

DOBBS' SPEECH ON LABOR PARTY

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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MOBILIZE LABOR FOR SPECIAL SESSION!

Dobbs Denounces Smith-Act Arrests

The following press release was issued by Farrell Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate, after the FBI arrests of the leaders of the Communist Party.

"The indictment of the twelve Communist Party leaders under the notorious Smith 'Gag' Act is a monstrous blow against civil liberties, another step in the direction of establishing a police state and thought-control in this country," Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist), declared today.

Mr. Dobbs was himself among the first to be convicted under the Smith Act, together with 17 other leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Union 544, in the famous Minneapolis Labor Trial of 1941. Mr. Dobbs served a 16-month sentence in the federal penitentiary at Sandstone, Minnesota.

Mr. Dobbs' statement continued: "The irreconcilable opposition of my party to the Stalinists does not blind us to the sinister threat in this new application of the Smith Act."

"The American Civil Liberties Union, the CIO, AFL and thousands of unions over the country protested the enactment of the Smith Act and our conviction under this act. Our case was carried to the Supreme Court of the U.S. But the court refused to review the appeal apparently because it considered the case too 'hot' to handle since it was well known that President Roosevelt had himself ordered our indictment."

"The charge that Stalinist leaders were advocating the doctrines of Marx and Lenin is fantastic and false. The Stalinist leaders long ago abandoned the philosophy of Marxism. Their shift in position in 1945 after the expulsion of Browder, upon which the indictment is hinged, did not indicate a return to Marxism, but was merely an adaptation to the new foreign policy of the Kremlin."

"The present prosecution is likewise the result of a recent reversal in attitude by Washington toward the Communist Party. The Federal Government was more than willing to accept the super-patriotic support of the CP during the war, their strikebreaking and their hounding of union militants."

"The Department of Justice was also more than willing to accept the support of the CP in railroading us to jail under the same Smith Act during the war. Despite the hypocrisy, deceit and treachery of the Stalinist leaders, we have no intention of imitating their unprincipled abandonment of civil rights and outrageous treachery toward us during the war."

"We consider it our duty to fight the present prosecution to the limit and to alert the entire labor movement to oppose it."

"I propose to make the issue of the administration attack on civil rights a major point in my campaign for the presidency."

\$25,000 Election Fund Drive Is Off to Flying Start

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

Socialist Workers Party branches have pledged \$24,000 toward the \$25,000 Election Campaign and Party Building Fund. This magnificent response to the appeal for support to Dobbs and Carlson is a token of the tremendous enthusiasm in the Trotskyist ranks for the presidential campaign.

Heartening reports of this zeal have been streaming in to the national headquarters this past week. The New York organization, which has taken the quota of \$7500, may well oversubscribe that amount. The Industrial branch voluntarily increased its share from \$300 to \$400. Brooklyn has likewise pledged more than its \$500 allotment. The New York Youth expect to double their quota of \$50. All other New York branches have accepted their quotas.

New York has already turned in \$1,162.08 on its pledge, the biggest part coming from the Chelsea branch.

Vice-presidential candidate Grace Carlson writes from Minneapolis that the Twin Cities comrades held a fine meeting at which reports were given on the SWP convention and election plans. "About \$800 was pledged at the meeting," wrote Grace. "We were happy about this and are confident that we will be able to fill our quota."

NEWARK PICNIC

The Newark branch held a picnic on Sunday, July 17, to launch its election campaign in New Jersey. William Bohannan, SWP candidate for Congressman, and William Warde, National Educational Director, spoke on the importance of the Trotskyist struggle against the war-mongers, union-busters and race-haters in the 1948 elections. In response to appeals for support, those at the picnic contributed \$75 in cash and made pledges of over \$500 to the New Jersey Fund.

Among the first branches to make payments on their promises are Flint, which sent \$23 on its

Raging Inflation Fueled by Newest Steel Price Boost

By Arthur Burch

The Big Boys are at it again. The mere hint some weeks ago by the U.S. Steel Corporation that it intended to jack up steel prices was the cue to the whole pack of monopolists to give all prices an extra heave upward. Iron Age, authoritative steel journal, predicts a \$10 a ton hike in steel when the new price list is made public. With the recent change in the base-point pricing system, Big Steel is expected to take as much as a \$15 a ton increase.

It was the boost in food prices, however, which took the heaviest toll of the workers' living standards. The Dun and Bradstreet wholesale food price index hit an all-time high for the week ending July 13. The index of 31 foods in general use rose in that week from 7.12 to 7.36. This compares with 6.52 a year ago and 7.28 last January 13, when the previous high point was reached.

The uncalled-for spurt in livestock prices was mainly responsible for the new record high. Steers which were selling for \$36 per hundredweight a month ago rose to an all-time high at \$40.50. Hogs climbed in the same period from \$25 per hundredweight to \$30.50. Lamb likewise set a new record of \$67 a hundred pounds as against \$55 to \$58 only two weeks ago. Pork chops are now selling for 95 cents per pound, lamb of lamb for as much as \$1.50 a pound and steaks and roasts for \$1.35. The housewife has long ago learned that there is very little difference in price between cheap and expensive cuts of meat. The average family cannot buy at the present prices, nevertheless, they are due to go still higher.

Even before the most recent price increases, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics admitted that the public in 1948 was eating less meat, poultry and dairy products than in 1947. Total meat consumption will be down 7% per capita, fruit 3%, coffee 4% and sugar 2%. Bread consumption is expected to decline 15% from last year.

Retail coal prices have also soared to new high levels with a \$1.25 a ton boost. Transit fares have been jacked up in 300 cities of over 25,000 population. Chicago after two yearly boosts tops the list with 15 cents for a rapid transit ride. Many cities like New York have doubled their fares recently. It is estimated that the family budget in New York will be upped \$60 a year as a result. This item alone is roughly equal to the recent meager income tax reduction.

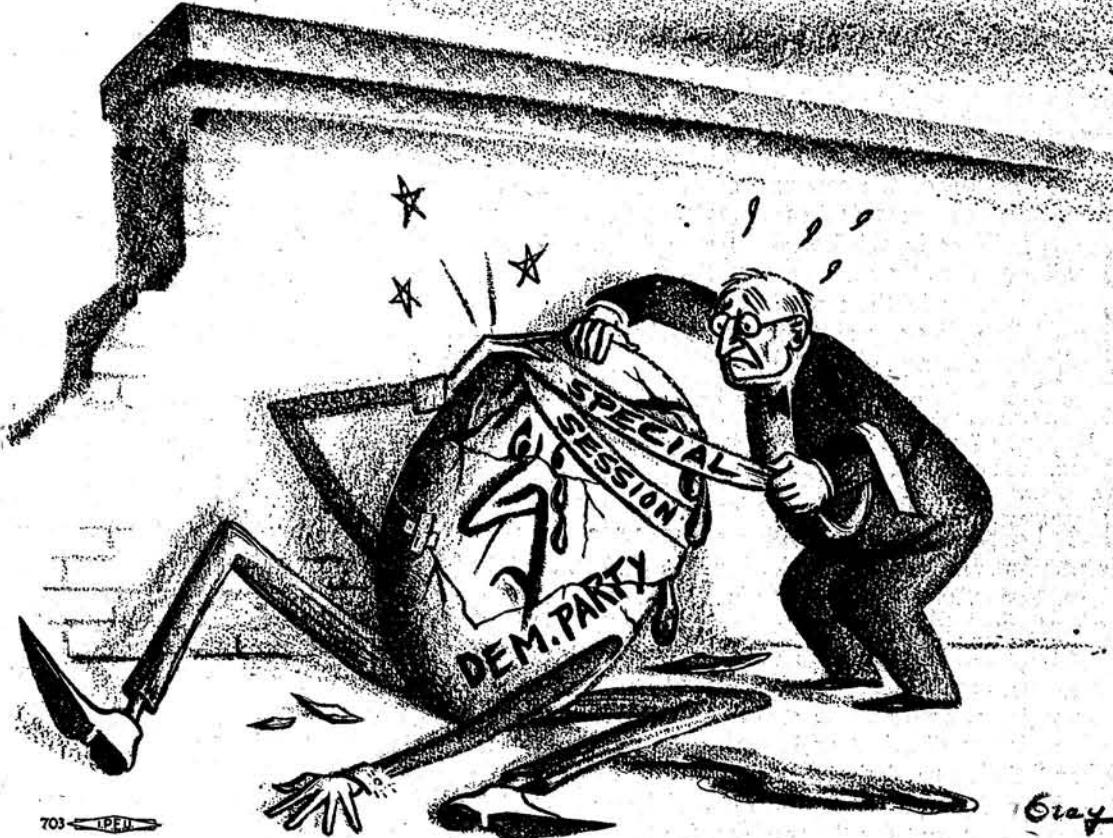
The average American home now costs \$11,035 compared with \$4,599 in 1939. Despite the many boosts in car prices an automobile spokesman did not hesitate to say: "Car prices simply will go up with the steel prices."

