

# **DOBBS AND CARLSON ADDRESS NATION IN BROADCASTS FROM SWP CONVENTION**

**Call for a Workers and Farmers Government  
As Only Answer to Wall Street War-Makers**

## **The Two Americas**

**James P. Cannon's Key-Note Speech  
Over the ABC Network on July 1st**

*The following is the keynote speech delivered by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, to the party's 13th convention at 11:15 P. M. on July 1, and broadcast over Radio network ABC at that time.*

Comrade Chairman, Delegates and Friends:

We meet in National Convention at a time of the gravest world crisis—a crisis which contains the direct threat of a third and more terrible world war. The basic causes of this world crisis are no mystery.

The first cause is the breakdown of capitalism throughout Europe—and Asia—and the colonial lands.

The working people want peace and bread, which capitalism cannot give.

The colonial slaves don't want to be slaves any more—and capitalism cannot live without colonial slaves.

The working people, the poor peasants and the colonial slaves are in revolt against the continued rule of bankers and landlords.

On the other hand, American capitalism—the last solvent stronghold of an outlived and doomed world system—is trying to prop up the hated regimes of capitalists and kings and landlords by economic pressure and military force.

These are the two main elements of the present world crisis. The Wall Street money-sharks, and the brass hats of Prussian mentality, are riding high in Washington these days.

The masters of America, drunk with power, are threatening and terrifying the people of the world—

Seeking to dominate and enslave them—

Striving to transform the other countries of the world into colonies of the American empire.

Their program is a program of madness, and is doomed to failure.

The great majority of the peoples of the world do not want to be slaves of America.

That is to their credit and we applaud them for it.

The attempt to enslave them would be profitable only for the small group of monopolists—and the military caste, who dream of careers as colonial administrators of conquered peoples.

But the criminal adventure would encounter such ferocious resistance that the American people at home would have to pay an enormous cost in living standards ruined by inflation, in the stamping out of democracy by military rule; and America's young sons would have to pay in misery, blood and death.

The American people would be among the first victims of the insane campaign of American imperialism to conquer and enslave the world.

To avoid this calamity it is necessary now to show the people of the world the other America.

For there are two Americas—and millions of the people already distinguish between them.

One is the America of the imperialists—of the little clique of capitalists, landlords, and militarists who are threatening and terrorizing the world.

This is the America that the people of the world hate and fear.

There is the other America—the America of the workers and farmers and the "little people."

They constitute the great majority of the people.

They do the work of the country.

They revere its old democratic traditions; its old record of friendship for the people of other lands, in their struggles against Kings and Despots; its generous asylum once freely granted to the oppressed.

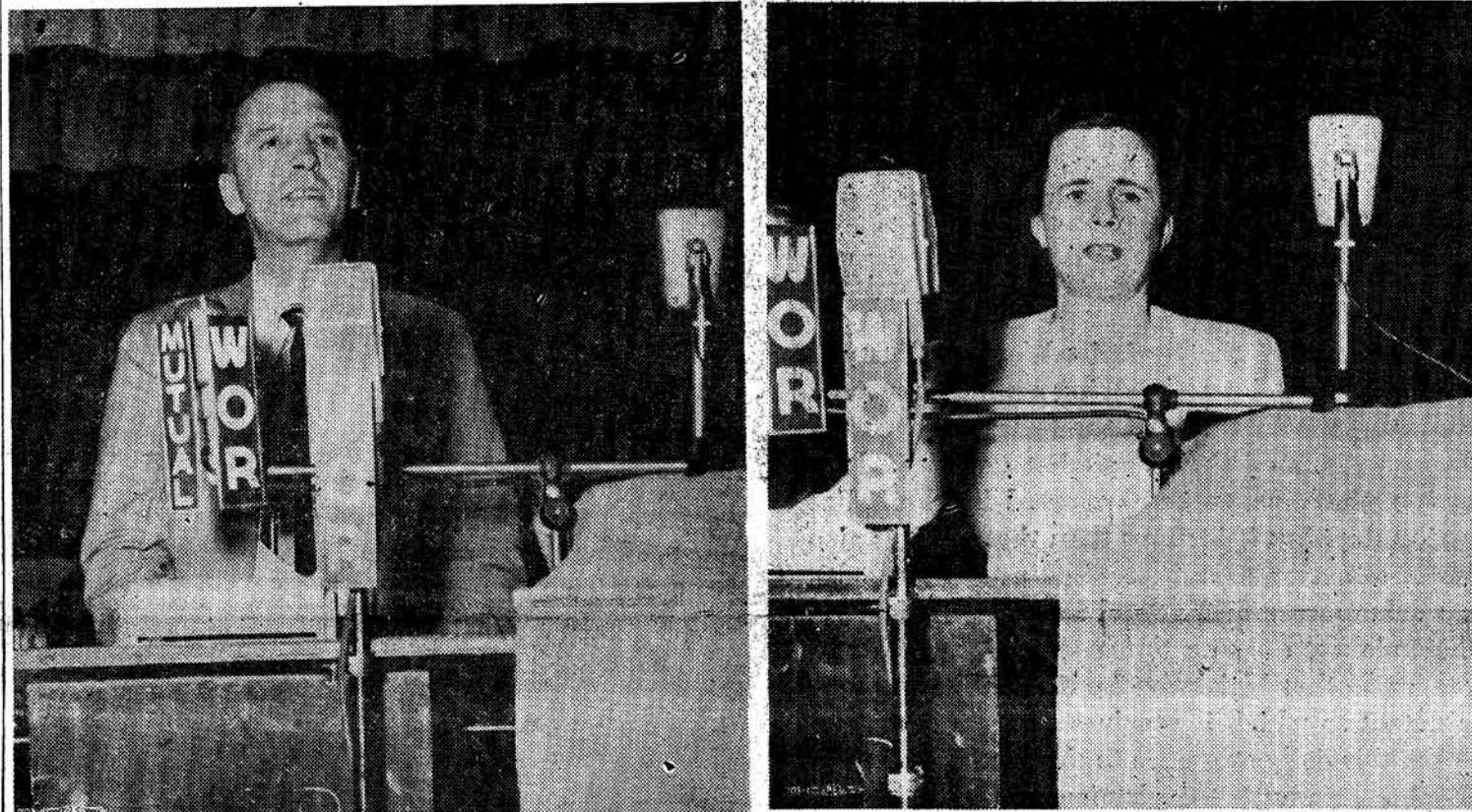
This is the America which must and will solve the world crisis—by taking power out of the hands of the little clique of exploiters and parasites, and establishing a government of workers and farmers.

The Workers and Farmers Government will immediately proceed to change things fundamentally.

Throw out the profit and rent hogs, and increase the living standards of the people who do the useful work.

(Continued on page 2)

## **SWP Candidates Address the Nation**



*Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson addressing the 13th National Convention of the SWP after their nominations for the presidency and vice-presidency. These acceptance speeches were broadcast over Mutual and other networks.*

## **National Election Platform Of the Socialist Workers Party**

Our vast natural resources and productive plant, the unexampled skill and energy of our workers, farmers and technicians are the essential elements for abolishing poverty and creating a rational and harmonious society.

At the same time never have the American people viewed the future with so much uncertainty and fear. For our generation war and depression are the outstanding memories of the past and the imminent perspectives of the future.

The price of a loaf of bread or a pound of meat, the right to speak freely without persecution, questions of war and peace, every aspect of life presents the mass of our people with perpetual insecurity and unending crisis.

What are the reasons our rulers give for this ruinous condition? Since 1914 Democrats and Republicans alike have been reduced to diverting the wrath of the people to some foreign enemy, the Kaiser and German militarism, Hitler and German fascism, and now, today, Stalin and the "Iron Curtain."

This explanation is repeated by politicians and the government, by the press, the pulpit and the radio, taught in schools and universities, and hammered into the heads of the population by every technical resource at the command of our capitalist masters. It can no longer deceive the people.

Gone are the days when individuals could carve out wealth for themselves and at the same time develop the country's economy. Today, bloated corporations choke our magnificent industrial resources.

But capitalism has not only created these monstrous monopolies. It has also brought into being the working class comprising tens of millions of people, with a high standard of education, great technical skills and imbued with traditions of democracy and social equality.

Shaken by the collapse of 1929, this working class has already shown its tremendous capabilities by its organization of the CIO and the rapid growth of industrial unionism.

The workers are becoming increasingly aware of capitalist inefficiency in the use of resources. They are beginning to see through the war-mongering of the imperialists. They resent the capitalist cheating of the people by inflation. They know that the Sixty Richest Families of the United States, like their counterparts abroad, will abandon democracy for Fascism at any serious threat to their profits, privileges and power.

The irrepressible conflict between the monopolists and the workers shakes America with ever-growing convulsions and

inxorably extends into a battle for rulership of the country.

The middle classes, the great mass of agricultural workers and small farmers, are ravaged by the anarchy of the profit system. Millions of women bear the burden of a double oppression. Exploited and abused just as all workers, they are also discriminated against, and often denied jobs in industry as well as having the burden of the home thrust upon them.

The generations of the youth face the prospect of serving in permanent conscript armies and providing the fodder for a new war. Capitalist corruption bears down with increasing force upon the high ideals of the professions of medicine, journalism, education and upon the workers in the arts, sciences and engineering.

Far from seeing any end to segregation, the Negro people have seen the Federal Government of Roosevelt and Henry Wallace carry the infamy of a Jim Crow Army to every quarter of the globe.

### **For Dobbs' and Carlson's Acceptance Speeches**

**See Page 4**

Tormented by these conditions the oppressed classes and groups are looking for a way out. There is no way out for them except to follow the leadership of organized labor. On the day when the working class can assure them of its determination to end capitalist anarchy and chaos, the rule of the capitalists is doomed.

The capitalists know this. That is why they concentrate all their power and energy to crush the growing challenge of the working class. The Taft-Hartley Law, the Mundt Bill, the Committee on Un-American Activities, the preparation for transforming the FBI into a Gestapo, militarization of the country, the strangling of liberties traditional in the United States since the beginning of the Republic—this long train of abuses and usurpations evinces a design to reduce the working class under an absolute despotism, the sole guarantee of capitalist rule in its period of decay.

Twice before have our people faced a similar threat. Twice before they have known how to meet it. In 1776 the farmers, mechanics and artisans, led by revolutionists such as Sam Adams, Jefferson and Washington destroyed the power of the British oligarchy who sought to crush the birth of a new nation.

(Continued on page 2)

## **Inspiring Five-Day Gathering Opens Presidential Campaign Of Socialist Workers Party**

**By Art Preis**

**NEW YORK, July 6** — Cheering to the echo the choice of Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson as first Trotskyist candidates for U. S. President and Vice-President, the 13th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party summoned the American people to join with the SWP in a forward march to a Workers and Farmers Government and socialism.

In an atmosphere charged with confidence and enthusiasm, the delegates, who sat in session from July 1 to 5 at the Irving Plaza Hall here, ratified the nominations of Dobbs and Carlson and launched a national election campaign for revolutionary socialism that recalls the day of Eugene Victor Debs.

Climaxing and high-pointing this inspiring convention, were three national radio broadcasts from the sessions. They included the keynote speech over ABC of James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary and 40-year veteran of the American class struggle, and the acceptance speeches of Comrades Dobbs and Carlson over Mutual and ABC. Another address is being delivered by Dobbs tonight over the NBC network.

**POWERFUL APPEALS**  
These radio addresses are unquestionably the most powerful socialist appeals that have ever been made to the American working class, the working farmers and Negro people. Never has such

(Continued on page 5)

## **PARTY LAUNCHES DRIVE FOR A \$25,000 FUND**

**NEW YORK CITY, July 2** — An Election Campaign and Party Building Fund of \$25,000 was successfully launched at a

Pointing to the interest already shown by many workers who have written to the Party in response to radio broadcasts by the SWP candidates, Clarke urged the delegates to provide the means with which to carry the message of Trotskyism throughout America.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." The roar of approval which greeted this quoted passage expressed the delegates readiness to rally behind the candidates and see that the necessary funds were raised. As Clarke called out the names of the branches, the chairmen of the delegations responded with pledges for the fund.

