

The Problem of Europe And the Colonial Lands

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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WAR IS MAIN PLANK IN GOP PLATFORM

Fourth of July— Our Heritage Of Revolution

An Editorial

The Fourth of July orators will wind up hoarser than ever this year. They will have a special inspiration—the coming national elections. Republican and Democratic demagogues will boom and gush panegyrics and lies about their candidates and why they represent the “best traditions” of Independence Day. One thing the political con men and grafters, the machine bosses and ward heelers, the professional patriots and jingoes all will agree on is that “we must defend the American system of free enterprise from reds and revolutionists.”

But one thing you will not learn from all this windy oratory is that Fourth of July commemorates one of the greatest revolutions in all history. It was a political and social overthrow of a ruling class, carried out with arms in hand. It toppled established institutions and government. It was led and fought by men and women who were indicted as “subversive” and “treasonable” under the law of the land.

July 4, 1776, was the day they issued their Declaration of Independence—that basic document which declared their right and their duty to make a revolution. And they asserted as a bedrock principle that whenever any government becomes destructive of the freedoms and needs of the people, “it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.”

In the 172 years that have passed since this fundamental doctrine was laid down by the revolutionary founders of America, vast changes have taken place and great new conflicts have unfolded. A new tyranny has gripped the land—the despotism of concentrated wealth and giant monopoly. The wide fresh fields and forests, the riches of earth and sea, have been stolen by a few.

They have enslaved the many to toil for subsistence wages so that a handful might enjoy unlimited luxury, power and privilege. They have usurped a monopoly of politics and government. They have wielded this monopoly with ruthless arrogance against the majority of the people—labor, the poor farmers, the Negroes. They have enacted restraints upon their freedom, driven them like cattle to wars of imperialist conquest, robbed and swindled them through depression and inflation. They have committed such abuses and abominations as would make the crimes of George the Third seem like petty misdemeanors today.

The profiteers and monopolists who have taken everything else, would like to take from the American people their revolutionary traditions as well. But distort and lie and censor as they will, the agents and mouthpieces of the ruling class cannot destroy our basic inheritance—the true spirit of ‘76—the traditions of revolution.

Out of the toil and suffering of nameless millions this nation has grown wealthy and powerful. Abundance and comfort lie close to hand. The American workers, the dispossessed majority, can attain it, if they but have the revolutionary will. The times cry out for a new declaration of freedom—Labor’s Declaration of Independence.

It is time to rid America of the tyranny of monopoly and the special privilege of wealth. It is time for the working people to declare their independence from the political machines of entrenched capital, to build their own party, to end the political rule of Wall Street and to create their own Workers and Farmers Government.

We can best honor the revolutionary heroes of 1776 by mobilizing and organizing in their spirit to win a “new birth of freedom” for the American working class.

Dunne Runs For Senate In Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS — Vincent R. Dunne, national labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, has been chosen as the SWP candidate for United States Senator from Minnesota in this year’s election. The nomination was made at the state convention of the party held here June 19, and preparations were made for the launching of a petition campaign to place the SWP candidates on the ballot in this state.

In a speech accepting the nomination, Dunne struck sharply at the anti-labor record of the incumbent Republican, Sen. Joseph Ball, one of the chief authors of the notorious Taft-Hartley Act. He called attention to the strike-breaking tactics followed in last year’s telephone strike by the Democratic-Farmer-Labor candidate, Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis.

In the name of the SWP, Dunne promised also to vigorously expose the true pro-capitalist role of Henry Wallace’s “pseudo-peace party,” whose candidate for the Senate is James M. Shields.

After selecting its Senatorial nominee, the SWP state convention set up a committee to further explore the possibility of filing candidates for Governor and other state offices.

V. R. Dunne is one of the best known labor leaders in the Northwest, admired by thousands of workers for his qualities of leadership in union struggles and both feared and respected by the employers. Active in labor struggles for more than 40 years, he was one of the key organizers of the historic truck drivers’ strikes which made Minneapolis a union town in the mid-30’s and inspired the organization of hundreds of thousands throughout the Northwest.

Like Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, SWP nominees for the presidency and vice-presidency, Comrade Dunne was one of the defendants in the famous Minneapolis labor trial and was sent to prison for opposing the second imperialist war and defending democratic unionism.



V. R. DUNNE

“Free” Collective Bargaining



Mine Workers Triumph In Bitter Pensions Fight

The nation’s 400,000 soft coal miners have emerged triumphant and vindicated in their long and bitter struggle against the operators and government for payment of their retirement pensions.

Their solidarity and militancy, their defiance of government intimidation and injunctions have finally wrested from the mine owners an agreement not only to double the rate of royalty payments into the health and welfare fund, but to boost wages \$1 a day, about 12½ cents an hour.

With another general coal strike certain to break after July 1 when the present contract expires, the majority of operators at last capitulated.

Only U.S. Steel Corporation and nine other “captive mine” operators have refused to sign the new contract. They had previously agreed “reluctantly” to accept the new wage and pension terms. But they are balking at signing a renewal of the union shop clause.

Last April the miners struck to enforce their demand for a \$100 a month retirement pension payable from the health and welfare fund maintained by a royalty fund of 10 cents per ton of coal mined. The operators had sabotaged payment of the pensions in the tripartite board set up to administer the fund.

The Truman administration promptly initiated an injunction to smash the strike. Judge T. Alan Goldsborough, who had issued the first strikebreaking injunction and huge fine in 1946,

again was secured to repeat this service for the operators.

ELECTION YEAR

But this is an election year, and the Republicans saw a chance to make a little political hay at the expense of the Democrats. Even though the Republicans gave Truman the weapon of the Taft-Hartley injunction, Republican Speaker of the House Martin offered his good offices to settle the pension controversy and secured agreement to have Republican Senator Styles Bridges named as a third trustee for the fund. Bridges and Lewis then agreed on a \$100 pension for miners over 62 years old with 20 or more years’ service in the pits.

Following this decision, Judge Goldsborough, at the behest of the administration, vindictively soaked the miners a fine of \$1,400,000 for “contempt.” The operators then filed for an injunction to prevent the majority of the fund trustees from paying the pensions.

The break in the conflict came on June 22 when Goldsborough, an old Democratic time-server, tried to recoup a bit of labor favor for the administration by upholding the legality of the pension payments.

Had the administration not interfered against the miners and issued its injunction, the matter would have been settled long ago to the benefit of the miners.

At the time the new settlement came, Truman had already set in motion the machinery for another strikebreaking injunction by naming another “fact-finding” board.

U.S. STEEL THREATENS
U.S. Steel is still trying to throw a monkey-wrench into the settlement by threatening to file charges of “unfair labor practices” against Lewis and the UMW, alleging that the union-shop clause of the contract signed by the other operators violates the Taft-Hartley Act.

U.S. Steel representatives refused to take part in the final wage negotiations. Afterwards, a steel spokesman explained that they “reluctantly” accepted the terms, but would make no “voluntary” agreement. Had the steel companies agreed “voluntarily,” he stated, it would have given the CIO Steelworkers an argument for a wage raise.

Philip Murray made a no-strike deal with the steel companies. The latter have refused to raise steel wages even one cent. But John L. Lewis and the UMW, by a militant policy, have again scored gains for the miners and forced the steel companies to agree to raise mine wages, even if “reluctantly.”

ON YOUR RADIO

TUESDAY, JULY 6
11:15-11:30 p. m. (EDT)
over Columbia Broadcasting System

“WHY LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY”
by FARRELL DOBBS
SWP Presidential Candidate

Republican Candidate Dewey Tied to Rockefeller Interests

Taft, Stassen and Vandenberg had plenty of big money behind them. But it wasn’t enough, even in combination, to beat the billions of the Rockefeller interests, Standard Oil and the Chase National Bank. The Republican nomination went to the ‘best man’ — the trained political seal of the oil trust and international bankers—Thomas E. Dewey.

As Dewey’s vice-presidential running mate, the “boys in the back room” fittingly picked California’s Governor Earl Warren, darling of the West Coast shipping and oil interests, the Southern Pacific Railroad and the Bank of America.

The Republican convention, both in its candidates and platform, confirmed the evidence of the 80th Congress that the Republican Party is no less dedicated to militarism and imperialism than the Democratic Party. “Isolationism” though still vocal, was shoved into a back seat at Philadelphia. Even if the Democrats are forced to vacate the White House—and the balliffs are knocking on the door—the premises will still be occupied by a war party. The Truman Doctrine, with whatever secondary modifications, will live on in Truman’s Republican rival and successor. Presidents may come and go—but Wall Street imperialism holds the lease.

Naturally, this did not prevent the platform-makers from also promising to “attack” inflation through “government economy.”

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TAFT-HARTLEYISM

The party of Taft-Hartleyism, which Dewey now heads, gave assurance in its platform that it will continue its onslaughts against union labor through support of the Slave Labor Law. It added only the pledge to continue “study to improve labor-management legislation in the light of experience and changing conditions.” Some union leaders, who are climbing on the GOP bandwagon, will try to misinterpret that as a promise to “soften” the Taft-Hartley Act.

