

FAREWELL TO INGER SWABECK

By James P. Cannon

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War Tension Increases Over Berlin Conflict

By Arthur Burch

A critical international situation exists in Berlin. The American Big Brass in Berlin and the military-dominated State Department are taking us step by step on the road to war. Under the spell of the ballyhoo and demagogic of the Republican and Democratic conventions blared over the radio and spread over the nation's newspapers, the American people have been lulled into a false sense of security.

Having abandoned their fantastic Potsdam plan to turn Germany into a pastoral state, the American imperialists are now hell-bent on splitting that country's economy into two sectors against the will of the German masses. Not satisfied with carving out a Western zone together with their English and French allies-in-crime, the American imperialists insist on pursuing their divisive aims within the city of Berlin which falls in the Soviet zone. Fully aware in advance that the institution of the new currency into the western sector of Berlin would bring about a chaotic state of affairs and invite reprisals on the part of the Soviet Union, the American Brass nevertheless went ahead with its sinister designs against the German people.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Even before the Soviet gauleiters imposed their blockade around Berlin, the introduction of the new Deutschemark was expected to bring about large unemployment in the Western zone. Now, with the drastic blockade imposed by the callous Soviet bureaucrats, there are 200,000 unemployed in Berlin alone. Thus approximately 800,000 people, if we include their dependents, or one third of the Berlin population, are now destitute. This number is expected to increase by another 50% in the immediate period. General Herbert, British Commandant, estimates that industry will decline to 20% of its previous level. Gas for cooking has been cut to 50% and street lighting will go down to 25% of what it was. And if the impasse between Washington and Moscow contin-

ues much longer there is grave danger of famine for the German people.

But the American military is far more concerned with its own prestige than with the plight of the Berlin masses. Col. Frank L. Howley, U.S. Commandant, had the gall to give the German people a lesson in democracy. He said: "We ask that you cheerfully stand up to these privations and that you bear in mind that freedom and democracy have always been purchased only by struggle and suffering."

Declarations like these sound like a mockery to German ears. The American military command is ruling by the club and bayonet, like the armed conquerors of ancient days. It is reappointing ex-Nazis to the various government posts and trying to rehabilitate the hated capitalism which brought on the ruination of the country in the first place.

That the Berlin situation is taking an ominous turn is made clear by the fact that negotiations have been taken away from the military administrators and placed directly into the hands of the governments. The notes of the American, British and French State Departments protesting the blockade by the Soviet Union all speak of "the extremely serious international situation." Drew Middleton, N.Y. Times correspondent, correctly observes: "The longer the Soviet Blockade remains in force, the longer are tempers stretched and the possibility of some incident that could not be smoothed out by diplomatic means becomes greater."

FRENCH CLAUSE

Under pressure of the tremendous anti-war sentiment of the masses, the French note is careful to include the following statement: "There will be no appeal to force as a means of resolving the differences that may exist between the Soviet Government and itself on any point in the Berlin situation." This significant clause is omitted from the American and British notes. Washington has mobilized hundreds of cargo planes to carry food and coal to the Berlin citizenry. Clay boastfully declares: "We can keep it (the air lift) up as long as the American people want to keep it up."

But Clay lies when he states that the "American people want to keep it up." It is further admitted that the air lift cannot prevent famine and chaos for any length of time. What is necessary is the withdrawal from Berlin and the rest of Germany by the military of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. All talk of democracy is a fraud while foreign troops remain quartered in Germany and elsewhere. The American people must demand a sharp halt to this mad policy which is leading us to a new world war.

While this shift away from the

Opposition Group Strong At Gathering of Mich. CIO

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., June 23—Despite the 3,119,988 reelection of August Scholle to the state's CIO presidency, this tenth annual Michigan CIO convention shows signs of a shift on the part of the workers away from the red-baiting Reuther group.

As an example, the delegates of Dodge Local 3, representing 15,000 members, were overwhelmingly anti-Reuther. This same local elected a solid Reuther group for the UAW convention last fall. Lincoln Local 900, solidly pro-Reuther at the last UAW convention, were solidly anti-Reuther at this convention. Local 157, large tool and die unit, pro-Reuther at the UAW convention, was here overwhelmingly anti-Reuther. Ford Local 600, largest in the world, showed a shift away from Reuther in the election of delegates to this convention.

While this shift away from the

Reuther group is still minor, it is the beginning of realization by workers that red-baiting does not solve the problems in the shop.

Some observers have even stated that had the anti-Reuther forces organized and concentrated their forces for this convention, they possibly could have won the Michigan CIO from the Reuther group. It was noted that a number of key anti-Reuther locals were not represented at the convention, such as the Olds Local from Lansing, Plymouth Local of Detroit and Buick Local of Flint. The steelworkers, who also control a large bloc of votes, are no longer affiliated with the state CIO because of their hostility to Reuther. Neither were the Public Workers, also anti-Reuther, represented full force. It was here overwhelmingly anti-Reuther. Ford Local 600, largest in the state, represented less than 50% of the CIO members in the state of Michigan.