The New York City Local led the country with a pledge of \$7,500; Los Angeles was next with \$2,500; Chicago and the Minnesota sections each pledged \$2,000; Ohio \$1,800; Detroit \$1,600; San Francisco and Oakland \$1,500; New Jersey, \$750; Seattle, \$600; Philadelphia, \$500; Boston, \$400; Milwaukee, \$400; Connecticut, \$250; San Diego, Pittsburgh, \$200 each; Reading, \$150; Morgantown, \$100; Allentown, Baltimore and St. Louis, \$50 each.

# The 1948 Election Platform of the Socialist Workers Party

(Continued from page 1)

In 1860 William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, John Brown and Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln and Thaddeus Stevens personified the forces which waged merciless war against the slaveowners' attempt to perpetuate their outmoded system, halt the expansion of our economy and destroy the liberties of our people.

**The Socialist Workers Party, in these years of decision comes forward as the continuator of these revolutionary traditions. The socialist revolution is even more imperative for the salvation of the U. S. than was the Civil War and the war for independence.**

The Socialist Workers Party warns the people that the present struggle is so deeply rooted in a bankrupt economic system that it must end either in the complete destruction of civilization, or in the socialist reconstruction of society under the leadership of the working class.

**Let him who dares face the workers and farmers and tell them that they do not possess the knowledge, the will, the physical and intellectual resources, and the political capacity to pull this country back from the brink of the abyss to which monopoly capitalism has led it. The Socialist Workers Party bases its activity and aims upon its supreme confidence in the creative capacities of the working people.**

The Socialist Workers Party presents itself under the banner of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, Debs and Haywood. Their banner is our banner. These great leaders of international socialism were animated by the conviction that unless the tremendous powers of modern industry were taken over by the workers of the world, society would collapse into barbarism. The state of the world today is proof of how correct they were.

Genuine labor politics, however, can have nothing in common with the politics of the Democratic and Republican parties. Against the background of national and international crisis, increasing numbers of the American people view their antics with indignation and disgust. These parties are bi-partisan in foreign policy, bi-partisan in their devotion to capitalism, bi-partisan in their incapacity to cure its evils, bi-partisan in their assault upon the working class and the civil liberties of the American people. The only difference between them is the dispute over who can best secure the privileges and the pilfering which fall to those who administer the capitalist government.

These two parties would long ago have been repudiated and abandoned by the working men and women except for the treacherous and opportunist practices of the top union leaders, who are tied to the apron strings of the capitalist politicians and act as apologists, recruiters and vote-solicitors for them in the ranks of the workers.

The party of Henry Wallace represents nothing but an attempt to exploit the disgust of the people with the Democrats and the Republicans. The Wallace party is the unashamed champion of decaying capitalism. Claiming support as an anti-war party, its leader, Wallace, has betrayed the struggle in advance by declaring his readiness to support the projected war when it breaks out. Wallace's stock in trade is a recitation of evils without one single concrete proposal to mobilize labor's strength against monopoly capitalism, the source of all the evils he criticizes.

The Communist Party (Stalinists), which is supporting the Wallace party in this year's election, is interested in the class struggle only insofar as it can be exploited to advance the interests of the arch-reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin. When it serves Stalin's purposes, as it did during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the American Stalinists talk class struggle, support strikes, pay lip-service to the need for socialism, etc. And similarly, when it serves Stalin's purposes, as it did during the wartime period of the Washington-Moscow alliance, the American Stalinists advocate class collaboration, "national unity," cessation of labor and Negro struggles, strike-

breaking, etc. In their case they remain instruments of Stalin's reactionary foreign policy and must be seen as enemies of the workers' true class interests and revolutionary socialism.

The Socialist Party of Norman Thomas pretends that war can be stopped by the United Nations just as it pretended that the war could be stopped by the League of Nations. While denouncing war in general it is no less ready to support World War III than it was to support World War II. It seeks to reform and not to abolish capitalism.

**The Socialist Workers Party alone consistently and unconditionally champions the interests of the workers in their struggles against capitalism, and works to organize them for its abolition. This goal is expressed and concretized in the Socialist Workers Party's fundamental objective in the 1948 campaign — the mobilization of the masses for a Workers and Farmers Government.**

Such a government, based on direct representation from democratically elected councils of workers, farmers, housewives, soldier and minority groups, will initiate the reign of real and complete democracy in every sphere of life. It will take over the means of production, expand and coordinate them in a planned economy, and create the conditions for permanent prosperity. It will end the rule of coupon-clippers and put the former capitalists to work at honest toil. Its victory will bring peace and harmony to the United States by doing away with the material cause of class divisions and therefore of class conflicts. The victory of socialism in the most powerful country will serve as an inspiring example to be quickly followed by the rest of the world.

Only a Workers and Farmers Government can re-organize our crumbling society on a rational basis and bring that new birth of freedom and prosperity which is socialism.

Only Workers and Farmers Government pledged to irreconcilable opposition to every vestige of monopoly capitalism can prevent a Third World War.

The program, the platform, the policies and the methods which we advocate will be realized through the formation of a great independent party, led and organized by the working class, including all those tens of millions whose basic hostility to capitalism need only this leadership to achieve full consciousness and resolute action. Such a party, embracing the productive, social and political activity of the vast majority of the nation, is today the guarantee of democracy. By its mere existence it will be an invincible safeguard against totalitarianism in any shape or form.

**The platform of the Socialist Workers Party is not designed to patch up the dying capitalist system, but to protect the interests of the toilers against the brutal aggressions of their capitalist enemies. It is an election platform, to be supported by the ballot on election day, but it is more than that — it is also a program of action to unite and guide the struggles of the workers on a year-round basis. Its effectiveness depends not only on the support it receives in Congress and other legislative bodies, but even more on the extent to which it receives support from the masses in their daily struggles in the factories, in the unions, etc. Its aim is to organize and mobilize the working people for the part they are destined to play in the march to a better world.**

In line with these fundamental objectives, the Socialist Workers Party advocates the following platform.

## 1. Foreign Policy

It is necessary to take the war-making powers out of the hands of Congress! Let the people vote through nation-wide

referendum on the questions of war or peace! No secret diplomacy! Withdraw all troops from foreign soil! For the complete independence of the colonial peoples! No confidence whatever in the United Nations, dominated by despots of every variety and designed to spread the illusion that peace is possible under capitalism! Full solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of workers and farmers in all lands — those dominated by American imperialism as well as those dominated by reactionary Stalinism! For the Socialist United States of the World!

## 2. Labor's Standards of Living

For the inclusion in all union contracts of an escalator clause (also known as the sliding scale of wages or automatic cost-of-living bonus) to meet the rising cost of living, with the safeguard that wages shall not fall below the basic rates established in the contract! For the application of this principle to wages of all government employees, veterans' allotments, old age allowances, old age pensions and social security. For the establishment of price control, to be regulated and enforced by mass consumers committees composed of housewives, unionists, working farmers and small shopkeepers! For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week, with no reduction in pay! For unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages!

## 3. Labor and Civil Rights

Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act! No government interference in union affairs! No restrictions on the right to organize, strike and picket! No compulsory arbitration! Repeal all anti-labor laws! Down with government by injunction!

An end to red-baiting, witch hunts and political persecution! Withdraw the "subversive" blacklists used for political persecution of government and other employees! Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities! Defeat the Mundt Bill and all other measures to totalitarianize American politics! Liberalize the election laws which discriminate against minority parties through excessive petition requirements and subject them to arbitrary exclusion from the ballot! Old enough to be drafted old enough to vote! Safeguard and extend the Bill of Rights!

## 4. Rights of Minority Groups

Smash the Jim Crow system! Full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people and other minorities! Pass and enforce legislation to punish lynching, abolish the poll tax, establish a Fair Employment Practices Committee with power to root out discriminatory practices, eliminate segregation wherever it exists! Combat anti-Semitism in all its forms! Wipe out discriminatory immigration policies and open the doors of the U.S. to refugees! Unite the workers of all races for the common struggle against their exploiters!

## 5. Farm Policy

Establish a federal farm program to guarantee the cost of production to working farmers and operated under the control

of their own representatives! Expand rural electrification! No limitation on crops! A federal program for soil conservation and flood control! No taxes on savings of cooperatives! A federal ban on all speculation in farm commodities! Abolish sharecropping and landlordism! The land to those who work it!

## 6. Military Policy

Against a permanent conscript army! It is necessary to establish a system of military training, financed and equipped by the government, but operating under the control and discipline of the trade union movement! Abolish the officer caste system in the armed forces! Full democratic rights for the ranks in all the services, including their right to participate in politics and public life, to elect their own officers, to organize along union lines and engage in collective bargaining! Abolish race segregation in the armed forces! Trade union wages for the servicemen!

## 7. Housing

The federal government must be forced to declare a state of national housing emergency, and to initiate a program to erect 25 million permanent, low-cost, low-rent housing units! Nationalize and operate under workers' control all the feeder industries which provide building materials! Operate this housing program through a government planning board composed of outstanding architects, engineers and representatives of the workers in the building trades! Finance this housing program by diverting the billions now being expended for war preparations! Homes, not atom bombs! Clear the slums! Restore rent control, under the supervision of tenants committees!

## 8. Taxation

Repeal all payroll taxes! Abolish all sales taxes! No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year! A 100% tax on incomes over \$25,000 a year! Tax the rich, not the poor!

## 9. Government Ownership of Industry

Nationalize the basic industries, all war plants, and natural resources and operate them in the interests of the producers and consumers by democratically-elected committees of workers and technicians! Nationalize the banks! Institute a planned economy of abundance, based on production for use, not for private profit!

## 10. Independent Political Action

Labor must break all ties with the capitalist parties — Democratic, Republican, Walla-eite! For an independent Labor Party, based on the trade unions and embracing the working farmers, Negroes and veterans!

**For a United Labor Conference, with representation from all unions, to launch labor's own party and run labor's own candidates for office! For a Workers and Farmers Government!**

### Greetings and Messages of the SWP Convention

To Natalia Trotsky Sedov  
The Thirteenth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party sends you fraternal greetings. We are proud to inform you that the Convention has unanimously nominated Farrell Dobbs as candidate for President and Grace Carlson for Vice-President of the United States. This presidential campaign enables us for the first time to carry out on a national scale our pledge to bring to the workers, working farmers, the Negroes and all the oppressed layers of the population, including women and the youth, those liberating ideas of Socialism for which our martyred leader, Leon Trotsky, fought so unswervingly all of his conscious life.

### RESOLUTION ON ARRANGEMENTS

The 13th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party expresses its appreciation to the New York Local for its splendid work in organizing the practical details of the convention. The thoroughness of the arrangements committed in taking care of housing, socials, decorations, committee rooms, panels, and all the difficult tasks, has helped to make this 5-day convention one of the most efficient and successful in the history of our party.

The New York Local and its arrangements committee have thereby set a model for our whole party to follow in the presidential campaign period now before us.

# THE TWO AMERICAS

(Continued from page 1)

Assure freedom and democratic rights to all, not forgetting those who are denied any semblance of them now.

Call back the truculent admirals from the seven seas—and ground the airplane with their dangling bombs.

Hold out the hand of friendship and comradely help to the oppressed and hungry people in the world.

These people don't want to fight anybody.

They only want to live.

There are two billion people in the world—and more than half of them don't get enough to eat.

These people should be helped—not threatened, not driven back into slavery, under the social system that has kept half of them hungry all their lives.

It is well to recall now that America was born of revolution in 1776—and secured its unity as a nation through another revolution—the Civil War—which smashed the abomination of chattel slavery in the process.

Our great, rich, wonderful country was once the light and the hope of the world.

