in the class struggle. For this participation, the Fourth International finds itself armed with its Transitional Program, the sum of the teachings of all past workers' struggles.

objective to express clearly and consciously the deep but confused aspirations of the exploited masses. If the latter rise against the crimes of inflation or unemployment, if the burdens of wars or of national oppression seem unbearable to them, if they demand peace, more bread or more freedom, the Fourth International is at their side, stimulating their critical spirit, sharpening their discontent onto the road of socialist consciousness, educating, organizing and directing the exploited so that they will pass over from latent revolt against the effects of the capitalist regime to open revolt against the cause of their troubles: capitalism in decay.

Confronted by each anxiety or each demand of the masses, the Fourth International launches appropriate slogans to mobilize them with the aim of solving the problems which agitate them. That is why the Fourth International with all its might combats skepticism, fatalism and passivity as the worst brakes upon the discipline, its profound selflessness, which is the clearest ex- development of class consciousness in the proletariat. That is pression of it own deepest historic interests, are already inscribed why it explains over and over again that all decisions upon vital in the most moving pages of the history of the Twentieth questions which are posed before the working class depend in the last analysis on the clash of forces between the classes, in which the proletariat can be the victor in the factory as well as on the street.

Capitalism can no longer live save by increasing the burder of poverty which is crushing the laboring masses. Whether step of its decline, exhibits a new defensive reflex characteristic | deflation and inflation; whether in the policy on prices and the of classes condemned to disappear. Confronted by the army, policy on taxes; whether campaigns for export and restrictions on consumption; whether insufficient food and overproductioncapital, the spontaneous but uncoordinated attacks of the there is but one and the same attack on the buying power of proletariat are inevitably condemned to bloody defeat. Against the masses. Guaranty of a minimum living wage, based on the the centralized and scientifically organized leadership of the consumption needs of workers' families, through the system of the counter-revolution, which for decades has directed all capitalist sliding scale of wages, salaries, unemployment compensation countries whatever their political regime, the proletariat cannot | pensions and social insurance—such is the immediate objective conquer unless in its turn it selects an even more qualified that the sections of the Fourth International propose for the leadership: that of its class party. The crisis of humanity is workers' struggles. The examples of Japan, Korea, Italy, France, today the crisis of revolutionary leadership, for along with this and the United States, clearly demonstrate that this slogan has instinctively revolutionary movement of the proletariat there already been assimilated by millions of workers who have

In the midst of general under-consumption among three-That in three decades the proletariat has been unable to fourths of humanity, there already appears everywhere the signs select an adequate world leadership—a task which the young of capitalist glut. Today only a secondary threat, tomorrow unemployment will bear down as the principle burden upon the proletariat. Constantly warning the masses of the crisis which is inevitably approaching, the Fourth International calls the sense of proportion in appraising history. Disposing of in- workers to the struggle for the forced re-opening of shut-down comparable wealth and experience, the bourgeoisie succeeded, plants and for restoring production in them under workers' better than preceding ruling classes, in making its own ideology control, for the progessive decrease in working hours without and morality into the dominant ideology and morality of the reduction in take-home pay; for prevention of lay-offs and the best. sharing of available work among all workers for whom

Questions of prices, wages, profits, business volume and volume of employment are, however, dependent on the entire

inevitably condemned to defeat. Selection of the revolutionary good faith and capacity of the capitalists and their State. The leadership has been proceeding since then under the burden of workers must be able to see the books, so they may observe in these defeats. The Russian Bolshevik Party, the only one which living form how capitalist economy really functions and may succeeded in leading the workers to the conquest of power, has get a good look at the whole mechanism of exploitation, at the itself become the first victim of the lack of a genuine Bolshevik sordid parasitism and wastefulness which are the explanation of international. To build such an organization in the extremely their own privations. Only on this condition does the struggle towards the revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat against capitalism.

After the experience of the great economic crisis, of mass unemployment, of the black market, the great mass of workers understands today that no degree of economic security is compatible with the preservation of private property in the means of production. The domination of the economy of all nations by the working class. These three tasks were able to be accomplished a limited group of monopolists has now become common only with the greatest difficulty in the period in which the knowledge. However, in the face of the experiments with bourgeois nationalizations, especially those of England and The program of revolution is assimilated only in the course France, it is necessary to explain again that the revolutionary of mass struggles. Political experience is acquired only in the demand for expropriation of the banks and key industries is fundamentally different from the miserable reformist patching workers' organization can be built only by uninterrupted work up of decaying capitalism. To demand that nationalizations within the factories and the workers' neighborhoods. But the take place without any compensation except to small stockconditions of declining capitalism shatter, again and again holders; to demand workers' control in the nationalized enterwith an incredible brutality, the continuity of revolutionary ideas, prises; to demand the grouping of all expropriated industries generations and organizations. That is why the selection of within the framework of a reconstruction plan set up and executed by workers' committees; and to tie up the struggle for these nationalizations with the struggle for the Workers and Farmers Government—in that way we counterpose the program for the communist and revolutionary transformation of society to the tenacious will of the bourgeoisie to preserve its rule under a

The epoch of decaying capitalism is likewise the epoch of the continuous pauperization of the middle classes. Carefully distinguishing between the exploiting strata and the exploited strata of the urban and peasant bourgeoisie, the sections of the Fourth International launch slogans suited to uniting the laboring masses in action against big capital. In contrast with the Stalinist and reformist parties—for whom "alliance" with the middle classes is a cheap pretext for abandoning the revolutionary proletarian program in order to ally themselves with leaders and parties who actually betray the interests of the petty bourgeoisie

the sections of the Fourth International seek support in the deep discontent of the hardest-hit middle strata (functionaries at starvation salaries, landless farmers, artisans crushed by taxes, ruined small businessmen, etc.), in order to guide their desire for a social overturn along the socialist road. This is the surest way of avoiding, in countries like Italy, Japan or France, the development of new semi-fascist organizations supporting themselves on the despair of the middle classes.

All economic, trade union, and social questions are today political questions. Everything that the proletariat can force out of the boss class through the strike is systematically taken from it by the government, which, whatever may be its form, remains the real administrative council of the ruling class. That is why we counterpose the WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERN-MENT to any bourgeois government, whether it be an outright reactionary one, or a coalition government of "working class" eaders with bourgeois parties.