Open red-baiting was injected

into this convention by James Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer. In a tirade against "communists" who seek to "sovietize" the American trade unions, he aroused the right-wing delegates in opposition not only to the Stalinists, but to all militants dissatisfied with the Reutherite policy. However, five minutes after Carey's tirade, about one-third of the convention was applauding the nomination for State CIO president Frank Davis from the Lincoln Local on an anti-Reuther and anti-red-baiting program of militant, democratic unionism and for a labor party to combat employer-government attacks.

The other occasion for red-baiting occurred on the question of Political Action Committee policy. Speeches from the floor were made that any support for a third party would help the forces of reactionary republicanism and the Communist Party. For the most part, however, the red-bait-

ing was contained at this convention. Even in the shops, during the campaigns for election of delegates, the red-baiting was conducted underhandedly, rather than flagrantly as before.

While red-baiting still is the cement that holds the Reuther forces together, it is not as bold as it was a year ago and not as effective with greater sections of workers. The progressive forces are also better organized to meet it.

The delegates at this convention were jealous of their democratic rights, and broke caucus discipline to vote down by a 2-to-1 vote the leadership's proposal to hold conventions every two years instead of every year.

The Reuther leadership continued its disregard of democratic rights of minorities by refusing to place any oppositionist delegate on any convention committee. So raw was this violation of democratic procedure that even Reuther delegates got up to protest. However, Scholle's decision stuck.

The Reuther forces used every means to secure a flock of "suitcase voters." From every little local they could get their hands on, the Reutherites carried proxy credentials for themselves to vote their slate.

The bankruptcy of the Reuther forces was best illustrated on

political action. Here, the Reutherites could do no more than follow the same policy that had brought disaster in the past — follow the Democratic Party.

More than a third of the convention opposed them. How many of these delegates wanted to support Wallace, and how many favored the organization of a genuine labor party, it is hard to say.

Stalin, among other things, accuses Tito of "Trottskyism." Tito has proved himself as deadly a foe of Trotskyism as his former Kremlin taskmaster. The Tito-Stalin conflict differs profoundly from Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism. Nevertheless the questions already involved in the Tito-Stalin clash cannot be fully understood except in the light of the life-and-death battle waged by the Russian Left Opposition, led by Trotsky against Stalinism.

It is incumbent, especially for the followers of the Stalinist parties, now to review and reconsider the whole struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism in the light of the Yugoslav events.

Regardless of what Tito and Stalin want, the workers will surely reject this trap of choosing between the type of gold-braid worn in Belgrade as against the type Stalin prefers in the Kremlin. Both sides still try to cover up what they really want by raising



MARSHALL

New Developments in Tito-Kremlin Break

By John G. Wright

American workers, like workers everywhere, are deeply interested in the break between Belgrade and Moscow.

Only yesterday Tito was second only to Stalin in the universe which all Stalinists inhabit; today the Stalinists call him an "adventurer." Yesterday Yugoslavia was pictured by them as the very model of a "new democracy"; today, they denounce it as a country which has deserted "the united front of all the forces working for peace," and is heading for the warmongering camp of imperialism.

Yesterday the "collaboration" between Stalin and Tito was symbolized by their portraits hanging side by side. Today, the Kremlin feverishly mobilizes anti-Tito forces everywhere, in China and in the United States, in Albania as well as in Soviet Russia. For its part, Belgrade

takes anxious counter-measures, broadcasting to the world every sign of support, especially from Yugoslav citizens in the USSR.

Tito, while trying to straddle, finds himself compelled to maneuver with still another great force — a force, separate and apart from the power of a Tito, or a Stalin, or the power of Wall Street-Washington. This independent power is constituted by the revolutionary workers and toiling poor of Yugoslavia.

In relation to this great power, Tito's margin for maneuver is far more limited than he or his top staff may imagine. And as this independent power begins more and more taking part in the conflict, Stalin, let alone Tito, will discover that no man can cheat the class struggle and its laws.

Because the enormous Stalinist apparatus of repression has finally cracked open, an entirely new set of alignments is bound to take place. Each existing crack will deepen and widen, and new fissures will tend to appear through each opening, however

narrow, the masses will tend to surge through. It is they who actually have the last word on what will be the eventual outcome of this single duel between the Little Belgrade Dictator and the Big Tyrant in the Kremlin.

Tito and Stalin want the workers to choose between them. They pose all questions as if everything at bottom comes down to a choice between a "better" man, or who is more "popular," "able" or more "powerful," "realistic."

These methods have nothing in common with real labor politics. Workers — especially advanced workers — don't need, nor do they want "saviors." They want leaders able to carry out clear-cut actions on the basis of a firm working class program.

Regardless of what Tito and Stalin want, the workers will surely reject this trap of choosing between the type of gold-braid worn in Belgrade as against the type Stalin prefers in the Kremlin.

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Drafting the Platform



Labor Bureaucrats Trapped In a Political Blind-Alley

Newspaper commentators last week vied with each other in finding morbid terms to describe the Democratic Party's national convention. The word most often used was "wake."

The description is not inapt. The delegates in Philadelphia

are not going by platform. They have performance to go by.

LIBERAL PHRASES

Not all the moth-eaten liberal phrases brought out for airing every four years from the New Deal closet and not all the renewals of thrice-broken promises can prevail. The American people are going to repudiate the Democratic Party in November.