But our America has fallen into the hands of a small, selfish group—who are trying to dominate the world—and to set up a police state at home.

These Wall Street money sharks are just as foreign to the real America as were the despots who ruled the land before the revolution of 1776.

They are just as foreign as were the traffickers in human flesh and blood—the slave owners—whose power was broken by the Civil War—the blessed second American Revolution.

These imperialist rulers of America are the worst enemies of the American people.

American democracy, under their rule, is slipping away. The fear that oppressed Mark Twain, the fear that America would lose its democracy, is steadily becoming a reality before our eyes.

The Taft-Hartley law is but the most recent instance of this ominous trend.

The divine right of kings has reappeared in America—disguised as the divine right of judges to issue injunctions and levy fines against labor organizations.

Only three years have passed since the imperialists finished the last slaughter.

And now they are drafting the youth for another.

Militarism is becoming entrenched in America.

Militarism — so long synonomous with goose-stepping

Prussianism—is now to be made synonymous with Americanism, if Big Business has its way.

A large section of the sturdy immigrants who helped to build this country came here to escape militarism.

Now their grandsons face the same brutal regimentation here.

All this is part and parcel of the development of capitalism—the system which puts profits above all other considerations.

The capitalist system of economy has long outlived its usefulness.

Capitalism offers no future to the people but depressions, imperialist wars, fascism, universal violence and a final plunge into barbarism.

To avoid such a fate, the workers of the United States must go into politics on their own account independent of all capitalist politics. They must take power, establish a Workers and Farmers Government, and reorganize the economy of the country on a socialist basis.

Socialist economy in the United States, eliminating capitalist wars, profits and waste, will be so productive as to ensure a rich living for all who are willing and able to work, and provide security and ample means for the aged and infirm.

We should also help the hungry people of the world to improve their standard of life.

Socialist America will rapidly make that possible by helping them to secure their own freedom and develop their own economy.

Eventually, the economy of the entire world will be united and planned on a socialist basis.

This will bring universal peace—and undreamed of abundance for all people everywhere.

The real upward march of humanity will begin.

The American working class can open up the way to this new world.

They are the majority.

They have the power in America.

All that is necessary is for the working class to understand it—and to use it.

We firmly believe they will do so.

We firmly believe that the real America—the America of the workers—the people—will help to save the world by saving herself.

We, the American Trotskyists—We, the National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, summon our America to her great destiny—not as the conqueror—but as the liberator of the world.

"Our party didn't sell out, didn't lie. We told the truth. That is why we are being railroaded to prison." James P. Cannon, national Secretary of the SWP, said these words when this picture was made on Dec. 26, 1943, at the farewell banquet for him and 17 other members of the Socialist Workers Party railroaded to jail for opposing the Second imperialist World War.

Seated beside him is Farrell Dobbs, also sent to jail, who is today running for president of the United States on the SWP ticket.

Comrade Frank showed how throughout this period, virtually everything was resolved around the central and still unresolved task of building a genuine left-wing leadership in the unions.

This complicated and difficult task assumes special urgency in the face of the growing integration of the labor bureaucracy with the capitalist state, in the face of the latter's anti-labor offensive, its rule by court injunctions, its red-baiting campaigns, its drive to militarize the country, to drag down living standards.

In the face of the tasks that face labor today, the "labor statesmen" who played such a shabby role in the past are bankrupt. Their program is that of throttling the membership, draining the unions of their independence and reducing them to ap-

pendages of the imperialist state,"

Comrade Frank pointed out. The workers will never accept all this docilely.

Above all, they will tend to resist the policy of the top union officialdom in blocking labor's road to independent political action.

The politicalization of American labor is the inescapable outcome of the crisis now convulsing the unions. This trend will deepen with the coming labor struggles which loom on the horizon.

It is within this setting that the nascent left wing in the unions will grow, will be forged and prepared to assume the leadership. It is within this setting that the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party will obtain the widest hearing and more big gains in the days ahead.

ST. PAUL SWP

### 13th Annual

### Strawberry Festival

White Bear, Minn.

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Monday, July 12, 1948



TROTSKY



LENIN

"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

## The Only Road For Yugoslavia

It is clear beyond the shadow of a doubt that there is an irreparable breach between the Tito-dominated Yugoslav government and the Yugoslav Communist Party on the one side and the Kremlin despots and their international political machine, the Cominform, on the other. As this conflict extends and deepens, it destroys, in passing, myths concerning the nature of Stalinism—its alleged invincible power, its alleged stability and so on.

One myth spread by both the Kremlin and Washington, and all their conscious or unconscious agents in the ranks of the labor movement, already lies shattered beyond repair. This is the myth that the only choice for all peoples today is the choice between Stalinism and "democratic" capitalism.

The people of Yugoslavia are now in a position where they can strike out on the road of socialism. And as a matter of fact, this is the only road for them, if they are to safeguard their independence, let alone their opportunities for progress.

There are many important questions connected with the Yugoslav events. But the aspect that looms above all others is the struggle for the independence of a workers' and peasants' Yugoslavia against Washington on the one side and Moscow on the other.

This has acquired burning timeliness because of the open breach in the ranks of the international Stalinist machine. And for this very reason the Yugoslav question can in the next period play a central role not alone in the life of Eastern Europe but of the whole world.

The two major enemies of the independence struggle of the Yugoslav peoples are Washington and Moscow.

American imperialism is the deadly opponent of real independence of all European peoples, including Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav workers and peasants, who have in the main broken with capitalism, will find all their aspirations for independence and progress trampled ruthlessly underfoot the moment that Washington is able directly or indirectly to impose its will and policies on their country.

As for the hacks of the Cominform, they are now all shrieking that by refusing to obey the dictates of the Kremlin and its Cominform, Tito has betrayed Yugoslavia to Washington. But this is only a typical Stalinist falsehood. We would be the last to deny that Tito and his friends are fully capable of selling themselves and selling out the country to the American imperialists. But the fact remains that they have not yet done so.

It is equally false to talk as if Tito and his friends are completely free agents. They are very powerful in Yugoslavia, of course. But they know that an orientation towards Washington would spell the full restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia and this can be accomplished only after a bitter struggle, only by crushing the very same forces in the working class and the peasantry upon whom Tito's regime itself now rests.

Neither is Wall Street entirely free to impose its will on Yugoslavia. Any open move in this direction on the part of Washington would provoke a storm of resistance not only in Yugoslavia but in the rest of Europe, and even throughout the world. Tito's regime thus has a certain amount of room to maneuver not only against the masses at home but also with respect to both the Kremlin and Washington. Naturally this is a highly unstable and temporary situation. The moment of decision cannot be postponed indefinitely.

The other major opponent of the independence of Yugoslavia—the Kremlin oligarchy—views Yugoslavia as just another administrative division within the framework of the Soviet economic set-up and just another Soviet military base. They seek to strangle and plunder the people of Yugoslavia, just as they do inside the USSR itself. It means exactly nothing to Stalin and his henchmen, if in the process they trample not only on the needs and interests of the Yugoslav people but also the most deeply-rooted Yugoslav national aspirations.

But Tito and his group are driven to take all this into account, as their own position and privileges inside Yugoslavia are directly involved. And now that they have come into open collision with Stalin, their own heads are at stake.

The Kremlin is applying economic pressure in order to crush Yugoslav resistance. It is already cutting off not only Soviet imports and exports but also the foreign trade of Yugoslavia with other countries in the Soviet "sphere of influence." Such measures will have profound repercussions far beyond the borders of Yugoslavia. They must ultimately produce results that will, among other things, still further expose Stalinism as the enemy of all peoples, including the Yugoslavs.

The case of Yugoslavia is a living proof of the abyss between Leninism and Stalinism. Lenin's constitution guaranteed to the component Soviet federated peoples the right of self-determination, that is, the right to separation, if so desired. Under his regime, the separate nationalities were granted the fullest measure of autonomous rights and concessions.

Under Stalin, the Soviet regime has become the mortal foe of independence of the nationalities and tramples on their rights.

The whole world, including the peoples of Eastern Europe and Stalinist-influenced workers everywhere, is now able to see this. In Yugoslavia Stalin refuses to make any concessions even to a section of his own bureaucracy, let alone the Yugoslav people themselves.

Stalinist brutality toward Yugoslavia will help strip all the veils from Kremlin policies in the Ukraine, in the Caucasus and all other so-called "autonomous" republics of the USSR, where the purges have literally never ceased.

The native bureaucracies there also could not help coming into conflict with the Kremlin, but they did not have the power to resist that is afforded to the Tito regime in Yugoslavia. That is why it appeared as if the Kremlin could do anything and everything it pleased, under all conditions, any time, anywhere.

It took only a certain alteration of conditions—the extension of Stalinist power beyond the original Soviet frontiers—for the class struggle, which Stalin seemed so free to flaunt and cheat, to erupt into the open. Ironically enough, history has dealt Stalin the most damaging blow he has yet personally experienced in a country which seemed to be the most secure within the Soviet "sphere." What seemed to be the strongest link in the Stalinist chain of political organizations abroad, proved to be the weakest so far as the Kremlin itself was concerned.

Many superficial observers, along with a whole coterie of tired ex-radicals, became so impressed with Stalin's temporary successes in cheating history that they hastened to conclude that Stalinism had cancelled out the class struggle, or in any case had drastically altered all its laws. Each in his own way, they all declared Marxism "outmoded"—constructing new "theories" as absurd and reactionary as the entire Stalinist system of ideas itself.

But Stalinism—as the Yugoslav events eloquently reiterate—does not stand above the class struggle and the laws of capitalist society as discovered by Marx, nor can it cancel them out. For a brief historical period, Stalinism has been able to fasten itself on the working class because of its usurped prestige and the temporary decline of working class revolutionary initiative. But with the first massive upsurge, it is destined to crack wide open and then disappear. The first time the masses are offered a practical alternative, they will surge forward against capitalism under non-Stalinist, genuinely socialist auspices.

All it took to permit the class struggle to assert itself was for a section of the Stalinist bureaucracy to refuse to follow blindly the Kremlin's dictates. The chain of events now unfolding in Yugoslavia started with this. But it cannot end here. The independence of Yugoslavia is now the central issue confronting her people. They can guarantee it only as a free and independent Workers' and Peasants' Socialist Yugoslavia.

# Enthusiastic Letters Come in Flood From Listeners to SWP Broadcasts

## Vice-Presidential Candidate on Picket Line



Grace Carlson didn't become an advocate for workers rights just for the purposes of an election campaign, as is usually the case with vice-presidential and presidential candidates. Here she is shown walking the picket line with St. Paul, Minn. teachers when they staged the largest teachers' strike in history in November 1946.

From the flood of appreciations, criticisms and inquiries coming into our office in response to the SWP convention broadcasts, we are printing these excerpts of a number of the letters—Ed.

### FROM FLUSHING, N. Y.

Having heard the acceptance addresses of both your presidential and vice-presidential candidates, I was much impressed with the truth of what they said and am enthusiastic about the new perspective your program would lend to our past stumbling with such explosive world problems. Please send me copies of these speeches.

W.M.D.

### FROM NEW YORK CITY

It is no wonder that we get nowhere. The Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, and now the Socialist Workers Party. What is the difference between work and labor? I like to see Unity. Get together, Boys.

N.D.

### FROM NEW YORK CITY

You may call yourselves Socialists, but your principles are communistic and God pity America if the ignorant people follow you. If it wasn't for the rich you wouldn't be working. I am a worker but a thinker and I know how rotten your ideas are. No one wants war but the only safe way not to have it is for America to be strong. You people are crazy.

Mrs. R.G.M.

### FROM WARREN, OHIO

We listened to you . . . and are going to listen again tomorrow. Bravo! I like your philosophy.

I heard John Nesbitt tell of Tom Paine's (of revolutionary fame) trip to jail for pamphlets against Geo. III, this morning. This evening I remember days in the W. Va. mountains, hearkening to your voice again, and hearing you term the modern day hypocrites fakers.

