

THE CRISIS OF STALINISM IN ITALY

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THE MILITANT

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DOBBS EXPOSES TRUMAN ON INFLATION

Wisconsin SWP Opens Campaign At Convention

MILWAUKEE, Aug. 2—The Wisconsin campaign for Dobbs and Carlson was launched here with the first State Convention of the Socialist Workers Party on Saturday, July 31. Over 40 delegates participated in the drafting of a state platform and perfected plans for an aggressive campaign.

Trainor on Ballot In Massachusetts

BOSTON, July 29—Lawrence P. Trainor was formally certified by the election authorities here today for a place on the ballot as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 12th Congressional District. Trainor at the present time is the only candidate to oppose John W. McCormack, present incumbent and former Democratic majority leader in the House.



The gubernatorial nomination was accepted by Boulton at the SWP 3rd annual picnic held at Wind Lake, Wis. Over 200 workers heard him pledge a vigorous campaign. The next task is to get on the ballot. The reactionary laws require 19,000 signatures. All militant readers who are able to help in this work should contact State Headquarters, 608 S. 5th Street, Milwaukee 4, Wisc.

Landlord Incomes Rise Almost 10%

Net operating incomes of New York City landlords last year were 9.7% greater than in 1947 when rent controls went into effect, according to a large sample survey made by the office of Federal Housing Expediter Tighe E. Woods.

The survey was made at the request of the New York City Rent Advisory Board after it heard pleas of landlords and real estate interests for a general 15% rent increase in this area. Tenant groups, on the other hand, demanded a 5% decrease in rents. The survey, covering 48,852 rental units in 1,331 properties, disclosed that far from suffering "hardship," as the landlords claimed, they netted \$10,377,467 income in 1947 as compared with their not-inconsiderable take of \$9,457,350 in 1943.



LAWRENCE P. TRAINOR

MacArthur Decree Smashes Rights of Japanese Unions

By Arthur Burch General Douglas MacArthur, American imperialism's brass-hat ruler of Japan, has imposed his own version of the Taft-Hartley Slave Act on the public service workers, who have spearheaded labor militancy in Japan. His innovation was not only to prohibit strikes but to abolish collective bargaining with the government.

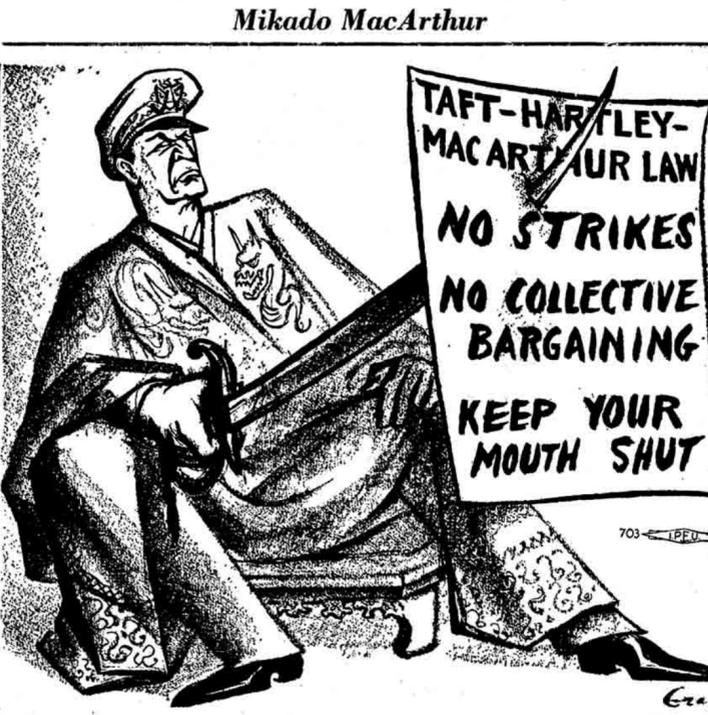
MacArthur made the above "suggestions" in the form of a letter to Premier Hitoshi Ashida. The "suggestions" further abolish mediation and arbitration machinery under the central Labor Relations Board, ban slowdowns and other "subterfuges" and provide jail terms for one year plus 5,000 yen fines for violators. The Japanese cabinet decided that these "suggestions" "should not be interpreted merely as advice but as a directive overriding all law."

This ruling applies to 3,500,000 men and women, more than half of Japan's labor union movement. In Japan a large part of industry is government-operated, including railroads, telephone, telegraph. Although the cost of living, according to the government's own figures, is about 10,000 yen per family, the Government is willing to grant only 4,500 yen as against the demand of the workers for 5,500 yen.

The Japanese labor movement which has made such splendid strides forward in the past few years is not taking these vicious decrees lying down. The Communications Workers Union, 400,000 strong, is openly defying MacArthur's strikebreaking and slave edicts by calling a strike for August 7. The CWU issued an "emergency manifesto" calling the government a tool of foreign imperialism and including such a direct and vitriolic attack on Gen. MacArthur that not a single Tokyo newspaper dared print the manifesto in full.

James S. Killen, AFL labor representative attached to MacArthur's staff, although able to stomach the strike ban, was finally impelled to tender his resignation with the statement: "I cannot adjust myself to the new occupation policy which denies government workers the right of collective bargaining."

The American labor movement is seeing a preview of what is in store for it. What the American military imposes on the conquered peoples today is planned for the American workers tomorrow. That is why American labor must demand the withdrawal of the American troops from Japan in order to permit the Japanese workers to resolve their own destiny.



OUR UNITED FRONT PROPOSAL AGAINST SMITH 'GAG' ACT

An Editorial

The offer of the Socialist Workers Party—carried in last week's Militant—to aid the Communist Party in organizing a broad fight against the indictment of its 12 leaders under the Smith "Gag" Act, has aroused widespread comment. It is common knowledge that the Trotskyists are deadly political opponents of the Stalinists. It is further well known that the Stalinists gave aid and comfort to the government in its frameup and conviction of 18 Trotskyist leaders during the war under this same Smith Act; and they did everything in their power to obstruct the campaign to arouse the labor movement to the danger.

United Front Offer

The united front offer of the SWP is based on no fly-by-night decision. We Trotskyists are people of principle. And one of the fundamental principles to which we adhere is the necessity of the whole labor movement to act in solidarity against any and all attempts to deprive any working class group or individual of civil rights and liberties. Any deviation from this basic principle has invariably wrought havoc to the labor movement. It destroys the solidarity of labor which is needed to ward off the attacks of the capitalist class. It permits tyranny and reaction to divide the ranks of labor in order the easier to defeat them.

One of the greatest crimes of the Stalinists—

among their innumerable crimes—is their systematic violation of this very rule. We, as principled labor militants, never permit ourselves to be motivated by spite, anger or other such petty and unworthy considerations. Despite Stalinist treachery in aiding the prosecutors of our comrades in the Minneapolis labor case, we now extend to them the offer of solidarity against these same anti-labor prosecutors—because the broad interests of the whole labor movement and the fight for civil liberties demand it.

A Broad Committee

We will continue our campaign for the organization of a broad committee, representing all tendencies in the labor movement, to smash the government conspiracy against civil rights—despite the Stalinists' shameful refusal to reply to our generous proposal, and despite their dishonorable and reactionary conduct at the Wallace convention in turning down a proposal to fight for the restoration of the civil rights of the 18 Minneapolis Case victims.

In this way, the horrible heritage of Stalinism will be wiped out and the tradition of labor solidarity and united action in the face of enemy attacks again restored. And incidentally, further telling blows will thus be dealt to the already waning Stalinist influence in the labor movement.

Calls for Escalator Wages, Mass Consumer Committees And Nationalized Industries

The following is the text of the radio address by Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, delivered over the national network of NBC on Friday evening, Aug. 6. NBC granted the radio time to Comrade Dobbs to reply to Truman's Message to Congress.

I want to begin tonight by thanking President Truman for calling the Special Session of Congress. By this one action he has done more to expose the deceit of the Republican and Democratic election platforms than I could in a hundred speeches.

The voters of America are watching the political sideshow in Washington where the performance of both parties is again proving their subservience to the monopolies and their cynical disregard for the welfare of the working people.

When this special session ends, the Negro people will remain an oppressed minority, still deprived of their civil rights, still the victims of discrimination and lynch law. The Republicans and the Northern Democrats quickly surrendered to the White Supremacists on the poll tax issue. The Senate filibuster could easily have been smashed. But the capitalist politicians actually welcomed the filibuster as a pretext to abandon their civil rights promises to the Negro people.

Truman is a party to the farce and scandal of the Special Session. By a stroke of the pen he could have eliminated discrimination in the army and the national capital. His presidential order leaves segregation—the worst form of discrimination—intact in the armed forces.

