

STALIN'S SECOND BID FOR "PEACE"

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XII—No. 21

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MAY 24, 1948

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

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

Text of National Broadcast Delivered by Farrell Dobbs

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

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

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

The war which they are plotting and preparing is directed against the American people as well as against the rank and file of humanity throughout the world.

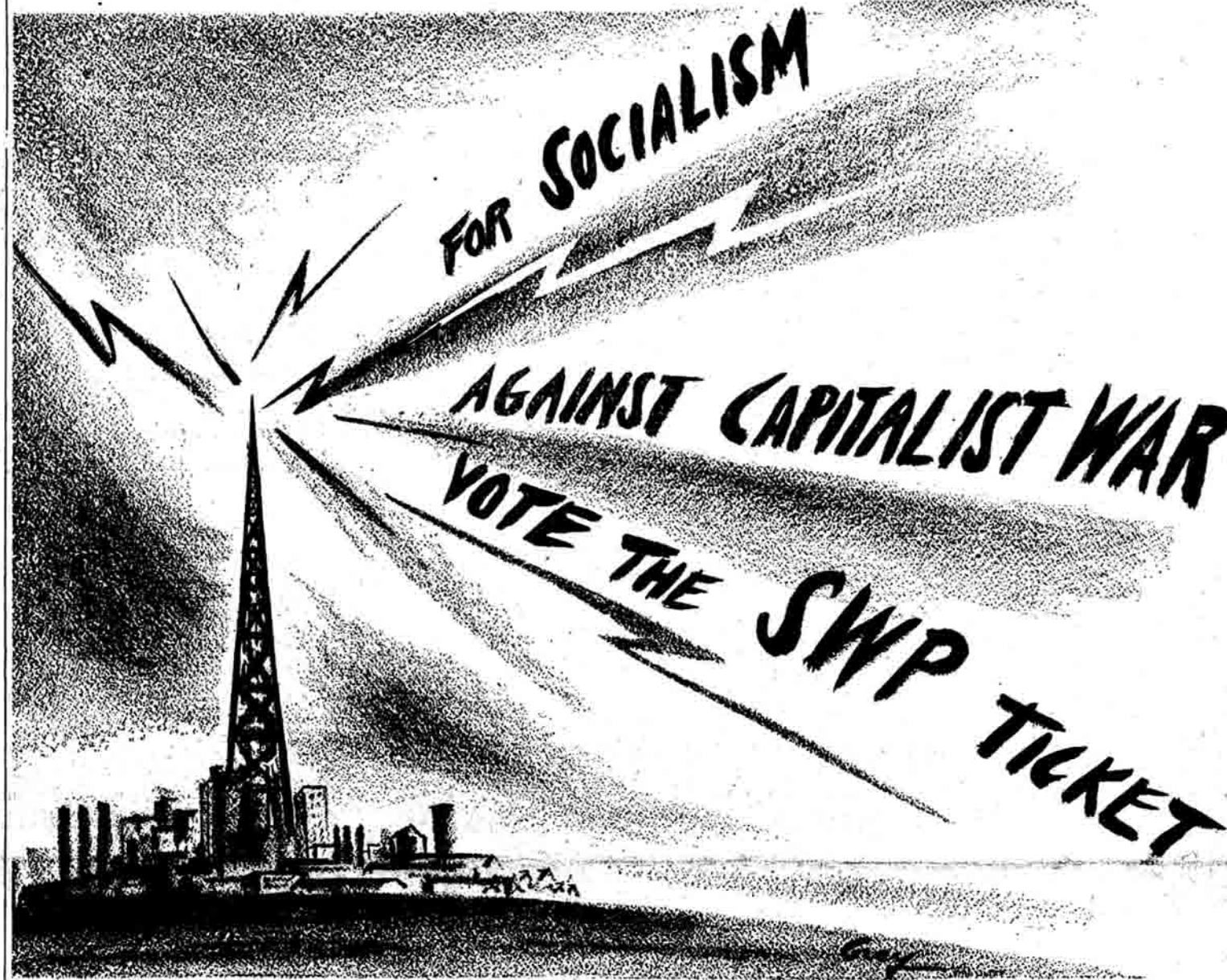
The drive against the unions was spearheaded by the passage of the anti-union Taft-Hartley law whose provisions are now being used to smash strikes with injunctions and police terror. The Steel Trust, giving the lead to the major corporations, has refused to disgorge a single penny of its fabulous profits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

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

Calls for Socialist America



FARRELL DOBBS



The packinghouse workers have been battling injunctions and police terror on the picket lines for more than two months. With all my heart I greet the heroic auto and packinghouse strikers who are fighting the battle of all workers today.

War and Dictatorship

The preparations for war coincide with preparations for military dictatorship at home. The major posts in the cabinet and the chief positions in important government agencies are occupied by the brass hats of the army and the navy or the overlords of industry and finance.

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

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

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

"Nothing Left But the Whip"

Business Week, an authoritative Wall Street magazine, brutally admits to this purpose in its issue of April 24th. I quote: "Living standards would have to go down — not up. . . we couldn't fight another war without dictating to everyone where to work, what to do and what to get paid for it. . . All the candy has been passed out now. This time there would be nothing left but the whip."

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

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

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

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

There can be no effective struggle against war unless it is directed towards the elimination of the war-breeding capitalist system; towards the destruc-

tion of the power of life and death over the entire human race now possessed by a handful of madmen.

There can be no effective struggle against the twin monsters of war and military dictatorship unless it is directed towards the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government, which will organize this country and the world for a society based on human needs, without profits, classes or exploitation.

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

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

The Swindle of Pacifism

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

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

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

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

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

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

Organize this invincible power!

Unite with the Socialist Workers Party!

Bind your ranks together with a socialist program, and begin the march to a world where we and our children can live in peace as free human beings without poverty and without fear!