But while prices and profits are soaring to new highs, the stock market is plummeting downward reflecting the fact that the inflationary wave carries within itself the seeds of disaster for the economy, and brings closer the danger of a new bust.

An escalator clause in all union contracts is the most effective immediate protection of the workers' living standards against the ravages of inflation. The escalator provision in the recently-signed General Motors contract sets a precedent in this respect for the whole labor movement. Of course the escalator clause in GM contract can stand great improvement, especially on the matter of its reliance on the inaccurate Bureau of Labor Statistics. Nevertheless, the GM workers will be able to obtain periodic wage raises while other unions will have to wait a full year till their contracts expire. All unions must utilize the GM precedent to insist on the inclusion of an escalator clause in all union contracts.

8300 signatures are needed to place Farrell Dobbs, Grace Carlson, and Morris Chertov, presidential, vice-presidential, and gubernatorial candidates on the ballot for Congressmen-at-Large, on the ballot. By Saturday night, 8300 signatures had already been obtained for both national and local candidates. The work of securing signatures will continue until a goal of 12,000 signatures has been reached. The deadline for turning in the signatures to the Secretary of State is September 2.

A Cracked Egg



Stalinists Suffer Crushing Defeat in NMU Elections

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK CITY, July 20—Ten years of tight Communist Party machine control over the CIO National Maritime Union drew to an end this week. Counting of the 43,000 votes cast in the three-month long election for 131 official union posts made clear that the Stalinists had suffered a crushing defeat.

While the final count has not yet been announced, the vote is running well over two to one against the Stalinists.

The Stalinist apparatus fought furiously to save itself. Its reckless factional tactics during the campaign served to paralyze the organization at a time when the union needed all its strength. The climax to this frenzied campaign came at the last New York port meeting when CP-led hoodlums deliberately broke up the membership meeting.

For the Stalinists, some 400 jobs were at stake, to say nothing of the prestige and power involved in the domination of the NMU. Vest-pocket control of this union has for years proved a lucrative source of income as well as a valuable lever for the execution of their various crooked schemes and campaigns.

The Stalinist leadership was achieved in a completely free and democratic election campaign. Each side issued its own election material with no restrictions. In addition, the Stalinists had the

use of the weekly union organ, *The Pilot*.

The election campaign was likewise singularly free from red baiting. Try as they might, the Stalinists couldn't convince very many that their opponents were agents of the shipowners. The ineffectiveness of the Stalinist campaign of filth and slander demonstrates that they have worn this device so thin that it fools very few.

EXPOSED CP RECORD

The opponents of the Stalinists simply exposed the record of CP control and its high cost to the union. They fought for a democratic union against the machine control of the CP.

The Stalinist defeat in the NMU marks the end of the road for them in the maritime industry. All that remains of their once formidable position is the small cooks and stewards union of the West Coast and the top apparatus of the CIO longshoremen's union.

Unlike genuine militants who sometimes go down to defeat be-

fore their opponents only to gain strength and renewed support from the ranks, the Stalinists will now have few friends. Their unsavory record and cynical treachery precludes their ever restoring their standing with the broad ranks.

The credit they had won as a result of their participation in the waterfront struggles of 1934 and 1936-37 has long been dissipated. Their record during the period when they had the unchallenged leadership of an important section of this industry constitutes a damning indictment against them.

The Stalinist defeat will undoubtedly have a deep effect inside the CP ranks. They will discover that many of the officials they put into office and protected will be somewhat less than grateful. They will see many of them going to any lengths to get off the 'sinking Stalinist ship.'

The Daily Worker, in conceding defeat, announced that the ousted officials plan to return to sea. Actually it is doubtful that any but a minority will do so. Most of these "pie-cards" find the notion of actually going back into the fo'e'st extremely distasteful.

The Stalinist rout was administered by a rank and file caucus that took in all those NMU members subscribing to a simple program of restoring internal democracy and smashing the machine control of the Stalinists.

The first victory for the rank and file came at last year's convention of the union when a number of amendments to the constitution strengthening democratic controls were introduced.

These were later approved by the overwhelming vote of the membership, and prevented the Stalinists from using their control of the top apparatus to flout the will of the majority. Every important decision of the National Council had to be submitted to the membership for approval. It was this provision that restricted and restrained to some extent the Stalinist wrecking crew.

The following are the first dates of the tour by Grace Carlson:

August 1 Salt Lake City
August 2 Salt Lake City
August 3 en route
August 4 en route
August 5 Denver
August 6 Denver
August 7 Denver
August 8 en route

Plans are being projected to take the candidates into working class organizations and cities that have never heard a Trotskyist speaker, before factory gates and into working class neighborhoods. In some places radio time is being obtained on local radio stations.

Preparations are now being completed for the stumping tour of the SWP Presidential candidates scheduled to begin in August and wind up on election day in November. The candidates will cover the major cities of the country from coast to coast.

The opening gun of the speaking

tours will be fired by Grace Carlson, vice-presidential candidate on August 1 in Salt Lake City. From there she will proceed to Denver and the mining areas of Colorado. Farrell Dobbs, candidate for President opens his campaign on August 18th in the Pacific northwest and will proceed from there eastward.

Reports from campaign workers reveal that the candidates are being awaited with great enthusiasm reminiscent of the days when Eugene Victor Debs covered the country in his famous "Red Special" train. Everywhere they report that the interest and support generated by the nationwide broadcasts of the candidates will be the basis for successful meetings.

In many centers ambitious

Big Business Congress Must Feel United Power of Unions Behind the People's Demands

The discredited Democratic Party is making a desperate last-minute bid to retain its dwindling labor and Negro support. Faced with almost certain repudiation at the polls next November, the Democrats have put a bit more "liberal" bait on the hook of their platform.

Truman has hastily donned the mask of "liberalism." He hopes the workers will forget his record of wholesale government strike-breaking and use of Taft-Hartley injunctions. He hopes the Negro people will overlook the 16-year Democratic sabotage of civil rights legislation.

Now that they are about to be booted out of the Administration, the Democrats solemnly promise us that if we'll just vote them back in again, they'll carry out all the promises they've lied about for four consecutive terms.

Truman has cooked up a "grand strategy" to put the Republicans "on the spot." He's called a special session of Congress to start July 26—three months before elections. Everyone knows it's strictly a partisan political maneuver in hopes of embarrassing the Republicans more than the Democrats. Not that the Democratic strategists aren't plenty scared it may boomerang.

Partisan Politics

Truman knows in advance Congress won't pass the measures he says he will propose, starting with price regulation and housing. This bi-partisan Congress has just rejected these propositions—with the support of a majority of the Democrats! Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans expect or want to pass any of the progressive legislation the people demand. Both gangs plan to exploit the special session for whatever partisan political capital they can get from it.

Truman hopes, through this Congressional extravaganza, to divert attention from the consequences of 16 years of Democratic misrule. He wants to make the American people forget that their crucial problems didn't arise over-night. Government strike-breaking, soaring prices, the housing shortage, the assault on civil rights, the sinister drive toward a Third World War—these didn't begin with the 80th Congress. They are the end product of 16 years of Democratic national rule.

Trying to Palm Off Democratic Deceit

At the start of the Democratic National Convention, the liberals and union leaders, like the CIO-PAC big-wigs, were holding their noses at the very mention of Truman's name. Now they are giving more than a hint that they are preparing once more to palm off the deceit and demagogery of the Democratic Party as good coin.

They are not so naive as to believe the "liberal" hog-wash being ladled out so lavishly by the Democratic Party. They are conscientious shysters who have sold their very souls to capitalist politics and deserve only the back of the hand from the union ranks.