L.C.M.

### FROM APPLETON, WIS.

We heard your speech over the radio last night. We admired your fearlessness of expression on our present day economic problems. Would you please forward copy of this speech of July 2.

Mrs. L.D.

### FROM NEW YORK CITY

This evening I listened carefully to the speeches of your two candidates. I think I have never heard anything so absolutely stupid. I have been a worker all my life and I am thankful that there are capitalists who have made it possible for me to receive a recompense for my work.

L.S.

### FROM WHIPPLE, ARIZ.

Please send me copy of radio broadcast by Mr. Dobbs.

God forbid we have another dose of Pendergrast and Truman, for hypocrisy and double crossing we have to find his equal in history, except the Great Humanitator Roosevelt, who is not yet fully exposed. Anything for a change.

M.P.S.

### FROM LONG BEACH, CALIF.

Caught your radio speech— I'm still holding my nose! However, if you keep it up, you may poll a few hundred votes.

Your story is older than time itself. It is true, mankind in general is subject to much reform. However, to place that reform into the hands of soap box orators would not ameliorate conditions one iota.

Isn't it better to retain the freedom of will than submit to dictatorship and become a robot?

J.C.

### FROM ALHAMBRA, CALIF.

Please send me the speech by Mr. J. P. Cannon that was broadcast. I am very much interested.

Mrs. H.O.

### FROM MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

This country has been doing fine for the past two hundred years and we don't need your gang of soap box orators—now or ever.

### 25 Progressive Citizens Club Members of Minnesota

Please mail to my address one copy of Platform of Cannon, Dobbs and Carlson's speeches. If you could spare 5¢ doz. copies of each I would hand them around to my friends. I think as you think and have for some time that our economy must and will be managed in the interests of the people who produce in place

of those who profit. But when in Heaven's name will it be done? Not till another crash I presume, even if then. The ten years of depression during the thirties and two world wars seems to have taught them but little. Some of the worst legislators in Congress have now been reelected. However, men with the Holy Light.

Must work on, and on, and on. Till retreat of the awful night. And the break of a glorious Dawn.

Former member of California Legislature

\* \* \*

### FROM LA CANADA, CALIF.

Would you kindly send me a few pamphlets concerning the breakdown of the capitalistic system.

A.W.L.

\* \* \*

### FROM BOONTON, N. J.

Listened to your rally over the radio and being an old S.L.P. member was interested. Was a member of Section Yonkers, back around 1908. This section was expelled, but for what reason I never could find out, having been in Chicago for sometime when it happened and not a member at the time. Having been out of touch with the party, was surprised to learn this was your 13th convention.

Your presidential candidates speech was so clearly class conscious that I'm wondering if perhaps the Socialist Workers Party are not an off-shoot of the S.L.P. Would be interested to hear from you.

C.N.

\* \* \*

### FROM CULVER CITY, CALIF.

I was interested in the talk given this morning on the radio by your presidential and vice-presidential nominees and would like to have copies of the talk if I may.

I listened to several of your convention broadcasts and was impressed by the ideas expressed and by the enthusiasm with which they were delivered and received.

A.F.C.

\* \* \*

### FROM LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

It was very inspiring to me who has been interested in socialism for many years and I desire the copies requested for some of my more capitalistic-minded friends.

My wife is the youngest daughter of George Koop, famous socialist of Illinois, who passed on several years ago.

Mrs. R.F.

\* \* \*

### FROM DUBUQUE, IOWA.

I listened to the Socialist Workers Party program on the radio. I am very proud. Will you please send me a copy.

C.M.

\* \* \*

### FROM LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Been socialist all my life. This is the first time I heard it explained so clearly, and I am 81 years alive in this U.S.A.

A.S.

\* \* \*

### FROM NEVADA, MISSOURI.

I am very much interested in your party after hearing your vice-presidential nominee speak

on radio last night. I didn't know that there was any party existing that stood for peace. I would like to have full particulars about your party. Also some campaign buttons and stickers if you have any to spare.

N.B.P.

\* \* \*

### Demands Opening Of U. S. Doors

I am deeply interested in the work that you are doing to make America a decent place in which to live. Will you please send me a copy of the speeches made by the presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

R.H.B.

\* \* \*

### FROM OAKMONT, PA.

I would be very much delighted if you would send me the speech by one of the members of the Socialist Workers Party that was broadcast over the radio on the eve of July 1. He was sensational, the best I've ever heard.

Miss G.L.U.

\* \* \*

### FROM PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Heard your speech last night and was silently cheering while listening to it.

Please send me all available literature and also I would like to extend my services to you, if I could be of some help in your forthcoming campaign.

Mrs. L.Z.

\* \* \*

### FROM BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I will be deeply grateful if you will send me a copy of Mr. Cannon's speech on the radio broadcast on July 1.

# Radio Talks of Dobbs and Carlson

## "For a Workers and Farmers Government"

The following is the acceptance speech of Farrell Dobbs after his nomination as presidential candidate by the Socialist Workers Party, delivered over the national radio network of the Mutual Broadcasting System on Friday evening, July 2, 1948.

Comrade chairman and delegates.

I accept the nomination as the first presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, tendered to me by this convention. I thank you for honoring me with your confidence.

We enter the battle for the presidency in a period of grave economic and political crisis. A crisis as vital in its consequences to the American people as that which confronted our forefathers 172 years ago.

Before the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, the American people lived under the tyranny of the British lords of trade and their political agent, King George. That tyranny was smashed by revolutionary struggle at Bunker Hill and Valley Forge. And the United States leaped forward to achieve the greatest capacity for production of any nation on earth.

Now a new set of tyrants—the monopoly corporations and banking syndicates—have fastened themselves upon the American people. Under their rule, want and fear stalk through the land.

Food and clothing cost a king's ransom. Housing conditions are a national scandal.

Negroes and other minorities are subjected to cruel persecution. The foreign born are hounded—unless they happen to be unemployed kings, or fascists who were run out of their native land.

### Bitter Fruits of Capitalism

For the unions, monopoly capitalism has provided a slave labor law, the Taft-Hartley Act. Government strikebreaking has become routine procedure in every labor controversy.

Witch hunts against political minorities are conducted by the government. Scientists are subjected to military regimentation. The proposed Mundt bill threatens to establish thought control. These are ominous steps in the direction of a police state.

Another long stride toward a military and police state is the peacetime draft of American youth, who will be subjected to the tender mercies of the anti-labor brass hats.

Over every man, woman and child hangs the threat of war, with the grim prospect of destruction from atomic bombs.

These are the bitter fruits of monopoly capitalism, which today rules America through the Republican and Democratic parties.

### New Declaration of Independence

A new Declaration of Independence is needed to smash this new tyranny. Millions of working people no longer trust the Republicans and Democrats. Nor can they trust any other politician who supports and defends the capitalist system.

The working people need to build their own political party, armed with a program to serve the class interests of the men and women who toil.

The Socialist Workers Party is such a party. This is demonstrated by the platform adopted at this convention.

The Socialist Workers Party is 100% opposed to the capitalist system. We call for the establishment of a socialist society. We advocate the nationalization of the basic industries and their operation under workers' control.

The Socialist Workers Party calls for full equality for Negroes and all other minority peoples. We are opposed to any restriction on the right to strike. We demand that all laws which abridge

## "A SYMBOL OF OUR WAY OF LIFE"

Nominating speech by Murray Weiss of Farrell Dobbs at the 13th National Convention of the SWP.

Comrades, we nominate differently, we nominate different people, different kinds of people, we are, as Comrade Trotsky put it, a different kind of a party. There has never been a party like ours in history before. We are the Bolshevik type of party, a party founded on principles and on people who take their principles so seriously that their whole lives become action and thought to carry through these principles consistently to the very end.

In nominating Farrell Dobbs, and contrary to the mockery of nomination speeches and traditions of bourgeois parties, we don't leave the name until the end, although everybody knows it in the beginning. In nominating Farrell Dobbs, I think it is more than a phrase to say that we are nominating a symbol, an individual who is a symbol of our ideas, our methods, and our way of life. Not an individual who suits his principles and his declarations on political questions to the needs of a political career, but an individual symbolizing the whole current thought in history of our movement, whose whole life has been devoted to carrying out the central ideas of emancipating revolutionary socialism.

Comrade Farrell's name is associated with two crucial episodes in the history of American Trotskyism. The first episode that I refer to is the test of the ideas and the powers of American Trotskyism in the field of the American working class mass movement—the Minneapolis strikes, where we demonstrated to the hilt we were not sectarian phrase-mongers, that our principles were not text book ideas, but living

### ATTENTION!

All Militant readers with friends in the following states who are in a position to help place the names of the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot, are urged to send their names to George Clarke, Campaign Director, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Arizona	New Hampshire
Colorado	New Mexico
Idaho	North Dakota
Iowa	Rhode Island
Kentucky	South Dakota
Louisiana	Tennessee
Maine	Texas
Montana	Utah
Nevada	Vermont
Nebraska	

### ST. LOUIS FORUM ON THE MARSHALL PLAN

This question will be discussed at the Militant Open Forum on Thursday, July 15 at 8 p.m. Come and bring your friends.

**Socialist Workers Party**  
St. Louis Branch  
1023 N. Grand Blvd.  
Room 312, Olivette Building

## "The Only Road To Peace"

The following is the acceptance speech of Grace Carlson after her nomination as vice-presidential candidate by the Socialist Workers Party convention, broadcast over a national radio network by the Mutual Broadcasting System on Friday evening, July 2, 1948.

Delegates to the 13th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party—Working Men and Women of America—Friends of Peace and Freedom everywhere.

I accept, with grateful thanks, your nomination as candidate for Vice-President of the United States. In these dark days of imperialist reaction, when rumors of war fill every headline, a candidate of our party must be a real anti-war fighter—a crusader for peace.

I am keenly aware of the responsibility you have placed upon me. I pledge myself to do all that I can to carry forward the struggle against the Third World War—the Atomic Horror, which our American masters are now preparing for us and all of the peoples of the world.

There is only one way to fight war—that is, to do away with the capitalist system, which breeds war, and replace it with an international socialist society. Socialism or Barbarism—that is the choice before us.

### Remember the Promises?

Other people have tried other ways to fight war. All of them have failed. How many millions of peace-loving Americans trusted Woodrow Wilson in 1916 and depended on his promise to keep us out of World War I? Do you remember the old pacifist song that was popular in those days, "I Didn't Raise My Boy To Be a Soldier"? Like the mothers and fathers of all ages and of all climes, the mothers and fathers of 1916 were saying "I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier—I brought him up to be my pride and joy."

They thought that Wilson would help them. They hoped that he would save their boys from the horror of the First World War, which was then raging in Europe. They voted for Wilson in large numbers in the 1916 election.

But Wilson was a capitalist politician—a tool of Wall Street. When he was told that America's capitalist interests required it, Wilson violated his pacifist promises and took the United States into the war. And many thousands of American boys, who had been brought up to be their parents' "pride and joy," died miserable deaths on the far-away battlefields of Belgium and France.

### The Betrayal of Roosevelt

But this was not the last betrayal at the hands of capitalist politicians. In the election campaign of 1940, President Roosevelt said time and again that he hated war and that he would never agree to send American boys to fight on foreign soil. And another generation of mothers and fathers, who didn't want to raise their boys to be soldiers, hoped that Roosevelt would keep us out of World War II. They trusted him and voted for him.

Once again, American capitalist interests demanded that the United States enter the war. American investments had to be protected! German and Japanese competitors had to be removed! And so, once more, American blood was spilled on foreign battlefields. Lonely graves on Okinawa and in Italy and in a half a hundred other far-flung places, bear sad testimony to Roosevelt's broken promises.

### Don't Make the Same Mistake

Mothers and fathers of America, don't make the same mistake again! Don't depend on the lying promises of today's capitalist politicians. Don't trust them to keep your boys out of the next World War! They are no different from Wilson and Roosevelt. They will betray you again and again and again!