4th International Hailed By Cannon in Introduction

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

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

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

The Socialist Workers Party is the sole representative in this country of the authentic socialism of Marx and Engels, of Debs and Haywood, of Lenin and Trotsky.

We are called "Trotskyists" — and we are proud to bear that name.

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

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

"Trotskyism" is a world-wide movement which unites revolutionary militants of all countries and nationalities, of all races and colors, in a common world organization, founded by Trotsky, and known as the Fourth International.

The Fourth International has just successfully concluded its World Congress in Europe, with delegates in attendance from 19 countries and four continents. Although prevented by the reactionary Voorhis Law, from affiliation, the Socialist Workers Party is in full sympathy with the world struggle of the Fourth International for the emancipation of the workers and colonial peoples from capitalist exploitation and oppression.

From this national radio forum I salute the World Congress of the Fourth International in the name of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States.

Farrell Dobbs, the presidential candidate of the Socialist Work-



JAMES P. CANNON

ers Party, has spent most of his active life in the socialist and labor movement. He was one of the leaders of the great Minneapolis truckdrivers' strikes.

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

Farrell Dobbs was one of the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544 who served prison sentences in 1944 and 1945 for their defense of democratic unionism and opposition to the war. For a number of years he has been the editor of *The Militant*, the weekly Trotskyist newspaper.

It is my great privilege to introduce to you this evening the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for President of the United States, Farrell Dobbs.

Vice-Presidential Nominee



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

How New Mechanization Affects Miners

By Morgan West

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

Mechanization came late to the mines. Long after assembly line technique brought mass production into almost every other major industry, mining remained an occupation of individual toil. Only late in the depression did loading machines begin to displace hand loading, on a broad scale. The Second World War with its insatiable demand for coal at any price gave a great impetus to mechanization. Yet even to-

day a remarkably large number of independent producers of even medium size (3 to 6 thousand tons daily output), run mines that are inadequately mechanized.

Mines operate side by side which in point of technique are separated by a century. One employs ponies or mules for transportation, hand labor for cutting the coal, hand labor for loading, carbide lamps for illumination. The other is equipped with 60 ton motors or conveyor belts, rubber tired shuttle buggies, cutting and loading machines which handle many tons per minute, electric illumination.

As late as the middle 1930's, the coal industry expense sheets showed 60 cents of every dollar going to labor in the form of wages; the highest of any major industry. At that time, small producers lucky enough to lease a favorable area could compete with large companies. But today hundreds of thousands of dollars are required to open a mine comparable to those operated by the larger companies. And since the end of the war the large companies have gone in heavily for mechanization.

In the past, the digger and the hand loader were, in a sense, artists. Their labor was hard but

at least they were masters of their own tasks. They could set their own pace, they could develop skill and experience worth many times brute force. Machinery introduced the factory system underground and restricted a man's labor to one or two special functions. More and more, youth, stamina and speed supplanted skill and experience. In mines mechanized during the depression few men worked after they were 40 or 45. During the war many were hired again. Today they are being weeded out. Today older men find employment in the small marginal mines which will go out of business overnight when they are forced to compete with the huge mechanized monsters.

In the coal areas it is very difficult to find employment other than in the mines. Technological unemployment thus not only displaces workers from the coal industry but effectively eliminates them from all work. Displaced miners automatically join the "industrial reserve army"—the unemployed who try to survive on public relief. If the continuous mining machine displaces 50% of the present personnel a complete transformation of the mining community will result. It is significant that the Pittsburgh press

hailed this machine as "the most revolutionary development in mining since the advent of the UMW." The gentlemen of the press counterpose the machine to the union. What the UMW has gained, the machine will take away.

"CLOSER SUPERVISION"

Another important factor, pointed out by Mr. Morrow of the Joy Co. "is that closer supervision of a single machine and its crew will be possible." Today it is customary for one boss to be responsible for a crew of 12 men. It is probable that the continuous loader will eliminate 50% of the men engaged in actual production at the face.

The press announced that already many orders had been placed although the machine will not be produced commercially until the end of the year. A European operator heard of the continuous loader, wired for 30 sight unseen, and leaped on a trans-Atlantic plane for Pittsburgh. A week later the Bituminous Coal Institute, composing the 12 largest operating companies, announced similar developments in their own experiments and predicted that they too, would have continuous mining machines

in production soon. It is evident that the introduction of the loader will necessitate the introduction of conveyor belt transportation, thus further displacing men. Gassification of coal is already beyond the experimental stage. These developments will in time limit independent operation to the production of "custom coal" for local consumption in archaic mines of little economic importance. Production of commercial importance will be centered in the hands of a few mammoth companies.

The mine workers, already gravely weakened by technological innovations, will be forced to bargain with a few major companies. Already today, whole geographical districts are controlled by one dominant operating company. Northern West Virginia, for example, is completely at the mercy of the Consolidated Coal Company in the event of a lockout.

The miners thus see themselves ceaselessly subjected to ever greater domination by the sinister and hidden hand of capitalist production. What is involved is no longer a simple campaign for higher wages against small operators. The miners see their community, their union, their very means of livelihood threatened, while their opponents are strengthened.

In the face of the technological revolution of mechanization, the centralization of monopolistic ownership, and the unshamed intervention of the government on the side of the operators, the union has been singularly power-

less. The miners have won every engagement (with the exception of the 1946 winter strike) but lost every campaign. The wage scale has gone up but the standard of living has remained as it was. The miners have won a yearly vacation but seven days of idleness in a coal camp are days, not of joy, but of despair. The dirt remains, the shacks remain, the urban culture finds no welcome in the company towns, and the speed-up grows more intense.

PENSION PLAN

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

The pension plan provides \$100 each month to miners over 62, with at least 20 years experience in the mines. The inadequacy of this is obvious. With the new machinery men will find it hard to get work after their 40th year. The pension is also cold comfort to the young miners caught in the speedup and the meaninglessness of the miner's life. But the pension plan is the first hesitant step in the direction of community welfare which Lewis has made. As such it is wholeheartedly supported by the miners.