To the unflagging propaganda for this slogan we add, in periods of violent governmental crises or generalized battles of the working class, a precise agitation addressed to the parties which claim to be working class and in which the masses still ave confidence. To these parties the Fourth International The activity of the Fourth International has as its first launches the appeal: "BREAK WITH THE CAPITALISTS! TAKE ALL THE POWER!" in order to apply a genuine workers' program with the support of the mobilized masses and under their control.

But it is not enough that the "workers" parties be alone in he government for the government to be a true workers government. There must also be a genuinely anti-capitalist program, a revolutionary mobilization of the masses, overflowing the framework of bourgeois legality. Therein is posed the question of the State. The labor ministers of Great Britain, Scandinavia or Australia have only the illusion of power. The real power remains in the hands of the administrative bureaucracy at the orders of the all-powerful monopolists. The governments change, but the police, generals, judges and high functionaries, the entire bureaucracy in the service of the bourgeoisie, remains the same. This obstacle can be broken only by creation of the real power of the masses, organized into factory, neighborhood, village committees.

(Continued Next Week)

THE MILITANT ARM

1.000-Sub Campaign **Opens in Detroit**

Comrade Sy of Detroit sold even one-year subs in Morrisown, N. J., and Pittsburgh, Pa., while on his way home from the SWP convention in New York.

"A very fitting way to return dome, if you ask me," commented "to get full year subs, as we Bea Allen, Detroit Militant agent. have always tried, but the best 'And although they are all on we could do was four. Even one the new 15-week-25c sub cards, of the 50c subs would not have he got only \$1 subs." Bea also been obtained if the sub-getter sent three Militant-Fourth Inter- had not contributed 25c of it. national combination subs for People haven't got the money -\$2.50 each.

paign for 1,000 subs this Thurs- still friendly but often cannot day night," added Bea. "A few subscribe for lack of money." of us are going out to a housing project. Then we will have mobilizations on the next two after a lapse of six months—was Saturdays. Just as we did in the election petition campaign, we church offering envelope. will test various areas and concentrate where the results are

"Chuck will be campaign diector. I'll be busy just keeping up the records. I hope we can go above our 1,000 goal."

"Whenever I visit a subscriber now, I have two purposes,"

one new sub. "Of course I try to get a sub, but more important, I think, is to get the reader to the Dobbs meeting on Aug. 1."

Five St. Paul comrades got 10 renewals in a couple hours of callback work. "We tried," wrote Winifred Nelson, Militant agent, people who like the paper and "We plan to start our cam- have taken it for years. They are

> One of the recent renewals for 50c wrapped in a Toledo

A British Guiana church asked for free papers for members who could not possibly pay anything. A British Guiana union renewed its sub after long delay in obtaining the necessary funds.

Los Angeles Branch, which turned in 9 subs in June, was

THE MILITANT

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9830) FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies These are expressed in its

Monday, July 26, 1948

Bundle Orders (5 or more

copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c



Vol. XII-No. 30

In the period of crisis the hegemony of the United States [in the capitalist world] will operate more completely, more openly, and more ruthlessly than in the period of boom. The United States will seek to overcome and extricate herself from her difficulties and maladies primarily at the expense of Europe, regardless of whether this occurs in Asia, Canada, South America, Australia, or Europe itself, or whether this takes place peacefully or through war.-LEON TROTSKY, "Third International After Lenin."



TROTSKY

The Westinghouse Sit-down

Prompt and effective strike action by the Westinghouse Electric workers in Philadelphia has forced reinstatement of two union militants who had been fired at Navy Department instigation.

This event has thrown a national spotlight on one of the most sinister threats to the unions and has dramatically demonstrated the way to put a halt to this menace.

The victimized men-Herbert Lewin, a sheet metal worker, and Frank Carner, a structural engineer — are highly-respected members of the CIO United Electrical Workers Local 107. Newspapers throughout the country published the picture of Philadelphia cops brutally clubbing Lewin during the 1946 Westinghouse strike.

On July 12, management at the South Philadelphia works posted a notice that Lewin and Carner had been fired "as a result of a directive from the Navy Department" in which the men were described as "poor security risks." No specific charges of any kind had been made. The union was not consulted. They were given no chance to defend them-

This high-handed violation of the union contract immediately aroused a storm in the plant. Local 107 officials then and there called a mass meeting inside the plant. The meeting was informed that 19 or 20 others were similarly threatened with dismissal.

mediate sit-down strike inside the plant. By next morning, all 6,500 workers had downed tools. Only when Westinghouse officials agreed to a meeting on the case with the union representatives in Pittsburgh, was the strike called off. Taken completely aback by the fighting stand of the workers, the company agreed to reinstate both men, although in a different department.

The 4,500 assembled workers voted an im-

In agreement with the Local 107 officers, James Carey, CIO National Secretary, sent a letter of sharp protest to Secretary of the Navy Sullivan against this military invasion of union rights.

Local 107 is following up with sending a committee to Sullivan and Forrestal to demand that his department end its collusion with the companies in firing of union men. This action of the Westinghouse workers can become the starting point of a national CIO campaign on this issue.

During and since the war, there have been numerous instances where the gold braid and brass hats have had union militants fired. This is a growing practice. Any local union can be crippled and smashed if its militant members or leaders can be tossed out of the plants at a mere nod from some military official working hand-in-glove with an antiunion corporation. The unions can stop this dangerous development. Local 107 has shown

Berlin Crisis

The war drums are ominously starting to roll again. The Berlin crisis has been blown up to such proportions that American brass hats in Germany are freely issuing threats about sending an American armored force to go busting through Russian-occupied terri-

The immediate cause of this new crisis is, of course, insignificant. No one seriously believes that a new war may start because the United States and England on the one hand, and Russian authorities on the other, are vying for the privilege of feeding the Berlin populace. The Berlin tug-of-war is simply an incidental point of the deep-going, irrepressible conflict between world capitalism, led by Washington and the Soviet Union.

What is so ominous about this latest crisis is the determined and dogged manner in which the American clique of bankers and brass hats—who rule this country—are pushing for war. What is so frightening is how systematically they are trying to drug the American nation into acquiescence of a new slaughter of the peoples.

At the very moment that the people are thrust into a new panic over Berlin, military representatives of the United States and Canada proceed to London to confer with representatives of the 5-power western bloc to perfect and ready the military alliance against Russia. This is nothing but direct military preparation for the next world war.

You may recall that on June 11, in the closing days of the Congressional sessions, the Senate adopted the Vandenberg resolution. This unprecedented declaration committed the United States to military alliances on the most far-reaching scale imaginable and constituted a promise of a new lend-lease program to our war allies. Now the deliberatelynanufactured crisis in Berlin provides the necessary excuse for implementing the Vandenberg blank-check and the proper martial background to begin training the 18 and 19year-olds as cannon fodder.