Governor Warren clinched his nomination for vice-president when the California delegation led the successful fight to include in the platform support of state control of the rich tideland oilfields. The big oil companies want these oil reserves removed from federal control and restored to the states, which previously had leased them to the oil monopolies.

After a secret session with (Continued on Page 4)

STALINISTS SWAMPED IN PAINTERS ELECTION

NEW YORK CITY, June 29—The Stalinist-led “Rank & File” group in District Council 9 of the AFL Painters Union suffered a smashing defeat in the union election last Saturday which returned incumbent Secretary-Treasurer Martin Rarback to office by a majority of 1,339 votes.

Of the twelve locals comprising the N. Y. Painters District Council, nine gave Rarback a majority over his Stalinist opponent, Morris Gainer. In addition to winning the top office and a decisive majority in the District Council, the Progressive group led by Rarback ousted the Stalinist Business Agent of the Paperhangers Local 490.

The Stalinist campaign was distinguished by their usual mudslinging tactics. Their candidate, a notorious CP hatchet-man known in the union as “The Terminator,” made Trotskyism the central issue in his campaign speeches. Red-baiting, slander, vilification and abuse failed to make a dent in the mounting support for the Rarback administration.

Last year Rarback defeated Louis Weinstock, national committee member of the Communist Party, for the top union office by a margin of 195 votes. This year Weinstock withdrew from the race in an attempt to preserve his vanishing prestige.

REPAIR DAMAGE

In its first year in office the Rarback administration did much to repair the damage of 11 years of Stalinist misrule. The administration won a 30 cent per hour wage increase, added insurance benefits, made the first steps toward curbing the bosses’ unlimited right to hire and fire, and gained other benefits for the painters.

With the unmistakable mandate given the Rarback administration in this election, the way is clear for instituting some fundamental reforms in District Council 9 of the Painters Union. The members have indicated their readiness to back the administration in completing the job of salvaging the union from the wreckage left by the Stalinists and transforming it into an instrument of struggle to protect and advance the interests of the organized painters in this city.

Public Break with Tito Highlights Kremlin Crisis

By John G. Wright

The Dictator-in-Chief in the Kremlin has decided to veto the Little Dictator in Yugoslavia. Amid the welter of conflicting reports and rumors it is already clear that the gang in the Kremlin will be satisfied with nothing less than abject capitulation by Tito, accompanied by a wholesale purge of the incumbent Yugoslav government and party, if not by the scalp of Tito himself.

This was made explicit by the Cominform at its recent meeting “somewhere in Rumania.” By the Kremlin’s orders this puppet “international” body has read the Political Bureau and the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party out of its own ranks and placed them outside “the family of brotherly Communist parties,” which obviously includes the Yugoslav party.

In addition to Premier Tito,

singled out for attack are three of his closest lieutenants: Col. General Alexander Rancovich, Security Minister and head of Tito’s secret police; Milovan Djilas, Chief of Propaganda; and Edward Kardec, two former Yugoslav representatives to the Cominform.

OPEN SHOWDOWN

The Cominform resolution minces no words in calling for unconditional capitulation (Tito and his henchmen are flatly told to “honestly confess” to all the accusations leveled against them). The Cominform text is equally blunt in demanding a purge of Tito’s regime, with the cynical pretense that this will be accomplished by the “healthy elements” inside the Yugoslav party once “internal democracy” is revived.

It is clear from the text of this denunciation of Tito’s regime that a behind-the-scenes struggle has

been going on for months between Belgrade and Moscow and that the Kremlin’s Cominform measure comes only as the first step in the open showdown.

The gravity of this struggle is further marked by the character of the charges. Tito and his clique are charged at one and the same time with being “Trotskyists” as well as “nationalists.” They are accused of conducting a “hateful policy” toward the Soviet Union and conspiring to sell-out the Yugoslav people to Wall Street and Western capitalism, and so on. All this is strongly reminiscent of the accusations leveled against the defendants in the infamous Moscow Frameups, and employed in Stalin’s monstrous blood purges of the Thirties.

On the Kremlin’s lips the charge of “Trotskyism” is nothing less than a death sentence, politically if not in the immediate physical sense.

Tito knows no other school of politics than Stalinism. The hands of this shady adventurer drip with the blood of hundreds of Yugoslav Trotskyists and other militants whom he murdered during the civil war in Yugoslavia. He began his service as purger of Stalin’s political opponents as far back as 1928.

Prior to his assignment to Yugoslavia, Tito served on the Political Committees of the Chinese, Japanese, French and many other Stalinist parties. Everywhere his specialty was purging “Trotskyists.” It was precisely in this capacity as an unquestioning and willing tool of the GPU that Tito was permitted to rise to the top.

Equally ironical are the other Kremlin charges against the Belgrade “dissidents.” Tito is charged with a “bureaucratic regime inside the party,” with handpicking his entire central committee, with “cruel reprisals” against every

critical voice and so forth. All these charges are doubtless true. What the Kremlin forgets to mention is that this is only a faithful reproduction of the regime in the Stalinist parties throughout the world, above all the Russian party where Stalin hasn’t even bothered to stage a National Congress in the last ten years.

The Meaning of the Yugoslav Crisis

—See editorial on Page 3—

Tito’s greatest crime apparently lies in aping Stalin a little too closely. Like his master, in the Kremlin, Tito has prepared himself against any unpleasant “surprises” by a preventive purge of his government and party, removing in advance all those whose personal loyalty to him was doubtful. Only last month Tito

The Crisis in Europe and the Colonial Lands

World Congress Manifesto Of 4th International-Part 2

The USSR and the Degeneration Of the October Revolution

Today one country alone stands up against American imperialism. That country is the Soviet Union. Soviet wealth is shut off from U. S. imperialist control and Soviet citizens are not subject to its exploitation. The old, decaying empire of the Czars has been swept away. In its place has risen the Soviet Union, the second greatest world power.

If a historical justification of the October Revolution is still required, suffice it to compare the fate of Russia with that of China. The history of the last 30 years has demonstrated the extraordinary solidity of the new social relations resulting from this revolution as compared with the uncontrollable centrifugal forces which have accumulated in all capitalist countries. The superiority of the planned economy has been expressed not alone in terms of steel, coal and concrete, as Trotsky said, but it has also been proved on the battle field against a concentration of the entire capitalist power of Europe.

At the same time, however, history has shown that within the framework of these social relations, so superior to capitalism, degeneration and reaction have grown to a fearful extent. All spheres of Soviet life are today infected by the bureaucracy.

Its frauds, its parasitism, its embezzlements impose increasingly intolerable burdens upon collectivized production, constantly reducing the rate of accumulation of the country's basic capital funds.

As the greed and appetites of the bureaucratic upstarts grow, the social inequalities and the privileges arrogated by a tiny minority become more and more accentuated. The Bonapartist dictatorship replies to the growing social tensions with the most savage police terror, chaining the workers to the factories, crushing peasant resistance in blood and liquidating considerable layers of the bureaucracy itself by wholesale purges.

Role of the Bureaucracy

Amid the misery and degradation of the masses, the bureaucracy has revived all the customs the revolution had abolished. Where the October Revolution had introduced a Spartan equality, a revolutionary devotion and sacrifice for the benefit of the community, the Soviet bureaucracy has installed titles, uniforms, gold braid and the sordid spirit of greed.

In place of proletarian internationalism it has substituted an infamous mixture of Great Russian nationalism and mystical Pan-Slavism. The terrible consequences of the defeats of the world proletariat thus manifest themselves in Russia as well.

The totalitarianization of capitalism and the totalitarian dictatorship of Stalinism are not identical things. They have different material foundations and different class character. But they are two symmetrical expressions of the price humanity is paying for the delay of the international communist revolution.

The theory of "socialism in one country" has cruelly revenged itself on Stalin. The petty bourgeois conservatism of the Soviet bureaucracy first led it to strangle the revolution in Europe in return for a fleeting *modus vivendi* with the world bourgeoisie. Then, with implacable logic, the bureaucracy found itself extending its domination beyond Russia's frontiers, in order to find a temporary solution to its economic difficulties and an equally fleeting protection against imperialist encirclement.

The Occupied Countries

The policies pursued by the bureaucracy in the countries under its control serve to reveal its contradictory nature. Unable to share its privileges with the bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy eliminates the capitalists from control of the government and the economy. The measures adopted in these countries, the nationalizations, the agrarian reforms, are hardly dictated by a love for socialism, but rather by the bureaucracy's desire to consolidate its exclusive control over the economic and political life of the buffer countries in order to secure its own privileges. Once it attains its ends, it invariably turns upon the masses, curbing their movements and organizations and establishing absolute control over them.

After seizing part of the key industries in the buffer countries, and after promoting the nationalization of big business, the Kremlin seeks to appropriate the maximum share of each country's resources for its own needs, without regard for the interests of the masses. When it encounters a stiffening resistance from the national bourgeoisies, it resorts to a limited mobilization of the masses and full scale police action in order to bring them to heel.