Graft, Not Housing

The homeless veterans, the slum dwellers, the inhabitants of congested flats will get no relief from this Special Session of Congress. Some substitute for a housing bill may be passed before adjournment. But it won't even be the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill to which both parties are committed. That bill made a feeble gesture toward a public housing program by calling for five million housing units although twenty-five million are needed right now.

If any housing bill comes out of this Congress, it will not contain any provision for government built low-rent housing, nor for slum clearance. But it will guarantee more fat profits to the building trust for the construction of homes for the well-to-do. That's not housing—it's graft.

An effective housing program must begin with the nationalization of the building industry and its operation under control of the workers. This program should be operated through a government planning board of architects, engineers and representatives of the Workers in the building trades. It

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UTAH AUDIENCE HEARS CARLSON RADIO SPEECH

By R. Aubrey

SALT LAKE CITY, Aug. 2—Dr. Grace Carlson, Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, announced today in an interview over station KUTA (ABC) that arrangements have been completed to place the SWP ticket on the ballot in the State of Utah.

The featured speaker on KUTA's "Vacation Varieties Personalities Spotlight," Dr. Grace Carlson, here on the first stop of her national tour, reported on the progress of the SWP election campaign in Utah. A substantial number of signatures have already been obtained to place the SWP ticket on the Utah State ballot. Dr. Carlson also said that initial steps have been taken to establish a permanent section of the Socialist Workers Party in Salt Lake City.

Robert C. Blair, a feature writer for the Salt Lake Tribune, gave prominence to the SWP campaign in a two-column article in this morning's paper. Carrying a photograph of the SWP's Vice-Presidential candidate, the article quoted from The Militant and SWP Election Platform. Particular mention was made of the SWP platform statement that, "The Socialist Workers Party is a political organization of American workers that fights in the

interests of the working class 365 days a year. . . All nationalities, races and colors are welcomed on an equal basis."

Replying to a question about the differences between the Norman Thomas Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, the Salt Lake Tribune writer quotes Dr. Carlson as saying: "The SWP considers Norman Thomas' Socialist Party as 'conservative.' They are no better than liberal Democrats."

Focal point of the interview was the question of the "coming American revolution." The revolution, as Dr. Carlson pointed out during the interview, "... won't be the bloodless type because the ruling class won't give in without a terrific fight and that will almost certainly lead to bloodshed. We don't want it that way, of course, but that is the way it will be. The thing can't be accomplished by legislation for if the people begin getting their wishes, the ruling class will turn to strong-arm methods like fascism. That happened in Germany."

Dr. Carlson will meet with a group of campaign workers here tonight to organize the final details of the signature-gathering campaign.

The following are the coming dates of Grace Carlson's tour: Aug. 10-13 Chicago en route Aug. 14 en route Aug. 15-21 Michigan en route Aug. 22-23 en route Aug. 24-26 Cleveland

The first dates of Farrell Dobbs' tour are as follows: Aug. 18-21 Washington State Aug. 22-23 en route Aug. 24 Plentywood, Montana.

Washington Spy Scare and the Slaying of Trotsky

Further direct evidence that Stalin's murder of Leon Trotsky in Mexico eight years ago this month was plotted on U.S. soil by GPU agents, was disclosed on July 30 before a Senate investigating committee in Washington. This evidence again directly links the slaying of Trotsky to a paid agent of the Kremlin and confirms previous admissions of Louis F. Budenz, ex-Editor of the Daily Worker. This information has admittedly been in the hands of the Federal Bureau of Investigations since 1945. Therefore, for three years this, and possibly other, vital evidence has been withheld by Washington.

Elizabeth T. Bentley, confessed GPU agent who turned against her former Stalinist accomplices, admitted to the Senate committee that she received mail from the very Kremlin agent in Mexico who assassinated Trotsky, Bolshevik leader and founder of the Fourth International. That is the man known as "Frank Jackson," now serving a sentence of 20 years imprisonment in Mexico. According to the July 31 N.Y.

Herald-Tribune, Miss Bentley testified that she worked under the direction of Jacob Golos, a leading GPU agent in this country. "Her first duties were to receive at her home mail addressed to him (Golos) from Canada and Mexico. The Mexico mail stopped, however, after the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico (on Aug. 21, 1940). She said that was because the correspondent was the man who shot Trotsky."

In March 1947, Louis F. Budenz, for ten years a leader of the American Communist Party and editor of its daily paper at the time he deserted the CP in 1945, confessed his own GPU activities in his autobiographical book, This Is My Story. He revealed the sinister details of how the GPU had been working on American soil since 1936 to prepare the assassination of Trotsky. He further disclosed that he personally had helped arrange the contact between "Jackson" and Sylvia Ageloff, an innocent dupe, through whom "Jackson" gained access to Trotsky's home in Coyoacan and killed him.

On March 17, 1947, one week after publication of Budenz's book, a committee headed by Norman Thomas, James T. Farrell, the novelist, and New York City Councilman Louis P. Goldberg, demanded that Budenz and other present and former Communist Party leaders be questioned by the Federal Grand Jury in New York City on the conspiracy to assassinate Trotsky, particularly the preparations made on U.S. soil. Budenz subsequently testified before the Grand Jury, but none of his evidence was made public.

Budenz took the stand at the Senate hearing on Aug. 2, following Miss Bentley, and repeating the confession he originally made in his book of his own part in helping to "engineer"—unwittingly, he claims—the murder of Leon Trotsky.

Miss Bentley's testimony virtually completes the chain of evidence confirming Stalin's guilt in the murder of Trotsky by directly linking the murderer to GPU agents, including herself, operating in this country.

But the Senate committee did not press either Miss Bentley or Budenz on this phase of their testimony. Furthermore, the news papers played down or buried the truly vital disclosures made by these self-implicated participants in the preparations for the assassination of Trotsky.

No genuine effort has been made by Washington—which has been aware of the facts for years—to bring to the bar of justice participants in this actual crime prepared, at least in part, on American soil. It is plain the government is not interested in the least in seeing justice done in the case of a murdered working-class leader.

On the contrary, during the period of wartime collaboration with the Kremlin, the State Department has systematically helped cover up these very crimes. Everyone knows how the government whitewashed the notorious Moscow Frame-up Trials which Stalin used to murder many of the greatest leaders of the Russian Revolution and to smear Trotsky as a "Hitler agent."

Everyone recalls, in this connection, the propaganda movie, "Mission to Moscow," produced during the war by Hollywood at the State Department's behest. At the same time, the State Department for years suppressed publication of Trotsky's book, "Stalin."

Now Washington is concerned exclusively with generating a spy-scare as part of its anti-communist drive and propaganda for its "cold war." The powers-that-be are deliberately preparing a public atmosphere favorable for its conspiracy to frame up and railroad to prison the leaders of the American Communist Party under the totalitarian Smith "Gag" Act, an act which menaces the liberties of all labor and minority organizations.

The government has not sought any indictments in the preparation on U.S. soil of an indisputable crime, the murder of Trotsky. The government is prosecuting the Stalinists, under the tyrannical Smith "Gag" Act, for "advocacy of the overthrow of

the government by force and violence."

This is a patent frame-up—as no one knows better than the government prosecutors. The Democratic Administration during the war played ball with the American Stalinists and used them as the chief strikebreaking agency inside the labor movement.

Class-conscious labor militants, despite their uncompromising opposition to the criminal policies of the Stalinists, will unite in defense of the indicted CP leaders against the frame-up under the Smith Act. This act was first used against genuine working-class fighters—the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis General Drivers Union who were imprisoned during the war for their defense of labor's rights and opposition to capitalist war. It is being sharpened against the Stalinists so that it may be used in the future against the whole labor movement. That is why defense of the framed CP leaders is a defense of the civil rights of the whole labor movement.



CARLSON

Dobbs Exposes Truman on Prices

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should be financed with the billions now being spent for war preparations.

Congress was called back to Washington to do something about inflation. But whatever bill it does or does not pass, this much is assured: prices will be higher on the day Congress adjourns than they were on the day it convened. The Truman Democrats and the Dewey Republicans cannot and will not do anything about the high cost of living because they cannot cope with the fundamental causes of inflation.

The two main causes of inflation are the huge expenditures for war — the last one and the next — and the robbery of the American people by the profiteering monopoly corporations.

Both major parties are committed to a war program and have been voting billions in appropriations to finance it. Every ton of steel used for tanks or guns creates a scarcity and raises the price of refrigerators and automobiles. Every bolt of cloth used for uniforms creates a scarcity and raises the price of suits and dresses. The tons of food stockpiled for the military machine jack up the cost of pork chops and potatoes.

The war budget is not even up for consideration by the Special Session. And that's one little thing to be thankful for, because every time Congress takes up the war budget a few extra billions are tacked on to it.