Renegades Peddle Old Poison

By George Breitman

In previous articles we have demonstrated the spuriousness and shallowness of the arguments presented by Jean Vanier in the March Partisan Review to justify his flight from Marxism. To complete the account it is necessary only to add a few remarks about the history of the small group associated with Vanier which left the Socialist Workers Party.

Vanier's evolution into an open enemy of Marxism is a culmination of the revisionist fight which his friends, Felix Morrow and Albert Goldman, launched in the SWP five years ago. It is worth recalling that this evolution was predicted, from the very beginning of the fight, by the defenders of Marxism in the party, long before the revisionists themselves understood what they were doing and where they were going and while they were still protesting indignantly that they had no fundamental differences with the Trotskyist program.

REVISIONIST PATH

Vanier and his friends began—as all petty-bourgeois revisionists do; as their most immediate predecessors, the faction led by James Burnham and Max Shachtman, did in 1939—by succumbing to the powerful pressure of capitalist ideology, which is always most quickly and deeply felt by intellectuals isolated from the life and struggles of the working class. They had become infected with a disease—one might call it the occupational disease—of intellectuals in the labor movement: A tendency to overestimate the power of decaying capitalism and to despair over the ability of the working class to fulfill its socialist mission.

This defeatist mood was accompanied by a violent barrage of charges against the SWP leadership's "dogmatism," "bureaucratism," "bad morals," etc., by which was meant the leadership's determination not to yield an inch to the revisionist onslaughts. Then the revisionists began to denounce the "sheep-like" docility and lack of "independent thought" among the membership of the party, who had been steered by their experience with the Burnham-Shachtman school of revisionism to give a cool reception to all other varieties.

Consequently, long before the revisionist program had fully unfolded, the Vanier-Morrow-Goldman faction was confined to a small handful of skeptics, who realized their views had no future in the SWP. One section therefore split away before the 1946 SWP convention even had a

chance to pass judgment on them. Headed by Goldman, they entered the halfway house of despair, apprehension and "honest pessimism," the Shachtmanite Workers Party, from which some of them have already departed for the purpose of supporting American imperialism. The other section, influenced by Vanier and Morrow, drew back at the last minute from the futile prospect of wasting their time in the WP and, still avowing their allegiance to Marxism, decided to go it on their own.

FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT

Now, Vanier's Partisan Review article dots the i's and crosses the t's. The real dispute, it shows, was not over isolated formulations or even the nature of party organization, but over fundamental concepts of Marxism. His spiteful reference to "the degeneration of the Trotskyite Fourth International" is merely an admission of the revisionists' failure to substitute their program of prostration before capitalism for the Marxist program of the Trotskyists. Like most renegades, Vanier departs behind a shower of pretentious phrases about his devotion to—socialism! But we can see what they are worth when we examine the "positive" proposal he advances after rejecting Marxism:

"Only by a rational and methodical scrutiny of the lessons of the past and of the present possibilities will we be enabled to work effectively toward preparing a future. Whoever is content at this late date to go on repeating the basic hypothesis [of Marxism] without advancing some new and decisive argument in its favor scarcely merits a hearing. Proposed solutions may well be widely divergent; only mutual criticism will make possible an intelligent choice. But in such an endeavor nothing can be held sacred—everything is called into question. Only after having been put through such a crucible could socialism conceivably re-emerge as a viable doctrine and plan of action."

Now there's a real program of action for you, and one that's bound to strike a sympathetic note among a considerable body of tired radicals and disillusioned intellectuals—a perpetual discussion society. A discussion society, where everybody can get together and chew the fat interminably; where nobody will have to do anything more difficult than talk to his heart's content and maybe listen to some other fellow's foolish ideas; in fact, where nobody will have to do anything at all—while the world goes to hell on wheels. Meanwhile, what about the struggle against war and militarization and capitalist

barbarism? It is too much to expect that the capitalists will call a truce in their offensive against labor while the discussion continues. But that doesn't bother Vanier because according to his view what goes on in the class struggle doesn't matter anyhow; the only thing that really counts in "preparing for a future" is to have a debate.

ULTIMATE LOGIC

The ultimate logic of the Vaniers is this: If the workers cannot take and hold power, obviously it is foolish for them to try. Not only is it foolish, but it is harmful; in general, nothing is more harmful than to attempt some great task, involving many sacrifices and the risk of many casualties, if it is certain to fail. Renegades sharing Vanier's concepts therefore can be expected to advise the workers not to make such a foolhardy attempt as to aim at power; and in essence that is what Vanier is doing now. But that is only a part of the picture.

History has shown that the class struggle continues, and that under modern conditions it inevitably moves in the direction of a working class attempt to take power, no matter how many intellectuals desert the struggle and no matter what kind of advice they give the workers. At that point, the next step of the Vaniers develops into an attempt to persuade the workers not to revolt by means other than words. In short, the logical outcome of the belief that the workers cannot take power is the attempt to stop them from trying—that is, support of the counter-revolution.

Let no one say this is factional exaggeration. History proves that every group in the labor movement that started out with skepticism about the political capacity of the working class, ended by becoming the mortal enemy of the socialist revolution. Take the Social Democrats—what is the basis of their policy of class collaboration with the capitalists? The very same concept being spread by the Vaniers, that the workers don't have what it takes to achieve progress through their own forces. Or examine the treachery of the Stalinists. What was the root of the beginning of the Stalinist degeneration in Russia if not the idea that the workers outside of Russia could not be depended on to overthrow their oppressors, and therefore "socialism in one country" and international class collaboration were necessary in order to defend the workers' state?