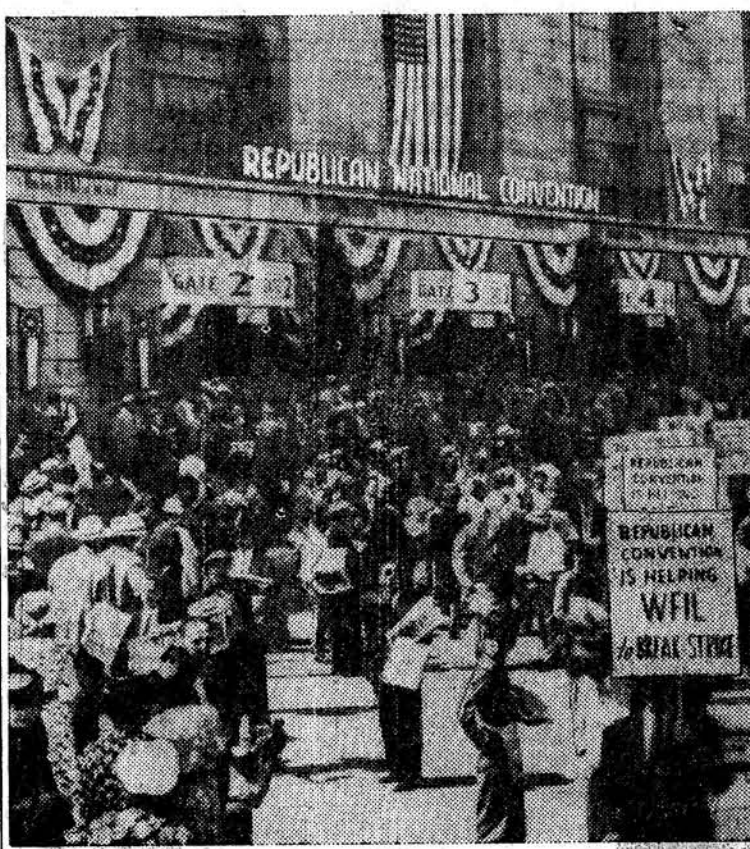
The political regimes of these countries thus assume a Bonapartist form, delivering blows on the right, against the weakening resistance of the bourgeoisie, and blows on the left, against the hesitant efforts of the workers to defend their living standards and elementary democratic rights.

False Theories on the USSR

Viewing the results of the bureaucracy's expansion, some short-sighted petty bourgeois "theoreticians," who have long ago lost all faith in the proletarian revolution, marvel at the "successes" of "Stalinist realism." "Haven't the nationalizations been extended to all of Eastern Europe?" they say.

Others, mortally frightened by the "increasing strength"

Picket GOP Convention



Striking members of Local 1, CIO American Communications Association, picket the GOP convention hall in Philadelphia, protesting use of scab radio and television personnel by station WFIL, exclusive radio outlet for convention proceedings. Local 1 has been on strike since May 1 against the station, which flatly refuses to bargain for a new contract. Members of other AFL and CIO unions joined the picket lines. Federated Pictures

of Stalinism, see in it the representative of a new monstrous exploiting society headed for world domination. The hysteria of both sides is strangely in harmony with Stalinist propaganda, the product of the most vulgar impressionism.

Stalin's "socialist conquests" in Eastern Europe were in reality conceded to him at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. In exchange for these "conquests" Stalin betrayed the August 1942 uprising in India, ordered the disarming of the partisans in Greece, delivered the mass movement in France to de Gaulle, returned the tottering bourgeoisie to power in all the countries of Western Europe and helped crush the German proletariat.

By his infamous practices of dismantling, looting, deportation and terror Stalin succeeded in arousing even within the world labor movement deep feelings of hostility toward the Soviet Union such as Hitler had never been able to produce. This is the impressive balance sheet of Stalinist "victories."

On a far larger scale, Stalin's policy is thus leading the USSR into the same impasse as in 1939. Incapable of basing itself on the revolutionary fighting spirit of the masses, the bureaucracy resorts to expansionism and power politics. Thereby it only aggravates the general conditions which are precipitating an inevitable test of strength with imperialism; thereby it only lends aid to the unification of imperialist forces under Washington's banner.

Stalin has utilized the breathing spell he gained for the most abominable crimes. Whatever may be his further successes, he is rushing headlong to his ruin.

As long as it remains locked in the dilemma of choosing between the Stalinist bureaucracy and American imperialism; as long as it does not rise to the level of struggle for the socialist revolution, the entire world will face not the perspective of reconstruction and progress but, on the contrary, that of accelerated disintegration and decay.

The Socialist United States of Europe

For the last four decades, Europe's history has been the history of the revolt of the productive forces against the boundaries of national states. The two world wars have been nothing else but a desperate effort of the imperialist powers to "organize" this revolt for their own benefit.

French imperialism in 1918 possessed neither the industrial power nor the political vitality necessary to grasp this organization in its own hands. Through the Versailles system, it "organized" Europe by means of traditional diplomacy: peace treaties, military alliances and financial credits. At the first economic disaster, this system collapsed without leaving a trace.

Then German imperialism, resting upon a superior technology and productive capacity, launched the Second World War with the aim of organizing the old continent for its own needs, not only politically but also militarily and economically. In spite of its overwhelming military successes, the "New European Order" collapsed even more quickly than the Versailles system before it. Its organization was only a gigantic enterprise for pillage and destruction, draining all the economic resources of the people to feed its insatiable war machine.

American Imperialist Policy

Today American imperialism, driven by the implacable logic of its dominant position, strives in its own way to resolve the old problem. The political and economic methods which it employs (the Marshall Plan and the Western Bloc) seem to be of a different nature from those of the other two powers. Instead of taking away, Yankee imperialism appears to be giving. In place of a society of ruined satellites, it seems to want to form a corporation of grateful debtors. That is why crafty adventurers like Churchill and petty bourgeois like Guy Mollet are gathered together under the "Made in USA" slogan of the "United States of Europe," hoping that American manna will permit them to preserve the memory of old Europe for a while longer.

In reality, the organization of Europe under the aegis of Washington does not pursue aims fundamentally different from those of French and German imperialisms and it will inevitably collapse for similar reasons. To be sure, Yankee imperialism wants to abolish barriers, put finances in order, and stabilize the currencies. But solely in order to "organize" the purchasing power of its clients and the solvency of its debtors. At the same time it is forced to "organize" the contraction of their markets and the increase of their debts. No conferences can save it from the contradictions inherent in this policy. The Europe of the Marshall Plan, like the Europe of Versailles and that of Hitler, can only be an impotent and pauperized Europe.

Threatened with strangulation if its credit is cut off, the European bourgeoisie accepts all American conditions today, just as in 1940 it accepted the ridiculous decrees of Hitler and the Wehrmacht. But the very day the American crisis breaks

out and the flow of dollars is shut off, every bourgeoisie will seek desperately for its own salvation, and the "unions" will dissolve in even less time than it took to build them.

How to Unify Europe

Just as the unity of the modern nation came into being through the instrumentality of a victorious revolutionary class so the unity of the continent, now on the order of the day because of the high level of the technology, can be realized only as the fruit of a triumphant new social revolution. Just as it was necessary to sweep away absolutism and all vestiges of semi-feudalism in order to make France one and indivisible, so will it be necessary to sweep out the bourgeois state and its profit system in order to create a unified, socialist Europe.

It is now a question of drawing up a unified plan for the reconstruction of the old continent which will bring together Silesian coal, Lorraine ore, Catalan tin and Roumanian oil on a rational basis. It is a question of linking up the steel mills of the Ruhr with Czech building machinery and the Swiss precision instrument industry in a unified effort to provide all of Europe with the most modern technique. It is necessary to electrify the Polish countryside, to irrigate southern Italy and to rationalize French agriculture so that bread will not be lacking in Vienna, Berlin or Madrid.

This plan must be drawn up with the aim of satisfying the needs of the masses, and not for the construction of a new war machine. It is necessary not only to abolish capitalist profit, but also the parasitic bureaucracies and the crushing burden of the over-expanded state apparatus. It is necessary to rely upon the creative power of the masses, not compel them by force of hunger nor terrorize them with machine guns. That is why the only plan for Europe which will really organize production for the general welfare and abolish misery, looting, and debt, is a plan elaborated, executed and tested by the masses themselves, organized into thousands of workers' councils covering the whole continent. That is why the unity of Europe is inconceivable without the actual exercise of power by the workers and poor peasants.

A Europe thus unified by the revolutionary action of the proletariat will permit all nationalities the freest development of their respective cultures. With a single blow it will free all colonial peoples and will thus open up a historic epoch of free collaboration between continents. It will hasten the constructive use of atomic energy and will show the working masses of the Soviet Union and the United States a positive alternative to the armament race which can end only in war. It will offer the proletariat of these two countries a concrete plan for the harmonious development of world economy and will undermine by virtue of experience alone the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie as well as that of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

That is why the Fourth International today resolutely counterposes the program of the *Socialist United States of Europe* to the Marshall Plan, as well as to the "defense of the national industry," and to all the quick remedies with which the desperate bourgeoisie, the demoralized petty bourgeoisie, and the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy strive vainly to cure the foul plagues besetting European economy and politics.