These war-like utterances, these hysterically phrased jingo appeals from high places, these recurring crises, are not due to hot-headedness or loss of temper or frayed nerves. This is all part and parcel of the deliberate and premeditated plan of assault on the American conscience to cave in resistance to the war preparations and mold public opinion to accept its inevitability.

The American people must see this reality clearly and then begin to act upon it. War must be declared upon the warmakers! And the way to do that effectively is to join the crusade to take the governmental power out of the hands of the bankers, industrialists. brass hats and jingoes and replace it with the rule of the Workers and Farmers.

CIO Bankruptcy

During the Democratic Party convention, CIO-PAC National Director Jack Kroll blurted out that if nobody better than Truman were nominated, the CIO members might "just sit on their hands" next November.

Kroll's frank declaration of the CIO leader. ship's political bankruptcy caused such a stir that the CIO big-shots have been forced to cover up Kroll's blundering admission.

The July 19 CIO News runs an article by Editor Allan L. Swim, entitled: "Can't Afford To Sit This One Out." His article is designed for those who think Truman, Dewey and Wallace are all stinkers.

You might not expect Swim to endorse Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for U.S. President and Vice-President. But at least you'd expect him to tell the workers that it's time to form a party of their own and run their own candidates.

Swim says no such thing. His advice to CIO members who can't stomach the capitalist presidential candidates is to concentrate on ate and local elections. In effect, he belittles the significance of the presidential elections, in which the decisive national and international issues are posed. Just don't "sit out"

the election for county sheriff! Philip Murray, in the July Steel Labor, talks about putting on "the most intensive political action drive in the history of the United States." For what? Walter Reuther, in the July United Automobile Worker, steams it up for political action—in Congressional elections.

All right, let's leave aside for the moment the question of how the CIO leaders are ducking the presidential elections. Let's examiné their talk about concentration on the Congressional elections. What Congressional candidates shall the workers support?

The same issue of the CIO News that publishes Swim's article, also carries a special supplement on "Whose Congress," listing the voting records of all Senators and Representatives. You can't find a hundred legislators, out of nearly 600, who "voted right" according even to CIO official standards. What choice does that leave the workers?

The truth is, the CIO leaders are deliberately trying to gull their members. They're trying by hook or crook to keep the workers tied to capitalist politics. They'd be out there whooping it up for Truman right now—if they weren't afraid of being completely discredited. As it is, they're playing "neutral" —that is, concentrating their attacks on every candidate opposing Truman.

The soundest advice we can offer the workers who don't want to "sit on their hands" this November is to vote for Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, the SWP candidates. That's the way to show the top union bureaucrats your desire for genuine independent workingclass political action.

More Letters on SWP Broadcasts From the flood of apprecia- | Norman Thomas ape the stooges tions, criticisms and inquiries of the radio's brass check boys coming into our office in response to the SWP convention and the wholesale condemning of

these excerpts of a number of these letters. Previous excerpts appeared in the last two issues of The Militant.

FROM COMPTON, CALIF.

We would like to have your broadcasts from the national convention, for we are very much interested in the Socialist Workers Party. We would like to have literature so as to interest our friends. And wish you good luck.

FROM RACINE, WIS.

I heard the acceptance speech of Mr. Dobbs broadcast over a Chicago CBS outlet. It was interesting and stirred me greatly. Please send me a copy of the speech and of your platform.

FROM DES MOINES, IOWA. I am deeply interested in the

Socialist Workers Party and what I believe it represents. Could you send me some literature? As a student of political cience at Drake University I am nterested in forming a chapter.

FROM EL MONTE, CALIF.

After listening to your broadeast of the Socialist Workers Party, I've taken it upon myself to congratulate you on your sound, realistic platform. Your candidates' acceptance speeches were indeed a new and conscientious stand against capital and the capitalist-motivated Henry Wallace. I am a pre-law student, and next semester I plan o enter into many debates on the issues of the day. In view of the fact that the majority of ny opponents are "Wallace liberals," I would welcome imnensely any literature which would give me a real workingman's platform.

FROM THREE RIVERS, MICH.

sound logic of the speeches. In this America of ours where capitalist propagandists have truth buried so deep under their constant haranguing it is indeed a rare opportunity to hear such courageous speeches as those delivered last week. It rejoices the hearts of the few who still retain a grain of common sense to realize that the cause of the people is not yet entirely dead.

It is also wonderful to know that a few remain who can see that the capitalistic militarists A Slight Correction are no longer content with a war each twenty years, but are now doing what they can to get one started sooner.

FROM GERING, NEBR.

candidate's address given over CBS Tuesday and your platform. Talk sounded pretty good but can't you find someone else besides Wallace to castigate? God knows he made mistakes for he was under terrific pressure. Mayhe he is a capitalist but he refuses to stoop to red-baiting Military Training which seems to me to be a sure indication of sympathy for reactionary capitalism.

Why can't all liberals merge in the fight against war and fascism instead of dissipating their energy in a fratricidal war?

FROM PHILADELPHIA, PA. I am and was very surprised to hear your startling program to nominate a president and vicepresident for the Socialist Workers Party. I have never in my life heard such a crazy program. People like you should be sent to Siberia to work in the mines! Just exactly what has your type of government to offer to the middle class and the working class people?

I am at present studying government and I would like to know just exactly what you have in

FROM SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. Interested in receiving a summary of the 1948 platform of the Socialist Workers Party and other information as to its aims and the methods of achievements. Have just listened to the acceptance speech of your presidential aspirant which consisted predominately in disparagements f others rather than assertions cf his own stand. Am therefore requesting the above in the interests of clarification.

A.E.P. * * *

FROM CHICAGO, ILL. Please send me a copy of the nomination a n d acceptance speeches you broadcast last week

and columnists of the press and demagogic politicians and priests broadcasts, we are printing the USSR and Wallace. I thought Americans were supposed to be sympathetic to the underdog. I deven't heard the USSR saying anything about us. And Wallace was good ehough two terms (FDR and Wallace gave them the best they'll ever get) for the American people when FDR was

Red Menace In Arizona

Editor: The Red Menace is no longer a half-mystical monstresity hiding ehind Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain. It has sneaked in the back door. Through Arizona to be precise. For unless the Los Angeles Times and the hundredodd traders at the Navajo Indian Reservation around Winslow Rock, Arizona, can put a stop to it, the first "Russian-type Soviet" will soon be born on American

It all began a few months back when that arch enemy of the Times, W. R. Hearst, printed a series of sensational stories about conditions among the Navajos. The geniuses in the Times' circulation department, not to be outdone, sent one of their most skillful hacks to Arizona. He uncovered what may go down in history as the "Navajo Soviet."