Neither the Stalinist nor Social Democratic disbelievers in the workers' capacities started out with full-fledged counter-revolutionary practices. No, they worked their way up to them gradually. First they abandoned the Marxist method of analyzing capitalism and the development of the struggle between the workers and capitalists; then they succumbed to skepticism; and

finally they tried to fortify this skepticism by counter-revolutionary violence against the workers who had not become infected with this disease. And the Vaniers are travelling the same road.

NOTHING NEW

Thus there is nothing new in Vanier's "fundamental hypothesis" about the workers' incapacity to establish socialism. It is a by-product of capitalist propaganda and pressure, reeking of ancient betrayals. Its infiltration, through weaklings and traitors, into the workers' ranks serves only to denigrate the position of their exploiters. Marx and Engels had to contend with it in their day, and Lenin and Trotsky had to overcome its influence before they could lead the workers to the first successful proletarian revolution. We too must be on the alert to recognize and combat its deadly effects wherever and whenever it arises.

The science of Marxism furnishes us with the only realistic appreciation of class struggles, forces and developments—the basis of our unshakable confidence in the ability of the workers to rescue the world from the abyss to which capitalism is driving it. Let us use the weapons placed at our disposal by Marxism not only to expose the reactionary and capitalist-inspired concepts of the renegades but to prepare the conditions for the socialist revolution which, in passing, will definitively settle its action all questions about the political capacity of the working class.

Arms Program Sets Off Stock Speculation Orgy

By Arthur Burch

The stock market is once more the scene of a wild speculative orgy that is reminiscent of the "glorious" Twenties. On May 14, 15 and 17 the New York Stock Exchange witnessed the broadest markets on record, with 1,161 issues traded on the last named day. The volume for the brief Saturday session was the largest since 1933. This bullish enthusiasm and wide participation of the petty bourgeoisie is all the more remarkable since the requirements now call for a 75% margin whereas 15 years ago traders could often plunge in on a shoe-string margin of only 10%.

Like in the recent commodity boom, easy profits are the incentive here. The speculators figure that they can't go wrong. The government has virtually underwritten profits to the corporations whose issues are listed on the Big Board. Washington has served notice that it intends to feed the inflation, at least for the very near future. By asking for a huge armaments outlay, it has become the largest customer for the monopolies whose markets were being rapidly exhausted as a result of the dwindling purchasing power of the masses.

SAFE GAMBLE

Washington expects to take up through war preparations any slack that might appear in the faltering economy. And by refusing to institute controls it has given the green light to the industrialists to jack up their prices and profits. It has again artificially stimulated scarcities on which alone capitalism is able to

thrive. And to top it off Washington has served notice in unmistakable terms that at one stage or another of this arms boom, it will plunge the country into another world slaughter which would assure more billions in profits for the monopoly sharks. What gamble could be safer?

There is really nothing left for the boys in the money except to play the market and boost prices. The government is taking care of all the expenses in the building of war plants and in the purchase of the machinery and tools. All the monopolists have to do is to operate these plants at a guaranteed profit. The atomic plant at Oak Ridge is only one of a score of similar cases. To make sure that the capitalist freebooters don't run short of change, Congress obligingly reduced their taxes. Of course the Big Boys have more money than they know what to do with but in order to provide a maximum profit for them, the Treasury has continued its easy money policy to make sure that they don't have to pay much more than 1 1/2% interest on their short-term loans to finance their stock speculation. The biggest freebooters accumulated their stocks many months ago, before they ordered Washington to embark on its new war policy.

SERVICE LEADERS

But with all these favorable factors, Big Business and its government would not have dared to embark on this orgy of speculation and inflation had it not been for the servility of the labor leaders who are carrying out their assignments of Marshall

Plan salesmen to the workers of Europe. If the "labor statesmen" had led a militant fight for higher wages and a cost of living bonus the racketeering monopolists would have been obliged to disgorge themselves of a part of their plunder, thus preventing profits from reaching astronomical proportions. We would not now be reading of broken strikes and the continuous downward plunge of workers' living standards. Big Business would have thought twice before it embarked on its arrogant program of war against the Soviet Union and its war against the workers at home and abroad.

With the continued upward spiraling of prices and reduction in the mass purchasing power there will be a curtailment of consumers' goods to make way for the full-fledged war effort. There will be further curtailment of funds for education, housing, public service and welfare to make room for increased expenditures for planes, tanks and other instruments of destruction. Thus we can be sure that the working class will not gain from the present arms boom. Only a militant policy on the part of the workers can prevent the capitalists from continuing with their frenzied speculation to the detriment of the American people. Only such a determined effort on labor's part can stay the hand of imperialism in forcing another bloodbath on the peoples of the world. "The Gods make mad those they would destroy." Nothing so much as the current stock market boom indicates the madness of the arrogant monopolists who run this country.

Presidential Aspirants IV

Thomas E. Dewey

By George Lavan

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

born in 1902 in the small town of Owosso, Michigan. Dewey's family was part of the thin upper crust of Owosso society. His father was active in politics and was editor of the town's weekly newspaper. Dewey's uncle—in whose honor Thomas was given the middle name Edmund—was the town's richest man and undisputed Republican boss of the district.

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

Unlike Stassen who practically campaigned for Governor while at college, Dewey played no part in campus politics and was unknown to his class as a whole.

Two careers lay before the future presidential nominee: singing and law. Dewey's voice, a rich baritone, won praise and led him to devote considerable time and effort to cultivating it. He supplemented his allowance by earnings from church singing. In his senior year he won a statewide singing contest which carried with it a trip to Asheville, N.C. to compete in a national contest. Here he won third prize. At the same time, he studied law.

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

At the time of his marriage in 1938 Dewey was an assistant in the law firm of McNamara and Seymour. He began to take steps into that adjacent field of law—the political machine. Dewey took on political chores for the Republican machine—visiting voters before election, helping with headquarters office work, poll-watching, etc. He joined the Young Republican Club, volunteered for committees, and in time was elected to its highest committee.

