

STALIN'S SECOND  
BID FOR "PEACE"

— See Page 3 —

Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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

## Text of National Broadcast Delivered by Farrell Dobbs

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

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

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

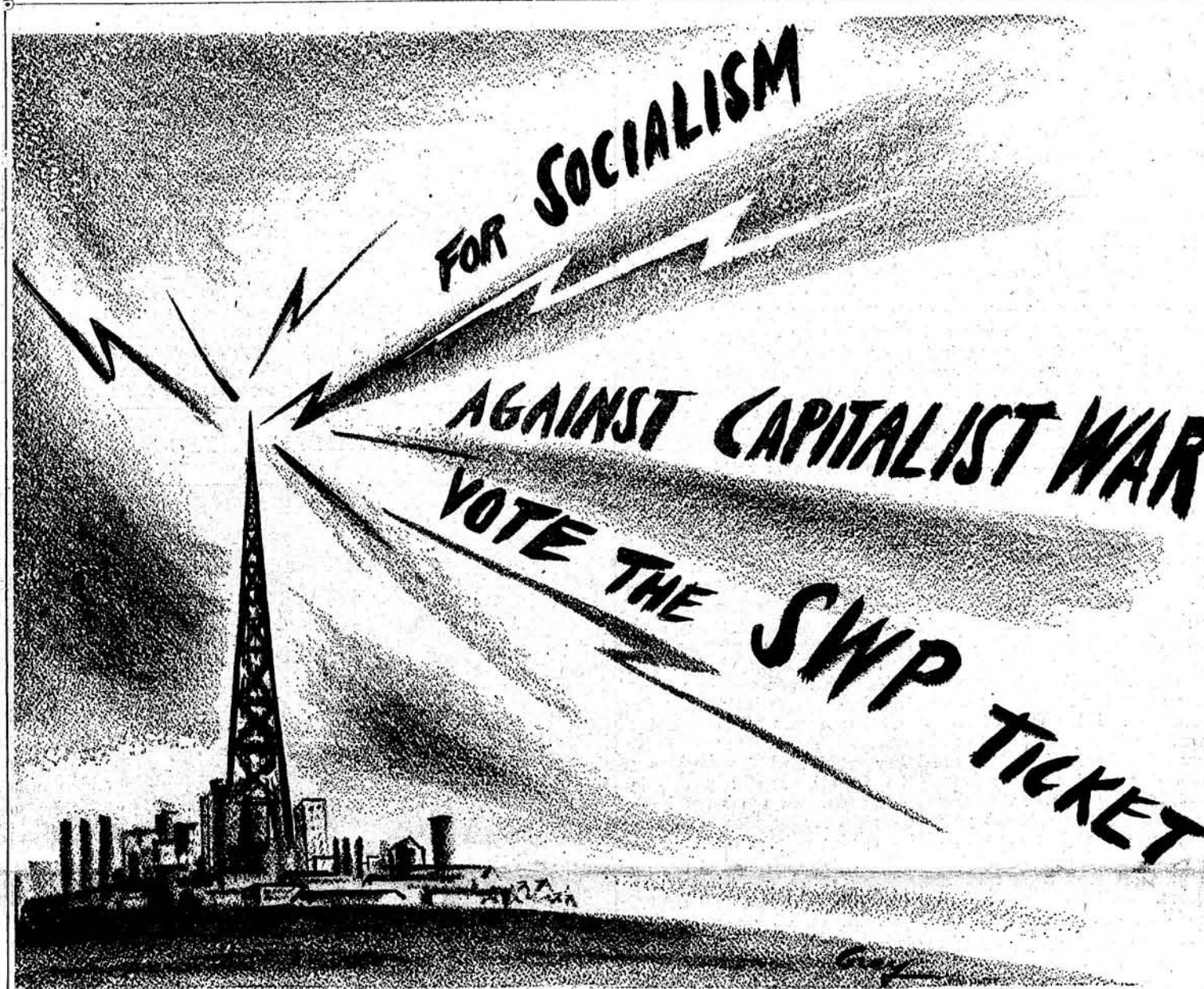
The drive against the unions was spearheaded by the passage of the anti-union Taft-Hartley law whose provisions are now being used to smash strikes with injunctions and police terror. The Steel Trust, giving the lead to the major corporations, has refused to disgorge a single penny of its fabulous profits 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 Munnt 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, brusquely 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 Minnesota truckdrivers' strike.

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 (2 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 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, comprising 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. Gasification 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.

**PENSION PLAN**

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 unashamed 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, urban culture finds no welcome in the company towns, and the speed-up grows more intense.