The sinister scheme is in essence a system of price controls and other mild curbs on the local traders. And since virtually the sole commodity the Indian can bring into that market is wool from his sheep, the fleecing he gets can be well imagined.

But the really Red proposal in the scheme envisaged formation of co-operatives among the Indians in competition with the traders. This, brothers, strikes at the heart of things. One irate citizen of the area, a white doctor, sputtered that he wasn't going to stand for the formation of a "little Siberia" in Arizona. And imagine the consternation Last week I was privileged to that swept the whole reservation hear the acceptance addresses of when it was learned that the the candidates of the Socialist author of the vicious plan was a Workers Party and I should like real, dyed-in-the-wool, Red Rusto express my respect for the sian, one Max Drefkoff, industrial consultant to Secretary of the Interior Krug. Indignation meetings condemned the "Russian-born industrial consultant" (quotes from the Times); citizens committees a la the Mohawk Valley Formula were set up. Drefkoff promptly resigned and probably has been handed over to the tender mercies of the loyaltycheckers.

C. Grant Los Angeles, Calif

Editor:

In the July Issue of The Militant, the column "Notes from the Compares Murray News," contained a paragraph about the U.S. Steel Corp., viz., that "the U.S. Steel Corporation, nation's largest steel producer. Please send me a copy of your etc. etc. This is actually slightly incorrect. U.S. Steel doesn't produce an ounce of steel. It's a giant holding company.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Against ALL

Read your publication over the weekend and find it is not a "socialist paper" when it advocates military training for union pur-

Karl Marx did not advocate military training to take over the industries.

It can be done, if properly organized, without military training. Federal troops can take over such a "guard" as your reform movement indicates; see history of Germany and Italy, and military histories and unions.

Order Bundles of Radio Broadcasts

Three available issues of The Militant contain the recent radio broadcasts by SWP candidates A Dedication and the national election plat- To Capitalism form: May 24 contains the first broadcast by Farrell Dobbs, candidate for President; July 12, a six-page Convention issue, contains the platform and acceptance It is I who built that throne you speeches of Dobbs and Vice Presidential candidate Grace Carlson It is I who put those diamonds and the keynote speech by James P. Cannon, national secretary of I am the Atlas who upholds the the SWP; July 19 contains the second acceptance speeches of And only I can send it crashing Dobbs and Carlson. June 14 issue is available only in single copies

July 12 May 24 or 3-issue July 19 sets 20 for \$1 30 for \$1 10 for \$1 50 for \$2 70 for \$2 25 for \$2 I cannot understand why you and 150 for \$5 200 for \$5 75 for \$5



The fabulous "Satchel" Paige. Negro pitching star, was finally signed up by the Cleveland Indians of the American League after a sensational 20-year career outside the major leagues, kept out because of his (Federated Pictures)

Calls for Militant Action

Under the blood-thirsty tyrants of Wall Street and the military brass, our country is being led down the road to war and the

end of civilization. The Socialist Workers of the World must strike back in force. This is not the time for pious words of indignation or resolutions but for militant action. We must defy Wall Street's draft and, if need be, willingly choose going to jail over slaughtering our comrades at the command of some bloated capitalist. Further we must do all in our power to cripple direct or indirect production for war. We must form Defense Guards to protect our unions and political parties from police brutality and intimidation. In short we must rip out the heart of capitalism and build the Socialist society which alone can save humanity and issue in the his life for. This is no time for the yellow dogs who preach conviction. Workers of the World conflict with Moscow and its Cominform.

G. R. Stryker | Proletarian World Revolution! Bayport, N. Y.

With John L. Lewis

It looks like Philip Murray is selling out the steel workers again. He postponed the steel workers' strike against the Alumfrum Company of America for one week. This is the man who will be getting \$25,000 a year as head of the United Steel Worker's Like the rest of the labor fakers he is a tool of the capitalists.

Militant labor leaders like John L. Lewis of the Miners and Milton Siegel of the United Pack inghouse Workers are fined and thrown into prison for fighting for the workers. Joseph Keller was right about Lewis. His politics are reactionary, but he fights for the workers.

You even find capitalist pro paganda in the so-called "funnies." Little Orphan Annie is the most violent anti-labor of them all. According to this comic strip, all capitalists are kind and generous and union members are simple and lazy. If you work for leng hours and low wages, some day you will be a right rich man. Couldn't The Militant put out a comic strip to offset this capital ist propaganda?

Duluth, Minn.

Editor:

I wish to dedicate the follow ing to capitalism:

sit on. in your crown. world you live in,

containing Dobbs' second speech I, I, I am the bastard child of at 5c each. Bundles of the others It is I whom you would disown. But I will take this world you live

That I may create one of my own!

E. White

Events on the International Scene

An Open Letter to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia

The following letter was sent by the Fourth International secretariat to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

Paris, July 1, 1948

To the Central Committee and to All Members of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA

We want to let you know that the attention of the entire international revolutionary workers' movement is today centered on the conflict in which you have, for some time, been pitted against the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and the

The official press of the Communist parties is seeking to engulf you in a flood of slanders and insults. Their conduct is a good example of how proletarian democracy is dragged in the mud by these people who operate from Moscow the entire international machine which is at the service of the Soviet bureaucracy.

But we are not in the least duped by this system of slander. ampaigns which has in the past destroyed so many precious forces. the labor movement. Because under the worst difficulties, we have never ceased for one moment, ever since Lenin died, to continue nis struggle in Russia and in the entire world for the world communist revolution, against capitalist and imperialist reaction, and against the Soviet bureaucracy which usurped Lenin's party and

the whole Communist International. We know with what sinister inflexibility the bureaucratic machine in Moscow tries to nip in the bud every aspiration of independence or even a sign of a critical attitude toward itself. This Soviet bureaucracy has nothing in common with the Bolshevism of Lenin and the genuine defense of what still remains of the October conquests in the Soviet Union. The struggle - which has, since 1927, destroyed in Russia the entire Old Guard of the Bolshevik Party of the days of the October Revolution-was led by the Thermidorians of the Russian revolution, who were able temporarily to triumph over the proletarian revolutionary wing of Russian Bolshevism.