Does anyone really believe the "pro-labor" pretensions of the Democratic Party because it promises to work for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act—an act supported by a MAJORITY OF CONGRESSIONAL DEMOCRATS? The union leaders have been strangely silent about this labor plank in the Democratic platform, with its auspicious clause about replacing the Taft-Hartley Act with "such legislation as is desirable." Truman's "draft strikers" bill, perhaps? It's odd the Democratic Party's platform says nothing about the use of government injunctions—those Taft-Hartley injunctions Truman has been wielding so often and so ruthlessly against striking workers.

We are now promised Democratic Party action on civil rights—legislation to end discrimination against Negroes. This promise comes from the very party which has for 16 years scuttled every attempt in Congress to pass anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bills.

The Democrats didn't lack for laws when for 16 years the Administration failed to enforce the right of Negroes to vote in the South. And Truman doesn't need any special law to end segregation in the armed forces. He could end it tomorrow if he wanted to. As commander-in-chief he could issue an order ending military Jim Crow in 24 hours—if he were serious.

What fraud and hypocrisy is contained in the Democratic Party's platform claim that if we only give them another chance they "will put a halt to the disastrous price rises."

Bi-Partisan Crimes

Are they going to put vanishing cream on the \$250 billion war debt with which they've saddled this country? While they talk out of one side of their mouths about "halting inflation," out of the other side they clamor for a bigger and better military machine. The bi-partisan Congress—at the direct behest of Truman—has voted to spend this year alone some \$18 billion on direct war preparations. It has voted to finance and arm capitalist dictators abroad to the tune of over \$4 billion a year. Will the Democrats halt these real causes of inflated prices?

Truman has no program to solve the problems of the American people. He has called the special session just as a stunt that may help him salvage his sadly depleted political fortunes. He is making campaign footfall out of the crying needs of the people.

To the workers, the Negro people, the poor tenant farmers, however, this special session is serious business. For them, it is one more opportunity to get Congress to act on their crucial problems.

They can expect nothing—absolutely nothing—from either the big Democrats or Republicans. The only power in this land capable of forcing through a program in the interests of the people is the labor movement. That power must now be brought to bear upon the Congress of Big Business in Washington.

On the very day the special session convenes, there must assemble simultaneously at the very doorsteps of the Capitol a Congress of Labor. This Congress of Labor should be summoned at once by the union leaders.

It should include rank and file representation from every union in the land. These genuine representatives of the people will have the responsibility and duty to draft a legislative program and mobilize the masses for action to force Congress to adopt this program.

(Continued on page 4)

Forging the World Revolutionary Leadership

This is the fourth installment of the Manifesto issued by the Second World Congress of the Fourth International.

The "Third Force"

Caught in a vise between the pressure of world imperialism and that of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the sorry heroes of the Social Democracy distinguish themselves by all the traditional follies of the enraged petty bourgeois. In brief, their folly expresses itself in their trying to "delimit" themselves from the two world powers who are today pitted against each other.

As a matter of fact, speeches and articles backing a "Third Force" are merely a smoke screen to cover up the actual participation of the reformist chieftains in one or the other of the contending camps. The Moths and the Van Ackers break strikes for the benefit of the corporation owners; the Fiebinger and the Cierankiewichs are the accomplices of the Stalinists in suppressing what still remains of the workers' rights. This is the fundamental contradiction in the "Third Force." It has given birth to the "Information Committee" of the Socialist parties. Today both Washington and Moscow have "their own" socialists just as the monarchs of old used to have "their own" Jesuits, each medieval prince "his own" jesters and so on.

Even as war today tends to assume a more and more totalitarian form, just so the process of preparing for war increasingly involves the establishment of absolute control over the labor movement. American imperialism pursues its aims by leaning on both the Pope and the Social Democracy. Under its magnanimous wing, there also "regroup" themselves all the invalids of the labor movement, united by their blind fear of Stalin and by their acceptance of Yankee domination as the "lesser evil." While Washington's ideological front is thus reinforced by petty-bourgeois panic, specialists far less fastidious organize the Marshall Plan propaganda; cause the "reds" to be driven out of the factories and public administration; destroy the unity of trade unions.

The Social Democracy, however, is able to accomplish its tasks only because the far greater crimes of the Stalinists periodically drive new layers of the working class in its direction. Compared with Stalinist bureaucratism and corruption, the reformist betrayers by no means represent a more "democratic" variety. They are merely a breed of bureaucrats who are very closely integrated in the apparatus of their respective national capitalists.

As in 1919, the Social Democratic leaders are trying today to divert the instinctively revolutionary upsurge of the masses with the myth of "economic democracy." Actively supported this time by the Stalinist chieftains, they preach to the workers that there is no need for revolution so long as they are able to occupy such posts as that of Minister of Economic Affairs, so long as they nationalize — with full indemnities — the coal mines, establish labor-management committees, and introduce other reforms by legal means. Like Hilferding who wanted to couple the Soviets with the German bourgeois constitution, the Bevins and the Morrisons are hailing the progress of "socialist" economy within the framework of the British Empire.

After World War I capitalism was still able in certain historically favored countries to grant the workers the forty-eight hour week and other social legislation as a means of diverting them from the revolutionary path. Today the champions of "economic democracy" undertake to compel the workers to accept the cynical super-exploitation on which the whole economic recovery of Europe now rests. The policy of the British Labor Government is the clearest expression of the present-day mission of the labor bureaucracy, namely, to permit the workers to rebuild with their sweat the capital that had been previously destroyed by shedding their blood.

The shameful policy of the reformist leaders to integrate themselves completely in the campaign of reconstruction and to assist in the material and ideological rearmament of Big Capital can only continue to provoke discontent and revolt on the part of their socialist proletarian following, especially among the youth.

Stalinism is incapable of attracting those layers of workers who are today searching for a new pole of attraction. The parties of the Fourth International, firmly based on their program — the only one that offers a new road to the younger generation of workers — seek to approach these currents which are detaching themselves from the Social Democracy, without prejudice or sectarianism. By working closely together and by patient comradeship, they will guide them through their own experiences to surmount all the contradictions of centrism and embrace the organization and political principles of Bolshevism-Leninism.

The New Democracy

The powerful revolutionary wave which erupted simultaneously in Europe and Asia with the end of World War II felled the Stalinist parties to the peak of their power. As in all previous revolutionary movements, the masses surged in great numbers to the parties which, by their tradition, their past activity, and their cadres were solidly rooted in their class, and most closely corresponded to the level of radicalization among wide layers of the working class. Transformed by a single stroke into government parties in fifteen countries, the Stalinist organizations are just as responsible for the liquidation of this first post-war revolutionary wave as were the parties of the Social Democracy for the liquidation of the revolutionary movements after 1918. The reformist betrayal of those days was carried

out in the name of "Economic Democracy"; the Stalinist betrayal of 1945, in the name of "the New Democracy."

The defense of the "bastions" conquered within the framework of imperialist democracy — in reality, the defense of the privileges of the labor bureaucracy — that is the immediate aim, in the name of which the old-line reformists abandoned the historic goal of the proletariat. The defense of the "Russian bastion" — in reality, the defense of the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy — that is the aim in the name of which Stalinism abandoned the world communist revolution. But experience invariably proves that to abandon the final goal is to inescapably end by losing the very "bastions" which are allegedly being defended. Involved here is not a lack of "understanding" of these self-evident lessons of history on the part of the leaders. What is involved is rather the defense of their own special interests. Just as it is the function of reformism to reconcile the existence of the labor bureaucracy with the existing national bourgeoisie, so, too, it is the function of the Stalinist bureaucracy to reconcile the existing Soviet bureaucracy with the existence of world imperialism.

The practices employed in Soviet expansion, which invest the theory of the "New Democracy" with a semblance of justification for all the crimes committed by the Kremlin in the countries outside the Soviet sphere of influence, serves only to complete its basic function: The open abandonment of the Leninist strategy of the conquest of power and its replacement by a policy of compromises of adventures, for seizing the "levers of power in the bourgeois state." All this is an open expression of the attempt to reduce the world proletariat to the status of a pawn in the maneuvers of Soviet diplomacy, of its army, of its police-spy system, completely in the spirit of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Stalinist Traitors

On the basis of this general orientation, the Stalinist parties are less capable than ever of arriving at a consistent political line. As in the past, their tactics fluctuate from the lowest brand of opportunism to the other extreme of the most frightful adventurism, frequently combining the features of both extremes. Yesterday the Comintern is dissolved; today the Comintern is reconstituted. Yesterday they call for "Production First"; today they call for sabotage of the Marshall Plan. Yesterday they denounce the strikes as the "weapon of the trusts"; today they bureaucratically incite strike actions. All these shifts and turns, which so disorient and stupefy the working class, express one and the same desire of the Stalinist leaders — to reach a favorable compromise with world imperialism. They also express a supreme contempt for the workers, for their feelings, for their interests, for their integrity.