Storm Over the Colonial World

If the crumbling of the old imperialist powers encourages the outbreak of liberation movements in the colonies, the development of colonial revolutions accelerates in its turn the decomposition of the imperialist systems and of the bourgeois "democracy" which rests upon them. The tremendous convulsions provoked by the Second World War, the accelerated industrialization of Manchuria, India and the Middle East, the irreparable collapse of the prestige of the "master races," the anguish and the maddening hunger of millions of coolies are shattering the structure of colonial exploitation which for four centuries has fed capitalist wealth and progress of Europe by the frenzied exploitation of three-fourths of humanity.

With the foundations of their own metropolitan society shaken by the beginnings of colonial revolution, the old imperialist powers tend to change the form of their domination in order to maintain its essential content, that is, their super-profits and strategic control. "Trusteeships," "equality" within the framework of the French or Netherlands Union, the grant of dominion status, and even the proclamation of the independence of Iraq or Burma, the partition of Palestine and India represent merely successive lines of retreat by imperialist reaction in the colonies. It continues to hold the peoples in its power by a thousand bonds of economic and military servitude. In order to demonstrate in action how their traditional civilizing role is maintained under the new "liberal" form, the imperialist exploiters engage in brutal repressions (Viet Nam) or in cynical provocations ("police action" in Indonesia, the Jewish-Arab struggle, etc.). Colonialism's new road, abandoning direct domination, is marked with murders, famine and bloody chaos as was the road of its original penetration.

The Colonial Bourgeoisie

In this period of the disintegration of the colonial systems, the native bourgeoisie, marked from birth by the stigma of the decaying system, strives for a favorable partnership with imperialism. Functioning today as an agent of its imperialist masters, it comes into continual collision with the colonial masses, struggling to defend their vital interests. It finds itself torn between the desire to secure new privileges and the fear of losing the old ones. That is what gives its actions a particularly rapacious as well as abject character. Crawling before the corrupt royal clique and periodically selling out their country to the London bankers, the Egyptian bourgeoisie dreams at the same time of annexing the Sudan, Libya, and even Eritrea. Capitulating miserably to the princes and the Moslem landowners, the Indian bourgeoisie at the same time dreams of conquering the markets of the Far East.

Amid the shocks convulsing the colonial empires, American imperialism alone has been able to realize profits without risks. The colonial bourgeoisies loosen their ties with the mother countries only to fall under the domination of Yankee imperialism. But at the same time Washington rightly fears the inevitable social catastrophes within the mother countries which the final collapse of their colonial empires will precipitate. The American bourgeoisie knows it is incapable of replacing in time the cadres of the colonial apparatus while at the same time maintaining the governments of old Europe.

Utilizing in turn economic extortion, military pressure, and the organs of the United Nations, American imperialism strives to promote the penetration of its capital at the same time that it utilizes the native bourgeoisie to crush the uprising of the masses and supports the attempts of the imperialists to maintain the framework of their old empires. In the case of Indonesia and of the Sudan, American imperialism has consciously played the role of the defender of colonialism. It understands better than

anyone that imperialist domination over the world today is indivisible, and that any local collapse risks becoming the point of departure for the collapse of the entire system.

Duty to Support Rebellions

Utterly worthless are the arguments of all philistines who refuse to support the liberation movements of the colonies under the pretext that their independence would mean their submission to American imperialism or the Soviet bureaucracy. The sacred duty of the proletariat of all the mother countries is to support unconditionally all movements of revolt in the colonies. It is necessary to utilize every opportunity to publicly denounce the crimes committed daily by the "democrats" in the insurgent countries, to call upon the workers to boycott military expeditions and wars of conquest, to conduct in the imperialist army intelligent propaganda for fraternization with the colonial masses, and to force the bourgeoisie to cease hostilities and reprisals.

The complete abandonment by imperialism of all its colonial positions can come only as the result of a revolutionary struggle unfolding simultaneously in the mother countries and in the colonies. The Fourth International is able to state that many of its sections (France, Holland, Great Britain) are the only organizations of the working class to carry on such agitation today. At the same time, the Fourth International has demonstrated that the revolutionists in the mother countries are ready to assist unreservedly the workers and advanced students of the colonial countries to build their own Bolshevik organizations in their own countries.

Yesterday, during the "war against fascism," the Stalinist parties buried the struggle for the independence of the colonies. At the present stage, their reversal of policy has brought them to a complete capitulation before petty bourgeois nationalism. The sections of the Fourth International, on the contrary, have always pursued in the colonial countries everywhere an intransigent struggle against colonial oppression while maintaining the complete organizational, political and ideological independence of the colonial proletariat from its own bourgeoisie. In India, in the Viet Nam, in Egypt the Trotskyists are to be found in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist masses. For the same reason they are the only consistent defenders of the interests of the colonial workers. Their policy is inspired by the theory of the permanent revolution, tested by four decades of revolutionary struggles.

Policy of the Proletariat

Boldly making the demands of the national bourgeois revolution their own, the proletariat must place itself at the head of all the exploited masses and lead them in the struggle to solve the agrarian question, drive out the imperialists, expropriate foreign capital, and conquer revolutionary political democracy. It will be able to bring this struggle to a successful conclusion only provided it is able to eliminate its own "national" exploiters, expropriate native capital, and pass over to socialist planning by basing itself on working class power.

The revolutionary conquest of power by the proletariat constitutes the strategic goal of the Fourth International both in the colonial countries as well as in the mother countries. Failing this conquest or the extension of the revolution on an international scale, which it implies, various cliques such as the bourgeois parties in India, the petty bourgeois groups in Indonesia, and the Stalinists in the Viet Nam, who have seized the leadership of the movement and are trying to dissipate the revolutionary energy of the masses, can only lead the colonial revolutions into the impasse of impotent guerrilla warfare or to rotten compromises with imperialism.

The rise of the working class movement in the period of ascending capitalism was limited almost exclusively to Europe. Lenin was the first to understand the vital importance of the colonial countries in the strategy of the world proletarian revolution. But long before the task of building revolutionary parties in the colonies could be completed by the Third International, the degeneration of their Stalinist leadership transformed them into bureaucratic machines, and into a serious obstacle to the communist development of the colonial workers.

Aims of the Fourth International

Upon the Fourth International now falls the task of building the first genuine revolutionary working class parties in the colonial countries. It can fulfill this task—similar to the one which the *Communist Manifesto* proclaimed for Europe—by relying on the whole past experience of the movement. It must spare the colonial proletariat the tragic defeats which the European workers were unable to avoid. That is why the Fourth International is the first organization to boldly proclaim the foremost role of the colonial countries in the world revolutionary struggle. That is why it is the first International to actually enlist within its leadership the most qualified members of the young colonial proletariat. That is also why its ideas are spreading today with astonishing rapidity, beyond the iron curtains, across the jungles and the oceans, from North Africa to Japan, from Korea to Egypt. Recording today its first successes among these three-fourths of humanity—the most exploited section of mankind—the Fourth International is preparing upon this ground, which still knows no working class defeats, the most sweeping overturns that history has known.

(To be continued)

THE MILITANT ARMY

"I want to thank you for the two copies you have sent me. I am a blind man and always listen to your programs over the radio. I am enclosing one dollar for one year's subscription for my son to read to me. His name and address are on the sub blank."

Nick DeAngelis
Stockton, Calif.

Four St. Paul comrades went out last Sunday on renewal calls and got 10 in an hour, besides three turned in earlier in the week. Another mobilization soon is planned, reports Winifred Nelson.

Minneapolis turned in six subs, mostly renewals. One was from a North Dakota visitor, an old Socialist, who happened to see the headquarters and walked in for a discussion. Upon leaving, he

handed in a donation for the party. Thanks to W.B. He subscribed to both *The Militant* and *Fourth International*, the monthly Marxist theoretical magazine.

One out of every seven subs this week was for both these publications, usually under the \$2.50 combination price for a full year of each, 52 issues of *The Militant* and 12 of the magazine. Two combination renewals came from Canada and one from China.

San Francisco's second Sunday morning mobilization netted five renewals and two came direct from subscribers in that area. Oakland also got six.

Philadelphia's mobilizations continued, bringing in seven more subs to keep the Quaker city in the lead for June subs.

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Monday, July 5, 1948



TROTSKY

"In the last analysis, all the problems of our planet will be decided upon American soil. There is much in favor of the idea that from the standpoint of revolutionary order, Europe and the East stand ahead of the United States. But a course of events is possible in which this order might be broken in favor of the proletariat of the United States. . . . We must not for a minute lose sight of the fact that the might of American capitalism rests more and more upon a foundation of world economy with its contradictions and crises, military and revolutionary. This means that a social crisis in the United States may arrive a good deal sooner than many think, and have a feverish development from the beginning. Hence the conclusion: It is necessary to prepare."

—LEON TROTSKY, 1929



LENIN

Greetings to SWP Convention

The 13th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, now in session in New York City, marks an important milestone in the struggle for the establishment of the Workers and Farmers Government in the United States. For the first time in its history American Trotskyism, the revolutionary party of labor, will present its own presidential ticket and its own program in the coming national elections. Thus the American workers will have the opportunity to obtain clear Marxist answers to the burning issues that are really before them.