From right to left in the Democratic Party, its leading elements have tried to give the impression that all that's wrong with the party is Truman — a different candidate would save the day. But after all kinds of shenanigans to draft this person and that, they had to wind up with Truman. To repudiate him, would be to repudiate the record of the Democratic Administration.

The point to remember most of all is that this party in decomposition, this discredited man who heads that party are the creations of Roosevelt himself. This is the heritage he left. Just three years since his death have sufficed to show how well he built and with what materials. Roosevelt, the "master architect," erected this shoddy structure, bound together not with the cement of principle and program, but the mud of patronage.

NEW PARTY

Where will those wailing before this tottering structure — those like the labor leaders crying hopelessly for "another Roosevelt" — where will they turn now? Will they stand wringing their hands, waiting for the Democratic Party walls to fall on their heads? Or will they try to slink like cravens back under the roof of the Republican Party they rejected 16 years ago?

The Democrats can still write a platform that does not lack for liberal phrases. They can talk about repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and civil rights legislation. But so far as the Democrats are concerned, the American people were coming into open conflict. Truman inherited these conflicts when they were already in an acute stage. He inherited them, moreover, when the prestige of the Democratic Party was well on the down-grade. Every national election since 1936 had shown a greater and greater drift away from the Democrats.

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So-Called "Congress of Peoples" Boomerangs on Yellow "Socialists"

PARIS—A Congress of the Peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa was held in Paris by the Committee for the Socialist United States of Europe, on June 19, 20 and 21. The Congress organizers were the left Social Democrats (Marceau Pivert for France, Fenner Brockway of the British Labor Party), and all organizations claiming to be socialist or democratic as well as all colonial organizations were invited.

On the eve of the Congress opening, Leon Blum, in an editorial of *Le Populaire*, expressed the objects of the Congress in his own flowery style:

"Is it possible at present to separate the European States from those peoples attached to them by the centuries old phenomena of colonization? Is it possible to imagine a political and moral status of an European Federation which does not extend into the other continents? . . . In supposing the complete success of the Marshall Plan, in supposing that in four years, European production will not only be restored but considerably increased, how will it be able to provide its normal and permanent needs of imports: oil, copper, cotton, wool, cereals, meat and fats, etc. . . ?

"One sees that, in organizing the 'Congress of the Peoples,' the

initiators of the movement for the Socialist United States of Europe have remained consistent with themselves. The presence alone on French soil of representatives of the indigenous movements of Asia and Africa opens perspectives and hopes as yet undefined."

This Congress was the first attempt of Social Democracy, by means of its "left" representatives, to penetrate into colonial domains, where thus far the Stalinists alone had won influence. It was an operation to associate these colonial groups with the politics of the socialist parties of Western Europe.

TROTSKYIST MILITANTS PARTICIPATE

In addition to the left Social Democrats, a number of emigre Social Democrats from Eastern Europe, hostile not only to Stalinism but also to the USSR, were in attendance. There was also a motley crew of various centrist groups (POUM of Spain, ILP of Britain, Archeo-Marxists of Greece, RDR of France, etc.) It is unnecessary to state that contradictions swarmed between these people—and it is thanks to this that our Trotskyist militants were allowed to participate.

The Trotskyist organizations were represented by the PCI (France), Vietnamese Group of

the Fourth International, Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Ceylon, Revolutionary Communist League of Palestine.

While the peoples of Europe were practically not represented at this "Congress of the Peoples," the colonial peoples were very widely represented, especially from Africa. These colonial participants sought above all to express their demands.

The statement of Comrade Frank denouncing the pseudo-democracy of the Congress organizers had the result of immediately securing the right to speak for the militants of the Fourth International. Above all, however, it stimulated those who had something to say.

The constitution of the Congress commissions expressed in subtle fashion the objects of the organizers. There was:

1) An economic commission, charged with studying plans, which when they had any meaning, meant the association of the colonies with their metropolitan countries.

2) A political commission which was subdivided into a general political sub-commission, a sub-commission for Palestine, and three sub-commissions, Britain and the British Empire, France and the French Union, Holland and the Dutch Commonwealth. The organizers rejected the proposal for sub-commissions on Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East.

Despite the maneuvers of the Congress organizers, the demands of the colonial peoples were voiced

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Farewell to Inger Swabeck

(The following is a complete stenographic report of the address of James P. Cannon at the funeral of Inger Swabeck in Chicago, Monday, July 12, 1948.)

Dear Friends:

I will first relate Inger's biography. She was born in Horsens, Denmark, May 30, 1895. Her maiden name was Inger Lindhardt. She came to the United States, to stay here in Chicago, in the spring of 1916. A little later Inger met Arne Swabeck, who was also an immigrant from Denmark, in the Chicago Karl Marx Club, the local Scandinavian branch of the Socialist Party. On May 12, 1920, Inger and Arne were married.

INGER SWABECK

became the mother of one son, Edgar, who was born June 11, 1921. Inger died at the age of 53. Her survivors are a mother, a sister, and a brother in Denmark; a sister, Mrs. Thora Hansen, a resident of Chicago; her husband Arne, and her son Edgar.

Inger was loved by all. This is testified to by the telegrams that have been pouring in from all parts of the country, from comrades and friends who knew her. And all of us here testify to the same.