The power of Stalinism in the working class is a product of the material power of its apparatus combined with the revolutionary tradition of the past which it still represents in the eyes of the broad masses. As Engels pointed out a century ago, tradition represents one of the greatest forces for inertia in history. To wrest from Stalinism the leadership of the working class, it is necessary to begin where the Social Democracy and the Communist Party left off. It is necessary to build powerful workers' organizations. It is necessary to educate a new generation of revolutionary worker cadres, who through numerous successive experiences in struggle, will succeed in rooting themselves in the working class and gaining its respect and confidence. It is necessary to build a genuine party which, through ever wider activities, will eventually appear in all mass movements as the real alternative to the bankrupt leaderships.

By relying firmly on its revolutionary program, by orienting itself toward the most exploited layers of society, by maintaining complete confidence in the profoundly revolutionary combat power of the proletariat — that is how the Fourth International will finally destroy the obstacle of Stalinism within the working class movement.

The Selection of New Revolutionary Leadership

For thirty years humanity has paid for the delay of communist revolution with a terrible crisis — wars, counter-revolutions, totalitarian dictatorships, nations decimated, civilization dragged into decadence. But this entire tragic period does not at all express any congenital incapacity of the proletariat to become conscious of its historical mission. On the contrary, from the civil war in Russia up to the Spanish civil war, from the insurrection in Canton to that of Athens, millions of workers have shown in action an enthusiasm, combative ness and revolutionary devotion without equal in history.

All the qualities which rise from the workers' specific function in capitalist society — its capacity for suddenly displaying enormous creative energy, its keen sense of voluntary discipline, its profound selflessness, which is the clearest expression of its own deepest historic interests, are already inscribed in the most moving pages of the history of the Twentieth Century. The analyses and forecasts of the *Communist Manifesto* on this subject have not alone been confirmed; they have become established as the major reality of our times.

But the spontaneous revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat is today confronted by a bourgeois society which, with every step of its decline, exhibits a new defensive reflex characteristic of classes condemned to disappear. Confronted by the army, police, spies, scabs, press, radio, school and church, which constitute so many ramparts around the threatened citadels of capital, the spontaneous but uncoordinated attacks of the proletariat are inevitably condemned to bloody defeat. Against the centralized and scientifically organized leadership of the counter-revolution, which for decades has directed all capitalist countries whatever their political regime, the proletariat cannot conquer unless in its turn it selects an even more qualified leadership: that of its class party. The crisis of humanity is today the crisis of revolutionary leadership, for along with this instinctively revolutionary movement of the proletariat there remains the openly counter-revolutionary character of its leadership.

That in three decades the proletariat has been unable to select an adequate world leadership — a task which the young European bourgeoisie, infinitely more educated and better prepared, was able in its time to achieve only after two centuries of groping — can only bewilder those who have lost all sense of proportion in appraising history. Disposing of incomparable wealth and experience, the bourgeoisie succeeded, better than preceding ruling classes, in making its own ideology and morality into the dominant ideology and morality of the epoch.

In the ascending period of capitalism, successive working class leaderships gradually won some small reforms for the proletariat and substantial privileges for themselves. But one after another they rose above their own class and thus became the principal agents for the transmission of bourgeois ideology into the workers' movement. It was only when the decline of capitalism precipitated the first powerful revolutionary waves

in Europe and Asia that the material conditions for selecting a genuine revolutionary leadership, free from the ideological influence of the ruling class, were established. But, because of the lack of an adequate leadership, these first struggles were inevitably condemned to defeat. Selection of the revolutionary leadership has been proceeding since then under the burden of these defeats. The Russian Bolshevik Party, the only one which succeeded in leading the workers to the conquest of power, has itself become the first victim of the lack of a genuine Bolshevik international. To build such an organization in the extremely difficult conditions of a period of decline — that is the historical mission of the Fourth International.

The world general staff of the proletariat must assimilate in its entirety the program of communist revolution. It must enrich this program with a full revolutionary experience which makes it capable of meeting all sudden turns in the situation. It must inculcate this program and experience into great working masses by means of an organization which is closely linked to the working class. These three tasks were able to be accomplished only with the greatest difficulty in the period in which the Fourth International was born.

The program of revolution is assimilated only in the course of mass struggles. Political experience is acquired only in the course of an entire historical period of multiple activities. The workers' organization can be built only by uninterrupted work within the factories and the workers' neighborhoods. But the conditions of declining capitalism shatter, again and again with an incredible brutality, the continuity of revolutionary ideas, generations and organizations. That is why the selection of a genuine world leadership proves so long and so arduous a task. That is why it must be undertaken consciously and must be consciously planned and executed.

The dialectic of history is such that the objective conditions which make so difficult the building of a world party of socialist revolution are likewise the sole conditions which make its construction possible. Thanks to the epoch in which it was formed, the Fourth International is free from reformist illusions, from parliamentary cretinism, from fatalism, from adventurism from naive faith which becomes transformed into disillusioned pessimism — in short, from so many of those feelings and ideas which formed and shattered preceding generations of revolutionists.

The Fourth International has surmounted the contradictions between the national origin of working class militants and the world mission of the proletarian movement; it is the first organization which has begun to produce a genuine international leadership. The Fourth International is the first world organization of the proletariat which combines a complete revolutionary program with the experience gained by past revolutionary movements. That is why the proletarian defeats of the past will appear on the historical scale as the inevitable conditions for the formation of a scientific technique of revolution just as epidemics were the necessary conditions for the development of a scientific technique for cures. That is why the tragic period in which we are living will prove with the passage of time to be nothing but a pause of history in order to forge an adequate tool for the emancipation of humanity.

The Struggle for the Transitional Program

The cadres of the Fourth International gain the experience necessary for becoming the real revolutionary leadership of the proletariat only by indefatigable and organized participation in all the struggles and all the movements of the masses, the real school of strategy in the class struggle. For this participation, the Fourth International finds itself armed with its *Transitional Program*, the sum of the teachings of all past workers' struggles.

The activity of the Fourth International has as its first objective to express clearly and consciously the deep but confused aspirations of the exploited masses. If the latter rise against the crimes of inflation or unemployment, if the burdens of wars or of national oppression seem unbearable to them, if they demand peace, more bread or more freedom, the Fourth International is at their side, stimulating their critical spirit, sharpening their discontent onto the road of socialist consciousness, educating, organizing and directing the exploited so that they will pass over from latent revolt against the effects of the capitalist regime to open revolt against the cause of their troubles: capitalism in decay.

Confronted by each anxiety or each demand of the masses, the Fourth International launches appropriate slogans to mobilize them with the aim of solving the problems which agitate them. That is why the Fourth International with all its might combats skepticism, fatalism and passivity as the worst brakes upon the development of class consciousness in the proletariat. That is why it explains over and over again that all decisions upon vital questions which are posed before the working class depend in the last analysis on the clash of forces between the classes, in which the proletariat can be the victor in the factory as well as on the street.

Capitalism can no longer live save by increasing the burden of poverty which is crushing the laboring masses. Whether deflation and inflation; whether in the policy on prices and the policy on taxes; whether campaigns for export and restrictions on consumption; whether insufficient food and overproduction — in all countries, under a thousand different succeeding forms, there is but one and the same attack on the buying power of the masses. Guaranty of a *minimum living wage*, based on the consumption needs of workers' families, through the system of a *sliding scale* of wages, salaries, unemployment compensation pensions and social insurance — such is the immediate objective that the sections of the Fourth International propose for the workers' struggles. The examples of Japan, Korea, Italy, France, and the United States, clearly demonstrate that this slogan has already been assimilated by millions of workers who have inaugurated tremendous strikes to bring it about.