Profiteering — or to call it by its right name, plundering of the American people — by the monopoly corporations is the second main cause of inflation. You are well aware of the billions made in profits during the war. That was bad enough. But today, according to Marriner S. Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board, peace-time profiteers are raking in twice the plunder they did in the war year 1943.

Profits Come First

The last Congress helped along this profit grab by lifting the excess profits tax. Truman does not now urge that this tax be completely restored and the Special Session is ready to turn down his suggestion for only partial restoration. Profits come first. That's what the capitalists say — and that's how their political agents act.

Truman is proposing a return to government control over prices. The experience of World War II shows he is baiting a trap for the workers. Despite wartime controls, prices rose steadily. Administration officials found one pretext after another to lift price ceilings and they winked at the thriving black market. But every capitalist politician in office did his level best to enforce the wage freeze which was clamped on the workers in return for a fraud of government price control.

The fact is that prices are controlled today, controlled by the huge monopolies. They fix prices, restrict production, ration raw materials — all for their own unlimited profit. It is the National Dairy Products Company that says how much you must pay for a quart of milk. The Big Four Packers set the price of hamburger. The United States Steel Corporation, as we saw only last week, can raise the price of steel and thereby increase the cost of almost every manufactured commodity.

These monopoly corporations not only control prices. They control the Democratic and Republican parties. And through them they control the government. When the National Association of Manufacturers wanted price control removed, Congress removed them. When the meat packers demanded higher prices and imposed a meat famine on the nation, Truman quickly surrendered.

This control by the monopolies over the economy and the government must be broken before effective price controls can be instituted and the living standards of the people improved.

Smash the Stranglehold

The program of the Socialist Workers Party aims at smashing the stranglehold of Big Business and transferring control over economic and political life into the hands of the workers and farmers, the overwhelming majority of the American people.

We propose to nationalize, not this or that public utility as Wallace promises, but the meat combine, the steel trust, the chemical and oil monopolies, the banking syndicates and all other giant private corporations. These trusts must be nationalized without compensation. Through profits and high prices, the American people have already paid many times over for these industries. Unlike the Norman Thomas brand of nationalization, we advocate the operation of these basic industries under the democratic control of the workers.

While fighting for this basic program, steps must be taken to insure that wages keep pace with prices. The Socialist Workers Party was the first to advocate the principle of the sliding scale of wages. We propose that every union contract and government employment regulation contain an escalator clause which would guarantee an automatic rise in wages with every rise in prices. Such a cost of living bonus would be added to the guaranteed basic wage which could not be reduced even if prices fell.

Next month the General Motors workers will receive an automatic increase in wages under the escalator clause in their present contract. This increase will not equal the real rise in prices because it is based upon the notoriously inaccurate government price index. This emphasizes the need for the unions to establish their own statistical bureaus as the recognized agencies for measuring price increases.

Consumers Committees Needed

The capitalist government, swarming with servants of Big Business, has demonstrated that it cannot be relied on to hold down prices. Only the people themselves can do this. The great mass of consumers, workers, veterans, farmers, housewives, must organize their own independent committees in every locality which should become the official agencies for checking and policing prices.

The high cost of living is the high cost of maintaining the profit system. This profit system moves from depression to war to inflation — and then repeats this terrible cycle all over again. At every point along this ruinous road, the American people pay heavily. They suffer either from lack of jobs or from lack of buying power when they are working, while the rich become richer, more reactionary and more arrogant.

A Workers and Farmers Government would smash this vicious cycle. Its planned Socialist economy would guarantee security, improve living standards and make way for unlimited abundance for all.

That is our program. We call upon you to support it with your vote in November and to fight for it all year round by joining the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party.



FARRELL DOBBS

Guests of the Vatican



Shown after their audience with Pope Pius XII at the Vatican are the following self-confessed "labor statesmen" (l. to r.): Vice-President Luigi Antolini of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL; European Representative Irving Brown, ILGWU adviser and former head of the "Lovestone group," Jay Lovestone and ILGWU President David Dubinsky.

MINNESOTA BLFE GROUP PROPOSES LABOR PARTY

The following forceful resolution, calling for the formation of a labor party, was adopted by the State Legislative Board of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen at its just-concluded convention in Duluth, Minn.

Labor is on the retreat all along the line before the offensive of the employers. Labor is harassed by constantly rising living costs on the one hand and repressive labor legislation on the other hand.

But Labor's economic power is a tremendous force. Only through our organized force have we been able to wrest wage gains and improved working conditions from the powerful monopolists. But we do not have the political power, comparable to this economic power. Time and time again, we have seen our hard-won gains taken away from us by the actions of the employers' political agents in Washington and in other governmental centers. Over and over, we have been subjected to violence at the hands of those who have been elected as "Friends of Labor."

An open-eyed review of the results obtained by the labor movement from the "reward your friends and punish your enemies" policy of supporting Democrats and Republicans must indicate that we should take another course.

Only one in ten thousand of these so-called "Friends of Labor" has turned out to be even the least bit "friendly" to the trade union movement. How could it be otherwise? The employers own and control the Democratic and Republican parties completely. They will take over the Wallace movement, too, as soon as it serves their interests to do so.

Labor must have its own party — a Labor Party, based on and controlled by the trade unions. We have the numbers. We have right on our side. We have a just and reasonable program. The vast majority of the American people will be with us when we go forward to a truly democratic political set-up, in which the control will be vested in the representatives of the workers and the working farmers.

Who would be opposed to a Labor Party and a Workers and Farmers Government? First of all, the big employers. Next, those who believe that the bosses are going to be "fair" about Labor's needs and demands. Perhaps, those, also, who think that their personal careers as "labor statesmen" entitle them to special consideration — very few others.

With our present policy, time operates against us. Look back to the record of the past ten years — just for a start. The Smith "Gag" Act; The Taft-Hartley Law; Truman's strike-breaking; the injunctions against the United Mine Workers Union; the recent calling out of the Minnesota National Guard against the United Packing House Workers Union. Much more "political progress" of this kind means slavery for the American workers. Now is the time to launch the Labor Party. Let us here and now, call upon the entire labor movement for agreement and action!



V. R. DUNNE

Dunne Addresses St. Louis Meeting On SWP Campaign

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 1 — Vincent Dunne, national labor secretary for the Socialist Workers Party and candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota, addressed an audience here today on "Why Labor Must Take Power."

Dunne nailed as a lie the capitalist dodge that the world's tragic conditions today are the fault of workers and Communists, and placed the blame where it belongs — on the American imperialists who control the world. He explained that under the capitalist system we can expect only a repetition of wars and depressions, and that only a Workers and Farmers Government can save the world from this fate.

The American workers, he said, who organized the world's most powerful unions in a few short years, will organize more rapidly and on a grander scale to take political power.

The audience donated \$35.35 toward the SWP election campaign expenses. After the speech, there was a lengthy discussion and question-and-answer period.

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Italian Stalinism In Crisis After Togliatti Attack

ROME, July 20 — The attempt to assassinate Togliatti is in keeping with the political atmosphere in Italy after the April 18 elections. It must be considered in the framework of the whole reactionary offensive unfolded both in the trade union and the political field and reflected in the strike wave of the last few months.

The spontaneity and depth of the workers' reaction constitute the most important element of the political situation. Never since the "liberation" have the masses been animated by such an offensive spirit. For a whole afternoon, after the attempted assassination the Stalinist and trade union leaders lost control of the mass movement.

From North to South, in all Italian towns, the workers spontaneously downed tools, occupied the factories, and moved towards the town centers to demonstrate. The police reacted in a more or less violent fashion, depending on the locality. At Genoa, the workers barricaded themselves in the center of town, after having partially disarmed the police. In Turin, the factories were immediately occupied and industrial managers were seized as hostages by the demonstrators. In Milan, the factories were occupied and there was an attempt to occupy the broadcasting station. In Venice, workers blocked all routes leading to the town and occupied the broadcasting station. At Bologna, the workers were practically masters of the town. Similarly in Livorno and Spezia. Acts of railway sabotage were committed everywhere with the main routes blocked. All Italy was paralyzed, and the atmosphere was as if the bourgeoisie no longer existed. The workers were confidently awaiting the order to continue their actions towards taking power. In the streets of Rome groups were openly discussing the tactic to be followed for the occupation of the strategic points of the capital.

STALINIST ACTIONS The first action of the Stalinist leaders was to secure themselves in Monte Citorio (the Italian Chamber of Deputies) under the protection of the police. Faced with an accomplished fact, the Stalinist-controlled labor federation was forced to call a general strike "for an indefinite period." The object of the strike was to be the resignation of the government. Next day, in the midst of big popular demonstrations, the Stalinists revealed their position: "Resignation of the Government. Constitution of a true government of national pacification."