Some people are called upon to play their part on great stages where all the world can see them and hear them. Others, and they are the great majority, do their work in quiet corners, observed and noticed only by the few who come into intimate contact with them. Inger was one of those, but she was none the less important for all of that.

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FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

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

TROTSKY



LENIN

By Art Preis

The best man the Democratic Party can find to run for President was first hoisted into national political office in 1934 by some 60,000 "ghost" votes. These were the votes of dead and buried citizens, incorporeal residents of vacant lots and other disembodied members of the Kansas City, Missouri, electorate who regularly thronged to the polls on election days at the summons of Boss Thomas Pendergast.

These votes delivered by Pendergast's machine of racketeers, gamblers, vice-lords, business men and other of the "better class" elements, provided the slim margin of victory for one of the Boss's "boys," Harry S. Truman. It propelled "Judge" Truman from an obscure county commissionership to the U.S. Senate in one heap. The momentum carried him within ten years to the Vice Presidency, and thence, by the accident of death, to the White House itself.

Boss Pendergast went to his reward in 1945, attended by all the solemn rites of the Catholic Church. The most distinguished mourner at the funeral services was Vice President Truman, who left his war-time duties and flew via Army bomber to express his undying loyalty to the man—and the machine—that raised him to power. "He was my friend, and I was his," said the sorrowing Truman of the political master, ex-convict, grifter, ballot-thief, tax-evader and ruthless overlord who made Kansas City and Missouri politics a stench in American nostrils for decades.

The remarkable response from listeners to our convention radio broadcasts show that millions are eager to learn about our program. Dobbs and Carlson will soon start on national speaking tours. Their campaign workers need at once a hundred thousand copies of the Socialist Workers Party election platform.

Will you help spread the message of socialist liberation from coast to coast? Support the 1948 struggle for a Socialist America by sending your contribution now to the Dobbs-Carlson Election Campaign Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

County Democratic Club. In 1934 he was found dead in a ditch, riddled with slugs, before the FBI could catch up with him and get the final evidence of the link between the Union Station murderers and the Kansas City police who were run by Lazia.

Before he met his violent end, Lazia did one last big political chore for Pendergast. He furnished the gunmen and auto for the "Bloody Election" of March 1934, when Pendergast snatched victory from near-defeat in the municipal elections. After Lazia's hoodlums got through "persuading" the good citizens of Kansas City to "vote right," four were murdered, hundreds were assaulted and beaten up, and an estimated 100,000 felonies were committed in one day of bloody terror and election fraud.

The Pendergast candidate for Mayor won by 59,368 votes. The total vote cast was 222,866. This was higher than the 219,000 votes cast two years before in the Presidential Election!

CHIEF EVIDENCE

It took several years for Mil- ligan to uncover the evidence of vote frauds necessary to convict Pendergast's henchmen. The chief evidence was provided by records and ballots of the August 1936 primary, when they were finally impounded and studied by experts of the Department of Justice.

Suspicion centered on the "arithmetic" of the vote results which gave Pendergast's candidate for the State Supreme Court in one Kansas City ward 18,919 votes to his opponent's 18. In another ward, the vote was 19,201 to 13. The total inhabitants of the two wards—babies, children and adults—were 38,401.

The Kansas City Star, which was in opposition to Pendergast at that time, uncovered evidence showing that election records of the two wards—babies, children and adults—were 38,401. The Kansas City Star, which was in opposition to Pendergast at that time, uncovered evidence showing that election records

listed vacant lots as the residences of from ten to thirty "voters," buildings housing three to five people were given as the addresses of ten or 15 "phantom" voters. The Pendergast machine voted everything from the graves in the cemetery to names of people who had moved thousands of miles away years before.

As the subsequent vote fraud trials disclosed the number of these "ghost" votes was between 50,000 and 60,000. Truman won the Democratic primary for U.S. Senator in 1934 by a margin of 41,000 votes in the state. His Kansas City and Jackson County total was 138,423—against the combined total of his two opponents of 10,437 (according to the election returns).

TAX EVASION

Pendergast—who never ran for office himself, but selected those who did—was finally nailed for income tax evasion. He forgot to include in his income tax statements a matter of \$480,000 paid him by the insurance companies in Missouri. This sum he received to get his State Superintendent of Insurance to fix up "compromise" settlements of funds impounded by the previous Superintendent in an illegal premium rate-fixing case.

One thing led to another, and before Pendergast and a number of his business associates were sent to Leavenworth for 13 months it was found he had failed to tell the government of at least \$1,040,746.56 in income he had received from his numerous business enterprises. In fact, he had defrauded the government of \$551,078.75 in taxes.

In the days when Boss Pendergast's machine was under fire for vote fraud, his staunchest champion was Truman, who declared in the Senate: "I say to the Senate, Mr. President, that a Jackson County, Mo., Democrat has

as much chance of a fair trial in the Federal District Court of Western Missouri as a Jew would have in Hitler's court or a Trotsky follower before Stalin."

He forgot to mention that his political buddies were tried before a jury and convicted on the direct evidence of tampered ballots and registry lists. Federal Judge Reeves, who tried the vote fraud cases, replied that Truman's outburst was "a speech of a man nominated by 'ghost' votes, elected by 'ghost' votes and whose speech was probably written by 'ghost' writers."