Now you are in a position to understand, in the light of the infamous campaign of which you are the victims, the real meaning of the Moscow trials and of the whole Stalinist struggle against rotskyism.

You hold in your hands a mighty power if only you summon enough strength to persevere on the road of the socialist revolution and its program. This road is also the road of independence from the bureaucratic apparatus of Moscow. Looking for a way out are tremendous forces in the entire world labor movement - now caught in a vise between imperialism led from Washington on the one side, and on the other, the Soviet bureaucracy in the Kremlin, interested solely in keeping its own privileged caste interests in Russia.

Keep up your fight! Deepen the significance of your strugglewith Moscow and its international machine! Do not yield to imperialist pressures! Establish a regime of genuine workers' democracy in your party and in your country! Thereby you will contribute im-

mensely to the rebirth of the international workers' movement. The International Secretariat of the Fourth International, the organization which unites around its program of Bolshevism and Leninism, 35 sections on the five continents, wants to address itself in this our first message to you not concerning those things about" which we must be critical of you with regards to your past and more recent course. We wish rather to take note of the promise in your resistance—the promise of victorious resistance by a revolutionary workers party against the most monstrous bureaucratic new era that Leon Trotsky gave machine that has ever existed in the labor movement, the Kremlin

We shall presently address to you and to your Congress and to capitulation, but for men and all Yugoslav communists an open letter in which we shall treat vomen of dauntless courage and in detail with our point of view on the historic meaning of your

> Long Live the Yugoslav Socialist Revolution! Long Live the International Secretariat of

The Fourth International

A New Trotskyist Publication Appears in Italy

The first issue of the theoretical review "4th Internationale." edited under the guidance of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, has appeared in Rome.

It contains the following articles: an editorial on the lessons of the Italian elections; three editorial notes: On the crisis of French Social-Democracy, The war in Palestine, The Congress of the Italian Socialist Party; an article on the Second World Congress of the Fourth International; an article by Luigi Binda on the U.S. presidential elections; an article by L. Trotsky on the Socialist United States of Europe; an article by Comrade Alberto Lorenzetti on the Peasants' Land Committees; by Corrado Serra on the "Iniziativa Socialista"; the first of six articles by Comrade Pablo on "The History of the Fourth International"; book reviews and news on the labor

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting every Thurs. 8 p.m. BALTIMORE—1121 E. Baltimore St., Phone Wolfe 1753J. Dally 9 a.m. - 9 p.m., J. Coover Sr., MILITANT and FOURTH NTERNATIONAL on sale BOSTON-30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m. ues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.

AKRON-4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon.

BUFFALO Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every ofternoon except Sun. CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Hal-sted). Phone DEArborn 4767, Daily except Sun., 11 a. m.-5 p. m. Library, book-

CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m., Peck's Hall, 1448 E. 82nd St. off Wade Park Ave.). DETROIT-6108 Linwood Ave. Phone FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 15 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke SAN PEDRO-Militant, 1008 S. Pacific WATTS-Militant, 1720 E. 97th St.

LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., Rm. 1, Sat. 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., MILWAUKEE-Militant Bookshop, 608 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 m. Phone BRoadway 9645.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore. NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p.m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre). New York City NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p. m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open laily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m. NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR. 5-8149. EAST SIDE-251 E. Houston St.

1st fl. **HARLEM**—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO. 2-1866. Open discussion. hurs., 8 p. m.
BRONX-1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. hone LU. 9-0101. BROOKLYN-635 Fulton St. ST. 8-7433. CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. OAKLAND (Cal.)-Write P. O. Box

PHILADELPHIA - 1308-05 W. Girard ve., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson pen daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m PHTTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl.
Open meetings, 1st & 3rd Sunn, 8:30
o. m. Marxist Study Class. Thur., 7-9

SAN DIEGO (Cal.) — For information write P. O. Box 857. SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fullmore Ave., th fl. Phone FI. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m. SEATTLE—Maynard Bidg., 1st Ave., touth & Washington. Phone Main \$276, fon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Brace, neeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 12. Forum, Thurs., 7-30-10 p. m

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone Gar-field 1137. Open daily. Bookstore. TACOMA (Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1079. Meeting, Wed., 8 p. cm., Odd Fellow 079. Meeting, Wed., (Iall, 6th & Fawcett.

TOLEDO - 113 St. Clair St., 2nd fl. pen daily. YOUNGSTOWN — 115 E. Federal St., Rm. 302. Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat.,

Last week Farrell Dobbs was awarded 15 minutes of WCBS time to speak on Why Labor Needs Its Own Party. Dobbs is a Trotskyite and candidate for President on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

His speech was an object lesson on how to disorient people from the major issues. After an introduction in which he characterized the two major parties as Tweedledum and Tweedledee-leading an unsuspecting audience to await a positive program-Dobbs got to the meat of his talk. This was an all-out attack on Wallace and the Third Party, an attack which made his comments on the Democrats and Republicans fade into the background.

The purpose of the attack on Wallace was clearly to split the coalition behind the New Party by characterizing Wallace as a "capitalist" and an "imperialist." Then Dobbs made a direct bid to split away Negro support of the Third Party and direct it into the channels of phony "independent action."

His call to people to "take the road of independent political action to establish a workers and farmers government," was primarily a call to split and sabotage the New Party and deprive the people of their only weapon against Wall Street imperialism.

In the box above, we publish in full the Daily Worker attack on Farrell Dobbs' radio speech, "Why Labor Needs Its Own Party." The text of Dobbs' speech appears in the next column. The Daily Worker's bleats show Dobbs' speech hit the Stalinists where it hurts.

They don't mind Wallace being attacked for what he isn't—that is, a "red," an "antiimperialist," etc. That's the phony bill of goods the Stalinists have been trying to sell. But Dobbs exposes the real Wallace—the millionaire demagogue who is trying to build a third capitalist party to head off a genuine labor party. Dobbs exposes the fakery of Wallace's "anti-war" program.

That's what the Daily Worker calls "the meat" of Dobbs' talk-and finds it tough chewing.