If you support the capitalist party candidates—Dewey, Truman—Wallace—or whoever they may be, you will find, inevitably, that you have raised another crop of soldiers for American imperialism!

True enough, Wallace says that he is com-

pletely opposed to Wall Street's plans for a war against the Soviet Union. But that's for today. He has also said that he will support the war once it has been declared. And it couldn't be any other way! The millionaire, Henry Wallace, is completely sold on the merits of the so-called free enterprise system. He may differ with some of the Wall Street leaders from time to time as to their tactics. He may believe that it's best to make a deal with Stalin right now. But, when the time comes, Wallace will find a way to justify American imperialism's next war, just as he has done in the past.

But Farrell Dobbs and I and the Socialist Workers Party, for which we speak, are consistent anti-war fighters. We fight against war—and for socialism—365 days a year—in and year out—before, during and after war.

### We Opposed World War II

We were opposed to World War II at a time when Henry Wallace was whooping it up for the war. Don't you remember Vice-President Wallace's solemn declaration that World War II would usher in the Century of the Common Man?

But Farrell Dobbs and I thought—and spoke—otherwise. We said that nothing could come out of this bloody capitalist war but increased suffering for the common men—of all countries—and increased profits for the wealthy few. And sadly enough, for the common man—so-called—it was Dobbs and I who were right and not the demagogic Wallace! Nothing good can ever come out of a capitalist war—certainly, nothing good for the working people.

Of course, the capitalists and their political agents and high-paid journalists try to tell us that these wars are fought for high and holy causes—"To Make the World Safe for Democracy" or "To Establish the Four Freedoms All Over the Earth." Is there a single soul left on the face of the earth, who still believes that there was even One Freedom established by World War II—let alone Four?

### The New Pretext for War

Now, they are telling us that the Third World War, which is being prepared, is necessary in order to prevent the spread of "Stalinist totalitarianism." They moan about the lack of political freedom in the Soviet Union and in the border countries. They talk about "freedom," these Republican and Democratic fakers, who have not only tolerated, but supported the system of abject political slavery in the South! Any one who is truly interested in spreading political freedom can start right here in the United States—right in Washington, D.C., itself.

The Socialist Workers Party is unalterably opposed to Stalinist totalitarian methods and to nationalism. Stalin has committed terrible crimes against the Russian people and the peoples of the neighboring countries. But we do not believe that they should be rescued by the American imperialists. Actually, the American imperialists and their junior partners, the English imperialists, dream of turning Russia into a colony for capitalist exploitation. They hope to succeed where Hitler failed.

### Stop the War-Makers!

Wall Street's War-Makers must be stopped! Mothers and fathers of America, young men and young women who are about to be conscripted, militarized and prussianized, all of you who shudder at the all-too-real prospect of a fearsome Atomic War, support the Socialist Workers Party and its candidates. All of you who want to walk the path of peace, join with us in our anti-war struggle. There is only one path to peace and that is to replace the capitalist system of war, poverty, and fascism with a socialist society of peace, plenty and freedom. Join with us to speed the day when peace and not the sword will rule the earth!

## MILITANT SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN OPENS — 15 ISSUES FOR 25 CENTS

Special 15-week-25c Militant campaign subscriptions are now available to introduce our paper to new readers as part of the Presidential Campaign of the Socialist Workers Party.

This very special offer will help all Militant readers interest their friends, neighbors and shopmates in the only paper that dares tell the truth about the real issues in this campaign.

Judging by the letters we received in response to the radio broadcasts, there are thousands and thousands of people ready and anxious to read a paper like The Militant, if only they learn about it and it is placed in their hands.

This present opportunity should be grasped therefore by all true friends of our cause to give the Militant a wider distribution than ever before.

The sub campaign was launched by the 13th National Convention of the SWP as it nominated Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President.

Their pictures appear on a distinctive new sub card prepared for the drive. Quantities of these cards will be sent to any reader wishing to take advantage of this unusual opportunity.

This special 6-page Convention-Election issue of The Militant opens the drive. At 25c for 15 issues, readers will find it very easy to interest their friends. Gift subs will also be accepted at 25c.

### Message From Rose Karsner

Los Angeles, Calif.  
Proudly I greet the party in convention assembled to listen 3,000 miles away to the aggressive speeches of Cannon, Dobbs, Carlson and to hear the hearty applause which follows is an inspiring and stirring experience.

Rose Karsner

## Highlights and Sidelights of The Convention

The convention passed a hearty motion of thanks for the splendid arrangements made for the housing, feeding and entertainment of the out-of-town visitors. A splendid job was done by the New York Local's arrangements committee. And the City Fathers didn't contribute \$200,000 or even \$2 to get our convention to New York—like Philadelphia did for the Republicans.

Despite the heat and unlike the capitalist party conventions, the hall was filled throughout every session of the SWP convention. Delegates and visitors were disciplined and orderly at all times, and paid strictest attention to the proceedings.

There were plenty of jests about "smoke-filled rooms"—but only as side-swipes at the Republican and Democratic conventions.

The first response to the convention broadcasts came from Rose Karsner in Los Angeles, who wired: "Proudly I greet the party in convention assembled. Listened 3,000 miles away to the aggressive speeches of Cannon, Dobbs, Carlson. To hear the hearty applause which follows is an inspiring and stirring experience."

Several of the SWP leaders who had been imprisoned with Cannon, Dobbs and Carlson during the war for their anti-war stand were unable to attend the convention. They heard the broadcasts in a home gathering in Minneapolis and wired the convention: "Reception was very good. We are all very proud and delighted. Background applause and singing was wonderful to hear."

At the start of the convention, the delegates heard rousing greetings from co-thinkers in other parts of the Western Hemisphere. Fraternal delegates from Latin America and Canada addressed the convention and were given a tumultuous expression of international solidarity.

In his introductory remarks at the opening of the convention, James P. Cannon, National Secretary, informed the delegates that the Dobbs-Carlson broadcasts on July 3 had been postponed from 2:00 to 2:30 P.M., because Truman was giving a speech at 2:00. The excuse for postponing our broadcast was, "Well, you know your candidates can't expect to win this year, can they?" Cannon brought down the house with his reply: "We've got as good a chance as Truman has."

A Detroit delegate, a colored auto worker, told the hit story of the convention. He described how he developed from a backward farm boy in the deep South to a class-conscious industrial worker and fighter for socialism. He told of the day he left the farm to go up North. "I said good-bye to all the neighbors and relatives. I even said good-bye to the chickens and the hogs. I'd heard the North was Heaven, so just before I left, I looked up in the sky and said, 'Good-bye, God, too.'

One of the odds and ends cleared up by the convention at its very close was the question of unity negotiations with the Schachtmanite so-called Workers Party, who began "unity" maneuvers two years ago. These insincere maneuvers ended up disastrously—for the WP—when 30% of their members split away and rejoined the SWP. A leader of the former Johnson-Forrest tendency, which spent 7 years in the WP, described the hair-raising internal regime of the WP for the benefit of the SWP members who "fortunately" had not gone through the experience. He could speak with real feeling he said, because, "to paraphrase Walt Whitman, 'I was the man. I suffered. I was there.'"

### Special Presidential Campaign Sub

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# We Proudly Present Our Two National Candidates

## FARRELL DOBBS

Sometimes the force of a great idea, a noble cause bigger than self, seizes on a seemingly ordinary man, a worker, lifts him up and transforms him, raises him to stature, immeasurably higher than the stunted role bourgeois society had assigned him.

Such a cause is the emancipation of the working class. Such a man, lifted up and transformed by that cause, is Farrell Dobbs, depression victim, coal yard worker, an ordinary guy harassed by debt and insecurity trying to feed a wife and three kids back in the hopeless, dark days of 1933.

Farrell was born in Queen City, Missouri, in 1907, and lived in Minneapolis from the age of six. A year after graduating from high school he secured employment as a wire man for Western Electric, and learned in the course of his work, without formal education, enough about operations to qualify as a planning engineer. He was on the way "up."

The crash ended all that. Capitalism utilizes talent only when it is profitable to the capitalists. So Farrell went through the usual depression routine of tall handsome young men with attractive personalities—he tried being an insurance salesman, at which, he modestly claims, "I was not very efficient"—that is, his heart wasn't in it.

### COAL YARD WORKER

Thus Farrell wound up, in 1933, as a coal yard worker, long hours of heavy toil, wages scarcely better than a relief allowance, pushed around by petty bosses, fearful of being fired if some foreman didn't like the way he partied his hair.

That is when he first began to realize what it means to be an unorganized worker. He saw insecurity, poverty, misery all about him. He wanted an answer to this vile order of things. The labor movement gave him the beginning of that answer. He joined the union of coal yard

drivers and workers then in process of organization. He met men like Vincent Dunne, Grant Dunne, and Carl Skoglund. He knew what he was going to do—build a union and fight like hell for the working class.

By the time the great May and July 1934 drivers strikes occurred, Farrell was in the thick of the struggle. He had served on the organization committee prior to the strikes. He was now elected a member of the negotiations committee of the strikes, where he displayed exceptional talents—cool judgment, attentiveness to details, uncompromising firmness, an analytical mind that cut through all the tricks and deceptions of the bosses and arbitrators.

### A TROTSKYIST

In March 1934, he made the great turning point of his life. He joined the Trotskyist movement. He wasn't asked to join. He himself asked for admission.

From 1934 to 1939, the Local 544 membership elected him repeatedly to the office of secretary-treasurer, except for a 10 months period when he was elected recording secretary.

In 1937, he was elected secretary of the newly formed council of drivers locals in the northwest area, the North Central District Drivers' Council. Out of this council, in which Farrell played the outstanding role, grew the Eleven State Area Committee, of which Farrell was also secretary. Farrell was chosen as spokesman for the committee in negotiations which won a 12-state uniform union contract for 250,000 over-the-road drivers, one of the outstanding labor achievements. During 1939 he served as a general organizer for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

### LABOR SECRETARY

In 1940, Farrell came to a major turning point in his life. At the call of the Socialist Workers Party, he毫不犹豫地 resigned his well-paid union post and began work full-time for the SWP, assuming the heavy responsibility of SWP National Labor Secretary.

When the Minneapolis Drivers Local 544 broke from the bureaucratic stranglehold of Daniel J.

Tobin in June 1941, Farrell was on hand to aid the rank and file in their fight. One of the memorable events of the famous meeting where the vote was taken to join the CIO was when Farrell stepped on the platform amid tumultuous cheers and applause that welcomed him back, dynamic leader fighting for the rights of the union ranks.

It was this inner-union struggle that led to an appeal by Tobin to Roosevelt, who instigated the Minneapolis Labor trial. On Roosevelt's instructions, Farrell and 27 others were brought to trial for their defense of labor and socialist anti-war principles. He was convicted with seventeen other SWP leaders, including Grace Carlson.

A few months before he went to prison in Jan. 1944, Farrell became editor of *The Militant*. This was no mean undertaking for a man who but 10 years before was a coal yard worker. But he was worthy of this task. He was schooled in the labor struggle, developed in knowledge and held a sure grasp on revolutionary socialist theory. He had come by it through steady application and study.

### SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALIST

He had learned, He learns from everything and everyone. In prison he learned to read French, German, Spanish and Portuguese, so that he might read the workers' press in other lands and develop himself as a true working class internationalist.

After serving 16 months in prison, Farrell returned to his SWP duties as *Militant* editor. In the Fall of 1945, he ran for mayor of New York City, getting 4,500 votes. The following year he campaigned for Governor. But he was banned from the ballot by a conspiracy of the Republicans and Democrats, although his nominating petitions were signed by more than 25,000 voters.

With modesty and devotion, he has consciously worked, fought and trained himself to be fit for the greatest responsibility in all history, to be a worthy leader of workers in the battle for socialism. This is the man the SWP has selected as its first presidential banner-bearer.