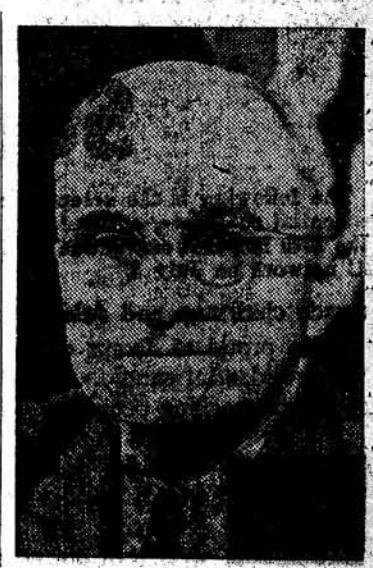
"LEGITIMATE" BUSINESS

Boss Pendergast, while not above yielding to the temptation of bribes, was essentially content to make his money from "legitimate" business. He owned numerous construction companies and other enterprises. He got rich by using his political control to get public contracts. His building inspectors, for instance, saw to it that only his concrete was used in construction around Kansas City and Jackson County. He ran a liquor business as well. His views on politics were summed up by him with, "Politics is a business."

Truman, too, entered politics as a "business." Unsuccessful as a haberdashery store-keeper and small farmer, Truman was able to "set himself up" in politics by way of a modest political office in Jackson County secured through the influence of his army buddy, James Pendergast.

He has not forgotten his benefactor, who is today a frequent guest in the White House. And the prestige of the U.S. President has been used directly to restore his business, a telegram arrived: "LAST NIGHT PRIMARY BALLOTS STOLEN FROM ELECTION COMMISSIONERS' VAULT."

And Truman's FBI hasn't found them yet.



TRUMAN

gast mob, and backed a Pendergast-supported candidate.

Out of that election, which Slaughter lost by the margin of the Kansas City vote, came new and convincing charges of vote fraud. But strangely, despite overwhelming evidence of dirty doings at the polls, the Department of Justice under Truman's regime balked and stalled at another prosecution for vote fraud.

On March 28, a Senate subcommittee was questioning Attorney General Tom Clark on his failure to properly investigate and prosecute the latest ballot-steal. The evidence, including ballot boxes and records, in the indictment of 73 persons was impounded in a vault in the Jackson County court house. As the Senate committee was beginning its business, a telegram arrived:

"LAST NIGHT PRIMARY BALLOTS STOLEN FROM ELECTION COMMISSIONERS' VAULT."

And Truman's FBI hasn't found them yet.

Help the Campaign of Dobbs-Carlson!

In a Washington newsletter circulated privately to businessmen we read last week: "Many Big Business interests will contribute to both parties, as usual. . . one to win, the other as insurance."

No matter how it divides the millions in election subsidies to the capitalist parties, Big Business is not going to give one penny for the campaign of Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. Because these candidates are putting forward a program to resist the ruinous capitalist regime and establish a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States.

The Trotskyist banner-bearers can look for support in their campaign and at the polls only from the common people whose interests they are defending—the workers, Negroes, youth and everyone who demands a better life.

The delegates to the recently concluded National Convention in New York which launched the first presidential campaign of

Labor's Path in 1948

The top CIO leaders have just issued a virtual declaration of political bankruptcy. Following a closed caucus of 75 leaders of the CIO's Political Action Committee in Philadelphia on July 11, its national chairman, Jack Kroll, sadly opined that the CIO members may "just sit on their hands and wait" this November and "this may well result in a Republican victory."

This pathetic confession comes from the crew of self-admitted "labor statesmen" who have been issuing thunderous decrees against all and sundry who wanted to build a new political party of labor. These men sternly advised that a new party would "split the progressive vote" and thus make possible a Republican victory. Now, lo and behold, one of the chief architects of CIO policy confessed that the official CIO course "may well result in a Republican victory."

This out-and-out bankruptcy of the official trade union leadership is not confined to Kroll, Philip Murray and the national CIO office. It runs all the way from the senile mousiecks of the AFL Executive Council right down to such phony progressives as Walter Reuther and his friends.

Reuther, you may recall, declared just a short time ago that he was for a new party—after the 1948 elections! The sincerity of even this declaration can be judged by his activities since that time. His Michigan henchman, August Scholle, president of the

Socialist Workers Party decided to raise a \$25,000 Election Campaign and Party Building Fund for Dobbs and Carlson.

We call upon every reader of *The Militant* to participate in this historic election campaign. For the first time in years the capitalist nominees—Republican, Democratic, Wallace—are being challenged by fighting candidates of a revolutionary working class party. The authentic voice of socialism is again resounding through the national political arena.

The remarkable response from listeners to our convention radio broadcasts show that millions are eager to learn about our program. Dobbs and Carlson will soon start on national speaking tours. Their campaign workers need at once a hundred thousand copies of the Socialist Workers Party election platform.

Will you help spread the message of socialist liberation from coast to coast? Support the 1948 struggle for a Socialist America by sending your contribution now to the Dobbs-Carlson Election Campaign Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Catholic Censorship

The Militant has been carrying a series of articles describing the reactionary political activities of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the totalitarian political, social and economic program it is trying to fasten on the world.

The most recent flagrant example of the growing encroachment upon democratic rights and institutions in America by the Catholic hierarchy is the removal of the country's oldest political journal, the *Nation*, from the public school libraries of New York City and Newark, N. J.