Never before has this country or the world faced a period so fateful for the destinies of mankind. The very survival of civilization hangs in the balance. Wall Street and its political henchmen in Washington are speeding their preparations for the Third World War. They have no other way of "solving" the insurmountable contradictions of the decaying capitalist system. As the inevitable bust to the present artificial boom draws closer we can expect the arrogant monopolists and their government, be it Republican or Democratic, to do everything in their power to hurl the peoples of the world into another bloodbath.

Fearing the ever growing determination of the American workers to resist its war plans, Wall Street is accelerating its drive to crush labor and destroy our civil rights. Only a

well-thought-out program based on the true and tested principles of Marxism can serve the American working class in this critical period.

The scores of worker delegates who have come from all parts of the country to participate in the SWP Convention face a responsibility that has seldom devolved on the shoulders of so few people. This gathering must arm the American workers with a realistic program of struggle against the mad rulers of this country. It must prepare the mobilization of the American workers and poor farmers to halt the war conspiracy of Wall Street. It must pose realistically the setting up of a Workers and Farmers Government. In short, it must awaken the American people to the need of abolishing capitalism and replacing it with a socialist society.

The Militant is proud to greet the delegates of the 13th SWP Convention. We know that they will measure up to their responsibilities. We have full confidence in their ability to adopt a program that will arm the American workers for the grave tasks ahead. We are certain that through their zeal and determination they will, with this program, rally ever larger sections of the American workers under the banner of the SWP. We are more sure than ever of the triumph of socialism.

Meaning of the Yugoslav Crisis

Stripped of its Stalinist demagoguery and doubletalk, the Cominform indictment of Tito and his regime boils down to this: that a group of hitherto trusted Kremlin agents have demanded a say in determining Yugoslavia's policies at home as well as abroad. Tito's crime of crimes is that he has dared to challenge the authority of Stalin's GPU. Worse yet, he has apparently engaged in a number of overt acts to foil its dictates.

All that Tito and his clique are striving to defend are their own material interests, their power and privileges. All they ask is to be permitted to rule in Yugoslavia as Stalin rules in Russia. But the character of the Kremlin's regime is such that it cannot share power with anybody, not even with a "foreign" section of its own bureaucracy.

The slightest breach anywhere in the sphere of the Kremlin's rule threatens to bring the whole totalitarian structure toppling down. If Tito is permitted the slightest share of "autonomous" rule, it may be demanded on the morrow in one or another of the "buffer zone" countries. Unless Tito is brought to heel, the totalitarian structure might even begin cracking inside the Soviet Union itself.

The Kremlin must shape its policies to suit exclusively its own needs and interests.

It considers as "expendable" not only the needs and interests of the masses but also those of any section of the bureaucracy inside and outside the Soviet Union.

That is why Stalin demands immediate and unquestioning obedience to the orders of his secret police — the main agency of his rule.

The Yugoslav clique, however, wields independent power, to a far greater measure than any of the Kremlin's satraps inside the USSR itself. In case of need, the existing international relation of forces allows them room for maneuvers, they believe, between the Kremlin, on the one side, and Wall Street, on the other.

They have obviously seized this opportunity in order to try to gain just enough elbow room to save their own positions — and their necks — against any unforeseen eventualities.

As the Second World Congress of the Fourth International has correctly told the world proletariat, Stalin's regime is a regime of crisis, internationally as well as internally. The crisis in Yugoslavia, where the Kremlin seemed to be so firmly entrenched, is merely an illustration of how unstable Stalinist rule really is. It is being ripped apart by insoluble contradictions.

Strange Logic in the CIO News

Those who divorce politics from the class struggle, or deny the very existence of contending classes in America, are bound to be hopeless muddleheads when it comes to explaining great events and issues. Thus, almost every time they open their mouths, most union leaders reveal utter befuddlement.

A pointed example of this is contained in the June 21 CIO News lead editorial on the Taft-Hartley Law. All that the News says in condemnation of the Slave Labor Act is sound, if not new. But it concludes the editorial with a typical expression of bewilderment.

"This brings us to one of the damndest situations we've come across in a long time — the move to strengthen free trade unions abroad while tearing them down at home. It doesn't make sense. . . . They [Congress] know that the success of the European Recovery Program hinges to a large extent on the building of a strong democratic trade union movement overseas. It is a strange logic — or an appalling lack of it — which causes men to try to tear down at home what they are trying to build up abroad."

The "appalling lack" of logic is all on the side of the CIO editors. The question they ought to pose is: How is it possible for Congressmen who want to tear down free unions at home to "strengthen free unions abroad"? The answer is: They don't want to strengthen unions anywhere, and anyone who says they

do is either a fool or a liar — or both.

Is Congress feeding munitions and funds to the Greek monarcho-fascist dictatorship, which has imposed government-control over unions and the "death-to-strikers" law, in order to build free trade unions abroad? Did the House twice vote ERP funds for Fascist Spain — which drowned the unions in blood — to bring free unions to Franco-land? Is Congress sending hundreds of millions to semi-fascist Turkey, where unions are illegal, or to Butcher Chiang-Kai-shek, just to give labor its rights?

To suggest such a thing is to help perpetrate a monstrous deception of the American people. And that's just what the CIO leaders are doing. They are trying to fool the American workers into thinking that this government which is beating down labor at home has undertaken the benevolent task of defending the rights of labor in other lands.

The Taft-Hartley Law and the Marshall Plan are not contradictory, but complementary. They are both part of the world design of the American ruling capitalist class to conquer and enslave the earth for its profits and privilege. They are both class legislation.

It is only by denying the capitalist class character of the government and its imperialist nature that the CIO leaders find themselves in the "damndest situation" of defending Wall Street's program abroad while complaining about its reactionary deeds at home.

How Catholic Hierarchy Interferes In the American Labor Movement

Previous articles in this series described how the Vatican everywhere defends reactionary capitalism. It played a major role in the rise of European fascism and today is cementing an alliance with Wall Street imperialism for war against "godless Bolshevism."

The motivation for this war, as we pointed out in the June 21 Militant, is strictly materialist—the preservation of the Roman Catholic hierarchy's colossal wealth as the richest landlord and usurer in the world. In defense of its profits, rents, tithes, dividends and interest, the Vatican has become the most implacable foe of socialism.

At the same time, behind its anti-communist barrage, the Vatican stealthily advances its own special aims—the re-establishment of Roman Catholicism as a world religious monopoly, the state-financed and only legally recognized religion, as in Spain, Portugal, Italy and Argentina.

In the United States—the classic model for separation of church and state—the totalitarian Catholic priest caste is seeking to spearhead the red-baiting drive and is effectively using attacks on "atheistic communism" as a cover for penetrating every public institution and intervening in every sphere of secular activity.

INFLUENCE IN UNIONS

But nowhere does the Catholic hierarchy make more energetic efforts to extend its control than in the labor unions. By taking the lead in red-baiting, the outside agency of the Catholic Church, the priest-controlled Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, has made enormous headway. It now exercises a commanding influence in top CIO circles and in several of its largest unions.

We have the testimony of functioning Catholic union leaders on the outside interference of the priests and their power-machine, the ACTU, in the unions, particularly the CIO. Last year, Michael Quill, head of the CIO Transport Workers, wrote in the Transport Workers Union Bulletin that the ACTU is a "hindrance, a nuisance and a strikebreaking outfit. . . ."

Thus, it is clear that the ACTU is designed to bring the divisive element of religion into the American trade unions and to advance the "teachings of Christ and His Church"—that is, the Roman Catholic Church.

And not merely the teachings, but the control. The ACTU is a power caucus fighting for posts and leadership. Its Detroit paper, misnamed the Wage Earner, is almost exclusively concerned with the factional struggles inside the Auto Workers and the "anti-red" drive.

Is the ACTU for trade union democracy? It is a totalitarian organization itself, controlled completely by the Church hierarchy. Article V of the Detroit ACTU constitution provides that the officers shall be, first, "A Chaplain, appointed by the Archbishop, to whom the Secretary Treasurer shall submit a financial report each month" and who "shall act in advisory capacity and as spiritual director of the association. He or any priest designated by him shall be an ex-officio member of all committees."