## GRACE CARLSON

Real rebels do not glow—they burn. So it is with Grace Carlson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Vice-President.

She is the true rebel, who burns at injustice, poverty, class tyranny. No terror of prison bars, no social ostracism, no pain of physical illness—and she has suffered them all—will ever quench the rebel flame within her.

Slight, frail, but energetic and animated, she has been a banner-bearer of socialism in the American labor movement, educating and inspiring the workers by her courageous and passionate defense of the working class.

Grace was born in St. Paul, Minn., in 1906. Her father was an Irish-American railroad worker, and her great-great grandfather was Samuel Holmes, who came from Ireland and fought in the American Revolution.

She was educated in St. Catherine's College and the University of Minnesota, where she earned her B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees.

A woman of brilliant intellect, she was elected in 1931 to Pi Lambda Theta, national honorary society for women in education; in 1933 she was elected to Sigma Xi, national honorary scientific society. For two years she lectured in the Department of Psychology of the University of Minnesota. Then for five years she held the post of Vocational Rehabilitation Counselor of the State Department of Education.

### UNION FIGHTER

But Grace was not content to be a mere humanitarian social worker, trying to repair and rehabilitate a few victims of the capitalist social system. She joined the trade union movement, and began to devote herself to building a better social order for all the workers.

She was a charter member of Minnesota State Employees Union Local No. 10; for four years a delegate to the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, a member of its Education Committee for three years; twice a delegate to the Minnesota State Federation

of Labor conventions. She has distinguished herself for many years in labor defense work as a member of the National Committee of the Workers' Defense League. She is a prominent worker in the Minneapolis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

When Grace came to believe in the principles of Trotskyism, she didn't flirt with them. She threw her whole life and energies into the grueling activity of a professional party worker. She resigned in 1940 from the Minnesota Department of Education and ran as SWP candidate for U.S. Senator. In an amazing campaign, in which she was subjected to the vilest slanders by the capitalist and Stalinist press, she received over 8,500 votes, more than the combined votes of the Communist and Socialist Parties. In 1942, she ran for mayor of St. Paul on the SWP ticket, and although already convicted and sentenced to prison for her socialist anti-war activities, she received 3% of the total vote cast. The sentence did not daunt her. She accepted the post of SWP Minnesota State Organizer and later organizer of the New York City SWP local.

### ANTI-WAR PRISONER

Grace, with 27 other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truck Drivers Local 544, was brought to trial by the Roosevelt government for opposing the imperialist war. She was the only woman defendant con-

### A MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY FROM DUTCH TROTSKYISTS

Amsterdam, July 8, 1948

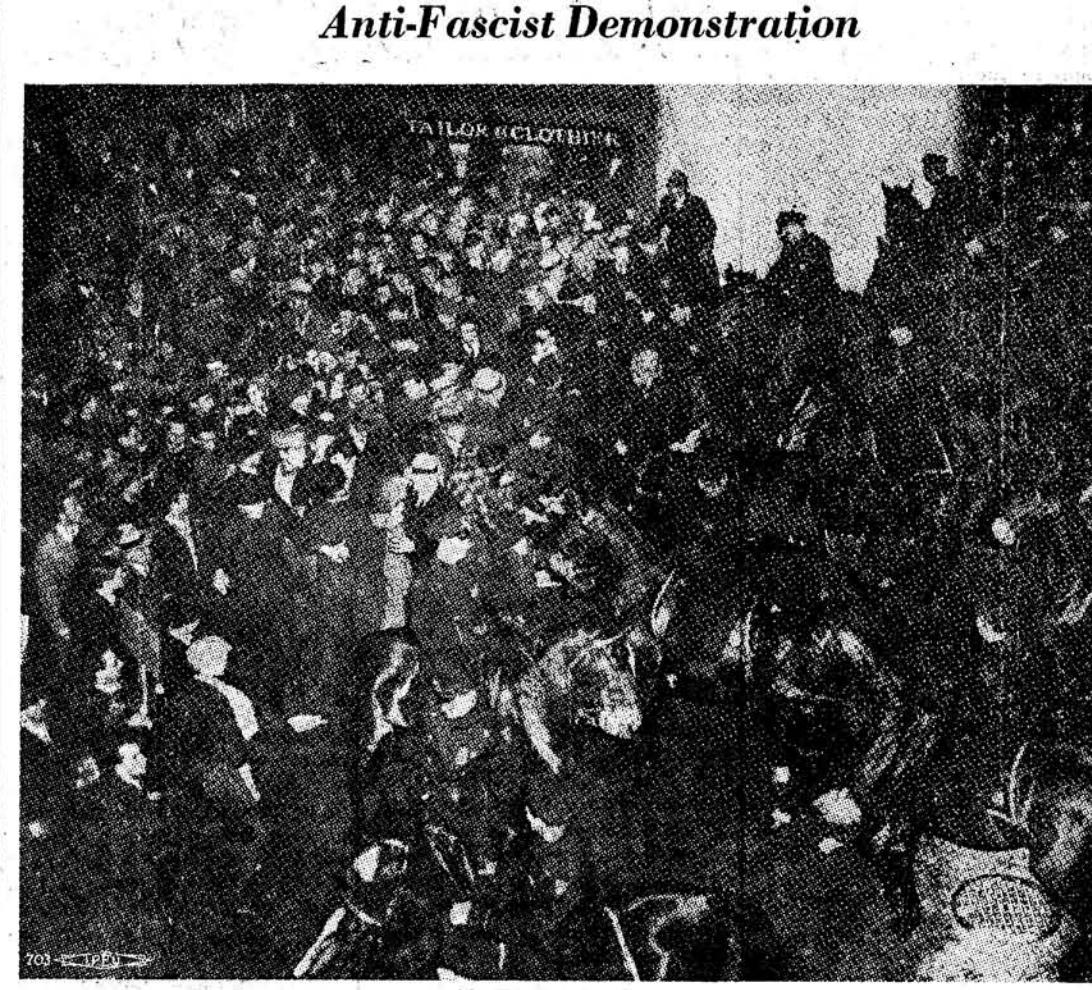
To the Thirteenth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party:

Our Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Holland, sends its fraternal greetings to you on the occasion of your 13th National Convention. We are sure your deliberations will be in the interests of World Trotskyism and that your decisions will open the road for new growth of your Party.

Our Party is involved in an election campaign in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Our best workers' branch, Rotterdam, requested the Political Bureau to issue as an election manifesto the translation of the radio speech of Comrade Farrell Dobbs. There is no better proof of the common language we speak and of the same internationalist spirit which guides us in our work.

With our warmest fraternal greetings,

Sal Santen, Secretary



### Anti-Fascist Demonstration

This is the kind of class action the SWP stands for. When the German-American Bund attempted to hold a fascist meeting in Madison Square Garden Feb. 20, 1939, 50,000 workers answered the SWP's call for an anti-fascist labor rally. Photo shows cops riding their horses into the crowd of workers, in an attempt to protect the fascists.

## SUMMARY OF REPORT ON NEGRO QUESTION

One of the high points of the 13th SWP convention was the discussion around the Draft Resolution on the Negro Question, initiated by a brilliant report by J. Meyer.

The main significance of this draft resolution, Comrade Meyer pointed out, was that it presented in a single comprehensive document the Marxist analysis and revolutionary perspectives of the Negro struggle for democratic rights. All this has been implicit in the party's previous activity in this field, which in its turn has already furnished the party membership with rich and fruitful experiences casting additional new light on the Negro struggle. The hour had come, therefore, for a precise and rounded and fully conscious statement and discussion of those perspectives, to strengthen the work of the Socialist Workers Party in this field and raise it to a higher level.

Like the resolution, Comrade Meyer's report placed primary emphasis on the importance of the independent Negro movement for equality and the contribution it makes to the struggle for socialism. It deals also with the growth and meaning of Negro national consciousness, the relationship between the Negro movement and organized labor, and the struggle against race prejudice in the union movement and the revolutionary party. Comrade Meyer's report and the perspectives it held out were greeted with a great ovation by the delegates.

The discussion on the floor was likewise highly inspiring. Negro and white delegates from all parts of the country engaged in a free frank exchange of opinion, criticism and suggestions around the resolution, the report and the party's activities. The serious and mature level of the discussion eloquently testified to the development within the party of a considerable number of trained Negro leaders, educators and orators equipped to spread the revolutionary message of Marxism among the masses.

After this discussion, which lasted an entire day-session, a whole evening was devoted to a panel, attended by more than 200 delegates and visitors. This panel analyzed the party's work and tactics in the Negro movement and laid out a perspective for the next period.

The convention voted unanimously to adopt the report by Comrade Meyer and the general line of the Draft Resolution. The party members will continue to discuss the document for several more months.

## SWP Convention Addresses the Nation

(Continued from P. 1)  
prepared to take its rightful place as a national political force in America.

That fact is attested to not only by the SWP national election campaign but by the SWP's demonstrated ability to grapple with the most complex problems of American life and to give the most realistic and scientific answers.

**NEGRO DISCUSSION**  
It was no accident that the same convention which nominated the first national candidates of the SWP also adopted, after a full day's discussion, a rounded resolution on the Negro struggle that makes the fight for Negro rights a front-line task of American Trotskyism.

Every major question of international and national political life came in for full-scale reports and discussion. Prior to the convention, drafts of resolutions had gone out to the membership for study. These covered the crisis of world capitalism; American imperialism and its war preparations; the militarization of the U.S. and the fight against the coming imperialist war; the struggle for the independence of the American labor movement and the building of the labor party; the political developments of the election year and the War emergency.

Murray Weiss of Los Angeles had the honor of placing Dobbs' name in nomination. He stated that "we are a party founded on principle and those who take these principles seriously." Dobbs, he said, "is a symbol of our ideas and way of life, whose whole adult life has been devoted to the emancipating movement of socialism, a man tested in life on the field of action of the labor struggle."

Grace Carlson's name was put in nomination by Genora Dollinger, Flint, leader of the Women's Brigade in the 1937 GM sitdown. Comrade Carlson, she said, has held the Trotskyist banner "firm in her hands, even in the face of the greatest intimidation by the most powerful imperialist government in the whole world." Grace had the opportunity to make "a brilliant mark" in the educational and scientific world, the speaker said, but "all these honors and posts she gladly forsook for the greater but more difficult road of the socialist revolution."

**KEYNOTE ADDRESS**

When Comrade Cannon, founder of the American Trotskyist movement and its leading figure since 1928, stepped to the ABC mikes before the packed convention hall and amid ear-shattering cheers of the audience to deliver his convention key-note speech to America, everyone felt he was witnessing history in the making.

The convention discussion on the election campaign was concluded by National Secretary Cannon's report on "Election Policy and Party Perspectives."

**OUR CONCEPT**

"Our concept is not a routine Socialist Labor Party type of campaign," he said, "but a fighting campaign, an aggressive, slugging campaign against all other parties. We must exploit all legal possibilities for propaganda." In this connection, he spoke of the need for funds for radio time, hailing the convention broadcasts in which "the revolutionary program for the first time is flaring out over the radio."

J. Lyons, of Chicago, presented a minority report, with equal time, criticizing the party's election policy. Representing a minority of the Chicago local, Lyons attacked the party's characterization of the Wallace movement as a "capitalist third party" and called it instead a "step in the direction of a labor party." After a thorough discussion, the minority resolution was put to a vote, and received three votes, with four abstentions. Cannon's report was adopted.

In keeping with the international

Workers Party, "For a Workers and Farmers Government," as the sole realistic answer to the capitalist war program. Grace Carlson, speaking on "The Only Road to Peace," reminded American mothers and fathers of the promises made them by Wilson and Roosevelt and their betrayals.

Arthur Burch, who introduced the draft platform prepared by the National Committee, pointed out:

"Above all, this is a revolutionary document that calls for nothing less than the mobilization of the American people for the coming socialist revolution. Our Platform calls for a Workers and Farmers Government—a socialist government."