This suppression is based upon a series of articles by Paul Blanshard on the Catholic hierarchy's attempts to undermine political liberties, public education, scientific advancement and progressive social laws.

The pretext for this outrageous violation of free speech and free press is the claim that Blanshard attacked the Catholic "religion." But since when is a person in this country forbidden to attack or support any particular religious or non-religious beliefs he sees fit?

As a matter of truth, Blanshard did not attack the theological tenets of the Catholic Church. He had a perfect right to do so if he wanted to, but he didn't. He described—and truthfully—the Church's political, social and economic activities.

Michigan State CIO has been plunking day and night for the Democratic party. The recent Grand Rapids convention of the Michigan CIO backed, under Reuther's inspiration, the Democratic machine. And just a few days ago, Reuther himself issued a resounding statement in favor of Justice Douglas—four days before Douglas himself said "No, thank you," to the Democratic Party.

These political pygmies with their side-show antics don't rate a cent's worth of confidence from the workers. They have led the labor movement into a blind alley—and now they all but admit it. If labor's ranks wait for the present crew of misleaders to lead them out of the political wilderness, their grandchildren will still have to listen to the same old phonograph record: "Now is not the time," and "Don't split the progressive vote."

New problems demand new men! And labor's present impasse on the political front can only be resolved by the ranks putting up for leadership class-conscious militants who will break with the stultifying, self-defeating capitalist politics of the present labor bureaucrats and strike out on the path of a new political party of labor.

Meanwhile, in the absence of a labor slate in 1948, the best thing union militants can do is to pile up a big vote for the SWP candidates, Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, and thus help forge the independent force of labor.

In the meantime I am endeavouring to acquire a clear and intelligent insight on politics the world over and in this matter would appreciate your cooperation by forwarding to me copies of your election speeches and a resume of the policies governing your party.

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Radio Speeches of SWP National Candidates

Socialism or Barbarism

The following is the acceptance speech of Farrell Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate, entitled "Socialism or Barbarism," delivered to the 13th national convention of the SWP and broadcast over the ABC network on July 3.

Comrade chairman and delegates:

I am proud to accept the assignment you have given me, as the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, to carry to the working people of America our program of struggle against capitalist wars and for a socialist world.

Less than three years after the second world war, American imperialism is already preparing for another war. The tremendous wealth of our country is being drained to stockpile atom bombs, establish military bases throughout the world and militarize American youth.

We are told we can't build homes, we can't have old-age pensions, we can't have economic security, because these essentials cost too much. Yet billions of dollars are squandered on the military budget, and corporation profits are at an all-time high.

Using the crimes of Stalin to justify their imperialist program of world conquest, the bi-partisan coalition at Washington calls for a holy war to defend free enterprise against totalitarianism.

If the Democratic and Republican stooges of monopoly capitalism are opposed to totalitarianism, why do they foist a murderous police state upon the Greek people? Why do they aid Chiang Kai-shek and his corrupt military clique in China? Why do they set up Quisling dictators in South America? Why did the House of Representatives vote to include fascist Spain in the Marshall Plan?

When capitalist politicians claim they are opposed to totalitarianism, they do not speak the truth. Their only concern is to preserve the outlived profit system which they call "free enterprise."

Truth About Stalinism and Socialism

The monopolies, with the government's help, have long ago stamped out any semblance of free enterprise in America. Every phase of our economy is today in the iron grip of the giant corporations and banking combines. They produce for profit, or they don't produce at all.

Capitalism has kept the American people on a merry-go-round of depression, war, inflation and again war. The workers are learning from their own experiences that the capitalist profit system must be scrapped. But they are disoriented by the lying propaganda of the capitalists and their labor lieutenants, that the only alternative to capitalism is Stalinist totalitarianism. In order to keep the American people from taking the true road to socialism, the falsehood is spread that Stalinism is the natural product of socialism.

Let me tell you the truth about Stalinism and socialism.

The first realistic steps to set up a socialist state were taken in the midst of the first world war by the workers and farmers of Russia under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. That was the only way to end the war and to prevent the bankers, industrial magnates and landlords from despoiling their country.

But the Russian revolution only opened the road to socialism. It did not create the socialist society at one stroke. Lenin and Trotsky openly stated that the complete transition from capitalism to socialism in Russia could not be accomplished with the resources of that country alone.

They looked to the working people of highly industrialized countries like Germany, England and the United States, to also establish Workers and Farmers governments and enter into democratic collaboration on an international scale.

However the workers of western Europe were defeated in their attempts to take this road. Instead, the ruling capitalists of Europe and America organized counter-revolutionary military expeditions against the Russian workers.

Capitalism had good reason to fear the new revolutionary government. Lenin and Trotsky summoned the peoples of the earth to put an end to the first world war. They called on the working people to scrap monopoly capitalist rule throughout the world. They demanded freedom for all colonial peoples.

SWP Candidates Greet Each Other



Two SWP candidates greet each other at the 13th National Convention of the Party, held in New York July 1-5. Left is William Bohannon, candidate for U. S. Senator from New Jersey; right, Grace Carlson, St. Paul, Minn., nominated for the vice-presidency of the United States.