The demonstrations which took place in all the great cities on Thursday morning were sabotaged by the leaders of the trade unions and the traditional working class parties. The government, which for some hours, lost control of the situation, had by then realized that the Stalinists did not have the slightest intention of continuing the struggle but were once again channelizing it into the parliamentary road. Thereupon, it adopted a firm attitude and pushed for a "trial of strength."

BATTLE LOST For the Stalinists the battle was at this moment definitely lost. They had no intention of prolonging the open struggle. The very same evening (Thursday) the labor federation proclaimed the end of the general strike for Friday afternoon. The "victory" bulletins of the Trade Unions simply declared that the objective of the strike has been achieved.

The reaction of the working class against the Stalinist decision was extremely violent. Apart from the fact that in several towns the workers refused to return to work, the indignation against this shameful capitulation was very great. In certain cities, the workers demonstrated before the trade union offices, demanding the dismissal of all their leaders. The consequences of this new defeat are great. The capitalists are now determined to vote the anti-strike legislation and increase the pressure of their offensive. The capitulation of the general strike is more important than the electoral defeat of April 18.

STALINIST CRISIS This capitulation has accentuated the crisis of Italian Stalinism, already started with the Tito affair. Immediately after the end of the strike, Communist Party militants spoke openly in the streets of Rome of Stalinist treason. It is probable that the reaction in the Northern cities has been even more violent.

The balance sheet of the strike is at present, according to official figures, more than 80 dead and several hundred injured. The police have already arrested more than 9,000 workers.

MILITANT WORKERS PARTY IS S.W.P. BALLOT NAME IN PENNSYLVANIA

THE MILITANT ARMY

Detroit's 1,000-Sub Drive Near Half Way Less than four weeks after the opening of the Presidential Campaign Subscription Drive, Detroit branch was past the 40% mark in its local campaign for 1,000 new subs. Flint and Philadelphia were also piling up large sub lists, while radio listeners from coast to coast sent in subs.

By Aug. 2 Detroit had 411 new subs, including 40 in Pontiac and half as many in several other cities. The last two Saturdays we went to a housing project in Pontiac, with the hope of organizing meetings for our Presidential candidates, and with the eventual aim of establishing a branch there," wrote Howard, assistant Militant agent.

"The response has been excellent. The average has been 10 subs per comrade. The new friends are anxious for our first meeting. "We're working in every available field: house-to-house, at union meetings and in the shops. One comrade has sold 27 subs in his plant and is still going strong. We took the Special Convention Issue of The Militant to a Budd Local UAW meeting and sold six subs and six single copies. At a Wayne County CIO Council meeting we sold 3 subs and 16 Militants, and at a Ford meeting 19 Militants. Believe it or not, Jessie even sold a sub to a Fuller Brush man!

"A copy of Debs' collected speeches is being offered for the highest individual total of subs." In one week Flint sent four batches of subs totaling 125, nearly all for Chevrolet workers.

Revolutionary International of Youth Must Be Built, Proclaims Manifesto

This is a continuation of the Manifesto issued by the recent World Congress of the Fourth International.

For a New Revolutionary Youth International

After the first World War, it was from the cadres of the Socialist Youth, following the glorious example of its great international leader, Karl Liebknecht, that the young communist parties of Europe issued. After the second World War, it is again in the cadres of the Socialist Youth of several countries that the first breaks with the treacherous leaderships are taking place and the first searchings for a new revolutionary International. That the youth is the motive force of all revolutionary movements is not at all a simple empirical observation. The conditions of existence of decaying capitalism weigh most heavily on the young generations of workers, whether of hand or brain, who find themselves from birth cut off from any hope of a future. Bureaucratic sterility and the stifling atmosphere of intrigue and hypocrisy, which now rule in the old workers' organizations, likewise drive the most gifted of the youth, and the most devoted to their class to violent revolt. It is not by accident that the Fourth International, itself deriving from an

opposition which in part came from the youth, is now an organization which is composed in its great majority of young workers and students in all countries. This is, at the same time, the surest pledge for its future development.

The organizations of bourgeois youth (Catholics, semi-fascist) and those which claim to be working class (reformist and Stalinist), intensify their efforts with the aim of promoting systematic de-politicalization of the young workers. The disgust inevitably provoked by the policies of capitulation and compromise of the traditional organizations also tends to operate in the same direction. That is why the Fourth International systematically instructs the exploited youth in political understanding of their miserable lot. Education of revolutionary youth cadres is an indispensable pre-condition for assuring that the emancipating struggle of the proletarian youth will be centered around class objectives.

The Fourth International completely rejects every condescending attitude towards the young workers and their problems. It neither puts on protective airs nor does it peddle professional speeches. It begins by itself applying the principle which it unceasingly proclaims: Emancipation of the working youth, like that of the proletariat in general, can only be accomplished by the young workers themselves. That is why the Fourth International fully recognizes the right of the revolutionary youth to its own class organization, whose activity is centered in the very first place on the problems of the working class youth itself: The struggle for the right to work and to education, for the right to life and leisure. The revolutionary policies of the youth and the organizations which embrace them take a place of prime importance in the struggle against militarism, imperialism and war, a struggle which is itself one of the central revolutionary tasks of our epoch.

But at the same time that it fully recognizes this right to a specific organization, policies and program for the revolutionary youth, the Fourth International appeals to the working youth to understand that its own problems make up an integral part of the general problems which are today posed before humanity. In the factory and in the barracks, in the yards and the universities, the working class youth collides with enemies which are the enemies of the collective proletariat and laboring masses: Monopoly capitalism and its increasingly totalitarian State. That is why the revolutionary organization of the youth cannot act independently of the revolutionary organization of the proletariat, but must work in close collaboration with it. That is why the new REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL which is to be built can only be built on the granite program of the Fourth International.

(To be continued)

SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SUB

THE MILITANT

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FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

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Vol. XII—No. 32

Monday, August 9, 1948



TROTSKY

"The human race has a right to be proud of its Aristotle, Shakespeare, Darwin, Beethoven, Goethe, Marx, Edison and Lenin. But why are they so rare? Above all, because almost without exception, they came out of the upper and middle classes. Apart from rare exceptions, the sparks of genius in the suppressed depths of the people are choked before they can burst into flame. But also because the processes of creating, developing and educating a human being have been and remain essentially a matter of chance, not illuminated by theory and practice, not subjected to consciousness and will. . . Socialism will mean a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom in this sense also, that the man of today, with all his contradictions and lack of harmony, will open the road for a new and happier race."

—LEON TROTSKY, Copenhagen Speech, 1932.



LENIN

Local 107 Shows the Way

The July 26 *Militant* contained an editorial bringing attention to the case of two union men at the South Philadelphia works of Westinghouse Electric who were fired at the instigation of the Navy Department as "poor security risks." Our editorial hailed the prompt action of CIO United Electrical Workers Local 107 which struck the plant and forced the company to reinstate the victimized workers.

We are glad to see that Local 107 has not let the matter rest there. We have just received a copy of a hard-hitting pamphlet published by the local which described the events and their meaning for all labor. The attractive cover is decorated with a photograph of the motto over the entrance of the Supreme Court Building in Washington—"Equal Justice Under Law."

On the cover is also the statement: "American trade union workers in the South Philadelphia Works of the Westinghouse Corporation in Lester, Pennsylvania, sounded a significant note for the preservation of basic democratic rights in the United States on Monday and Tuesday, July 12 and 13, 1948."

We especially want to quote the introduction of the pamphlet: "It is an American story enacted and told many times before in America but rarely duplicated exactly. Each time it's new people, a new idea, a new driving force but always the same fight—the fight to preserve the individual's right to think . . . and say . . . and believe what he likes; the

fight to remain innocent until proven guilty; the fight for a just redress of grievances. . .

"For the first time in a long time Americans have fought back . . . fought back and won! That's what makes this story different. Plain people in the face of much opposition stood up and were counted when they recognized their civil liberties being threatened. We haven't been hearing about this kind of thing lately, especially in the trade union movement."

This pamphlet is a splendid contribution to the fight for the integrity of the union movement and the cause of civil liberties and we urge our readers to secure it, read it and pass it along to other workers. It can be obtained from Local 107, CIO United Electrical Workers, 345 Bartram Avenue, Essington, Pa.

We wish to repeat the warning of our previous editorial. The Westinghouse incident is but one of many similar attacks on union militants. The corporations are being assisted by the military authorities in victimizing good union men and women, without hearing or charges, under the pretext of "national security."

This outrageous and dictatorial abrogation of union rights by the military can lead to the destruction of the unions. The whole labor movement must be aroused to the danger and launch a nation-wide campaign to halt this menace. Local 107's action and pamphlet point the way.

A Shameful Incident

Shachtman's Workers Party has made its bow on the presidential election arena. It has come forward, not with a program or candidates, but with a "position" which is probably without precedent in the socialist movement.