THE FINAL SAY

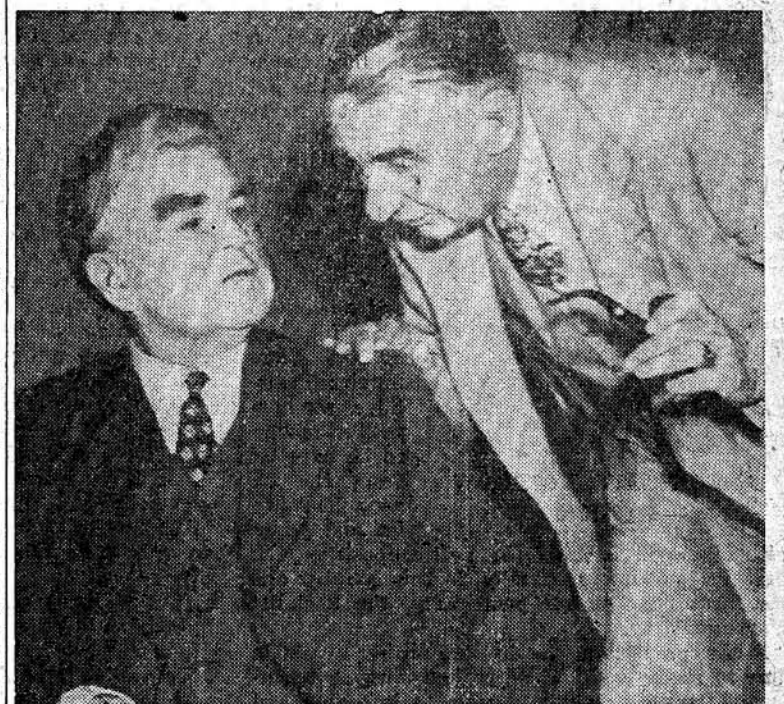
Article VII provides: "In the event of insoluble dispute over any question of policy, tactic, principle or leadership, the counsel of the Most Rev. Archbishop shall be the final determinant." Not the ACTU membership, but the Archbishop has the final say.

Wherever possible the Catholic Church maintains its own separate Catholic unions—except in clerico-fascist countries like Spain, where unions are banned. These Catholic unions are organized in the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions.

Expediency has forced the Church in America to follow a different tactic. We quote the Michigan Catholic of Nov. 28, 1946:

"The real significance of the organization (ACTU) lies in its aims, these being based on Pope Pius XI's encyclical, 'Reconstructing the Social Order,' which states: 'Wherever it [is] impossible

Soft Coal Dispute



Federal conciliation director Cyrus S. Ching is shown conferring with President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers on the union's contract dispute with soft coal operators, shortly before the miners won their long-disputed pension demand. (See story on Page 1.)

for Catholics to form Catholic unions. . . they [Catholics] seem to have no choice but to enroll themselves in neutral trade unions. . . Side by side with these trade unions, there must always be associations which aim. . . [to] impart to the labor unions. . . the upright spirit which should direct their entire conduct."

This encyclical of the Vatican—the guiding social and economic document for the Church and its ACTU—includes other illuminating directives. It contains those "Principles of Economic Democracy" which the ACTU expounds—the principles of the "corporative state," that is, fascism.

In his book, Distributive Justice, the Catholic John A. Ryan explains and defends the Vatican's "reform of the social order" into "corporative units." The Pope, writes Ryan, "does not

want state ownership. . . He would eliminate class conflict not by a futile effort to abolish classes, but by bringing them into a practical scheme of co-operation. He would interpose a graded hierarchical order, a system of subsidiary organizations between individuals and state."

The workers would not have independent unions of their own. They would be restricted to "occupational organizations" which "comprise both employers and employees. . . the state, says Pius XI, should perform the tasks, of directing, watching, stimulating and restraining, as circumstances suggest or necessity demands."

BACK TO DARK AGES

In this country, capitalist propagandists have fooled the workers by denying the existence of classes. The Catholic hierarchy not only admits the existence of classes; it insists on a reversion back to the Dark Ages of feudalism, when classes were made fixed and immutable by Church law. The serf must forever toil for his master; the rich must forever remain rich, and the poor, poor.

Bishop Haas, in an article in The Acolyte (now The Priest), Oct. 1944, illustrated the "theory of the Pope and the ACTU's 'tripartite system' with examples like the compulsory arbitration system of the Railway Labor Act and "perhaps more dramatically . . . the War Labor Board." If he were writing today, he would add—the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

America, the leading Catholic weekly, indicated one goal of the "tripartite system" when, on May 24, it approvingly forecast the prohibition of all strikes in basic industry by law and termed strikes an "anachronism not merited in rail transportation, but in certain basic industries, such as coal and steel as well."

Here we see part of the real aims of that "democratic unionism" which the ACTU, the anti-democratic arm of the Vatican inside American unions, seeks to achieve.

Semmelweis - Forgotten Martyr

By George Lavan

A hundred years ago this month a Hungarian doctor completed a work of discovery that would save the lives of untold thousands of mothers. The reward of this medical genius—Ignaz Philip Semmelweis—was dismissal from his post, banishment and persecution that drove him to madness, attempted suicide and a horrible death.

During the first half of the 19th century, puerperal or childbed fever took a tremendous toll of human life. In Paris the puerperal mortality rate was 18%; in Berlin 26%; in Italy 32%; in Vienna it fluctuated from 20% upward, once reaching 96%. No class was immune from it but the greatest losses were among poor women who gave birth in the public lying-in hospitals.

This was the state of affairs when young Semmelweis studied medicine at the University of Vienna. He was the son of a grocer in Hungary, one of the nations groaning under the reactionary yoke of the Austrian Empire. Fascinated by medical subjects, he had early decided to devote his life to the alleviation of human suffering.

After getting his Doctor of Medicine degree in 1844, Semmelweis studied surgery and obtained an assistantship as Doctor of Obstetrics at the Lying-in Division of the Vienna General Hospital.

A HOUSE OF DEATH

He soon realized that he had entered a house of death. The hospital had two divisions, the First headed by Doctor Klein, who was Semmelweis' superior, the Second headed by Professor Bartsch. Although all maternity hospitals had enormous mortality rates, that of Klein's division was always higher than that of Bartsch's. So sinister was the reputation of the First Division that no expectant mother would go there willingly.

Heartrending scenes took place Tuesday afternoons when the doors of the Second Division were closed and all incoming patients registered for Klein's pavilion. Women fought, begged and prayed to be allowed to bear their children in the street.

Setting out to learn all that was known about puerperal fever, Semmelweis soon came to the conclusion that everything written on the subject was false and that he must start from scratch. He had one fact to guide him—the death rate in Klein's division had always been higher than in Bartsch's. The two buildings, built at the same time, were identical pavilions. The practices

gifted assistant whose experiments were a criticism of the way the hospital was run. He denounced the chloride washing as superstition, and blamed puerperal fever on uncontrollable atmospheric conditions and vapors from the soil. He turned the students against Semmelweis and forbade washing in chloride.

In the eyes of history Klein will always remain a criminal. But his type was not peculiar to Vienna or the 19th century. Dr. Morris Fishbein, head of the powerful American Medical Association, who today leads the campaign against socialized medicine, is a 20th century Klein.

The revolution that swept over Europe in 1848 gave Klein the opportunity he was looking for. In Vienna the people drove the Emperor from the city. Semmelweis, an ardent revolutionist, belonged to the famous "Academic Battalion," composed of intellectuals, artists, professionals and students. When reaction triumphed, Klein secured his assistant's dismissal and banishment from Austria. Returning to Budapest, Semmelweis found the revolution still in power there; he embraced it with enthusiasm. But this upsurge of the people, too, was defeated.

In the tyranny that followed, Semmelweis lost heart, sank into apathy, lived alone in poverty and left unanswered letters from his colleagues in Vienna. But he recovered when a doctor in Kiel, Germany, confirmed his theory of puerperal fever. He managed to get an appointment to the Budapest Hospital—on condition, however, that he say nothing about the medical students washing their hands in chloride.

For four years he concentrated on writing his scientific treatise on puerperal fever. So complete was his set of rules for combating the fever that modern antiseptic science had nothing to add to them. But he had to write his book secretly lest he lose his job, for the head of the hospital was having him watched.

A TRAGIC END

Finally through seniority he became head of the hospital. He now broke his enforced silence of ten years and published an "Open Letter to all Professors of Obstetrics." In it he called doctors who violated his rules for combating puerperal fever murderers and assassins. The medical world redoubled its hatred and persecution of him. Intrigues in the hospital encouraged the doctors and students to defy his washing rules and the death rate rose

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A Pioneer Trotskyist

By Edith Konikow

Antoinette Konikow, one of the founders of the Trotskyist party in this country, died on July 2, two years ago. Her death at the age of 77 climaxed almost 60 years of revolutionary activity.



ANTOINETTE KONIKOW
1869-1946

She became a socialist in 1888, was a leading member of the Socialist Party in America, broke with its social-patriotic line at the outbreak of the First World War and was one of the founders of the Communist Party. She was among the first to be expelled from the CP as a Trotskyist and joined with others in forming the Left Opposition, the first Trotskyist organization in this country and the forerunner of our own party, the Socialist Workers Party.

A busy physician, she devoted all her available time to party work. Through her work as teacher and organizer she was able to influence and

train many who came to the movement in those difficult years of isolation.

My mother was in at the birth of so many new parties that she once jokingly remarked in a speech that she had rocked so many cradles of new parties that she would at last like to see the child grow up.

If she were with us today at this, the 13th National Convention, I am certain that she would have rejoiced at the way the last party she helped to launch has grown and is standing on its feet. Not only standing, but organizing a vigorous election campaign and shouting its message of defiance to the ruling class across the radio networks for the people of the whole country to hear.

Antoinette would not care for anniversary speeches in her memory, but the launching of our first presidential campaign at this convention is a fitting testimonial to the spirit with which she was so plentifully endowed.