In the midst of general under-consumption among three-fourths of humanity, there already appears everywhere the signs of capitalist glut. Today only a secondary threat, tomorrow unemployment will bear down as the principle burden upon the proletariat. Constantly warning the masses of the crisis which is inevitably approaching, the Fourth International calls the workers to the struggle for the forced re-opening of shut-down plants and for restoring production in them under workers' control, for the progressive decrease in working hours without reduction in take-home pay; for prevention of lay-offs and the sharing of available work among all workers for whom a minimum living wage will remain guaranteed.

Questions of prices, wages, profits, business volume and volume of employment are, however, dependent on the entire economic life of the country. If the workers want to attack the principal agents for the transmission of bourgeois ideology into the workers' movement. It was only when the decline of capitalism precipitated the first powerful revolutionary waves

the bosses or their government. That is why none of the preceding slogans has value unless they are tied up with *workers' control*. The sections of the Fourth International overlook no opportunity for awakening the workers' distrust regarding the good faith and capacity of the capitalists and their State. The workers must be able to see the books, so they may observe in living form how capitalist economy really functions and may get a good look at the whole mechanism of exploitation, at the sordid parasitism and wastefulness which are the explanation of their own privations. Only on this condition does the struggle for immediate economic objectives become, in effect, a bridge towards the *revolutionary* mobilization of the proletariat against capitalism.

The world general staff of the proletariat must assimilate in its entirety the program of communist revolution. It must enrich this program with a full revolutionary experience which makes it capable of meeting all sudden turns in the situation. It must inculcate this program and experience into great working masses by means of an organization which is closely linked to the working class. These three tasks were able to be accomplished only with the greatest difficulty in the period in which the Fourth International was born.

The program of revolution is assimilated only in the course of mass struggles. Political experience is acquired only in the course of an entire historical period of multiple activities. The workers' organization can be built only by uninterrupted work within the factories and the workers' neighborhoods. But the conditions of declining capitalism shatter, again and again with an incredible brutality, the continuity of revolutionary ideas, generations and organizations. That is why the selection of a genuine world leadership proves so long and so arduous a task. That is why it must be undertaken consciously and must be consciously planned and executed.

The dialectic of history is such that the objective conditions which make so difficult the building of a world party of socialist revolution are likewise the sole conditions which make its construction possible.

The epoch of decaying capitalism is likewise the epoch of the continuous pauperization of the *middle classes*. Carefully distinguishing between the exploiting strata and the exploited strata of the urban and peasant bourgeoisie, the sections of the Fourth International launch slogans suited to uniting the laboring masses in action against big capital. In contrast with the Stalinist and reformist parties — for whom "alliance" with the middle classes is a cheap pretext for abandoning the revolutionary proletarian program in order to ally themselves with leaders and parties who actually betray the interests of the petty bourgeoisie — the sections of the Fourth International seek support in the deep discontent of the hardest-hit middle strata (functionaries at starvation salaries, landless farmers, artisans crushed by taxes, ruined small businessmen, etc.), in order to guide their desire for a social overturn along the socialist road. This is the surest way of avoiding, in countries like Italy, Japan or France, the development of new semi-fascist organizations supporting themselves on the despair of the middle classes.

All economic, trade union, and social questions are today political questions. Everything that the proletariat can force out of the boss class through the strike is systematically taken from it by the government, which, whatever may be its form, remains the real administrative council of the ruling class. That is why we counterpose the WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT to any bourgeois government, whether it be an outright reactionary one, or a coalition government of "working class" leaders with bourgeois parties.

To the unflagging propaganda for this slogan we add, in periods of violent governmental crises or generalized battles of the working class, a precise agitation addressed to the parties which claim to be working class and in which the masses still have confidence. To these parties the Fourth International launches the appeal: "BREAK WITH THE CAPITALISTS! TAKE ALL THE POWER!" in order to apply a genuine workers' program with the support of the mobilized masses and under their control.

But it is not enough that the "workers" parties be alone in the government for the government to be a true workers government. There must also be a genuinely anti-capitalist program, a revolutionary mobilization of the masses, overflowing the framework of bourgeois legality. Therein is posed the question of the State. The labor ministers of Great Britain, Scandinavia or Australia have only the illusion of power. The real power remains in the hands of the administrative bureaucracy at the orders of the all-powerful monopolists. The governments change, but the police, generals, judges and high functionaries, the entire bureaucracy in the service of the bourgeoisie, remains the same. This obstacle can be broken only by creation of the real power of the masses, organized into factory, neighborhood, village committees.

(Continued Next Week)

THE MILITANT ARMY

1,000-Sub Campaign Opens in Detroit

Comrade Sy of Detroit sold seven one-year subs in Morristown, N. J., and Pittsburgh, Pa., while on his way home from the SWP convention in New York.

"A very fitting way to return home, if you ask me," commented Bea Allen, Detroit Militant agent. "And although they are all on the new 15-week-25c sub cards, he got only \$1 subs." Bea also sent three Militant-Fourth International combination subs for \$2.50 each.

"We plan to start our campaign for 1,000 subs this Thursday night," added Bea. "A few of us are going out to a housing project. Then we will have mobilizations on the next two Saturdays. Just as we did in the election petition campaign, we will test various areas and concentrate where the results are best.

"Chuck will be campaign director. I'll be busy just keeping up the records. I hope we can go above our 1,000 goal."

"Whenever I visit a subscriber now, I have two purposes," writes Dick Clarke of St. Louis, sending in three renewals and

one new sub. "Of course I try to get a sub, but more important, I think, is to get the reader to the Dobbs meeting on Aug. 1."

Five St. Paul comrades got 10 renewals in a couple hours of callback work. "We tried," wrote Winifred Nelson, Militant agent, "to get full year subs, as we have always tried, but the best we could do was four. Even one of the 50c subs would not have been obtained if the sub-getter had not contributed 25c of it. People haven't got the money — people who like the paper and have taken it for years. They are still friendly but often cannot subscribe for lack of money."

One of the recent renewals — after a lapse of six months — was for 50c wrapped in a Toledo church offering envelope.

A British Guiana church asked for free papers for members who could not possibly pay anything. A British Guiana union renewed its sub after long delay in obtaining the necessary funds.

Los Angeles Branch, which turned in 9 subs in June, was accidentally left out of the table published last week.

SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SUB	
THE MILITANT	
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.	
15 weeks	25 cents
<input type="checkbox"/> Special 15-week subscription 25c <input type="checkbox"/> Regular 6-month " 50c <input type="checkbox"/> Regular 1-year " \$1.00	
Name	
Address	
City	
State	
Zone.....	

Subscriptions: \$1 per year;
50¢ for 6 months. Foreign:
82¢ per year; \$1 for 6 months.
Entered as second class
matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the
Post Office at New York,
N. Y., under the act of Mar.
2, 1879.

THE MILITANT

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THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
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FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

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each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contribu-
tors do not necessarily rep-
resent The Militant's policies.
These are expressed in its
editorials.

Monday, July 26, 1948



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 extricate 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

The Westinghouse Sit-down

Prompt and effective strike action by the Westinghouse Electric workers in Philadelphia has forced reinstatement of two union militants who had been fired at Navy Department instigation.

This event has thrown a national spotlight on one of the most sinister threats to the unions and has dramatically demonstrated the way to put a halt to this menace.

The victimized men—Herbert Lewin, a sheet metal worker, and Frank Carner, a structural engineer—are highly-respected members of the CIO United Electrical Workers Local 107. Newspapers throughout the country published the picture of Philadelphia cops brutally clubbing Lewin during the 1946 Westinghouse strike.

On July 12, management at the South Philadelphia works posted a notice that Lewin and Carner had been fired "as a result of a directive from the Navy Department" in which the men were described as "poor security risks." No specific charges of any kind had been made. The union was not consulted. They were given no chance to defend themselves.

This high-handed violation of the union contract immediately aroused a storm in the plant. Local 107 officials then and there called a mass meeting inside the plant. The meeting was informed that 19 or 20 others were similarly threatened with dismissal.

Berlin Crisis

The war drums are ominously starting to roll again. The Berlin crisis has been blown up to such proportions that American brass hats in Germany are freely issuing threats about sending an American armored force to go busting through Russian-occupied territory.

The immediate cause of this new crisis is, of course, insignificant. No one seriously believes that a new war may start because the United States and England on the one hand, and Russian authorities on the other, are vying for the privilege of feeding the Berlin populace. The Berlin tug-of-war is simply an incidental point of the deep-going, irrepressible conflict between world capitalism, led by Washington and the Soviet Union.