It's especially tough because many sincere workers caught in the mesh of the Stalinist machine are beginning to raise questions about Wallace. Many of them who heard Dobbs' talk undoubtedly think his characterization of Wallace as a capitalist and a defender of capitalism is 100% correct. Wallace himself has publicly boasted he is "the best defender of capitalism." He has likewise publicly stated that once war comes, he will "naturally" support U.S. im-

The present Stalinist leaders have been leaning heavily on radical phrases. They even manage now and then to pay their verbal respects to "socialism." But many CP members and sympathizers are beginning to suspect that the "socialism" of the present Stalinist leaders goes no deeper than Browder's, who was demonstratively expelled for his pro-capitalist "right

They must surely ask what's wrong, for instance, with Dobbs' call to the people to "take the road of independent political action to

establish a workers and farmers government?" The Stalinist leaders are trying first of all to stifle internal complaints about the party's opportunist course by the traditional methods of bureaucratic intimidation. That's the real puroose of this hysterical—and self-exposing—outburst against Dobbs' speech. It's designed as a warning to anyone in the CP who criticizes the Wallace move that he will be tagged as a 'Trotskyite" and kicked out of the Stalinist

There's been a slew of such expulsions already.

It appears the "Trotskyite" virus is spreading. The July 11 Sunday Worker, uses an entire page to exorcize this malady under the screaming headline: "Fight Against Trotskyite Wreckers in the Pacific Northwest District."

It seems one such "wrecker," who "agitated for so-called 'freedom of criticism' as a cover for disruption," has already been expelled and this is a warning to others that the party is "capable of dealing" with all such elements. In fact, the article warns that the Stalinist leaders are well aware that:

"Some of the more recent developments demonstrate beyond question that there exists at the present time an organized attempt to penetrate and destroy the Party, headed by clique of Troskvites.'

Yelling "Trotskyite," however, doesn't seem to be as effective as it once was. Because the Stalinist bureaucracy is forced to defend itself programatically against the internal criticism.

Thus, in answer to the criticism that the CP is adapting itself completely to the pro-capitalist program of Wallace, the July 16 Daily Worker carries a lengthy article by Simon Gerson which claims that "in building this great new coalition (Wallace party) we Communists will do our share. Our Socialist outlook and firm conviction that only a Socialist reorganization of society can bring permanent peace, security and prosperity are no barriers to cooperation with persons of non-Socialist convictions in creating this great

The key sentence then follows: "We of course will freely advance our own fraternal criticism of policies within the great coalition."

The July 17 N. Y. Times quoted this sentence in a story headlined: "Communists Plan to Use Wallace-Gerson, State Leader, Sees Socialism as First Goal by Means of Third Party."

On July 19, the Daily Worker charged that the Times had "distorted" Gerson's statement Gerson is once more quoted, this time saying the Wallace party "is not by its very nature' a socialist or communist party "and we are not seeking to make it one.'

One word from the N. Y. Times and the CP's "socialism" flew out the window. The Stalinists are mobilizing for Wallace's avowedly procapitalist program, and not the other way around And that's just what Dobbs said in his speech. No wonder the Daily Worker raves. Nobody likes to be stripped bare in public.

No Thanks to Philip Murray

By Joseph Keller -

Well, the CIO steel workers are finally getting a wage increase - no thanks to Philip Murray. This boost comes after almost every other industry had already granted increases. The steel increase was won by the miners, auto workers, on the picket lines and broke the back of corporation resistance. The big "labor statesman," Murray, just managed to sneak the steel workers to the end of the chow line.

Naturally, the steel corporations "give nothing for nothing, and damn little of that." They're hiking steel prices \$10 a ton, which is several times what the pay increase will cost. So it won't be long before rising prices will strip the steel workers of their gains once more.

The steel workers can count themselves lucky that they got anything, with Murray's bellycrawling policy and two-year no-strike surrender in the old contract. If the auto workers hadn't cracked industry's front; if John L. Lewis's miners hadn't forced the steel companies to kick through with a pay increase in the captive mines, the steel workers would still be the

As it is, they've lost three months of wage increases, an average of \$65 apiece for 170,000 workers. There is no retroactive clause back to be made the program of the Labor Party. last April, when negotiations began. Murray's has fed \$13,000,000 more into the cast balance of the steel barons. The companies claim the raise is 13 cents an

"Little Orphan Annies" of the labor movement.

hour. That's an average. Actually a few of the highest paid skilled workers will get more than a 13 cent raise. But the majority of lower paid workers will get less than 11 cents. Thus, the steel raise is less than in other industries where the workers put up a scrap. Moreover, the wage reopening date has been

extended an additional three months beyond the contract expiration date of April 30, 1949, to July 15, 1949. The new wage rates are frozen for three more months.

In his autobiographical article in the June issue of American Magazine, Murray said he is always ready to step out of his office, if a better man can be found. That's not a tall order.

Notes from the News

SECULAR GARB - An "anti-garb" act, sponsored by Protestants, was passed by the voters of South Dakota, aimed at pushing out Catholic nuns from teaching



in the state's public schools. The nuns are apparently going to continue teaching as the Catholic Church advised the nuns that it had no objection to their donning "respectable secular dress.'

HOPING FOR A MIRACLE - Two little girls. one born without sight, the other without ankle bones, departed on a 4,000-mile journey to the shrine of St. Bernadette in Lourdes, France. Their parents are hoping for some "miracle."

NO EQUALITY — 24 whites and Negroes were carried off in patrol wagons in Baltimore because they participated in an inter-racial tennis picnic.

GLASS WORKERS — The CIO glass workers signed an agreement with Libby-Owens-Ford and Pittsburgh Plate Glass Companies providing for 10 to 12 cent hourly increases in 10 plants employing 16,000 workers.

STALIN vs. POPE - Three Catholic priests have been arrested in Hungary for agitating against "Hungarian democracy." This is part of the raging battle between the Stalinist-dominated government and the Vatican over the Catholic monopoly of education which is now threatened by the new laws passed in Hungary and others of the East-European states.

QUIT N. Y. CIO — The N.Y. Newspaper Guild joined the growing ranks of unions that have withdrawn from the Stalinist-controlled Greater New York CIO Council. Joseph Curran has similarly announced that the NMU plans to pull

back to their private owners last week. The road workers. three brotherhoods that threatened to strike accepted the 151/2 cent award which they had previously rejected. Under the new court rulings, the rail brotherhoods are virtually forbidden to from the ICC permission to put across a new big to be running. hike in fares.

ANOTHER UAW "VICTORY" - The CIO auto union won bargaining rights at the Murray Mfg. Co. in Brooklyn, N. Y., in an NLRB election. The Stalinist-led UE which had the contract previously was muscled out of the picture.