## "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."

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Before examining Dewey's record as Governor it is worth considering his record as district attorney.

There is no question but that Dewey got convictions.

However, it is not generally known that his methods of conviction are open to much criticism. Dewey used very high-handed 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 wire-tapping was regularly resorted to.

## VICTIOUS METHODS

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

At any rate Dewey's record as prosecutor does not show him as a great respecter of civil rights.

Arthur Garfield Hays of the American Civil Liberties Union 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 3½ 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!"

Any movie goer knows that a

tried and true pattern for a

political career leading to 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. subways workers led him to push through the Condon-Wadlin Act.

This forbids state, city or town

employees from striking. All orga-

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worked against school teachers,

and veterans who need housing.

He was also party to the plot

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Monday, May 24, 1948



"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

TROTSKY

## 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 war mongers 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 revitalized the wage fight on a national scale.

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

## Fight the Mundt Bill!

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

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

But still more reprehensible are the actions of the Stalinophobic Social-Democrats. Louis Waldman and A. A. Berle actually appealed last week to the AFL Hatters Convention in an effort to secure endorsement of the Mundt Bill. 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 G. 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."

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 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 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 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.

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 sitdown 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 DeMarin-Tripp Act. And Mayor Van Antwerp provided them with Police Commissioner T. F. 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."

## THE "FIVE-YEAR PLAN" OF U.S. MILITARISM

The armament program, making war preparations the biggest single business in the U. S., is scheduled to grow much bigger, according to the plans of Congress.

For the year ending June 30, 1948, the expenditure for war was 10% billion dollars. That drained away 7 cents out of every dollar of the national income. But that is only a tiny trickle compared to the flood of billions destined for the coffers of the arms industries by the new five-year plan of Congress. Here are the estimated figures:

|      |   |        |          |
|------|---|--------|----------|
| 1949 | — | 14     | billions |
| 1950 | — | 17 1/2 | "        |
| 1951 | — | 20     | "        |
| 1952 | — | 21 1/2 | "        |
| 1953 | — | 22 1/2 | "        |

After that, the annual expenditure for arms will "level off" at around the 1953 figure, which means either the draft or UMT, or both. That means, a huge conscript army as a permanent part of this country's life.

In addition to paying for the arms and providing the manpower for the armed forces, the masses of people will also be required to tighten their belts in prospect of still higher prices.

As the weekly U. S. News & World Report of May 14 points out, "Inflation, about to give way to some mild deflation, is almost sure to get a shot in the arm from increased arms spending. . . . As a result, people in general will enjoy fewer goods than they might otherwise have enjoyed."

### THE CONSEQUENCES

No country in the history of the world ever had such a "peace-time" arms program. And no country with such a program can escape the militarization of every sector of life—economic, political, social, educational, cultural, etc. If Wall Street's Congress has its way, the United States will be one big barracks from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Militarism has become a permanent feature of capitalism, as well as its most dominant one.

To avert the Prussianization of America, it is necessary to end the grip of Wall Street and its capitalist agents on the political and economic life of the nation.

That can be done only by establishing a Workers and Farmers Government controlled by the working people and therefore having no interest in imperialist war and conquest.

The effects of this program go far beyond the billions that will be extorted from the working people through ever-higher taxes. The larger number of arms makes necessary a larger number of men to handle them, specifically, an increase from about 1-1/3 million

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

## Chrysler Strike Sidelines

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 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

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 for tear gas, guns and spies to fight unionism. So testified Herman Weekler, vice-president

## 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 socialististic doctines 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.

A. P. Thiells, N. Y.

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

It is 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

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

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

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 \$339.80, which they sent to the NAACP Ingram Defense Fund.

"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 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.

## 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

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.

# THE MILITANT

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# 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 packhouse 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.

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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.

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## 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



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 caliber 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.

"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

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.

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"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, reprimands 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 unholly 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 already being held in readiness.

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 break strikes with a slick formula. You rely on the sharp bayonet."

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

the 80 plants votes have been completed. Every plant so far is on 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 \$5 million strike fund.

## Local 306 Parades To UAW Picketline

DETROIT, May 17 — About 500 workers paraded after work out of the Budd Mfg. Co. here today led by UAW Local 306 militants and marched down the main thoroughfare to the Chrysler picket line. About 500 took part in the parade.

With colors flying, and flying squadrons directing the parade and regulating traffic, we had a return to the spirit of '37 when unionists took over public functions in and about strike areas. The parade inspired the thousands who saw it as well as the determined pickets who were grimly walking the line. It was a real demonstration of solidarity in the tradition of