The WP leaders advise their followers to vote for either Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party, Farrell Dobbs of the Socialist Workers Party, or Edward Teichert of the Socialist Labor Party. These are all equally socialist, according to the statement by the National Committee of the Workers Party, and that is why they do not prefer one to any of the others.

Having no better guide, it would seem that the conscientious WP members would have to toss a coin to decide whom to vote for in November.

But Marxism provides much better ways to differentiate between rival parties and their candidates. These are tested by their programs and performance. From these decisive standpoints, Norman Thomas, as Trotsky once remarked, can be considered a "socialist" only as the result of a misunderstanding. Thomas supported U.S. imperialism in World War II while Farrell Dobbs went to jail for his revolutionary socialist opposition to the war. By supporting the Marshall Plan, Thomas shows his readiness to back Wall Street in its projected Third World War.

Teichert is the candidate of the sectarian Socialist Labor Party which comes to life

only at election time and ignores the real class struggle the year round. No one, including the WP, has taken them seriously as a force for socialism during the past 30 years.

Until yesterday the WP claimed to be Trotskyist and interested in uniting with the SWP. Today they cannot distinguish between Thomas, a supporter of American imperialism, and Dobbs, a consistent opponent of Wall Street and its policies.

This bizarre election statement by the WP is an obvious attempt to overcome its internal differences and reconcile the conflicting tendencies within the organization. This position is devised to permit its opportunist elements to vote for the Social Democrat Thomas, while leaving room for those who desire to be revolutionists to back Dobbs.

This is the same kind of unprincipled politics which seeks to include in the same party those like Albert Goldman and others, who acclaim the Marshall Plan, and those who opposed it. It arises from their attempt to hold on to their intellectual friends, James T. Farrell, Felix Morrow, and others who are campaigning for Norman Thomas and support the Marshall Plan.

The choice is clear for those in the WP who wish to remain true to revolutionary socialism. They should vote for the SWP candidates, Dobbs and Carlson. Any one of the SWP election headquarters will furthermore welcome their assistance in the campaign to place the candidates of revolutionary socialism on the ballot.

Two years ago, *The Militant* ran a series of articles on "World War II and the Monopolies," showing how the monopolies had grown during the war with the aid of the Roosevelt government. These articles analyzed the findings of the Senate Small Business Committee, which revealed that just 250 corporations by the end of the war controlled more than two-thirds of all manufacturing facilities in the United States. Since then the monopolies have obtained billions worth of government-built plants for a song.

The purpose of the FTC report, its authors claim, is to call attention to loopholes in the Clayton Anti-Trust Law, passed during the first administration of Woodrow Wilson to close loopholes in the Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890. The only conviction ever secured under the Sherman Act was the conviction of the great Socialist and union leader, Debs. Monopoly, as Marx and Engels pointed out a hundred years ago, is a natural development of the capitalist system. Monopolies cannot be curbed under capitalism. They can only grow and grow like a cancer until they destroy the country.

The only way to eliminate private monopolies is by governmental expropriation and the operation of the means of production and distribution under workers' control.

Keep Up Good Pace in \$25,000 Election Fund Campaign; 20 Percent of Quota Reached

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

The \$25,000 SWP Election Campaign and Party Building Fund is moving along at a good pace. The second scoreboard shows that the 20 percent mark has been passed. Last week added \$1,687.43, making a total of \$5,181.83 collected through Aug. 4.

Tacoma stands at the head of the procession this week. It sent in \$30 on its pledge and expects to take care of the remainder very soon.

West Virginia deserves special credit for its prompt payment of half of its \$100 quota.

Along with the sizeable sum of \$110.50 on account, Genora Dollinger writes from Flint: "We are doing our best to raise this money and get it in as fast as we possibly can. We have already visited a number of our sympathizers for contributions and intend to do this regularly during the campaign. But you can appreciate the effort it takes to collect money in this manner."

Yes, we can understand how much energy and effort is involved . . . and Flint's campaign spirit and results set a standard for other branches.

Comrade Cook encloses Pittsburgh's first payment with this note: "Things are just beginning to percolate here and we expect to make a little local history before the campaign is far under way."

Akron reports plans to hold a banquet for Farrell Dobbs on his visit there as the high point of its money-raising activities. From Chicago arrives the news that this hard-working local has gone over the top in its pledges. Pledges now amount to \$2,011 with some yet to be made. No less cheering was the \$274 that Fund Director Gus mailed in.

Although Youngstown hasn't started its climb on the scoreboard, Harry Braverman reports that the branch has already

secured pledges of \$540 and is confident of surpassing its quota.

New York City and Minnesota are marching side by side, each having paid up 31 percent of their allotments. The Harlem, Central and Painters' branches in New York have already collected over a third of their quotas.

We want to thank B.P.J. of Milwaukee for his \$3 donation. He's the latest of our readers to back up the great cause of socialism in this historic presidential campaign. You can help by sending your dollars to the Dobbs-Carlson Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

SCOREBOARD FOR \$25,000 SWP ELECTION FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Tacoma	50	30	60
Allentown	50	25	50
St. Louis	50	25	50
West Virginia	100	50	50
Flint	400	150	38
Philadelphia	500	190	34
New York City	7,500	2,277	31
Minnesota	2,000	609	31
Baltimore	50	15	30
Newark	750	200	27
Reading	150	35	23
Los Angeles	2,500	510	20
Pittsburgh	200	35	18
Boston-Lynn	400	60	15
Detroit	1,600	200	13
Chicago	2,000	386	11
Milwaukee	400	45	11
San Francisco-Oakland	1,500	168	11
Seattle	600	70	11
Buffalo	1,000	37	4
Akron	400	10	3
Cleveland	400	0	0
Connecticut	250	0	0
Rochester	25	0	0
San Diego	50	0	0
Toledo	200	0	0
Youngstown	800	0	0
General	1,075	54	5
Total through Aug. 4	\$25,000	5,181	21

Sign Ford Wage Agreement



Ford company representative John Bugas (l) and President Walter P. Reuther of the United Auto Workers (CIO) shake hands in Detroit at the windup of negotiations resulting in a 13 cent hourly wage increase plus 4 cents in fringe demands.

The fact that hundreds of unions came to the defense of the Trotskyists in the Minneapolis Labor Case, shows how much class solidarity exists within our labor movement. In this case only the Stalinists did all they could to murder this solidarity — since murder both political and physical is their stock in trade. How can we forget, even in a short statement, to remind the world about it?

The Minneapolis Labor Case is still fresh in the minds of thousands of workers who supported the 18 through the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Many of them know that the Stalinists' answer was — "let them rot in jail," "no defense for Trotskyists," etc. It's true that our defense of civil rights in America is much broader and much more deep-going than the defense of the few Stalinists, but their dirty record must be brought to the fore so that the class conscious militants will never forget it.

If you did not find it proper to place the record of the Stalinists in the statement, there should have appeared an editorial on it in the same issue of the paper. These criminals within the labor movement must be given their due.

S. Blecker
PS. In your edit "CIO Bankruptcy" you refer to the three capitalist parties as "stinkers." Since when had this become part of our terminology?

The *Militant* has a certain standing in the labor movement. Those who agree or disagree with the point of view of this paper, have always nevertheless considered *The Militant* a serious and strictly politically principled paper. We must keep up this level.

STALINISTS "REFUTE" SPEECH OF DOBBS

The Daily Worker's (July 13) pathetic attempt to "refute" Dobbs' last radio speech on "Why Labor Needs Its Own Party" on

line basis that the SWP is trying to split the people's coalition and isolate (1) the labor movement from its indispensable "allies" smells like a decayed cadaver disinterred from the grave. Only as far back in the past as May, 1948, Political Affairs (official theoretical organ of CP) asserted (p. 393) that the so-called Communist Party "understood the need for, and worked to create [when?] a Labor . . . party with the trade unions as a base" — "except for some temporary lapses." After all, it was a "mistake" (sic, p. 394) not to " . . . put sufficient emphasis on . . . independent working-class policy" — such a "mistake" is Browderism and means "giving up in practice the policy of class struggle."

On July 13, the Worker's Bob Lauter (Radio review column) is again suffering a "temporary" relapse and discovers that working-class action, as called for by Bobbs, is "phony."

R.D.V.
New York

FROM PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Would you kindly send to me your platform for the coming election and also any literature which you may have concerning your party?

It would also be helpful if you would send me information concerning the differences between your party and other socialist parties.

Most important of all, to what extent specifically would you consider socializing American industries, medicine, etc.

Miss E. K.

FROM FT. WORTH, TEXAS.

I listened to the address by both your presidential and vice-presidential candidates at your recent convention. Please send me a copy of the address by your presidential candidate and any other literature that may be of interest.

T.B.B.

Letters on Broadcasts

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

FROM FLINT, MICH.