DEMOCRATIZING GERMANY — More than bers, an official U.S. Military government report

STONED TO DEATH - Stephen Hass, a

on the Socialist Party ticket in 1920, when it drew almost a million votes. Stedman was also chief defense attorney for Debs at the latter's famous trial in Cleveland for opposing the first

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XII MONDAY, JULY 26, 1948

Labor Needs Its Own Party Radio Speech by Farrell Dobbs

Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate, broadcast over the CBS network | The workers need a party of their own, a party they can trus on July 6th at 11:15 P. M.

Working people of America!

In recent years it has become more and more difficult to tell a Democratic politician from a Republican. Together they have knifed every proposal for social legislation-from anti-

lynch and anti-poll tax bills to minimum wage raises and housing appropriations. The Republicans and Democrats teamed up to pass the Taft-Hartley Act, and they are now devising even more deadly weapons to be used against the unions after the elections.

Now, for a few months before the elections, these twin servants of monopoly capitalism are staging their customary quarrel over the political swag at Washington.

Truman charges: "This Congress is the

worst we've had since the first one met." Halleck, the Republican leader of the House, snaps back There are a lot of people who think Mr. Truman is the poorest President we have had."

Both politicians are telling the truth. Many millions are agreed that both the Democrats and Republicans ought to be thrown out of office. People are turning away in revulsion from these discredited parties and are looking for a new party.

More than that. The working people of this country ar looking for a new kind of party. They want a party they can control and call their own; a party that will advance the cause of the workers, and not deceive and degrade labor for the benefit of the profiteers.

Labor Party Would Get Response

Never were conditions more favorable for the launching of national Labor Party. This party would command immediate response from 15 million unionists and their families who represent the mightiest organized force in this country. It would arouse the hopes of unorganized workers who stand to gain from every advance by the unions. The Labor Party could count on firm support from the Negro people who already regard the CIO as their main ally in the fight against discrimination. The nation's youth who are being groomed for another imperialist slaughter and the working farmers, who are disillusioned with the capitalist parties, would rally to the Labor

An independent party launched by the unions will challenge and displace both the Democrats and Republicans and will become the foremost party in the land.

In office this party of labor will legislate and act for the people, not for a few plutocrats. It will pursue a policy of genuine aid and friendship toward the workers and colonial peoples in the rest of the world, instead of menacing them with atom bombs.

The Socialist Workers Party would support such a party launched by the unions. We would advocate that our program

However, the top union officials have blocked this path will be a thing of beauty and a thing of joy. for 1948. These pigmies in politics cling desperately to the candidate they can palm off on the workers as a "friend of NMU Ranks Deal Crushing labor."

The failure of the union officials to launch a Labor Party has enabled Henry Wallace to come forward as a self-styled champion of labor in this presidential campaign. Many who are fed up with the two old-line parties are inclined to believe, was organized shortly after last they propose to achieve unified or at least to hope, that the Wallace party will satisfy their demands.

Wallace—who for the last 15 years has played the game of capitalist politics—now sets himself up as a new political Messiah. Let us review his record, and then examine his program, to see whether his new party deserves support.

As Secretary of Agriculture, Wallace, who today promises abundance, was responsible for destroying pigs and ploughing under cotton while millions of his countrymen went hungry and ill-clad.

As vice-president, this "crusader for peace" peddled the imperialist lie that American participation in the Second World War would make "The Four Freedoms" prevail and establish "The Century of the Common Man." Now Wallace himself admits that the billionaires and brass hats are using the military victory to undermine the freedom of the people.

As Secretary of Commerce, he gave silent consent to RAIL "PEACE" - The railroads were turned Truman's strike-breaking actions against the miners and rail-

Wallace parades as a champion of the Negro people. What struggle for Negro rights did he lead while in high office? Wallace didn't even dare oppose Jim Crow practices in the strike. Meanwhile, the rail carriers received Commerce Department in Washington, which he was supposed

> Wallace pretends to be leading a fight against war. He seeks to mislead the people with the fiction that the United Nations can protect the peace.

United Nations a Fraud

The United Nations can no more be relied upon to prevent war than the dead and buried League of Nations it has replaced. The United Nations is not an agency for peace. It is a front 60% of the judges and 76% of the prosecutors organization for American imperialism. Its function is to in Bavarian Courts are former Nazi party mem- furnish the diplomatic ballyhoo for a third world war.

Wallace knows that. So do the Communist Party traitors to the working class, who support this Wallace swindle.

The truth is that the fight for peace is inseparable from Philadelphia real estate man, was stoned to the fight against the capitalist system, which needs and breeds death by an Egyptian mob at Cairo last week. war for profit. Peace can be achieved only by rallying the people This reflects the anti-American feeling in the of this country in struggle against the ruling capitalists to take Near East as a result of Washington's policy on the powers of life and death out of their hands.

Wallace cannot lead the American people in a genuine anti-STEDMAN DEAD — Seymour Stedman died war struggle, because he is committed body and soul to the at Chicago on July 11. He is remembered as the preservation of the capitalist system. He has already served vice-presidential running mate of Eugene V. Debs notice in the press that, once war is declared he will climb on the military bandwagon. He's not an anti-war fighter to the real possibility for the first time. last ditch—but only until the first shot is fired!

This third party bossed by millionaire Wallace, who declares tion in the past because of their that he is "the best friend capitalism has in the United States | fear of the Stalinists, must now

to protect their welfare without compromise or betrayal.

I am confident that the working people will find the Socialis Workers Party to be the kind of party they are seeking. The Socialist Workers Party is as different from the capitalist parties as day is from night.

Our members are almost all workers, housewives and young people. We welcome men and women of all colors and nationalities into our ranks on an equal basis.

You will meet members of the Socialist Workers Party wherever the going is tough, wherever extra energy and devotion End Discrimination at Sears reare needed to defend labor against the employers. Our finances come from the working people, in nickels

dimes and dollars. No bankers or corporation paymasters give us funds the way they finance the Republicans and Democrats. Our aims are the most realistic and at the same time the most noble a working class party can have.

That is why I have proudly accepted the Socialist Workers Party nomination for the presidency.

Workers and Farmers Government

The Socialist Workers Party is irreconcilably opposed to the war plans of American monopoly capitalism and its political stooges in Washington. Its candidates are pledged to oppose every militarist move, from the peacetime draft to the Marshall Plan, and to fight every measure aimed against the civil rights of the American people.