What is so ominous about this latest crisis is the determined and dogged manner in which the American clique of bankers and brass hats—who rule this country—are pushing for war. What is so frightening is how systematically they are trying to drug the American nation into acquiescence of a new slaughter of the peoples.

At the very moment that the people are thrust into a new panic over Berlin, military representatives of the United States and Canada proceed to London to confer with representatives of the 5-power western bloc to perfect and ready the military alliance

CIO Bankruptcy

During the Democratic Party convention, CIO-PAC National Director Jack Kroll blurted out that if nobody better than Truman were nominated, the CIO members might "sit on their hands" next November.

Kroll's frank declaration of the CIO leadership's political bankruptcy caused such a stir that the CIO big-shots have been forced to cover up Kroll's blundering admission.

The July 19 *CIO News* ran an article by Editor Allan L. Swim, entitled: "Can't Afford To Sit This One Out." His article is designed for those who think Truman, Dewey and Wallace are all stinkers.

You might not expect Swim to endorse Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for U.S. President and Vice-President. But at least you'd expect him to tell the workers that it's time to form a party of their own and run their own candidates.

Swim says no such thing. His advice to CIO members who can't stomach the capitalist presidential candidates is to concentrate on state and local elections. In effect, he belittles the significance of the presidential elections, in which the decisive national and international issues are posed. Just don't "sit out" the election for county sheriff!

Philip Murray, in the July *Steel Labor*, talks about putting on "the most intensive political action drive in the history of the United States." For what? Walter Reuther,

The 4,500 assembled workers voted an immediate sit-down strike inside the plant. By next morning, all 6,500 workers had downed tools. Only when Westinghouse officials agreed to a meeting on the case with the union representatives in Pittsburgh, was the strike called off. Taken completely aback by the fighting stand of the workers, the company agreed to reinstate both men, although in a different department.

In agreement with the Local 107 officers, James Carey, CIO National Secretary, sent a letter of sharp protest to Secretary of the Navy Sullivan against this military invasion of union rights.

Local 107 is following up with sending a committee to Sullivan and Forrestal to demand that his department end its collusion with the companies in firing of union men. This action of the Westinghouse workers can become the starting point of a national CIO campaign on this issue.

During and since the war, there have been numerous instances where the gold braid and brass hats have had union militants fired. This is a growing practice. Any local union can be crippled and smashed if its militant members or leaders can be tossed out of the plants at a mere nod from some military official working hand-in-glove with an anti-union corporation. The unions can stop this dangerous development. Local 107 has shown the way.

against Russia. This is nothing but direct military preparation for the next world war.

You may recall that on June 11, in the closing days of the Congressional sessions, the Senate adopted the Vandenberg resolution. This unprecedented declaration committed the United States to military alliances on the most far-reaching scale imaginable and constituted a promise of a new lend-lease program to our war allies. Now the deliberately-manufactured crisis in Berlin provides the necessary excuse for implementing the Vandenberg blank-check and the proper martial background to begin training the 18 and 19-year-olds as cannon fodder.

These war-like utterances, these hysterically-phrased jingo appeals from high places, these recurring crises, are not due to hot-headedness or loss of temper or frayed nerves. This is all part and parcel of the deliberate and premeditated plan of assault on the American conscience to cave in resistance to the war preparations and mold public opinion to accept its inevitability.

The American people must see this reality clearly and then begin to act upon it. War must be declared upon the warmakers! And the way to do that effectively is to join the crusade to take the governmental power out of the hands of the bankers, industrialists, brass hats and jingoes and replace it with the rule of the Workers and Farmers.

in the July *United Automobile Worker*, steams it up for political action—in Congressional elections.

All right, let's leave aside for the moment the question of how the CIO leaders are ducking the presidential elections. Let's examine their talk about concentration on the Congressional elections. What Congressional candidates shall the workers support?

The same issue of the *CIO News* that publishes Swim's article, also carries a special supplement on "Whose Congress," listing the voting records of all Senators and Representatives. You can't find a hundred legislators, out of nearly 600, who "voted right" according to CIO official standards. What choice does that leave the workers?

The truth is, the CIO leaders are deliberately trying to gull their members. They're trying by hook or crook to keep the workers tied to capitalist politics. They'd be out there whooping it up for Truman right now—if they weren't afraid of being completely discredited. As it is, they're playing "neutral"—that is, concentrating their attacks on every candidate opposing Truman.

The soundest advice we can offer the workers who don't want to "sit on their hands" this November is to vote for Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, the SWP candidates. That's the way to show the top union bureaucrats your desire for genuine independent working-class political action.

Please send me a copy of the nomination and acceptance speeches you broadcast last week. I cannot understand why you and

More Letters on SWP Broadcasts

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 these letters. Previous excerpts appeared in the last two issues of *The Militant*.

FROM COMPTON, CALIF.

We would like to have your broadcasts from the national convention, for we are very much interested in the Socialist Workers Party. We would like to have literature so as to interest our friends. And wish you good luck.

J.J.

FROM RACINE, WIS.

I heard the acceptance speech of Mr. Dobbs broadcast over a Chicago CBS outlet. It was interesting and stirred me greatly. Please send me a copy of the speech and of your platform.

D.J.F.

FROM DES MOINES, IOWA.

I am deeply interested in the Socialist Workers Party and what I believe it represents. Could you send me some literature?

As a student of political science at Drake University I am interested in forming a chapter.

A.J.H.

FROM EL MONTE, CALIF.

After listening to your broadcast of the Socialist Workers Party, I've taken it upon myself to congratulate you on your sound, realistic platform. Your candidates' acceptance speeches were indeed a new and conscientious stand against capital and the capitalist-motivated Henry Wallace. I am a pre-law student, and next semester I plan to enter into many debates on the issues of the day. In view of the fact that the majority of my opponents are "Wallace Liberals," I would welcome immensely any literature which would give me a real working-man's platform.

J.B.D.

FROM THREE RIVERS, MICH.

Last week I was privileged to hear the acceptance addresses of the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and I should like to express my respect for the sound logic of the speeches.

In this America of ours where capitalist propagandists have buried so deep under their constant haranguing it is indeed a rare opportunity to hear such courageous speeches as those delivered last week. It rejoices the hearts of the few who still retain a grain of common sense to realize that the cause of the people is not yet entirely dead.

It is also wonderful to know that a few remain who can see that the capitalistic militarists are no longer content with a war each twenty years, but are now doing what they can to get one started sooner.

F.A.K.

FROM GERING, NEBR.

Please send me a copy of your candidate's address given over CBS Tuesday and your platform. Talk sounded pretty good but can't you find someone else besides Wallace to castigate? God knows he made mistakes for he was under terrific pressure. Maybe he is a capitalist but he refuses to stoop to red-baiting which seems to me to be a sure indication of sympathy for reactionary capitalism.

M.L.S.

FROM PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I am and was very surprised to hear your startling program to nominate a president and vice-president for the Socialist Workers Party. I have never in my life heard such a crazy program. People like you should be sent to Siberia to work in the mines!

Just exactly what has your type of government to offer to the middle class and the working class people?

A Reader

I am at present studying government and I would like to know just exactly what you have in mind.

J.K.

FROM SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

Interested in receiving a summary of the 1948 platform of the Socialist Workers Party and other information as to its aims and the methods of achievements.

Have just listened to the acceptance speech of your presidential aspirant which consisted predominantly in disparagements of others rather than assertions of his own stand. Am therefore requesting the above in the interests of clarification.

A.E.P.

FROM CHICAGO, ILL.

Please send me a copy of the nomination and acceptance speeches you broadcast last week. I cannot understand why you and

Norman Thomas ape the stooges of the radio's brass check boys and columnists of the press and demagogic politicians and priests in the wholesale condemning of the USSR and Wallace. I thought Americans were supposed to be sympathetic to the underdog. I haven't heard the USSR saying anything about us. And Wallace was good enough two terms (FDR and Wallace) gave them the best they'll ever get for the American people when FDR was here.

M.C.S.

Red Menace In Arizona

Editor:

The Red Menace is no longer a half-mystical monstrosity hiding behind Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain. It has sneaked in the back door. Through Arizona to be precise. For unless the Los Angeles Times and the hundred-odd traders at the Navajo Indian Reservation around Winslow Rock, Arizona, can put a stop to it, the first "Russia-type Soviet" will soon be born on American soil.