That spirit of optimism and confidence in the revolutionary future, which she maintained throughout the years, stemmed from her complete confidence in the socialist future of the American working class.

Today as we face newer and more complicated problems in our job of building the party, let us stop for a few minutes to remember and be inspired by the memory of our comrade, Antoinette Konikow, who never faltered in her conviction of our ultimate success even when our voice reached very few.

As we grow and come nearer to reaching our goal, the memory of this stalwart Bolshevik pioneer will continue to inspire and guide the young comrades. Imbued with the same spirit that she had, they cannot fail.

The Negro Struggle

Platforms and Promises

By Albert Parker

One of the more degrading spectacles in recent weeks was the appearance at the Republican convention of representatives of various Negro organizations, appealing to the Platform Committee for the inclusion of planks on behalf of Negro rights. They will attend the coming Democratic convention to do the same.

I call it degrading for the same reason that I would call it degrading if a man who had just been kicked in the teeth went up to the bully who had kicked him and asked him to please sign a piece of paper promising not to do it any more. In my opinion the comparison is quite fitting. The Republican Party, by its behavior in the 80th Congress, has certainly kicked the Negro people in the teeth. Only people with a strong yen for the taste of leather would come back asking for a second helping.

What difference does it make what kind of promises are made in the Republican and Democratic platforms? They don't keep those promises anyhow, just as they don't enforce pro-Negro laws on the rare occasions when they are forced to enact them. The Republicans included a bunch of fine promises in 1944—in favor of an FEPC, against the poll tax, against lynching, and so on. But although they had full control of Congress for the last year and a half, they didn't pass one of them. What reason is there to think they will act differently next time?

As a matter of fact, I can see certain distinct advantages resulting if the Republicans and

Democrats would not include promises in their platforms that they don't intend to keep or fulfill. In that case the voters would know where matters really stand and they would be able to take measures on the political field to really protect their rights. In a fight you are always better off if you can see who your enemies are, and what they are up to.

And a fight is just what is called for now. Nothing at all is going to be accomplished by wheedling or whining. As part of its preparations for war, the capitalist class is cutting down and taking away the few democratic rights remaining to the white workers. It is the height of lunacy to expect that at such a time they are going to voluntarily grant new rights to the Negro people.

There is only one way to make the capitalist rulers grant concessions, and that is by opposing them so militantly that they will be mortally frightened by the consequences of their failure to grant them. You can't do that by getting down on your knees and asking them to please write down a few more promises in their platform. No, the way to do it is by serving notice on them that you are determined to fight them to the death until you get your rights.

The best way to serve such notice is by breaking once and for all with capitalist politics and capitalist parties and capitalist candidates, and by joining with the labor movement in the establishment of an independent Labor Party. The foes of the Negro people will listen a lot more attentively to the demands of fighting rebels than they will to the piteous pleas of servile stooges.

Air Conditioned Suites

By John F. Petrone

They didn't have any smoke-filled rooms at the Republican convention in Philadelphia, but they did have plenty of air-conditioned, luxuriously equipped hotel suites. And while the convention was held (or rather, staged) in the glare of television, the blare of radio and the clack of telegraphy transmitting millions of words by hundreds of correspondents, the real decisions were made in the hotel suites, admission to which required a special pass.

One such decision resulted in the switch to Dewey by Pennsylvania's Sen. Edward Martin. An able Washington correspondent, Tris Coffin, explains that this took place after Martin had tried, and failed, to get his state delegation to commit itself indefinitely to his own nomination, a move which would strongly have increased his bargaining power: "The spurned and burning Ed Martin went down the street to Gov. Dewey panting with bitterness. In the closed door conferences, Sen. Martin got the idea he could be Secretary of National Defense in a Dewey cabinet. That sounded elegant to the ex-general. He put his arm around his friend, and they called the photographers."

Two days later, Dewey accepted the nomination and announced with a straight face: "I come to you unfettered by a single obligation or promise to any living person." Or, as Mother used to tell us, the moon is made of green cheese. The only difference being that we couldn't prove what the moon is made of, while every man, woman and

child inside and outside of Philadelphia knew that the Martin switch was just one of the scores of deals, trades and bargains by which Dewey got the nomination. It couldn't be flatly denied by even his closest sympathizers, like Arthur Krock of the N. Y. Times, a conservative with the subtlety of a brick.

Krock chides Dewey's rivals, by whom "deals" have been steadily charged and denounced, with intimations that they are of the kind that cannot withstand the light of day. Apparently Krock wants people to think they can withstand the light of day, although neither Dewey, Krock nor any of the other Times correspondents revealed any of the details. But the pay-off comes on Krock's reasons for pooh-poohing the charges: "the so-called 'deals' were routine professional politics (all the contenders tried to make the same kind)."

In other words, there's nothing wrong in the Republican candidate having the morals of a ward-heeler just so long as all the other Republican (and Democratic) bigwigs have the same morals. That's like a stick-up man asking to be acquitted because all his friends are stick-up men too.

The above remarks are not prompted by the indignation that swells in liberals at the thought of sordid deals in smoke-filled rooms. In our opinion it wouldn't make any difference if there were no deals at all among the various contenders for the Republican and Democratic nominations. They would still be the candidates of Big Business, with the morals of a shark crossed with a vulture.

RANDOLPH SETS UP NEW GROUP IN 'CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE' MOVE

NEW YORK — A. Philip Randolph last week announced the formation of a new organization, the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation, of which he is chairman. He said its purpose is to obtain a presidential executive order against segregation by bringing together Negroes and whites who are "prepared to face prison rather than submit to segregation in the armed forces."

Randolph said that representatives were being sent to all large cities on the Eastern seaboard this week to establish contact with young men in the draft age, urging them to join the draft resistance movement, sign the "civil disobedience pledge" and distribute buttons saying, "Don't Join a Jim Crow Army."

According to the N.Y. Times, Randolph said that his group will advocate four main courses of action by adherents: 1. Open refusal to register. 2. Quiet ignoring of registration. 3. Registration, but refusal to be inducted. 4. Feigned illness, faked dependents and other subterfuges.

Randolph did not explain how his new organization had been

established, but he announced that it had an executive committee of 13 members, including John Haynes Holmes, and a coordinating committee of 43. He said a number of lawyers not belonging to the league have offered to defend those who get into trouble with the law.

Grant Reynolds, chairman of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Training, is a member of the new league's coordinating committee, but he said he would retain his own committee, try to get another conference with Truman, and continue to seek changes through legislative channels.

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All Prices Soar, Index Shows; GM Sliding Scale Gets Test

Socialist Workers Party Candidates in Michigan



HOWARD LERNER
Governor



GENORA DOLLINGER
U. S. Senator



WILLIAM YANCEY
State Secretary

REPUBLICANS ADOPT WAR PROGRAM AS KEY PLANK IN THEIR PLATFORM

(Continued from Page 1)

members of the Power Lobby, the Platform Committee threw out all reference to public power in the platform. After a protest by western delegates representing farm interests, a weasel-worded compromise was adopted that favored development of public water-power, but only "incidental" to navigation and flood control and not for cheaper and more power for the people.

On the crucial question of the housing crisis, the platform calls for "federal aid to the states." The state governments in turn are to disburse this money only to private contractors and real estate interests. Just before this plank was written, the Republican Congress had stricken provisions for slum-clearance and low-rental housing from the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, and then buried the bill altogether.

On Negro rights, they again adopted the mild civil rights program that their members in Congress had just refused to pass. They were silent as the grave on the most urgent demand of the Negro people—elimination of Jim Crow from the armed forces.

TOOL OF WALL STREET

There can be no doubt Dewey will faithfully carry out his party's reactionary program. He is a complete machine-man and tool of finance capital. Drew Pearson, in his column of June 19, stated:

"If Dewey enters the White House his fiscal policies will be dominated by his good friend Winthrop Aldrich, head of the Chase National Bank and a member of the Rockefeller clan. They have long been close. . . Aldrich

belongs to the old school of blue-stocking New York Republicans who believe the government should be run well, but primarily for themselves."

Dewey's advisor on international affairs—and his probable choice for Secretary of State—is John Foster Dulles, of the international Wall Street firm of Sullivan and Cromwell. Dulles is linked with the U.S.-German cartel deals and is a leading advocate of restoring German capitalism as an ally against the Soviet Union.

UNION LEADERS

Several powerful union leaders are reported to be throwing their support to the party of Taft-Hartleyism. William L. Hutchison of the AFL Carpenters and John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers have in the past backed

the Republican machine. Lewis has always been a reactionary in politics, despite his aggressive leadership of the miners on the economic field.

In addition, that old Democratic wheel-horse, Daniel J. Tobin of the AFL Teamsters, is getting set to bolt to the Taft-Hartley party. Many months ago he plunked for Warren, who was booed by the last California AFL convention.

These union leaders are playing the crudest and dirtiest type of back-room politics. At a time when the demagogic Democratic machine is split wide open and a rare opportunity exists for organizing an independent Labor Party, these union leaders are deliberately seeking to mislead the workers into the clutches of the avowed party of Big Business.