Photo by Roseman

Penn. Opens Drive For Dobbs-Carlson

Philadelphia, Pa., July 11 — A State Campaign Committee was set up today to carry out an aggressive election campaign on behalf of Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson. Louis Shoemaker, Bucks County farmer, was elected State Chairman. Regional headquarters for the campaign will be in Pittsburgh for the western part of the state, and Philadelphia for the eastern section.

In Pennsylvania, for legal reasons, the Socialist Workers Party appears on the ballot under the name of **MILITANT WORKERS PARTY**.

As one of the first projects of the campaign, the state meeting voted to hold a picnic on Sunday, Aug. 15, at Torchia's farm, near Reading, Pa. National party leaders are being invited to speak and arrangements made to have the speeches broadcast.

Over \$1,000 was pledged at today's meeting for the campaign.

↓
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THE MILITANT

The Struggle for Civil Rights

The following is the acceptance speech of Grace Carlson, SWP vice-presidential candidate, entitled "The Struggle for Civil Rights," which was delivered to the 13th annual convention of the SWP and broadcast over the ABC network on July 3.

Delegates to the 13th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party!

Workingmen and working women of America!

It is with the deepest gratitude that I have accepted your nomination as candidate for the Vice-President of the United States.

I consider it not only an honor but a responsibility and an opportunity.

It is a high honor to be the first vice-presidential candidate of the American Trotskyist movement.

It is a solemn responsibility to carry the banner of truth and socialism in a world ridden with capitalist corruption and deceit.

It offers an unexampled opportunity to unmask the plot of the fascist-minded rulers of this country who seek to destroy the hard-won rights and liberties of the American people.

I want to discuss this question here tonight. I want to expose the duplicity of Harry Truman, the double-dealing of Thomas E. Dewey and the hypocrisy of Henry Wallace.

I want to tell you about the Socialist Workers Party struggle to protect and extend civil liberties.

We stand for full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people and all other minority groups. We are fighting to put an end to the whole shameful system of Jim Crow—to abolish the poll tax; to end discrimination in employment and housing; to put a stop to police brutality and outlaw lynching.

This is no mere vote-catching platform. We are enlisted in the war against Jim Crow for the duration.

The fourteen millions of Negroes are Americans in every sense of the word, yet they live as sub-citizens. I need not dwell upon the persecution, the degradation, the humiliation to which all American Negroes are subjected. Everybody knows it. That is the greatest shame of all!

The Federal Government itself is the greatest perpetrator of Jim Crow. Through its Jim Crow Army it carried this shame into every corner of the earth. And this was under the administration of President Roosevelt—and Henry Wallace.

For years bills for the abolition of the poll tax, for federal legislation against lynching, for a Fair Employment Practices Commission have been kicked around by the Democrats and Republicans in Congress.

Today President Truman is seeking the Negro vote. So he has made a resounding declaration in favor of rights for Negroes. But at the same time his Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, declares that segregation in the armed forces will continue. Washington itself, the very capital of the United States, is a Jim Crow city. In Washington some of the most vicious anti-Negro practices of the deep South are shamelessly maintained, in full view of the President, the Congress and the Supreme Court.

Truman's Civil Rights Program Is Phoney

Nobody is fooled by President Truman's program for civil rights, least of all the Negro people. All through American history they have fought for their rights. They have formed innumerable organizations of struggle. Through one of the organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in Minnesota, I have been able to participate in this struggle for over ten years. The Socialist Workers Party welcomes with pride the spirit of resistance of the Negro people of which the defiant attitude of A. Philip Randolph and Grant Reynolds, is only one expression.

But Negroes are not the only persecuted minority in the country. The Mexican people in California and Texas are persecuted by reactionary landlords and capitalist interests. They are shunted away into ghettos. They are the victims of unending police brutality.

Anti-Semitism is growing every day in the United States. Daily, Jews are segregated by restrictive covenants written and unwritten, insulted, threatened and refused employment simply because they are Jews. And this after we supposedly fought a war against Hitlerism—which began with anti-Semitism and ended with concentration camps, and gas chambers!

America was built by immigrants and prided itself on being a haven for political refugees. Today the Immigration Department and the FBI persecute foreign-born workers with a vindictiveness and a ferocity that is shocking.

The second imperialist war was fought under the banner of "democracy" and "freedom." Yet it was the administration of Roosevelt—and Henry Wallace—which treated American citizens of Japanese descent with sickening brutality.

Negroes, Mexicans, Indians, Jews, Japanese. That is their story.

And why does all this take place? Because the Wall Street billionaires want to keep their investment safe. They want no change in the accepted policy of white supremacy. They wish to feed prejudices against Negroes, Jews, Mexicans and other minorities so as to distract the attention of the people from the crimes and the chaos of the capitalist system itself.

They wish to keep the working people divided for easier exploitation. We know that method. Hitler made it famous, or should I say, infamous.

SWP Speaks For Persecuted Minorities

We of the Socialist Workers Party speak for a different America. We want the world to know that in this presidential campaign of 1948 we speak as the true inheritors of the great American traditions of resistance to tyranny—the traditions of Patrick Henry and Sam Adams, of William Lloyd Garrison and John Brown—traditions which the Republican and Democratic Parties are dragging in the mud.