I became a Socialist 37 years ago when I was 21 — so was awakened before I had my first vote. In the 10 elections since, have never voted for either of the old parties. Have been rather confused for several years as to which is the true socialist party, but the letter you wrote and the paper you sent set me straight. What aroused my suspicions was an article by Norman Thomas in a capitalist magazine, titled "What's Right With Capitalism." To a true socialist, there is nothing right with capitalism. It is 100% wrong. Thank you for your answer to my question, also for the papers you sent me.

A.C.H.

FROM ROCKLIN, CALIF.

In reading my first copy of *The Militant* I am greatly pleased with its message to the working man. If only everybody in this country could read a *Militant* we could rise to unheralded heights in the education of American people in the many benefits of socialism.

Being only 17 years of age I feel that one of the best ways to forward socialism is to teach the younger people such as I, who are beginning to form ideas on government, its betterments.

Enclosed you will find 25¢ for the special 15-week subscription.

B.P.

FROM MARYSVILLE, CALIF.

I am a college graduate and I have studied and heard many kinds of political views, but yours is really at the bottom of the barrel. Never have I heard such fantastic reasoning as you have put forth.

I have met and talked to people of your political views and they were either social misfits, illiterates, or too lazy to take advantage of a free economy, which, thank God! we still have.

If you think by getting rid of capitalists, you will rid the world of war, you are sadly mistaken. In the first place, it is absurd reasoning and in the second place it will never happen. As long as there is people like me, and I feel confident that there are quite a few. People that want to raise their families in a country where they have a chance to rise above a common worker. God created men equal, some men only go so far, and others have the initiative and talent to rise to the top — which they rightfully earned.

If a man or woman is honest and works hard God will see that they come out right, and you wouldn't want to take the place

of God! I don't think you and your followers are quite big enough.

Mrs. F.A.S., Jr.

FROM WATSONVILLE, CALIF.

Please send us literature concerning your party and can you tell me why a socialist party isn't in this state, when so many people here seem inclined to that form of government? Also can we get a copy of the speech heard over the radio on the eve of July 7?

B. P.

FROM BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Last week I tuned in on the radio on the tail end of a speech made by one of your officials.

The little I heard was so interesting that I would like to have a copy of the whole speech, which please mail me only if your party does not advocate the overthrow of our government by force and violence, as the Communists do.

B. P.

FROM COQUILLE, OREGON.

Would you please send me a copy of the excellent speeches made by the nominees of your party for president and vice-president of the United States.

Miss P. M.

FROM MELROSE, MASS.

Please send me a statement of your platform, a list of your candidates, and any other material which would explain how your party functions and how it differs from other parties.

M. E. H.

FROM EAST LANSING, MICH.

Please send me information about the Socialist Workers Party, and, if possible, a list of publications available. I intend to use these for study purposes.

J.A.L.

THINKS MILITANT TOO ABUSIVE

The *Militant* has become disinteresting to me, for one thing it has become too abusive of other organizations and of individuals who are in leading positions in other organizations, and parties. There has to be some other way

Carlson to Speak at Chicago University

The Marxist Club of the University of Chicago has announced that Dr. Grace Carlson, will address a student meeting on the University Campus on Wed. Aug. 11 at 3 P.M. The meeting, which is expected to be unusually well attended, will be held in Law-North (Law Building).

Dr. Carlson is well known to the University of Chicago students as she spoke here last year.

of answering arguments of other organizations besides personal ridicule and personal abuse and slander.

I cannot agree with your outlook on Stalin's Russia. You have been supporting Stalinism these last three years. You have been hiding the crimes of Stalinism since the close of the world's war. You have aided and abetted Stalinism.

I am not subscribing to *The Militant* again. It's too one-sided; it's too dictatorial, it uses abuse instead of argument.

J.R.
North Vancouver, B.C.

"IS CHAOS UPON US?"

Editor: "SOCIALISM OR CHAOS." (Trotsky).

Devotion to the cause, strange to tell, was the basic keynote of both Republican and Democratic conventions.

Oratory facing the world crisis becomes hourly more neolithic. Devotion to the cause sounded loud through the long-drawn-out ritual that began no place, got no place and sedulously avoided any adult planning for the future.

Juvenile delinquency we label it when our children do it. But how about adult delinquency? Occasional spurges of fiery denunciation that fell utterly flat: the former shadow boxing technique has lost all kick even with moral idiot politericks.

If this "ritualism of the mob" (Carlyle) could be directed into the right channel! Can America ever grow up? When comes the workers and farmers convention?

Or is chaos upon us?
J. McN.
New York City

Criticizes Militant On CP Statement

Editor:

Just finished reading the issue of *The Militant* of July 24 in which Farrell Dobbs' statement on the arrest of the CP leaders appears. I consider the statement inadequate. Our defense of civil rights in the United States flows from a principled position — that is we consider first and foremost such rights from the class angle. When the Capitalist state attacks an organization within the working class orbit, we undertake its defense regardless of our disagreements. But when it comes to the Stalinists, our delimitation must be much more explicit.

Stalinism is poison within the labor movement. Whatever they touch, wherever they reach out, there is sure to be betrayal and crime against the workers. And in the case of the 18 who went to jail under the Smith Gag Act, the Stalinists acted as criminals.

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

- AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p.m.; Branch meeting every Thurs., 8 p.m.
- BALTIMORE—121 E. Baltimore St., Phone Wolfe 17531. Daily 9 a.m.—9 p.m., O. Coover Sr., MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale.
- BOSTON—30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p.m., Tues., 7:30-9:30 p.m.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3900. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.—5 p.m. Library, bookstore.
- CHICAGO—771 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEArborn 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.—5 p.m. Library, bookstore.
- CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 9:30 p.m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
- DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone FT 7-8207. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.
- FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2106. Open House Saturday evenings.
- LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndykya 803.
- SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.
- WATTS—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St.
- LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., Rm. 11, Sat. 1-5 p.m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p.m.
- MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone BRoadway 9445.
- MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.—5 p.m. Library, bookstore.
- NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri., 7:30 p.m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).
- NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p.m.
- NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone BRiglow 3-2774. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m.
- NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR 8-5149.
- EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St., 1st fl.
- HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO. 2-1860. Open discussion, Thurs., 8 p.m.
- BROOKLYN—1054 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LI. 9-0101.
- CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH 2-9451.
- OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.
- PHILADELPHIA—1203-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p.m.
- ST. LOUIS—7123 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, Forum, Thurs., 7:30-10 p.m.
- PITTSBURGH—1413 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Sunday evening discussions on "The SWP Election Program". Every week, 7:30 P.M.
- SAN DIEGO (Cal.)—For information write P. O. Box 527.
- SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone SF. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.
- SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., South & Washington. Phone Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 1-5 p.m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p.m. Library, bookstore.
- SAN FRANCISCO (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1073, Meeting, Wed., 8 p.m., Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Fawcett.
- TOLEDO—Weekly meetings every Friday night at 7:30, Kappa Hall, 413 Summit, Room 1, top fl.
- YOUNGSTOWN—115 E. Federal St., Rm. 302. Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

The Hickman Case

By Art Preis

The Socialist Workers Party isn't just another TALKING party—it's an ACTING party. That's one thing, among others, that makes the SWP different from all other parties in the 1948 presidential elections.

Although the SWP is still small in numbers and resources, it has done more than all other parties put together in the fight for civil rights and in defense of labor and the Negro people.

This is the first of a series of articles to inform our new friends and readers on the record of the Socialist Workers Party. We have earned the right to ask your support of our candidates, Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President, by our record in the struggle against the labor-haters, fascists and Negro-baiters.

If there's one real test of any party, that is its record in the fight for Negro equality. The proud record of the SWP is written large in such recent historic actions as the Fontana case in California, the Freepoint case in New York and the Hickman case in Chicago.

An appropriate start for our series is a description of the role of the SWP in the successful defense of the life of the Negro steel worker, James Hickman, twice tried for the killing of his landlord after his four children had burned to death in a fire-trap blaze in Chicago's Black Ghetto.

The significance of the Hickman case and the historic mass defense movement initiated and inspired by the Chicago Local of the SWP is attested to by a 14-page article, "The Hickman Story," written by John Bartlow Martin and published in this month's issue of Harper's Magazine. It is a dramatic, moving and honest account of the events.

During the war, James Hickman brought his wife and eight children up North from Mississippi, seeking an opportunity to work at decent wages, raise his children to be honest, self-respecting citizens. He came to Chicago, hoping there to find the "promised land."

He didn't find it. He found the misery and degradation of the Black Ghetto, the incredibly crowded segregated area to which Negroes are confined because of restrictive covenants and the greed of real estate interests.