**ABC ADDRESSES**  
Their second addresses, over ABC on Saturday afternoon, continued to explain the basic issues. Dobbs spoke on "Socialism or Barbarism," tearing apart the logic that American imperialism plans war against the Soviet Union to destroy "totalitarianism." Stalinism "will be removed, not through capitalist wars of conquest, but by the unpostponable struggle against capitalism itself."

Addressing herself to the most oppressed sections of the population, the Negro people in particular, Grace Carlson, spoke on "The Struggle for Civil Rights," concluding with a direct message to the Negroes of the Deep South, "the most oppressed, the most exploited, the most humiliated" people in the land. "We want you to know, brothers and sisters," she said, "that for us there can be no talk of freedom in the United States until you are free."

The final address in the radio series, tonight over NBC, will be Dobbs' speech on "Why Labor Needs Its Own Party." In this speech, he will expose the fakery of the "anti-war" program of the millionaire Wallace, and tell why the American labor movement must break with the capitalist parties and form its own class party. (Next week's *Militant* will publish the last three radio speeches.)

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report of Comrade Meyer, adopted the basic line of the resolution and voted to open a six-months discussion to educate and train the party membership for the great tasks ahead in the Negro struggle.

### TRADE UNION REPORT

A vital part of the convention discussion centered on the work of the Trotskyist militants in the trade union movement. The report on the trade union resolution was delivered by E. R. Frank, active for many years in the industrial unions and Acting Editor of *The Militant*.

He pointed out that just as the crisis of 1929 and the betrayals of the AFL craft leaders provoked the CIO industrial union movement, "just as surely, just as inevitably, the growing economic hardships and the encroachments of a creeping military dictatorship plus the abject surrender, the inadequacy, the helplessness and betrayal of the new CIO bureaucracy are right now working, germinating, producing the forces that will go into the making and eventual emergence of a new type of leadership in the labor union movement."

The floor discussion centered on the question of how to build a genuine left-wing on a class struggle program in the trade unions. Numerous trade unionists spoke of their experiences in auto, steel, rubber and other basic industries on the question of building the left wing, pointing out that a left-wing movement will grow out of the struggles within the labor movement from a crystallization of the most militant and progressive forces against the bureaucracy.

The final action of the convention was to close the discussion on unity negotiations with the Schachtite Workers Party, which split from the SWP in 1940. This group in 1944 opened attempts to penetrate the SWP with a "unity" maneuver. Paul Stevens, who gave the report, described how this maneuver was designed to split the SWP and how it finally resulted in a complete exposure of the unprincipled policies of the petty-bourgeois WP and a major split in its own ranks.

A leader of the former Johnson-Forrest tendency which split from the WP and returned to the SWP told the convention that since rejoining the SWP the Johnson-Forrest group was "overwhelmed" by the revolutionary dynamism inside the SWP and would yield first place to none in their devotion and work for the party.

When the convention concluded on schedule yesterday afternoon, every delegate and visitor felt imbued with the spirit of revolutionary action. The walls shook as they sang "Solidarity," "We Shall Not Be Moved" and the workers' international battle-song "The International."

The delegates—74% of them active trade unionists, young, bold and permeated with the will to revolutionary socialism—are going forth to their shops, factories and homes to put the Socialist Workers Party "on the map" in the campaign for Dobbs and Carlson. The convention approved the

## A Very Important Decision

By Albert Parker

There was one resolution adopted by last month's national convention of the NAACP in Kansas City that got practically no publicity in the Negro press and yet may turn out to be the most important of all the decisions made by that gathering. This particular resolution dealt with the problem of fighting military Jim Crow.

The text of the resolutions adopted by the convention has not yet been released by the NAACP, so we can only give the gist of the above resolution. It points out that Negro Americans are determined to put an end to Jim Crow segregation in the armed forces. The resolution then places the NAACP on record for the calling of a conference, with invitations to be sent to all national and local Negro and inter-racial organizations in the country, urging them to send delegates for the purpose of democratically discussing and working out a program of action to attain the goal of equality in the armed forces. The officials of the NAACP are instructed by the resolution to make the necessary arrangements and to send out the invitations.

We do not know what the leaders of the NAACP propose to do about this resolution, nor when they will begin to put it into action. But it certainly presents the opportunity to strike a great blow against Jim Crow, and to expand the prestige of the NAACP at the same time.

What a wonderful thing it would be if representatives of the hundreds of Negro organizations in all parts of the country would get together in such a conference, work out a common program for fighting military Jim Crow and then swing into action to carry it out! How inspiring such a conference would be to the whole Negro people! How effective it would be in winning the



support and assistance of organized labor! How it would frighten the brass hats and Jim Crow politicians!

There have been various proposals on how to eliminate segregation in the armed forces. Randolph has made one proposal; other Negro leaders have made others; the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant have advocated a program of mass action and nation-wide demonstrations. What better way is there for reaching a decision than by a democratic conference of the representatives of the Negro people themselves? What better way is there for uniting the Negro masses in action to achieve a goal for which they all are striving?

In making the decision to hold such a conference, the delegates to the NAACP convention continually restated and reaffirmed the organization's traditional non-partisan, non-political policy, they gave left-handed support to the Truman administration, using the President's civil rights report as the pretext.

The most brazen campaign speech was made by Channing Tobias, winner of the Spingarn Award. Most delegates agreed that a more open and direct bid for support of Truman could not have been made. These types of speeches aroused so much indignation among the delegates that the Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, well-known for his work in the St. Paul branch, arose on a point of personal privilege and censured the leadership for permitting such a partisan speech to be made on behalf of the Truman administration.

DELEGATES PROTEST

Walter White, executive Secretary, interrupted the session soon after this and read a statement explaining that many delegates had personally protested to him and he urged the conference not to "misconstrue" the speeches.

Finally, at a mass meeting at the Kansas City Municipal Auditorium this afternoon, attended by 4,000 people, Walter White attacked the Democratic, Republican, and Wallace parties

KANSAS CITY, June 27—The most important thread running through the deliberations of the 39th Annual Conference of the NAACP was the intense preoccupation with politics.

With "equal" intensity. He said that while the Truman administration presented a wonderful civil rights report, they have done nothing to carry it out, that Truman was giving in to Southern pressure. He made clear that while the Republicans made fine campaign speeches, they have not passed a single piece of legislation on behalf of the Negro people during the period that they controlled Congress.

Walter White added that the colored people could not support Wallace. During the years he was Secretary of Commerce, his department practiced the worst Jim Crow restrictions of any federal agency. When Wallace was Vice-president, he was silent on the question of anti-poll tax and antilynching legislation.

After explaining that all three parties were not the answer, Walter White concluded by calling on the Negro people to register and vote for candidates of their choice, without in any way indicating what candidates to support!

CALL NATIONWIDE CONFERENCE

The conference unanimously voted to accept a resolution calling for a nation-wide mass campaign against Jim Crow in the armed forces. This resolution was presented by Herbert Hill, dele-

gate from the Manhattan Branch of New York, who explained that his branch had started a four-month campaign to culminate in a parade and demonstration in Columbus Circle. This resolution ordered the National Office of the NAACP to call a conference of all Negro organizations to inaugurate a nation-wide mass campaign against Jim Crow in the armed forces.

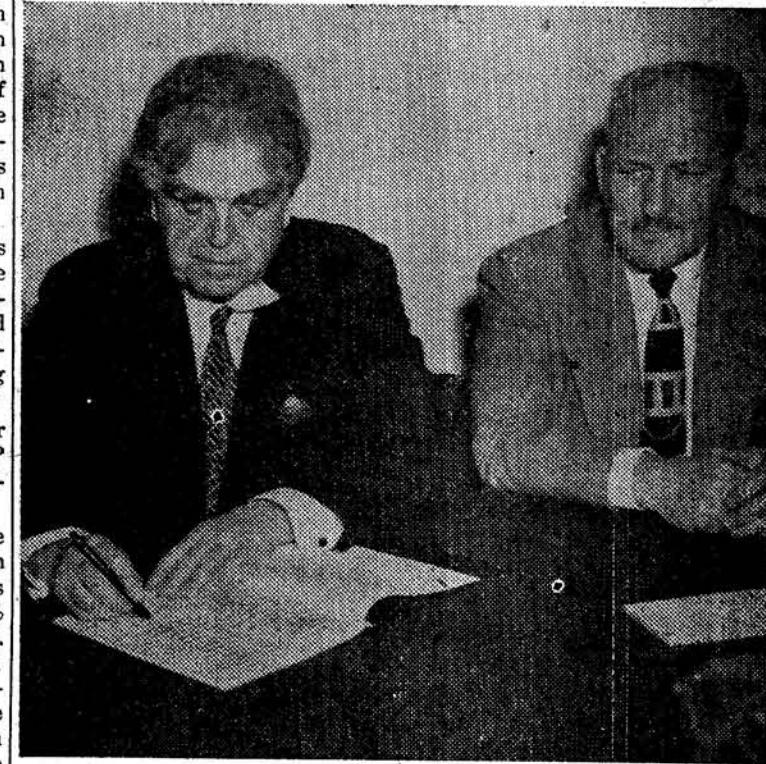
Among the many resolutions passed was one demanding the immediate resignation of Secretary of the Army Kenneth Royall for his anti-Negro public statements and his policy of enforcing army Jim Crow.

Another resolution called for the active support of the NAACP for all civil rights legislation regardless of party label.

An inspiring feature of the conference was the report from the Southern membership. This sector now comprises over 40% of the total NAACP membership. The Southern delegates reported numerous militant activities resulting, in one case, in large numbers of Negroes voting in North and South Carolina for the first time.

Very much in evidence in this convention were men and women from all over the country who are prominent in the Negro struggle. Many heroic tales were related of great personal sacrifice and the intense devotion on the part of many delegates in the great

## Sign Soft Coal Pact



President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers signs the new 1948 wage contract providing a \$1 a day pay boost for 400,000 bituminous coal miners. Looking on is UMW Sec.-Treas. John Owens. (Federated-Pictures)

battle to achieve full equality for the colored people of the United States. Next year's conference of the NAACP will be held in Los Angeles, Calif.

## Class Justice

By Arthur Burch

It is no longer news that the judges and especially the Supreme Court judges, under guise of judicial interpretation, write and rewrite our laws and constitution in the interests of the vested interests. What is significant at the present moment is that they dare again to brazenly and openly push through their dirty work. The recent decisions of the Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the Taft-Hartley Act and the ruling of Justice Goldsborough in the United States District Court on the Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act highlight this ominous trend.

On June 21 the Supreme Court upheld the opinions of the lower courts in sustaining the constitutionality of those sections of the Taft-Hartley Act which required union leaders to sign non-communist affidavits and submit their financial reports to the government. The lower court felt constrained, however, by public opinion, to declare unconstitutional that section barring union expenditures in federal election campaigns. The Supreme Court proceeded to deliberately misinterpret this section and refused to pass on its constitutionality, although this was the only real question before it.

How was this sleight-of-hand accomplished? Philip Murray, CIO president, openly endorsed Garmatz for Congress and spent money to have this fact publicized in the CIO News. It was clearly an open violation of the section of the Taft-Hartley Law and a direct challenge of its constitutionality. Murray said so himself. But the Supreme Court resorted to an obvious falsehood and declared: "We are unwilling to say that Congress by its prohibition against corporations or labor organizations making an expenditure in connection with any election of candidates for Federal office intended to outlaw such a publication."

On the surface it might appear that the Supreme Court was being partial to labor. And Murray actually had the gall to state that he

was "pleased" that a "free press" was " vindicated." But the clear purpose of the tortured reasoning and misinterpretation of the law by the Supreme Court was for the purpose of permitting this clearly unconstitutional section to remain on the statute books for use at a later stage.