The American workers wrote their judgment on the Republican Party 16 years ago. Now they want more than the choice of jumping from the corrupt and discredited Democratic Party back to the corrupt and discredited Republican Party.

But labor has an alternative to such a political fate. It can and must build its own party and put its own candidates in the White House.

READ

Fourth
International

In the first official confirmation of the renewed upward drive of prices, the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics on June 28 reported that the cost of living

is climbing, with no peak in sight. Food, clothing, rents and all industrial products are soaring.

Cost of living figures for May, the latest released by the Bureau, show that living costs rose to an all-time high on May 15. The official index jumped in one month from 169.3 to 170.5—that is, 1.2 points. June figures, when released, are expected to be still higher.

Using the pretext of recent meager wage increases, the corporations are pushing up industrial prices all along the line. The June 24 N.Y. Times announces that "general price increase of from 5 to 10 per cent are expected in most manufacturing fields and plans for these increases are well shaped now."

Only a small section of labor has received any recent wage increases and these have ranged on the average between 8 and 11 cents an hour. The industrialists have followed these slim wage increases, intended to make up

for past price rises, with immediate price hikes. They hope thereby to bolster the fiction that high prices are the result of wage boosts. The new price boosts of 5 to 10% of selling price in some instances represent 1,000% more than the increase in labor costs, which in most industries are less than 30% of the cost of production.

WAGES LAG BEHIND

The corporations do not stop at these initial price hikes, ostensibly based on wage increases. Month after month they continue to boost prices. Not only are the wage raises nullified almost at the outset, but by the end of the contract lag far behind prices.

Thus, General Electric, which hiked prices only last week, has already announced further increases starting July 1. Crocker-Wheeler announces it will follow suit. Timken Roller Bearing will up prices 5% on August 1. Good-year, Firestone and all other tire and rubber companies are expected to ask another boost of 5 to 10%. After granting a small wage raise, the Aluminum Co. of America, "the most perfect monopoly," is jacking up aluminum prices from 14 to 15 cents a pound, more than 7%.

The profit hogs are well able to cut prices instead of boosting them. Dividend payments for the three months ending May 31 rose by \$1,220,400,000, or 13% above the 1947 period. The Federal Reserve Board reports that 1948 profits are "likely to be larger" even than the all-time 1947 luscious take. Its report shows that average profits last year were already 7.8% of sales, as against 6.7% of sales in 1946. The capi-

talists used to consider 6% on their investment a very satisfactory profit.

SLIDING SCALE

Close attention is being paid the government's cost-of-living index because of the sliding scale cost-of-living clause recently written into the General Motors union contracts. Business Week, June 26, observes: "If the May 15 level of the cost of living stays constant until July 15, General Motors employees will get a 1 cent an hour wage boost in September. That is what the May jump of 1.2 points in the index means to many employers who are wondering how the GM contract is going to work out."

Right now, it looks like the GM workers may get 2 cents or more on top of their 11 cent raise. This is automatically adjustable upward every three months if prices rise.

Hardware Strikers Forced to Return After 4-Wk. Fight

NEW BRITAIN, Conn., June 28—After their fourth week on the picket lines the workers of American Hardware were forced to return to work this morning without a contract. The strike, affecting 4,000 workers, started last month when the corporation refused to renew the contract with the CIO United Electrical Workers Local 232 because the union did not sign the Taft-Hartley affidavits.

The loss of this strike is a warning signal to the labor movement in this area. While the Stalinists were giving a desperate but ineffective leadership to the strike, the International Association of Machinists and CIO auto union were signing up scabs inside the shop. In addition to those formidable obstacles the workers had to face a viciously hostile press and a barrage of strike-breaking injunctions.

Finally 1,500 strikers (half the plant's production workers) met Friday and voted to go back to work. They are at present working without a contract and scores of the best militants were laid off today for "misconduct" during the strike.

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THE MILITANT

Hopelessness of Liberal "Trust-Busting"

By Arthur Burch

The growth of monopoly rule, foreseen by Karl Marx 100 years ago, was highlighted by a recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, permitting the U. S. Steel Corporation to acquire Consolidated Steel on the Pacific coast. Only two years ago Big Steel had swallowed up the huge Geneva plant with the blessing of Attorney General Clark. Even without these new plants, by 1937 U. S. Steel possessed 40% of the industry's assets. Its productive capacity then was already greater than that of Germany and twice that of the entire British industry.

In a dissenting opinion Justice Douglas pointed out that "size in steel is the measure of the power of a handful of men over our economy. All power tends to develop into a government in itself. . . Industrial power should be decentralized. . . That is the philosophy and the command of the Sherman Act."

CONTINUED TO GROW

This tune of "decentralizing" the monopolies has been sung in different keys for more than half a century. The danger to the people from the trusts and monopolies has been obvious since the beginning of their growth in the Seventies. Many laws have been passed. But inexorably the monopolies have grown until they have become, in the words of Justice Douglas, a "government in itself."

The first important piece of legislation ostensibly designed to curb monopoly growth was the

Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Under it the Standard Oil Company was "dissolved" into several "competing" firms, all owned and controlled by the Rockefeller interests. Government officials winked at brazen violations. "Impartial" judges found ever new loopholes in the act permitting "legal" mergers. Eugene Debs, the heroic labor leader, has the distinction of being the sole individual to serve a jail sentence under this "anti-trust" law.

But capitalist demagogues, especially presidential aspirants, found the Sherman Act very useful. Theodore Roosevelt was elected to the White House as a "trust buster." During his administration wealth became even more concentrated, monopolies continued to flourish. In fact, by 1907, toward the end of his term, a new monster was born, the Aluminum Company of America, "the one perfect monopoly."

So flagrant had become the practices of banks and life insurance companies in consolidating in their hands the country's wealth that public clamor compelled the House of Representatives to set up the Pujo Committee (1912) to investigate their affairs. It was found that J. P. Morgan & Co., Rockefeller's National City Bank and Baker's First National Bank held 341 directorships in 112 corporations with total resources of \$22,245,000,000.

THE "GIANT-KILLER"

Thereupon a new giant-killer swung into action—Woodrow Wilson. This darling of the liberals, in his message to Congress in 1913, denounced the trusts and

promised to "abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege." Wilson replaced the old Bureau of Corporations with a streamlined Federal Trade Commission. He put "new teeth" into trust-busting by the passage of the Clayton Anti-trust Act. Needless to say, the monopolists remained undisturbed, waxing fatter and bigger than ever.

During World War I, government contracts enabled them to tighten their tentacles on the economy. Of the 30 billion dollars in profits made by corporations during the First World War, two-thirds went to companies investigated by the Pujo Committee. As Lundberg's book, "The Clayton Act was, not without design, even less of a bar to monopoly than its predecessor."

So great was monopoly profiteering during Wilson's administration that the Graham Committee was appointed to investigate the war frauds. It reported what everyone knew, namely: "never in the history of the country was a greater impetus given to illegal trusts." Nevertheless the 60 Richest Families continued to amass wealth and power at the expense of the people. By 1929 more than half of all corporate wealth was owned by 200 companies. Two percent of the population held three-fifths of the national wealth.

The depression of the Thirties made the time ripe for another anti-trust crusade. This time it was the great "liberal" Franklin Roosevelt who took up the cudgels for the common man, promising through the New Deal



to "drive the moneychangers out of the temple."

RESULTS OF ROOSEVELT

After five years of Roosevelt's rule, in 1938 there was set up the Temporary National Economic Committee, which discovered what every worker knew: "that most of the wealth is owned by a few large corporations, that these corporations in turn are owned by an infinitesimally small number of people." New and bigger mergers had taken place. On the eve of World War II, half of all the corporate stock was owned by only .06% of the population.

But the lushest pluckings were still to come. World War II opened unlimited vistas for the monopolists. What they once did circumspectly they were now able to accomplish boldly and openly. If any government official had any qualms, the corporations had only to appeal to the Supreme Court in order to get their "rights."

In the midst of the war, Attorney General Clark, who approved the Geneva plant grab by Big Steel, declared: "At the

start of the war program in this country 175,000 companies provided 70% of the nation's manufacturing output, while today, two and a half years later, the ratio has been reversed to the point where 100 corporations hold 70% of the war and essential civilian contracts."

One year later this ratio went up to 75%. By the end of the war 250 manufacturing corporations had assets of \$8.5 billion dollars as against 25.9 billions in 1939.

With the end of the war came a new investigation, this time under the auspices of the Senate Small Business Committee. Again, the alarm was sounded. But by the end of 1947, 100 largest manufacturing corporations owned assets of 41 billion dollars, more than the total industrial assets of all corporations before the war.

And once again we see riding a new knight in shining armor. It is Henry Wallace, who now mouths all the old slogans of Wilson and the two Roosevelts. But more and more workers are beginning to see through the fraud of "combating" monopolies within the framework of the capitalist system. Henry Wallace, Justice Douglas, like all their liberal predecessors, merely serve to perpetuate monopoly rule. They urge the workers to do the impossible. By calling upon the workers to "break up" the monopolies, they keep the working class from the only feasible solution: the nationalization of basic industries, banks, insurance companies, railways, utilities, etc. and their operation under workers' control.