Hickman was forced to house his family in a fourth-floor attic room of a dilapidated old dwelling. His "home" had no running water, no toilet—and just one exit. He paid the landlord, David Coleman, \$100 for the "privilege" of moving in and the promise of a basement flat later on, plus \$6 a week rent.

Then Hickman found out the promised basement apartment was leased to another family. He went to the landlord Coleman and demanded back his \$100 deposit. Coleman refused, threatened to burn the Hickman family out if Hickman held back the rent.

On the night of January 16, 1947, while Hickman was at work on the night shift, a fire broke out on the landing outside the Hickmans' door.

There was no escape. Mrs. Hickman and an older son leaped from a fourth-floor window. They lived, but horribly burned and injured. Four of the youngsters, huddled under the bed, were burned to death.

That was when the SWP entered the picture. It investigated the fire and began a campaign to organize the tenants into a Tenants League. It secured legal aid for Hickman to sue the landlord. It pressed for a city investigation and action against fire-traps and restrictive covenants.

Hickman was a man bereft. He was convinced Coleman had set the fire—and all evidence pointed to arson. He brooded until he got a gun. He went to look for Coleman, found him, and shot him to death. Hickman gave himself up to the police. He was booked without bail. He had no money for a lawyer. He faced the electric chair.

"But suddenly to his rescue came some citizens—an organizer for the Socialist Workers Party, Mike Bartell, and two labor union men, Wiltoughby Abner, a Negro and first vice president of the central CIO Council in Chicago, and Charles Chikulas, president of a United Auto Workers (CIO) local," writes John Bartlow Martin.

The SWP representatives proposed and secured a broad united labor and Negro defense of Hickman. A campaign was launched to arouse the conscience and support of the city and the nation. One of the chief attorneys for the defense was M. J. Myer, noted for his legal assistance in the famous Minneapolis Labor Trial of the SWP leaders.

The Harper's article states: "Many such groups degenerate into luncheons and resolutions. Hickman's defenders worked hard, effectively, fast, and according to plan." Before the trial was over, money and moral support poured in from organizations all over the country.

Hickman was tried by an all-white jury and a white judge. But the defense soon turned the case into a trial of the Jim Crow system, restrictive covenants and greedy landlordism. The result was a hung jury—seven to five for acquittal.

The prosecution started a new trial. By now the Defense Committee, in which SWP representatives played a leading role, had aroused a nation-wide response. The pressure was so great, the court agreed to accept a plea of manslaughter instead of murder. On Dec. 16, 1947, Hickman was found "guilty" and released on two years probation. Hickman, his wife and three remaining sons, are now living in a housing project. He is working at a job obtained for him by the Defense Committee.

The Hickman defense, initiated by the SWP, saved the life of a poor, unknown, victimized Negro worker. It put a national spotlight on the shame of the nation—the Black Ghettos of the cities. And, above all, it taught the lesson of how to mobilize the workers, Negro and white, for successful mass struggle.

The Negro Struggle

Civil Rights Demagoguery

By F. Forrest

The front pages of all newspapers carried stories of President Truman's Executive Order "abolishing" Jim Crow in the Army. Hidden somewhere in the back pages of the paper was a small item relating to the views of General Bradley. It is worth reproducing in full the response of the Chief of Staff to the Order of his Commander-in-Chief:

"FORT KNOX, KY, July 27 (UP).—General Omar Bradley said today in reference to non-segregation of races in the armed services, that 'the Army is not out to make any social reforms.' The Chief of Staff, here for a conference on the experimental universal military training unit, said: 'The Army will put men of different races in different companies. It will change that policy when the nation as a whole changes it.'"

Capitalist politics being what it is, President Truman and General Bradley no doubt exchanged advance copies of their entirely contradictory statements!

For anyone who reads the Executive Order carefully, it is easy to see that "the equal treatment" and "equal opportunity" that Negroes are to be accorded in the Army are evidently to be within the limitations of segregation, since not a word is uttered against it. It is further instructive to note that Bradley emphasizes that the army will change the policy of segregation only "when the nation as a whole changes it." Needless to say, by "nation" the brass had meant not the people, but Congress. And since both Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of Staff know that any civil rights program that this Congress may enact would be worth as much as the paper on which the Executive Order is written, neither really worries about any abolition of Jim Crow. That accounts for the demagogic language of the Executive Order.

Truman badly needs votes. And he hopes the people are gullible enough to take him at his word. That is the long and short of it.

Specifically, Truman is aiming for the vote of labor and the Negro masses. He is hoping that the labor bureaucracy and the Negro middle class leaders can deliver this vote, provided he speaks radically enough. Not that the Murrys and Greens on the one hand, and the Walter Whites and Dr. Tobiases on the other hand, believe what President Truman says. But they want the masses to believe. Just as the labor bureaucracy is trying to keep the labor movement tied to the Democratic machine which has acted as open strike-breaker, so the Negro leaders are trying to have the Negro masses do nothing less shameful than uphold the dominant party of the totalitarian South. The labor bureaucracy has not yet dared openly to call for support of Truman. But through the ADA and sometimes even the PAC it tries shamefacedly

to support Truman. The Negro middle class leaders are trying to accomplish the same feat through the NAACP.

First, we saw the shameless spectacle of Walter F. White, NAACP Executive Secretary, assuring us that General Eisenhower should be supported by the Negro masses because he "personally" knew that the General was opposed to Jim Crow—only to have the General declare that he is for segregation in the armed forces. Now Mr. White has the gall to completely ignore the blunt statement of General Bradley and blandly assure the Negro people:

"With respect to the two executive orders, the one on the armed services and the other establishing the machinery with which to eradicate discrimination and segregation in other government departments, we are delighted that one President has had courage enough to tackle these two basic evils. These orders will help restore faith in the democratic process at home and rebuild American prestige abroad." (NAACP Press Release, July 29.)

Then we had Dr. Channing H. Tobias state at the Convention that President Truman, in his espousal of the civil rights program, accomplished no less a revolutionary act than was accomplished by President Lincoln in the Emancipation Proclamation. Since that leaves him no correspondingly famous act with which to compare the new Executive Order, we will ask Dr. Tobias to use his free time to explain to us what the Order means by saying that "equal opportunity" be created "as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary change without impairing efficiency or morale." He might also say a word or two about Gen. Bradley's declaration.

There is only one possible answer the Negro masses can give to the hypocrisy of Truman and those who try to whitewash him. That is by engaging in independent political action and voting the only revolutionary socialist ticket in 1948—that of the Socialist Workers Party.

We are sure that the Negro masses are in no wise fooled by those of their organizations and press who try to whitewash either the Truman Administration or the Republican Congress. We are sure that the Negro masses do not share the confidence of the Pittsburgh Courier that this Congress, with its unholy bi-partisan alliance to keep the South under totalitarian rule, will, in its special session, enact a real civil rights program.

Full economic, political and social equality can be attained only through mass action which establishes a Workers and Farmers Government. Only by their mass actions, in alliance with white labor, can they break up the system which breeds Jim Crow—capitalism.

INGRAM CASE — The Georgia Supreme Court upheld the conviction of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teen-age sons and the life sentence they received for the self-defense slaying of a white farmer. The NAACP announced that they would appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

UNITED ACTION — Members of the International Association of Machinists at the Santa Monica Douglas Aircraft plant voted to join with

the IAM workers at Douglas El Segundo plant and with CIO auto union workers at the Douglas Long Beach plant in calling a strike against the Douglas Aircraft Corp. The 10,000 workers in the three plants are demanding a 30 cents hourly increase.

ADMIT NEGROES — Federal Judge J. Waties Waring signed a preliminary injunction at Charleston, S. C., ordering the Democratic Party to open its registration books to Negroes.

THE MILITANT

Quill Opens War on Stalinist Faction in Transport Union

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, July 30 — Michael Quill, International President of the CIO Transport Workers Union, and until recently the darling of the Stalinists, has now launched in earnest a real war upon his erstwhile allies in his union.

For years, Quill was built up as a "progressive" labor leader, sent on national tours, elected City Councilman on the ALP ticket, and proudly displayed on many a Stalinist platform. Now he charges that the Communist Party has a long record of opportunism and treachery among the transport workers.

Quill is obviously recording successes in his struggle with the Stalinists. His supporters routed the Stalinists 24 to 10 at the last executive board meeting of Local 100, representing 40,000 workers. The board condemned the American Labor Party, the Communist Party and the city CIO Council. TWU officials were instructed to either resign their ALP posts or their union posts.

At a previous meeting of some 400 workers and officials of the BMT section of Local 100, a similar motion received majority approval. The Stalinist chairman of this meeting refused to recognize the motion and the meeting broke up in disorder.