We speak for the persecuted minorities. If they can be deprived of their liberties, who can feel his own rights safe? All of our traditional liberties are now in mortal danger.

The Taft-Hartley Slave Law strikes at the rights of 60 million workers and their families. The Mundt Bill aims at giving the government the power to jail and persecute every citizen and organization that opposes the tyrannical policies of the ruling class.

Only those who are wilfully blind can fail to see that in every sphere the government and the capitalist masters of this country are rapidly forging the chains by which they hope to establish complete domination over the thoughts and actions of the whole people, and above all of the working class.

My friends, that is the way totalitarianism is prepared. When the dictator finally makes his appearance and his bid for power, his path has been smoothed first by the persecution of minorities.

That is why today the defense of the rights of minorities is the defense of the liberties of all. Such is the nature of capitalism that at a certain stage it must treat the great masses of the people as if they too were an alien minority. America can be safe from totalitarianism only if the people recognize the ultimate objective of their capitalist rulers and resist them without compromise.

Today the persecuted Negroes, Mexicans and the victims of anti-Semitism must feel confident that a great unity of all the oppressed and persecuted is being forged by capitalism itself—that their minority struggles are fast becoming the common struggle.

The rich were able to place Hitler in power because of the failure of the labor leadership and the Stalinist party in Germany.

How to Fight This Evil?

Today the workers know that they are the ones especially aimed at. They were ready for a nation-wide resistance against the Taft-Hartley Bill. Their leaders sabotaged it. But we present ourselves to you in this campaign with one dominating idea. We believe that only the most uncompromising resistance by all the oppressed and all the persecuted can create the forces to smash the encroaching tyranny. We are supremely confident in the readiness of the workers and minorities to do this.

The real problem is how to fight this evil. Certainly it cannot be fought by supporting the Democrats, or Republicans, or the Wallace party. They will do nothing. Their words are nothing but election promises.

We must draw the necessary conclusions. We must break with capitalist politics, capitalist parties and capitalist politicians. The minorities must join forces with the organized workers for militant, independent *class action*.

This does not mean merely voting at election time, although that is important. It also means action—organized protest by groups, organizations and whole communities.

Organized labor, the most powerful force in the country—and for that reason the most threatened—must take the lead in the defense of civil liberties. It must initiate, in every sphere, the traditional methods of struggle of the labor movement, struggles such as those which built the CIO and have defended the working class against its capitalist enemies.

This is the message of the Socialist Workers Party in this campaign.

This is the program we ask you to vote for. But above all this is the program we ask you to act upon.

In summoning you to this struggle, the Socialist Workers Party comes with clean hands and an unblemished record.

Trotskyists have paid with their lives and liberty for resisting tyranny all over the world, yes, even in the United States.

Tonight I want to end with a message to one particular section of our people—the most oppressed, the most exploited, the most humiliated in the United States. I am speaking directly to the Negro men and women in this country who live in the Deep South.

The Socialist Workers Party has members of all races and nationalities in its ranks. We want you to know, brothers and sisters, that for us there can be no talk of freedom in the United States until you are free. We of the Socialist Workers Party know how you suffer. We know the heroic struggles you have to wage every day, every hour, every minute of your lives. Even though so many of you are deprived of the right to vote for us in this election, we would like to hear from you. Write to us. Tell us about your problems—your struggles, and your suffering. I pledge myself to bring your plight before the American people as a symbol of capitalist oppression, your struggle as the symbol of the road to freedom.

NAACP Forces Sears to Meet On Discrimination

By J. Hawkins

SANTA MONICA, CALIF. —

The local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People dissolved the United Committee to End Job Discrimination at Sears-Roebuck, and called for

all participating organizations to suspend mass picketing at the local Sears store Friday evenings. In a few days the negotiating committee will meet with the Sears store management, and hopes to wind up its long bitter

campaign to force the local store to hire without racial discrimination. Preliminary statements by the management indicate that the NAACP will not come away empty handed.

It would, of course, be best if the NAACP went in to negotiate backed by the threat of mass picketing, which each Friday has brought as high as 275 pickets of both races. But the irresponsible actions of the Communist Party have made continuation of the United Committee and picketing intolerable to the NAACP.

Ever since the creation of the United Committee by the NAACP, the Stalinists have flocked to its weekly meeting as representatives of various organizations, out-voting the NAACP and its supporters, attempting to capture the United Committee and use it for their own purposes. About two months ago the Stalinists "took over" and began to run things. When Frank H. Barnes, local NAACP President, was first brought under fire from the Post Office loyalty board, the Stalinists voted to hold the next committee meeting at the home of one of the local Stalinist officials, and then began hawking their paper, *The People's World*, in a provocative manner on the picket line to all customers entering the store. Rank and file members of the NAACP began in increasing numbers to stay away from picketing.

The local NAACP leadership returned from the national NAACP convention with instructions to dissolve the United Committee and to discontinue the picket line. This recommendation was supported by the local NAACP here. At this point, the local newspapers perked up their ears. Would the Stalinists dissolve? Since the beginning of this fight of over 8 months duration, the local papers have conducted a conspiracy of silence. Now they came out with full publicity, interviews with Barnes, interviews with the Communist Party representative, pictures of the picket line. Of course, the Stalinist-controlled committee and picket line refused to dissolve.