This is no isolated instance. For example, on July 11, Justice Goldsborough issued a permanent injunction banning a strike by three railroad Brotherhoods. The railroads were "seized" by the government and for that reason it was held that the Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act did not apply. The precedent had already been established by a previous Supreme Court decision in clear violation of the law. But Goldsborough was not satisfied with just following that precedent. He went beyond the facts in this case and stated that even if the railroads had remained in the hands of their private owners he would be obliged to issue an injunction. Thus he prepared for the next stage where the government can call for injunctions without even the necessity of going through the farce of a "seizure."

The labor union leaders are following an extremely cowardly policy on this crucial front. Even Lewis who has conducted the most militant battle of any top union leader, has never challenged the constitutionality of this judge-made "legalized" strikebreaking. This is a big step backwards compared to the attitude and actions of the CIO towards injunctions and courts during the formative days of the CIO.

This question has become a matter of life-and-death for the labor movement. Labor must challenge the whole rotten setup of "class justice."

A class campaign to eliminate this menace, beginning with the demand for the popular election and right to recall of all judges right up to electing labor representatives to take over the courts, would arouse the American masses to the true danger and help topple this corrupt and venal institution of the capitalist order.

## How Roosevelt Maneuvered Us Into War

By Paul Schapiro

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE COMING OF THE WAR 1941: A STUDY IN APPEARANCES AND REALITIES by Charles A. Beard, Yale University Press, 1948, 614 pp., \$5.00.

When Professor Charles A. Beard, America's most distinguished academic historian, heard of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, he knew, from his study of diplomatic history, that there was more behind it than Roosevelt stated in his war message to Congress. He was resolved to begin immediately an investigation of how the United States got into the war.

He was considerably aided by the disclosures which were made as each section of the government tried to clear itself of responsibility for the disaster at Pearl Harbor. First Roosevelt's hand-picked commission exonerated the administration high-ups and put the blame on General Short and Admiral Kimmel, the army and navy commanders at Pearl Harbor. Then army and navy boards shifted the major responsibility from their fellow brass hats to the politicos in Washington, including, by implication, Roosevelt. Truman next stepped in and said that it was Congress's fault for having blocked Roosevelt's "preparedness" program — although the record shows that Congress voted more money for the military from 1933 to 1941 than Roosevelt had asked.

As a result of all of these charges and counter-charges there was a good deal of pressure on Congress to make its own inquiry. The Republicans were not at all adverse to exposing a Democratic administration. In trying to prove that it had given Short and Kimmel sufficient warning, the administration divulged part of the secret history of the origin of the war. This belied Roosevelt's picture of a sudden, unexpected, treacherous Japanese attack made while relations between Japan and the United States were peaceful.

DRIVE TO WAR

Thousands of documents, such as the personal messages exchanged between Roosevelt and Churchill, are still secret. But enough has come out for Beard to demonstrate conclusively that, while the Roosevelt government was assuring the American people that its foreign policy was designed to keep the United States out of war, it was consciously driving toward war.

As early as October 8, 1940, Roosevelt was publicly proclaiming "again and again and again" in his election campaign "your President says this country is not going to war." At the same time he told Admiral Richardson, Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet, who was inquiring about the government's perspectives to

know how to deploy his fleet, that "as the war continued and the area of operations expanded sooner or later they [the Japanese] would make a mistake and we would enter the war." And on January 21, 1941, he replied in a similar vein to a letter by Grew, the ambassador to Japan. Grew had stated that, unless the United States would withdraw from Greater East Asia and the South Seas, "which God forbid," we are bound eventually to come to a head-on clash with Japan." Roosevelt replied: "I find myself in decided agreement with your conclusions."

AN ACT OF WAR?

Roosevelt, however, regarded war with Japan as only one phase of the struggle between the two imperialist camps. His main interest at this time was

history has recorded who fired the first shot. In the long run, however, all that will matter is who fired the last shot. America has been attacked." This was clearly intended to be a bugle-call to war. The Democratic platform of 1940 had pledged that American forces would not fight in foreign lands "except in case of attack." Now," as Arthur Krock of the N.Y. Times, a leading war mongrel, gleefully noted, "the President has officially declared that 'America has been attacked.' Therefore, by the very text of the platform pledge, the promise against dispatch of our armed forces 'outside the Americas' as well as the rest of the promise can be held to be automatically cancelled."

TURNED SOUR

The bugle-call turned sour, however, when wide-spread suspicions were confirmed by leakages in the press and later by enforced official admission that the Kearny, far from having been attacked without provocation, had been torpedoed only after it had loosed a number of depth charges on a pack of German submarines while on convoy duty. The fiasco was so complete that Krock evidently decided that the back-firing of Roosevelt's charges of "attack" made the future use of such occurrences impossible. He reviewed the facts of this and two other incidents. He showed how in each case Roosevelt lied, and called upon him to proceed on his course boldly and without

thirty days." After Japan had received the warnings, with their threat of war if she struck out for oil in the Pacific, she initiated negotiations to which he was instructed that Hull's memorandum was a "humiliating proposal" which could not be used as "a basis for negotiations" but that he was not "to give the impression that the negotiations are broken off."

APPROACHING CRISIS

At the end of November, however, the crisis could no longer be staved off. American intelligence was intercepting and decoding messages from Tokyo to the Japanese ambassador regularly. It learned that Tokyo, desperate to reach a settlement, was sending him two proposals, one to be used for bargaining purposes, the other, "a last effort to prevent something from happening," as it phrased it.

Hull replied to the first proposal with a memorandum the demands of which went far beyond even the warning note of August. They required Japan to get out of China and Indo-China. It was as impossible for Japanese imperialism to do this as it was for American imperialism to abandon its interests in the Pacific. The very thought of this had caused Grew to exclaim piously, "God forbid!"

Roosevelt well knew this. He told his War Cabinet on November 25, the day before the delivery of the memorandum, wrote in his private notes, that "we were likely to be attacked perhaps (as soon as) next Monday [December 1], for the Japanese are notorious for making a bugle-call to war."

Finally the news of the Japanese attack came, Stimson wrote in his diary: "My first feeling was of relief that the indecision was over and that a crisis had come in a way which would unite all our people. This continued to be the impression of imminent war."

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When Roosevelt imposed an embargo on exports to Japan at the end of the previous July, he did so in the face of his naval experts' advice, that this would almost certainly lead to an early attack by Japan on Malaya, the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines in a search for oil. At the Atlantic Conference in August, the public announcement stated that no commitments had been made except those authorized by the Lend-Lease Act. Yet Roosevelt and Churchill had secretly agreed to occupy the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands and to send parallel diplomatic warnings to Japan to halt its expansion in Asia. Roosevelt believed, says one of Sumner Welles' private memoranda, in the conversations that "by adopting this course any further move of aggression on the part of Japan which might result in war could be held off for at least

A PEARL HARBOR

Stimson now became nervous under the strain. He advised Roosevelt that "the desirable thing to do from the point of view of our own tactics and safety was to take the initiative and attack without further warning. It is axiomatic that the best defense is offense. It is always dangerous to wait and let the enemy make the first move!"

That is, he advised Roosevelt to do what the Japanese government was later to do at Pearl Harbor—and to do this without calling upon Congress for a declaration of war. However, it was decided that the tactics of maneuvering the Japanese into attacking first were to be continued.

The War Cabinet was able to follow each stage of this maneuvering. On November 28, it intercepted a message to the Japanese ambassador in which he was instructed that Hull's memorandum was a "humiliating proposal" which could not be used as "a basis for negotiations" but that he was not "to give the impression that the negotiations are broken off."

On December 4 or 5, the Japanese ambassador received orders to burn all records, a sure indication of imminent war. When Roosevelt got word of this, he asked his naval aide, "Well, when do you think it will happen?" And on December 6, the evening before the Japanese attack, Roosevelt told Harry Hopkins in front of his naval aide's assistant, who had just brought him part of an intercepted Japanese message breaking off negotiations: "This means war."

Finally the news of the Japanese attack came, Stimson wrote in his diary: "My first feeling was of relief that the indecision was over and that a crisis had come in a way which would unite all our people. This continued to be the impression of imminent war."

The war against Germany and Japan, then, was preceded by a psychological barrage against the American people to break down their anti-war resistance by insidious propaganda, reassuring promises and nerve-racking alarms. By these means, the masses were softened up for the big blitz.

In giving a detailed account of this psychological barrage, Beard has rendered a valuable service. He has enabled us to understand better the techniques of the new campaign led by Marshall, a member of Roosevelt's inner War Cabinet, to prepare the United States for war against the Soviet Union. Beard's last-chapter plea for a return to a "system of limited government" to safeguard the country against totalitarian militarization is, however, unrealistic. A government with limited powers was only possible in a time of expanding capitalism, when competition, which required certain liberties, was the rule. The giant trusts which dominate the United States today require a highly centralized government, as authoritarian as possible.

The drive toward war is not to be stopped by putting reliance on capitalist politicians or thinking to go back to an earlier stage of capitalism. It can only be stopped by the determined struggle of the workers, led by their own party, in a fight which must ultimately result in the overthrow of capitalism.

## Notes from the News

FINNISH ELECTION—In the recent Finnish Parliamentary elections, the Socialists lost 15 seats. They will occupy 36 seats as against 51 seats in the previous Parliament. The Conservative Agrarian Party gained 8 seats to become the largest force in the new legislature.

THUMBS DOWN ON DEWEY—Governor Dewey, Republican presidential candidate, was denounced before 3,500 of the nation's top school leaders attending the National Education Association convention in Cleveland for his unsavory record in the field of education. He was given a 24-hour ultimatum to reply to the charges.

NEGRO STARS—The 39-year old veteran Negro pitcher, Satchel Paige, who had struck out scores of the leading Big League sluggers in exhibition games over the past 20 years, was finally signed up by the Cleveland Indians. He is the fourth Negro star to be accepted by the Big Leagues.

AMNESTY—As a follow up on the decision of the recent UAW convention in urging amnesty for war objectors, the Veterans Department of the UAW notified President Truman not to delay further the granting of amnesty.

COST-PLUS—The U.S. Steel Corporation, nation's largest steel producer, has discarded the industry's 50-year old base-point pricing system in favor of the f.o.b. method of computing prices at its mills and shipping points. Results: Higher prices for the masses, more profits for the plutocrats.

CIO SUMMER SCHOOLS—Summer schools have been set up by the CIO in Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia and Pennsylvania. CIO summer camps at Port Huron, Mich. and Pawling, N.Y. will also be utilized as labor schools. In addition 10,000 CIO members will leave their work to attend classes at a dozen or more colleges.

CORRECTION—A. Philip Randolph denies that his new League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation is advocating resistance to the draft by "feigning illness, fake dependents and other subterfuges," as reported in the press. He says it is advocating only refusal to register and refusal to be inducted.

TOP SALARIES—Charles P. Skouras, movie theater owner, led the Treasury's first listing

of America's top salary men of 1946 with pay checks totaling \$985,300. Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors netted the tidy sum of \$327,193. C. W. Deyo, president of F. W. Woolworth cashed in \$330,152. Harry W. Brady of the Kroger Company of Cincinnati knocked off \$380,733. This is for salaries alone.

EDUCATION EXPENDABLE—Dr. Ralph McDonald, executive secretary of the National Commission on Teacher's Education and Professional Standards stated that of the 175,000 elementary teachers needed this fall only 20,000 will be available, and only 12,000 of these have completed four year college programs. "Because of the critical teacher shortage, thousands of young elementary school children would receive an inferior education and be seriously handicapped in later life," he declared.

FREE ENTERPRISE—The Agriculture Department has bought about 8 million bushels of surplus potatoes that could not be marketed above the support level. While farmers got an average of \$1.50 a bushel the department is getting rid of them to industrial alcohol plants at about 21 cents a bushel. More are going to livestock feed at a penny a hundred-weight. Only a few are going free to charitable institutions.

INDUSTRIAL CASUALTIES—John W. Gibson, acting secretary of labor, told a conference of editors of industrial magazines that there are 2 million job injuries every year. Last year, 17,000 workers were killed and 91,000 permanently disabled. One American