The Marshall Plan and the Taft-Hartley Act are but two sides of the same capitalist coin. The Marshall Plan is intended in or out of a place of business. to finance police regimes for the suppression of labor abroad, This is the same anti-picketing just as the Taft-Hartley Act is used to break strikes here in

So long as capitalism endures, hunger, police violence and var will ravage the world.

To guarantee enduring peace and clear the road for a new era of progress, we summon every working man and woman to Stalinists all alone, operating a support the program of the Socialist Workers Party. It is a program of struggle for a Workers and Farmers Government. It is a program to end the oppressive system of capitalist The Workers and Farmers Government will abolish the

ruinous power of the greedy profiteers over the lives and welfare of the American people. It alone will reorganize industry and agriculture into a planned economy which will guarantee abundance, freedom and security to all.

War and poverty, fear and race hatred will then disappear, and like cannibalism and slavery become relics of a barbarous

Working men and women of America!

The fate of civilization depends on the working class. Take the road of independent political action to establish a Workers and Farmers Government.

You can set out on that road in the 1948 elections by casting your vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

Ioin with the Socialist Workers Party in its unceasing hastened to the Chief of Police struggle to build a socialist society in which life on this earth with mealy-mouthed assurances

Defeat to Stalinist Machine

(Continued from page 1)

year's convention.

The rank-and-file-supported officials who assume the leadership of the union must now demonstrate that they are worthy of that support. The new leadership takes over at a very difficult time. The union is tied down by an 80-day injunction which Grace Carlson Is expires September 2. This injunction was secured by the government at the behest of the ship operators when the contract of the union came to an end on June 15. The government and the operators are joined in a conspiprized possession, the union hiring hall.

There is no doubt that if the operators encroach upon the hiring hall there will be a struggle on the waterfront. The new leadership has the task of preparing the union for that eventuality. Another important task facing the new leadership is the restoration of internal solidarity. The Stalinists in their desperate atempt to hold on, aroused many leep and bitter passions. Their irresponsible and reckless hate propaganda has bred fears and suspicions, especially among the minority groups in the union. The new leadership must now demonstrate that the Stalinists' accusaions were lies.

The new leadership has come must make good on this program. he said.

MARITIME UNITY

The National Maritime Union can once again become the beacon on the waterfront. The defeat of the Stalinists makes unity of all seafaring unions a unions, who opposed unified ac-

explain to their members how action - and eventually, one union in the maritime industry. The period of Stalinist rule of the waterfront is ended. A new

chapter in the history of maritime unionism is about to begin.

Main Speaker at St. Paul Affair

annual Strawberry Festival of Negro people. the St. Paul Branch, held at White Bear Lake this afternoon.

rothing to end it."

Almost 200 comrades and Roebuck. friends, Negro and white, listened intently as the speaker described the SWP's program of civil rights. "We fight for equality for all peoples 365 days of the fying in defense of Barnes. Barnes year," she declared. Also speaking on the program

was V. R. Dunne, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Minnesota. into office on a program of re- He explained that the party is storing internal democracy. They on a crusade to get the workers helped sponsor amendments to to break with the capitalists who the union constitution which oppress them and build a socialmake it the most democratic one ist future for mankind. "That is in the labor movement. They the main object of our campaign,"

The afternoon's activities included a ball game, horseshoes and croquet. Lunch with strawberry shortcake was served by the St. Paul Social Committee.

SUBSCRIBE TO

NAACP Acts In Post Office **Jim-Crow Case**

By J. Hawkins

NUMBER 30

SANTA MONICA, Calif., July 18. - There were new developments this past week in the long fight against racial discrimination in hiring at the local Sears-Roebuck store. The now Stalinistdominated United Committee to fused to dissolve on orders from the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and continued with a picket demonstration at the store on Friday night of last week. The local press gleefully gave big publicity to the picket line, and ran a photograph of the line showing a Stalinist People's World saleswoman in the fore-

The city fathers then moved quickly to pave the way for the smashing of the picket line. On Tuesday night the City Council passed an emergency anti-picketing ordinance, which makes it inlawful for anyone to block or hinder the passage of a person ordinance which was smashed several months ago, when the NAACP, backed by labor and civic organizations, denounced its proposed passage. This time, however, the City Council caught the picket line mostly imported from Los Angeles County, and with

little support in Santa Monica. On Wednesday the Santa Monica Outlook proudly gave out the news that the local AFL had given its okay to passage of the anti-picketing ordinance, providing it was used against the Stalinist picket line and not against the union picket line. As Barnum used to say, there's one born every minute. The City Council passed the ordinance after hearing a report from a private detective agency claiming Stalinist domination of the participating organizations and generally engaging in an orgy of red baiting.

The Stalinists, who disregarded the wishes of the NAACP, now that they would obey all restrictions placed on their picketing in line with the new ordinance. At the same time, the Stalinists have been doing their own red-baiting. First they went to Sears' management, claiming that the NAACP was no longer representing anybody and that the local Negroes are led by Trotskyists. Then they charged the same thing in an interview printed in a local neighborhood newspaper.

Because of these irresponsible actions, the Stalinists have suffered tremendous damage to what reputation they had in the Negro neighborhood.

The manager of the Sears store is begging for another meeting with the NAACP officials, hoping to rush advertisements of a settlement into the newspapers. The NAACP leaders, however, aren't ST. PAUL, July 18 — Grace anxious to return to the store for racy to eliminate the union's most | Carlson, Socialist Workers Party | negotiations until they have reacandidate for vice president, was sonable assurance that some real the main speaker at the 13th gains will be obtained for the

On Thursday of this week the Post Office loyalty board ar-"The Democratic, Republican rived from Washington to hold and Wallace parties speak loudly its hearing on charges of disloyabout civil rights," Dr. Carlson alty against Frank H. Barnes, declared, "but Truman, Dewey fighting president of the Santa and Wallace have all been in Monica NAACP branch. There is Washington and seen the most not a shred of doubt that the vicious Jim Crow, while doing charges against Barnes were brought at the behest of Sears-

> After giving Barnes a refined form of the third degree for five hours, the loyalty board listened for two hours to witnesses testiwas not given an opportunity to know who his accusers were or to cross-examine them. His defenders include, not only local post office and city officials, but the post office workers union here, to which Barnes and other NAACP activists belong. The loyalty board will condescend to give a ruling on whether Barnes "disloyal" within fifteen days. Barnes is just one of the numerous Negro Federal employes who are being victimized, at the very time that Truman and his Democratic party make hypocritical pledges for a civil rights program. The national NAACP leaders have committed themselves to carry Barnes' case

clear to the Supreme Court if