It all began a few months back when that arch enemy of the Times, W. R. Hearst, printed a series of sensational stories about conditions among the Navajos. The geniuses in the Times' circulation department, not to be outdone, sent one of their most skillful hacks to Arizona. He uncovered what may go down in history as the "Navajo Soviet."

The sinister scheme is in essence a system of price controls and other mild curbs on the local traders. And since virtually the sole commodity the Indian can bring into that market is wool from his sheep, the fleecing he gets can be well imagined.

But the really Red proposal in the scheme envisaged formation of co-operatives among the Indians in competition with the traders. This, brothers, strikes at the heart of things. One irate citizen of the area, a white doctor, sputtered that he wasn't going to stand for the formation of a "little Siberia" in Arizona.

And imagine the conservation that swept the whole reservation when it was learned that the author of the vicious plan was a real, dyed-in-the-wool, Red Russian, one Max Drefkoff, industrial consultant to Secretary of the Interior Krug. Indignation meetings condemned the "Russian-born industrial consultant" (quotes from the Times); citizens committees a la the Mohawk Valley Formula were set up. Drefkoff promptly resigned and probably has been handed over to the tender mercies of the loyalty checkers.

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Los Angeles, Calif.

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Daily Worker on Dobbs

By Art Preis

The following is the Daily Worker comment on Dobbs' radio speech, appearing in its July 13th issue:

Last week Farrell Dobbs was awarded 15 minutes of WCBS time to speak on Why Labor Needs Its Own Party. Dobbs is a Trotskyite and candidate for President on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

His speech was an object lesson on how to disorient people from the major issues. After an introduction in which he characterized the two major parties as Tweedledum and Tweedledee—leading an unsuspecting audience to await a positive program—Dobbs got to the meat of his talk. This was an all-out attack on Wallace and the Third Party, an attack which made his comments on the Democrats and Republicans fade into the background.

The purpose of the attack on Wallace was clearly to split the coalition behind the New Party by characterizing Wallace as a "capitalist" and an "imperialist." Then Dobbs made a direct bid to split away Negro support of the Third Party and direct it into the channels of phony "independent action."

His call to people to "take the road of independent political action to establish a workers and farmers government" was primarily a call to split and sabotage the New Party and deprive the people of their only weapon against Wall Street imperialism.

In the box above, we publish in full the Daily Worker attack on Farrell Dobbs' radio speech, "Why Labor Needs Its Own Party." The text of Dobbs' speech appears in the next column. The Daily Worker's bleats show Dobbs' speech hit the Stalinists where it hurts.

They don't mind Wallace being attacked for what he isn't—that is, a "red," an "anti-imperialist," etc. That's the phony bill of goods the Stalinists have been trying to sell. But Dobbs exposes the real Wallace—the millionaire demagogue who is trying to build a third capitalist party to head off a genuine labor party. Dobbs exposes the fakery of Wallace's "anti-war" program.

That's what the Daily Worker calls "the meat" of Dobbs' talk—and finds it tough chewing.

It's especially tough because many sincere workers caught in the mesh of the Stalinist machine are beginning to raise questions about Wallace. Many of them who heard Dobbs' talk undoubtedly think his characterization of Wallace as a capitalist and a defender of capitalism is 100% correct. Wallace himself has publicly boasted he is "the best defender of capitalism." He has likewise publicly stated that once war comes, he will "naturally" support U.S. imperialism.

The present Stalinist leaders have been leaning heavily on radical phrases. They even manage now and then to pay their verbal respects to "socialism." But many CP members and sympathizers are beginning to suspect that the "socialism" of the present Stalinist leaders goes no deeper than Browder's, who was demonstratively expelled for his pro-capitalist "right deviations."

They must surely ask what's wrong, for instance, with Dobbs' call to the people to "take the road of independent political action to establish a workers and farmers government?"

The Stalinist leaders are trying first of all to stifle internal complaints about the party's opportunist course by the traditional methods of bureaucratic intimidation. That's the real purpose of this hysterical—and self-exposing—outburst against Dobbs' speech. It's designed as a warning to anyone in the CP who criticizes the Wallace move that he will be tagged as a "Trotskyite" and kicked out of the Stalinist party.

There's been a slew of such expulsions already.

No Thanks to Philip Murray

By Joseph Keller

Well, the CIO steel workers are finally getting a wage increase—no thanks to Philip Murray. This boost comes after almost every other industry had already granted increases. The steel increase was won by the miners, auto workers, packinghouse workers and others who fought on the picket lines and broke the back of corporation resistance. The big "labor statesman," Murray, just managed to sneak the steel workers to the end of the slow line.

Naturally, the steel corporations "give nothing for nothing, and damn little of that." They're hiking steel prices \$10 a ton, which is several times what the pay increase will cost. So it won't be long before rising prices will strip the steel workers of their gains once more.

The steel workers can count themselves lucky that they got anything, with Murray's belly-crawling policy and two-year no-strike surrender in the old contract. If the auto workers hadn't cracked industry's front; if John L. Lewis' miners hadn't forced the steel companies to kick through with a pay increase in the captive mines, the steel workers would still be the

"Little Orphan Annies" of the labor movement. As it is, they've lost three months of wage increases, an average of \$65 apiece for 170,000 workers. There is no retroactive clause back to last April, when negotiations began. Murray's policy has fed \$13,000,000 more into the cash balance of the steel barons.

The companies claim the raise is 13 cents an hour. That's an average. Actually a few of the highest paid skilled workers will get more than a 13 cent raise. But the majority of lower paid workers will get less than 11 cents. Thus, the steel raise is less than in other industries where the workers put up scrap.

Moreover, the wage reopening date has been extended an additional three months beyond the contract expiration date of April 30, 1949, to July 15, 1949. The new wage rates are frozen for three more months.

In his autobiographical article in the June issue of American Magazine, Murray said he is always ready to step out of his office, if a better man can be found. That's not a tall order.

Notes from the News

SECULAR GARB—An "anti-garb" act, sponsored by Protestants, was passed by the voters of South Dakota, aimed at pushing out Catholic nuns from teaching in the state's public schools.

The nuns are apparently going to continue teaching as the Catholic Church advised the nuns that it had no objection to their donning "respectable secular dress."

HOPING FOR A MIRACLE—Two little girls, one born without sight, the other without ankle bones, departed on a 4,000-mile journey to the shrine of St. Bernadette in Lourdes, France. Their parents are hoping for some "miracle."

NO EQUALITY—24 whites and Negroes were carried off in patrol wagons in Baltimore because they participated in an inter-racial tennis picnic.

GLASS WORKERS—The CIO glass workers signed an agreement with Libby-Owens-Ford and Pittsburgh Plate Glass Companies providing for 10 to 12 cent hourly increases in 10 plants employing 16,000 workers.

STALIN vs. POPE—Three Catholic priests have been arrested in Hungary for agitating against "Hungarian democracy." This is part of the raging battle between the Stalinist-dominated government and the Vatican over the Catholic monopoly of education which is now threatened by the new laws passed in Hungary and others of the East-European states.

QUIT N.Y. CIO—The N.Y. Newspaper Guild joined the growing ranks of unions that have withdrawn from the Stalinist-controlled Greater

New York CIO Council. Joseph Curran has similarly announced that the NMU plans to pull out.

RAIL "PEACE"—The railroads were turned back to their private owners last week. The three brotherhoods that threatened to strike accepted the 15½ cent award which they had previously rejected. Under the new court rulings, the rail brotherhoods are virtually forbidden to strike. Meanwhile, the rail carriers received from the ICC permission to put across a new big hike in fares.

ANOTHER UAW "VICTORY"—The CIO auto union won bargaining rights at the Murray Mfg. Co. in Brooklyn, N.Y., in an NLRB election. The Stalinist-led UE which had the contract previously was muscled out of the picture.

DEMOCRATIZING GERMANY—More than 60% of the judges and 70% of the prosecutors in Bavarian Courts are former Nazi party members, an official U.S. Military government report disclosed.

STONED TO DEATH—Stephen Hass, a Philadelphia real estate man, was stoned to death by an Egyptian mob in Cairo last week. This reflects the anti-American feeling in the Near East as a result of Washington's policy on Palestine.