"NOW IT CAN BE TOLD"

Quill has started writing a "Now it can be told" series in the union paper. He reveals how during the war, the Stalinists sabotaged the TWU's organizing because of "national unity." Quill verifies what has long been known about the treacherous "progressive coalitions" put over by the Stalinists. As one example, when they supported LaGuardia they worked to prevent the bus drivers from striking in 1941 for fear it would disturb their friendly relations with the Mayor.

After Browder was deposed as party leader, Stalinist policies and practices changed very little. Quill now exposes their share of responsibility in putting over the dime fare in New York City, which incidentally he is also backing as part of his own unholy alliance with Mayor O'Dwyer. And with their break with the Democratic machine, the Stalinists, through the ALP, are conducting a campaign for the restoration of the nickel fare on New York's subways.

The whole sordid inside story of Stalinist machinations and methods is laid bare. Previously the entire leadership was united in opposition to a fare increase

in return for a wage increase. O'Dwyer had the problem of forcing through the subway fare hike and yet not lose support among the city's working class voters. He went through the motions of trying to get the State republican administration to get him off the hook. Naturally, they wouldn't do that.

STALINIST TREACHERY

O'Dwyer then went to work on the transport workers leaders. While Quill was out of town, the mayor met privately with two Stalinist TWU officials, Hogan and Santos. They buckled easily and agreed to go for a fare increase in order to show the men a wage victory. Then in order to show O'Dwyer what good guys they were, they complained that Quill was "a thorn in our side" because of his insistence on retaining the nickel fare.

Upon Quill's return, he was convinced by the Stalinist union attorney, Harry Sacher, that the only way they could receive a wage increase was through a fare increase.

The Tammany backs at City Hall were much relieved. Now they could shift the responsibility for the fare increase upon the union leaders.

However this slick shuffle, which was a betrayal of the city's working class population, backfired. The top strategists of the CP called their TWU hacks to heel and promptly blamed Quill for the dime fare, dubbing him "Mike the dime."

STALINIST BOOMERANG

If O'Dwyer had been part of their "progressive coalition," the Stalinists would have hailed the dime fare as a great victory. But the season being somewhat different, the fare increase becomes a convenient political football.

But the day is passing when the Stalinists can get away with their treacherous maneuvers in the unions. Quill, who learned all about opportunist deals and maneuvers from the Stalinists, has decided to hook up with CIO President Murray and the other authentic "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." Buttressed by his alliance with O'Dwyer and the support of the metropolitan press, he is apparently well launched on his campaign to clear out all Stalinist influence in the Transport Workers Union.

Washington State AFL Hits Raiding In Boeing Strike

By Irene James

SEATTLE, Aug. 1 — The NLRB Trial Examiner, William E. Spencer, handed down a decision this week recommending that the Boeing Airplane Company negotiate an immediate contract with the striking Aero-Mechanics. He characterized the strike as an "unfair practices strike" and said that all strikers should be reinstated and "new hires" dismissed if necessary to make jobs available to strikers.

The decision was hailed as a great victory by the union leadership. The morale of the picket lines rose and many strikebreakers left the plant. However, the company has announced its intention to appeal the decision. It has in the meantime taken no steps to comply with the Examiner's recommendation. Boeing workers, now in the fourth month of their strike, see no prospect of a settlement ahead. The company continues its drive to resume production and claims that it has a force of over 7,000 production workers. A large number of the scabs are imported from other areas.

The Boeing workers are receiving increased support from the labor movement in Seattle and the state of Washington. A full-page ad in support of the strikers, signed by officers of dozens of unions in the city, appeared in both daily papers. The state AFL convention passed a resolution, aimed at Dave Beck, Vice President of the Teamsters Union, condemning "any persons or organizations that engage in organizing activities behind the picket lines of a legitimate trade union." The fight for this resolution was led by the Typographical Workers, the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Lumber & Sawmill Workers.

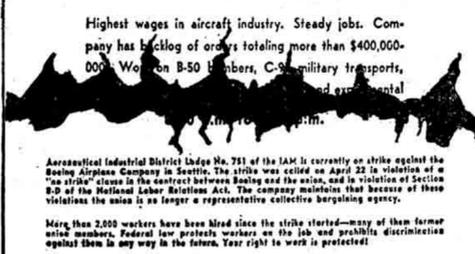
The Western Conference of the International Association of Machinists also passed a resolution calling Beck a "union Judas" and pledging all possible moral, physical and financial support to the Boeing strikers.

Sentiment is also growing in the Seattle labor movement for an eight-hour general strike.

Taft-Hartley Scab Herding

BOEING AIRPLANE COMPANY WANTS SKILLED AIRCRAFT MECHANICS

Highest wages in aircraft industry. Steady jobs. Company has backlog of orders totaling more than \$400,000,000. Work on B-50 bombers, C-124 military transports, and other aircraft.



Aeronautical Industrial District Lodge No. 751 of the IAM is currently on strike against the Boeing Airplane Company in Seattle. The strike was called on April 22 in violation of a "no strike" clause in the contract between Boeing and the union, and in violation of Section 8(b) of the National Labor Relations Act. The company maintains that because of these violations the union is no longer a representative collective bargaining agency.

More than 2,000 workers have been hired since the strike started—many of them former union members. Federal law prohibits workers on the job and prohibits discrimination against them in any way in the future. Your right to work is protected!

Taking advantage of the Taft-Hartley law, which for the first time in 14 years permits employers to advertise for scabs and transport them across state lines, Boeing Airplane Co. ran this ad in west coast papers. It was another bid to break the 3-month strike of 15,000 members of the International Ass'n of Machinists.

SWP Offer of United Front Distributed to CP Convention

By Dinah Sanders

NEW YORK CITY, Aug. 3 — The sign at the ticket booths at Madison Square Garden last night read: "Tickets for This Performance Only. . . You'd think from that there was a circus going on inside. And you'd be right."

Inside, the Communist (Stalinist) Party was holding the opening session of its 14th Convention, with all the trappings of a 3-ring circus: fanfare, ice cream vendors, spotlights on the performers.

Outside, members of the Socialist Workers Party demonstrated with signs that read:

"1944 — 18 SWP Leaders Imprisoned."

"1948 — 12 CP Leaders Indicted."

"SWP Offers CP United Front Defense of CP Civil Rights." Militants and cards announcing Farrell Dobbs' Friday night NBC broadcast were distributed by the demonstrators and were well received. No opposition was offered by the Stalinists.

Inside the Garden, even after the meeting was called to order, dozens of persons were intently reading the front page of The Militant which carried the letter from the SWP offering support to the CP in the fight against the Smith "Gag" Act arrests.

The CP convention was an eloquent refutation of the government's charges that the Stalinists are fighting to destroy American capitalism for socialism.

Even at a time like this when their main leaders are under federal indictment, the Stalinists flaunted the fact that they are simply an ersatz pressure agency of the Kremlin, and not a genuine workers party on American soil.

SING "STAR SPANGLED BANNER"

The meeting opened with the band playing and the audience, standing, singing "The Star Spangled Banner." The Red Flag was conspicuous by its absence. The huge banners read: "Down With the War-mongers!" and "For Soviet-American Friendship!" But nowhere was there a whisper of international Socialism or working-class solidarity. The speeches of Foster, Dennis and the others were all in keeping with the present "Wallace Peace Line" and to pressure American imperialism into a new deal with the Kremlin.

The applause from the estimated 18,000 assembled Stalinists and friends was coached rather than spontaneous. Once, Dennis, in the midst of making an "ap-



DOBBS-CARLSON PETITION CAMPAIGN IN NEW YORK GOES INTO HIGH GEAR

By Irving Beinlin, New York State SWP Campaign Manager

AUG. 3 — The petition campaign to place Dobbs and Carlson on the ballot in New York State continued in high gear, as it passed the 9,000 mark in the first ten days of the drive. This puts the campaign ahead of schedule in spite of the ambitious goal set by the campaign committee of 25,000 signatures in 30 days.

Upstate teams, engaged in the laborious task of collecting signatures in sparsely settled rural areas have collected three times the required number of signatures in 27 counties, and partially completed the job in 14 more.

Upstate campaigners are reporting especially favorable response in industrial areas. Thousands of SWP election platforms and militants have been distributed throughout the state, and every team has sent in a number of Militant subscriptions and names of newly won friends.

A mobilization Saturday evening of 40 comrades in New York City collected a grand total of 1,400 signatures in 2 hours, indicating the readiness of the workers of this city to help place a revolutionary socialist party on the ballot despite the vicious campaign of red-baiting and intimidation. The mobilization was concluded with a social at the Chelsea headquarters under the auspices of the Central Branch.

The New York Local is making plans for an aggressive election campaign in the shops, on the ships and in the trade unions of New York City. A trade union conference will be held on August 14, at which party members working in various industries will report their plans to bring the Dobbs-Carlson campaign into their particular unions.

An ambitious plan for conducting more than 150 street corner meetings in all parts of the city

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