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

THE "GANGBUSTER"

This was the period when the gangsters who had flourished under prohibition were going to the wall. Dewey got convictions against such newspaper-famous gangsters as "Waxy" Gordon and "Legs" Diamond. The ensuing publicity for Dewey enabled Medalie to persuade Governor Lehman to appoint Dewey special prosecutor of all "rackets" in New York City.

Any movie goer knows that a tried and true pattern for a political career leading to the governor's chair is that of a "crusading" district attorney. Dewey was well aware of this. He put on a campaign filled with ballyhoo.

In 1937 Dewey was included on the LaGuardia slate for the post of district attorney. This meant he was running as a "liberal" and a candidate of the American Labor Party. It is interesting to go back and read Dewey's speeches of that campaign delivered before labor groups. He sounded as much a "friend of labor" as any of the New Dealers.

Carried into office with the

LaGuardia ticket Dewey resumed his career as "gangbuster." This was the period in which he got his most famous convictions such as that of "Lucky" Luciano. In 1938 he was the Republican candidate for Governor but lost the election. In 1940 he made a bid for the Republican presidential nomination but was swamped by the Willkie boom. In 1942, still campaigning on his record as a "gangbuster," he was elected Governor of New York.

Before examining Dewey's record as Governor it is worth considering his record as district attorney. There is no question, however, it is not generally known that his methods of convicting are open to much criticism. Dewey used very high-class methods, for instance, he seized witnesses he wanted with unauthorized grand jury subpoenas. Witnesses were held in "protective custody" in city prisons or in the picturesque "hide-outs" that Dewey had set up around the city. Sometimes these witnesses were held incommunicado for months, unable to get in touch with a lawyer—a right supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution. Illegal wiretapping was regularly resorted to.

DeWey's treatment of witnesses has been most frequently attacked—and his convictions were usually based on the testimony of witnesses. Witnesses were both frightened and bribed, it is charged. At any rate Dewey's record as prosecutor does not show him as a great respecter of civil rights. Arthur Garfield Hays of the American Civil Liberties Union protested the methods which Dewey used to get convictions. In his tries for the governorship Dewey tried to avoid controversy. In 1938 he told his running mates on the Republican ticket that there should be no discussion of Roosevelt or the New Deal. He allowed himself to be called a "New Deal Republican."

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

In 1944 the Republican machine, distrusting and seeing no further need for Willkie's "liberalism," gave Dewey the presidential nomination. Dewey had adopted Herbert Hoover and John Foster Dulles of Wall Street as political mentors. Although Dewey's electoral vote was only 99 his popular vote was only 3 1/2 million less than Roosevelt's.

Dewey's strategy in the 1948 campaign has been to sit tightly on top of the N.Y. state treasury surplus and ward off all controversial questions, with a sharp "No comment!" Thus for example he never opened his mouth on the subject of the Taft-Hartley bill. However, events within the state of New York forced Dewey to take some positions. These have been for the most part reactionary. The strike of Buffalo school teachers, Rochester city employees and the threatened strike action of N.Y. subway workers led him to push through the Condon-Wadlin Act. This forbids state, city or town employees from striking. All organized labor opposed the bill. His actions on the state budget have worked against school teachers, and veterans who need housing. He was also party to the plot against the five-cent fare in New York City.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Flint Scores 47 In Sub Drive

Flint branch, which is conducting a six-week campaign for 400 Militant subs, surged ahead this week with 38, bringing the total for eight days to 47 subs.

That batch of 38 from Flint equaled the entire national total because last week was one of the dullest in Militant sub history, with so many branches helping on strikes or active in election campaign work. However, sub returns were rapidly picking up already this week, with 11 from Milwaukee, 17 from New York, four from St. Paul and others from a dozen different cities.

Bob Williams, spark plug of Harlem Branch, New York, has been laid up for a couple of weeks with illness, but didn't let it get him down. When he finally had

to go out for some air and sunshine, he made his walks useful by calling on neighbors and Militant subscribers. Result: 10 Militant subs, two for one year and eight for six months.

Bob simply likes to discuss The Militant, with friends or strangers. He keeps a steady flow of subs coming from Harlem—even to the point of making this activity a means of convalescence.

You can now renew your Militant sub for 50c for a full year—if you combine it with a new or renewal one-year subscription to Fourth International, monthly theoretical organ of American Trotskyism. The magazine regularly costs \$2 a year (12 issues), but by subscribing to both together you get them for \$2.50, a saving of 50c.

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-0330)
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

Single Orders: 5 or more copies: 35¢ each in U.S., 40¢ each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XII—No. 21

Monday, May 24, 1948



TROTSKY

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

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



LENIN

A Historic Broadcast

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

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

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

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

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

A Northern listener—no doubt an old-time socialist—wrote "Please send me a copy of Eugene V. Debs speech over the radio

May 15." The confusion of the name of Debs with Dobbs, in this case, is understandable.

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

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

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

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

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

Ford's Wage-Cut Offer

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

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

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

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

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

of unified militant strategy and action within the CIO and specifically the UAW.

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

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

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

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

Fight the Mundt Bill!

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

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

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

tion pointing out the dangers of the bill.

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

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

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

Stalin Repeats His Bid for 'Peace' Deal with Washington

By John C. Wright

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

Repeating the lie that he has peddled for years, that the Soviet Union can co-exist peacefully with capitalism, Stalin offered to negotiate a general disarmament and the "prohibition of atomic weapons"; to conclude peace with Germany and Japan (the question of Austria was for some reason omitted); and to arrange for the evacuation of troops from China and Korea.

In addition, Stalin assured that agreement could be reached on "respect for the sovereignty of individual countries and non-interference in their domestic affairs; the inadmissibility of mili-

tary bases in member countries of the UN; world development of international trade excluding any sort of discrimination; in the framework of the UN, assistance to and economic restoration of countries which suffered from the war; defense of democracy and insuring of civil rights in all countries; and so on."