STEDMAN DEAD—Seymour Stedman died at Chicago on July 11. He is remembered as the vice-presidential running mate of Eugene V. Debs on the Socialist Party ticket in 1920, when it drew almost a million votes. Stedman was also chief defense attorney for Debs at the latter's famous trial in Cleveland for opposing the first World War.

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Labor Needs Its Own Party

Radio Speech by Farrell Dobbs

The following is the complete text of the address of Farrell Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate, broadcast over the CBS network on July 6th at 11:15 P.M.

Working people of America!

In recent years it has become more and more difficult to tell a Democratic politician from a Republican. Together they have knifed every proposal for social legislation—from anti-lynch and anti-poll tax bills to minimum wage raises and housing appropriations. The Republicans and Democrats teamed up to pass the Taft-Hartley Act, and they are now devising even more deadly weapons to be used against the unions after the elections.

Now, for a few months before the elections, these twin servants of monopoly capitalism are staging their customary quarrel over the political swag at Washington.

Truman charges: "This Congress is the worst we've had since the first one met."

Halleck, the Republican leader of the House, snaps back: "There are a lot of people who think Mr. Truman is the poorest President we have had."

Both politicians are telling the truth. Many millions are agreed that both the Democrats and Republicans ought to be thrown out of office. People are turning away in revulsion from these discredited parties and are looking for a new party.

More than that. The working people of this country are looking for a new kind of party. They want a party they can control and call their own; a party that will advance the cause of the workers, and not deceive and degrade labor for the benefit of the profiteers.

Labor Party Would Get Response

Never were conditions more favorable for the launching of a national Labor Party. This party would command immediate response from 15 million unionists and their families who represent the mightiest organized force in this country. It would arouse the hopes of unorganized workers who stand to gain from every advance by the unions. The Labor Party could count on firm support from the Negro people who already regard the CIO as their main ally in the fight against discrimination.

One word from the N.Y. Times and the CP's "socialism" flew out the window. The Stalinists are mobilizing for Wallace's avowedly pro-capitalist program, and not the other way around. And that's just what Dobbs said in his speech. No wonder the Daily Worker raves. Nobody likes to be stripped bare in public.

An independent party launched by the unions will challenge and displace both the Democrats and Republicans and will become the foremost party in the land.

In office this party of labor will legislate and act for the people, not for a few plutocrats. It will pursue a policy of genuine aid and friendship toward the workers' and colonial peoples in the rest of the world, instead of menacing them with atom bombs.

The Socialist Workers Party would support such a party launched by the unions. We would advocate that our program be made the program of the Labor Party.

However, the top union officials have blocked this path for 1948. These pygmies in politics cling desperately to the corrupt two-party system, hoping by some miracle to find a candidate they can palm off on the workers as a "friend of labor."

The failure of the union officials to launch a Labor Party has enabled Henry Wallace to come forward as a self-styled champion of labor in this presidential campaign. Many who are fed up with the two old-line parties are inclined to believe, or at least to hope, that the Wallace party will satisfy their demands.

Wallace—who for the last 15 years has played the game of capitalist politics—now sets himself up as a new political Messiah. Let us review his record, and then examine his program, to see whether his new party deserves support.

As Secretary of Agriculture, Wallace, who today promises abundance, was responsible for destroying pigs and ploughing under cotton while millions of his countrymen went hungry and ill-clad.

As vice-president, this "crusader for peace" peddled the imperialist lie that American participation in the Second World War would make "The Four Freedoms" prevail and establish "The Century of the Common Man." Now Wallace himself admits that the billionaires and brass hats are using the military victory to undermine the freedom of the people.

As Secretary of Commerce, he gave silent consent to Truman's strike-breaking actions against the miners and railroad workers.

Wallace parades as a champion of the Negro people. What struggle for Negro rights did he lead while in high office? Wallace didn't even dare oppose Jim Crow practices in the Commerce Department in Washington, which he was supposed to be running.

Wallace pretends to be leading a fight against war. He tries to mislead the people with the fiction that the United Nations can protect the peace.

United Nations a Fraud

The United Nations can no more be relied upon to prevent war than the dead and buried League of Nations it has replaced. The United Nations is not an agency for peace. It is a front organization for American imperialism. Its function is to furnish the diplomatic ballyhoo for a third world war.

Wallace knows that. So do the Communist Party traitors to the working class, who support this Wallace swindle.

The truth is that the fight for peace is inseparable from the fight against the capitalist system, which needs and breeds war for profit. Peace can be achieved only by rallying the people of this country in struggle against the ruling capitalists to take the powers of life and death out of their hands.

Wallace cannot lead the American people in a genuine anti-war struggle, because he is committed body and soul to the preservation of the capitalist system. He has already served notice in the press that, once war is declared he will climb on the military bandwagon. He's not an anti-war fighter to the last ditch—but only until the first shot is fired!

This third party bossed by millionaire Wallace, who declares that he is "the best friend capitalism has in the United States

today," is surely not the kind of party American labor wants. The workers need a party of their own, a party they can trust to protect their welfare without compromise or betrayal.

I am confident that the working people will find the Socialist Workers Party to be the kind of party they are seeking. The Socialist Workers Party is as different from the capitalist parties as day is from night.

Our members are almost all workers, housewives and young people. We welcome men and women of all colors and nationalities into our ranks on an equal basis.

You will meet members of the Socialist Workers Party wherever the going is tough, wherever extra energy and devotion are needed to defend labor against the employers.

Our finances come from the working people, in nickels, dimes and dollars. No bankers or corporation paymasters give us funds the way they finance the Republicans and Democrats.

Our aims are the most realistic and at the same time the most noble a working class party can have.

That is why I have proudly accepted the Socialist Workers Party nomination for the presidency.

Workers and Farmers Government

The Socialist Workers Party is irreconcilably opposed to the war plans of American monopoly capitalism and its political stooges in Washington. Its candidates are pledged to oppose every militarist move, from the peacetime draft to the Marshall Plan, and to fight every measure aimed against the civil rights of the American people.

The Marshall Plan and the Taft-Hartley Act are but two sides of the same capitalist coin. The Marshall Plan is intended to finance police regimes for the suppression of labor abroad. This is the same anti-picketing ordinance which was smashed several months ago, when the NAACP, backed by labor and civic organizations, denounced its proposed passage. This time, however, the City Council caught the Stalinists all alone, operating a picket line mostly imported from Los Angeles County, and with little support in Santa Monica.

On Wednesday the Santa Monica Outlook proudly gave out the news that the local AFL had given its okay to passage of the anti-picketing ordinance, providing it was used against the Stalinist picket line and not against the union picket line. As Barnum used to say, there's one born every minute. The City Council passed the ordinance after hearing a report from a private detective agency claiming Stalinist domination of the participating organizations and generally engaging in an orgy of red baiting.

The Stalinists, who disregarded the wishes of the NAACP, now hastened to the Chief of Police with mealy-mouthed assurances that they would obey all restrictions placed on their picketing in line with the new ordinance. At the same time, the Stalinists have been doing their own red-baiting. First they went to Sears' management, claiming that the NAACP was no longer representing anybody and that the local Negroes are led by Trotskyists. Then they charged the same thing in an interview printed in a local neighborhood newspaper.

Because of these irresponsible actions, the Stalinists have suffered tremendous damage to what reputation they had in the Negro neighborhood.

The manager of the Sears store is begging for another meeting with the NAACP officials, hoping to rush advertisements of a settlement into the newspapers. The NAACP leaders, however, aren't anxious to return to the store for negotiations until they have reasonable assurance that some real gains will be obtained for the Negro people.

On Thursday of this week the Post Office loyalty board arrived from Washington to hold its hearing on charges of disloyalty against Frank H. Barnes, fighting president of the Santa Monica NAACP branch. There is not a shred of doubt that the charges against Barnes were brought at the behest of Sears-Roebuck.

After giving Barnes a refined form of the third degree for five hours, the loyalty board listened for two hours to witnesses testifying in defense of Barnes. Barnes was not given an opportunity to know who his accusers were or to cross-examine them. His defenders include, not only local post office and city officials, but the post office workers union here, to which Barnes and other NAACP activists belong. The loyalty board will condescend to give a ruling on whether Barnes is "disloyal" within fifteen days.

Barnes is just one of the numerous Negro Federal employees who are being victimized, at the very time that Truman and his Democratic party make hypocritical pledges for a civil rights program. The national NAACP leaders have committed themselves to carry Barnes' case clear to the Supreme Court if necessary.

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