While the White House remained silent, the State Department hastened to reject this offer, giving virtually the same arguments as in the case of the Smith-Molotov episode, namely, that issues involved are not subject to "bi-lateral" negotiation, that Moscow is to blame for previous failure to arrive at agreement, etc. At the same time, the State Department cautiously characterized the Kremlin's latest move as "encouraging."

From the standpoint of effective propaganda and diplomatic maneuvering, the Stalinist moves have placed Washington in a highly embarrassing position. Counting Moscow's private bid in January, the White House and the State Department already rejected "peace" overtures three times, and face the prospect of having to parry other offers which may be even more direct

than those already made. Those Kremlin "peace maneuvers" are undoubtedly producing profound repercussions among the masses in Europe. Nor have they passed without telling effect in this country as well.

A mood of uneasiness has set in among those business circles which counted on profiting the most from a continued intensification of the "cold war" and the resulting stepping up of the arms program.

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

—The weekly, U. S. News, May 21.

expresses this uneasiness quite crassly by pointing out that war scares will be "more difficult to generate in the future," and warns that continued rebuffs to the Kremlin might produce a "political kickback [that] would be too much, too strong."

Anne O'Hare McCormick, foreign-policy specialist of the N. Y. Times, flatly points out, May 19, that Washington is now faced precisely with the prospect it "has been dreading for the past two months."

Basically, however, the situation after the Wallace-Stalin interchange remains much the same as it was after the Smith-Molotov affair. Washington is in worse need than before of an effective counter-move, but its intention

to continue the "cold war" is quite obvious.

We repeat what we wrote last week in connection with Molotov's bid for a deal:

"The possibility for such a deal at a later stage cannot be excluded. But first Washington expects to jam the draft through Congress and to still further strengthen its relative position through rearmament, through the operation of the ERP, and the consolidation of all its positions in Western Europe and in Asia.

The very course of recent developments is by itself striking proof that even should another deal eventually be concluded, it would merely denote an armed truce prior to the unavoidable showdown.

Chrysler Strike Sidelights

Detroit newspapers, notoriously anti-labor, claim they are solely concerned with law enforcement during the strike. The Detroit News, for instance, carried an editorial recently, asking only for the law's "consistent enforcement." It is only incidental that law enforcement means executing an injunction which permits supervisory personnel and officials to enter the plant, as the first step to allowing the scabs in.

Detroit Common Council President George Edwards, and former UAW-CIO "leader," found time for a conference with Henry Ford II. One might think that with the Ford Company faced with wage demands of its workers, and with a strike vote being taken at GM, and a strike in progress at Chrysler, they would be discussing auto workers' wage demands. Alas—they met to discuss relief sewers for streets.

And while we're on the subject of the Detroit Common Council, we notice the City Hall is decorated in honor of the American Bowling League. This is the outfit denounced by the UAW for its

discriminatory actions. The auto union will have no part of this Jim Crow setup. We wonder what Edwards and Common Council have to say about this "democracy" here at their home at City Hall?

The Detroit Free Press of May 14 is agast. The NLRB has ruled that a corporation must bargain on anything a union wants. Whines the editorial: "If the unions can pick their topics, what is there... to prevent labor's participation in the management and operation of plants from being a legitimate subject for collective bargaining?" Yes, what?

The daily mimeographed strike bulletin of the Dodge Local states: "All salaries and expenses, except those of our office help, are cancelled for the duration of the strike. Example: The Editor, Financial Secretary, President, Officers and Standing Committees, etc. get no pay..."

Chrysler Corporation spent \$275,536.90 for tear gas, guns and spies to fight unionism. So testified Herman Weckler, vice-pres-

ident of the corporation, before the LaFollette Investigation Committee who said, "It is a practice we have grown up with."

Even after the passage of NLRB, Chrysler still refused to recognize the union. It was not until the sit-down strike that the union won recognition on April 6, 1937.

Today the Chrysler Corporation can cut its expenses for spies and machine guns for use against workers. Congress provided them with a Taft-Hartley Slave Act. The State legislature provided them with the Bonine-Tripp Act. And Mayor Van Antwerp provided them with Police Commissioner Toy, former agent of the Ford Motor Co. who has built up a huge reserve of club-swinging cops. Just as reliance on their own power won for the union in the sit-down days of 1937, so too, only the power of the union in numbers and militancy will win wage increases today.

The six-cent wage offer of the profit-bloated Chrysler Corporation is being referred to by pickets as the "six-cent insult."

WORKERS FORUM

Comments on Dobbs' Radio Speech

I listened with interest to the speech of your candidate for the U. S. presidency over the NBC radio network.

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

G. B. Providence, R. I.

Please send me the speech transmitted over the radio, May 15. Also send me literature and the socialist doctrines that your organization favors. I am interested in the field of socialism.

P. B. Greenville, S. C.

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

Please send me a copy of Eugene V. Debs speech over the radio Sat., May 15. I will thank you very much.

A. P. Thiels, N. Y.

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

S. C. Paterson, N. J.

It was very wonderful and I would like to read it.

L. E. Philadelphia, Pa.

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

H. G. Princeton, N. J.

Please send me 25 copies of your May 15 speech.

R. A. Baltimore, Md.

Would you kindly send me a somewhat brief outline of the history of Socialism here in America and other countries of the world in which it has operated? Also any other articles would be appreciated.

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

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

B. S. Sioux City, Iowa.

I should also appreciate learning what Mr. Dobbs and the SWP propose to do, if elected.

J. S. Champaign, Ill.

My boy made me come out of the show to which he begged me to take him, so he could hear the radio talk. Not bad at 11 years, maybe I've got a contact.

K. S. Indiana Harbor, Ind.

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SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.
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Murray Red-baiting Hits New Low at Convention Of Steelworkers

By Farrell Dobbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REPRESENTATION REDUCED

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOLIDARITY

Nearly 1,000 inmates of the District of Columbia Reformatory, both white and Negro, were so incensed by the unjust life sentence given to Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons that they dug down into their small savings and earnings and chipped in \$339.86, which they sent to the NAACP Ingram Defense Fund.

The Negro Struggle

Defend Frank Barnes!

By Albert Parker

The Frank Barnes case in Santa Monica, California, teaches three important lessons to the Negro people in all parts of the country. 1. That the Truman administration, despite its promises to institute a civil rights program, is actually an accomplice of the capitalist class in preserving Jim Crow practices in employment. 2. That government witch hunts serve to undermine every progressive movement, including the fight for Negro rights. 3. That it is necessary to fight harder than ever before against Jim Crow and red-baiting, or else the Negro people will be deprived even of the few rights they now have.

Frank Barnes is the president of the Santa Monica NAACP branch and of the United Committee to End Discrimination at Sears, which the NAACP and two dozen other labor, Negro and civic organizations formed in order to win jobs for Negroes at the local store of Sears, Roebuck and Co. In this capacity Barnes did an excellent job, leading a struggle on the picket line which effectively cut down trade. Sears tried first of all to get the picketing prohibited and then, when mass protest prevented that, decided to go after Barnes himself.

Barnes makes his living as a mail carrier, that is, he works for the government. Sears therefore took its case to the Post Office and quickly succeeded in getting Truman's Postmaster General, Jesse M. Donaldson, to suspend Barnes on the charge that he is "disloyal to the government of the United States." Why? Had he expressed any such disloyalty, had he called for the overthrow of the government? He obviously had not. But, said the Truman administration, Barnes was guilty of being "affiliated or sympathetic with an organization, association, movement, group, or

"I think that will be sufficient to meet the needs of your situation."

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

MURRAY WHIPS UP FRENZY

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

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

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

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

SEVERELY BEATEN

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

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

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

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

SHARP OPPOSITION

Opposition was even sharper on the constitutional amendment reducing convention representation to one delegate for each 500 members. Secretary-Treasurer McDonald, who was in the chair, ruled the amendment adopted on a voice vote. Pandemonium broke loose and McDonald then called for a standing vote in which he again declared the amendment adopted. A mighty wave of protest went up with cries for a roll call.

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

Opposition to the dues increase adopted on the last day followed the same general pattern.

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

The next convention is scheduled for May 1950.

combination of persons designated by the Attorney General as subversive." Proof? One of the organizations affiliated with the United Committee to End Discrimination at Sears was the Communist Party.

And so Barnes has been deprived of his job in the Post Office, pending a hearing before the Loyalty Board. As in Hitlerite Germany and Stalinist Russia, a man can be persecuted not only for what he thinks or does, but even for the company he keeps and the people he associates with. That is the brand of democracy the ruling class is preparing a new world war to defend, and which they will order the Negro and white workers to shed their blood for.

This practice of "guilt by association," if permitted to continue, will destroy democratic rights altogether. For that reason alone it is necessary for the labor and Negro movements to rally to the defense of Frank Barnes and force his unconditional reinstatement. But there is another and equally urgent reason, which will be quickly recognized by anyone studying this case: What the government is really driving to put over with this persecution is the notion that militant opposition to Jim Crow can be punished as "disloyalty to the government of the United States." If they can get away with that, then naked dictatorship will be around the corner.

Some people hope that as the outbreak of the next war approaches, the government is going to soften up and get rid of some of the Jim Crow regulations and practices. But if you disregard the token gestures and third-rate concessions, you can see that the reverse of such hopes seems to be the case. Instead of getting softer, capitalism in its death agony is accentuating its get-tough policies not only abroad but at home as well, not only against labor but also against the minorities.

Vol. XII

MONDAY, MAY 24, 1948

No. 21

Minnesota Governor Sends Troops To Aid Meat Trust Against Strike

By Barbara Bruce

SOUTH ST. PAUL, May 17 — National Guardsmen with drawn bayonets today patrol the streets of the world's second largest meat packing center. Called out by Republican Governor Luther W. Youngdahl last Saturday, more than 1,000 guardsmen moved in from all parts of the state. All units are mechanized and motorized.

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

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

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

JEERS AND BOOS

National Guardsmen, arriving in South St. Paul Saturday morning, were greeted with jeers and boos and cries of "Hitler," "Dictator" and "Strikebreaker" from the mass picket lines. Veterans of World War II confronted each other. Pickets carried signs reading: "Vets Must Fight the Army to Get a Living Wage" and "Vets Still Must Fight for a Living—Help Us!"

Women pickets and wives of strikers shouted at the guardsmen: "We fed you during the war . . . now look what you're doing to us" and "How would you like to work for \$19.25 a week?"

When the National Guard first attempted to escort scabs through the picket line at Swift's, the pickets defiantly tightened their lines. "Are you going to let those scabs in?" a picket shouted to a lieutenant on a half-track cruising the area. The lieutenant nodded. When the half-track moved away from the plant gates, three pickets stepped in front of a car attempting to pass through. The half-track was rushed to the gates.

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

DRIVEN WITH BAYONETS

Several clashes occurred and pickets were subdued only at the point of fixed bayonets. The three pickets were arrested and hustled off in jeeps to the city hall. They were Ed Johnson, Theodore Thompson and George Rosse. The mass of strikers were driven back step by step by 600 armed guardsmen. Streets were cleared.

SWP Leaders Hit Use of Troops by Gov. Youngdahl

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

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

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



Defiance and contempt are shown in the expression of these women packinghouse strikers in South St. Paul as they face the bayonets of National Guard troops called out by Minnesota Governor Youngdahl to aid the strikebreaking attempt of the meat profiteers. The troops were sent against the workers after local police provoked clashes with pickets in attempts to run scabs through the strikers' lines. Courtesy of Dispatch-Pioneer Press

only when half-track trucks, mounted with movable .50 calibre machine guns rolled through the streets.

When the National Guard had taken over the city, and forced the strikers away from the plants, District 2 officials of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers called a mass meeting at the state capitol. Fifty carloads of strikers made the ten-mile trip from South St. Paul. Sixty national guardsmen were hastily summoned and stationed about the capitol building. Only the area strike committee, composed of 30 men, was permitted to enter the Governor's office. Little satisfaction was obtained by committee members who demanded that the Governor close the plants. Governor Youngdahl's half-hearted attempts to say that the National Guard would be used "merely to keep law and order" were received in hostile silence.

"CLOSE THE PLANTS"

Meanwhile, 700 strikers waiting on the capitol steps, demanded an audience with the Governor. An overflow crowd was admitted to the Governor's chambers and the corridors of the capitol. The

sentiment of all the strikers was expressed by Jean Faddock, a member of the Swift union, Local 167, when she said:

"We want the Guard used to close the plants. If they are all closed and scabs are not permitted to enter we'll be satisfied and there will not be any violence."

Unwilling to reply to this demand, the Governor started to return to his office.

"What's your answer?" several in the crowd shouted. But Governor Youngdahl walked out.

Reports are that thousands of postcards and telegrams are flooding Youngdahl's office, demanding that he close the plants until the strike is settled so that the National Guard will not be used as strikebreakers.

The following day a huge mass meeting of union packinghouse workers was held at the CIO headquarters in St. Paul. Strikers roared their approval of Milton Siegel's suggestion that demands be made upon Governor Youngdahl to close the plants and cease strikebreaking activities. Field Representative of District 2, Milton Siegel has been the strike leader in this area and the radio

spokesman of the packinghouse workers in their daily broadcast "On the Picket Line."

CALL FOR SUPPORT

A statement issued by the meeting appealed to all sections of the trade union movement, to farmers, small business men, housewives, white collar workers, professional people and all working people to support the striking packinghouse workers in their fight against the meat trust. The statement reads in part:

"During the nine weeks of the strike, the meat trusts have demonstrated that their real aim is to smash the union. This attack on the United Packinghouse Workers is the beginning of what Big Business and anti-labor forces hope will be a union-smashing drive on a national scale. Working men and women everywhere must recognize that the fight of the packinghouse workers is their fight. . . . We ask that all citizens of Minnesota speak up on behalf of the packinghouse workers and demand the following of Governor Youngdahl:

"1. that he close the packing plants immediately;

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

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

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

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

Chrysler Pickets Hold the Line

By Howard Lerner

DETROIT, May 17—Fighting the combined power of Big Business and government, the CIO United Auto Workers Chrysler contingent of 75,000 members in 19 plants continues its wage battle on this sixth day of strike.

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

Picket lines are organized at all plants, soup kitchens are in full swing and flying squadrons patrol the strike areas ready for action at any danger spot. Union first-aid stations are already taking care of the injured.

The latest development in the battle is the coming of state police to "guard law and order" on demand of reactionary Governor Kim Sigler. By edict of the Governor, the National Guard is also being held in readiness.

USE PRETEXT

At the same time, following the federal government's tactics against the miners, the Governor's Attorney General ordered the Wayne County prosecutor here to start legal action against the union on the pretext that the Chrysler strike violates the state law. Should the Governor's position be upheld by the courts, union leaders would be subject to fines and imprisonment, while strikers would be denied welfare.

Local union after local union is coming to the assistance of the Chrysler workers. Today, on

the Chrysler Highland Park plant picket line, many flying squadrons were in battle for the first time since the General Motors strike two years ago. Prominent on the line were union caps from Budd Local 306, Briggs Local 212 and Briggs Local 742.

300 pickets fought off more than 50 cops and persuaded thousands of office workers, as well as officers and supervisory personnel, from entering the plant. It was first victory for the union in the first skirmish.

Following this, orders came for the capitol to send state police, to prepare the National Guard, and to take "legal" action against union top officers.

CUT WAGES

Yesterday, joining the union-busting Chrysler Corporation, the Ford Motor Co. arrogantly proposed to cut wages. Refusing to sugar-coat this bitter pill, John S. Bugas, vice-president of the company, bluntly answered a question as to whether his proposal means a pay cut: "It certainly does."

Ford "offered" to reduce wages of his workers down to those paid by competitors, to cut wages in small communities to levels paid in small shops, to reintroduce piece-work and to stop paying union representatives for time lost in settling grievances.

General Motors is preparing to join this conspiracy and make the "Big Three" auto companies a tightly welded trio against the union. Negotiations at GM are stalemated. After 35 bargaining sessions, the corporation has offered NOTHING. Company representatives laugh at the union committee.

Strike votes are sweeping the GM plants. In more than half of

the 80 plants votes have been completed. Every plant so far in record for strike. T.A. Johnson, acting director of the union's GM department in the absence of UAW President Walter P. Reuther, has stated: "Our members will not trespass on GM property after May 28."

All talk of "cooperating" with the company has now been eliminated from speeches of the union leadership. Recent actions of the auto barons prove they will be satisfied with nothing less than complete smashing of the auto union.

STRIKE FUND

The UAW International Executive Board has levied assessments for June and July to raise a \$5½ million strike fund.

Local 306 Parades To UAW Picket Line

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

The Hudson Local 154 stewards' body last week voted to recommend an assessment of \$1 per week on the 15,000 Hudson workers to help the strikers. Ford Local 600 has set aside \$125,000 for use of Chrysler workers.

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

The Motor Building section of Ford Local 600, representing 11,000 workers, voted unanimously to demand an immediate emergency meeting of the CIO Executive Board to "call for an Emergency Convention of all CIO Unions for united action on the wage issue."

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

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

READ

Fourth International