

FAREWELL TO INGER SWABECK

By James P. Cannon

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THE MILITANT

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War Tension Increases Over Berlin Conflict

By Arthur Burch

A critical international situation exists in Berlin. The American Big Brass in Berlin and the military-dominated State Department are taking us step by step on the road to war.

Having abandoned their fantastic Potsdam plan to turn Germany into a pastoral state, the American industrialists are now hell-bent on splitting that country's economy into two sectors against the will of the German masses.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Even before the Soviet gauleiters imposed their blockade around Berlin, the introduction of the new Deutschemark was expected to bring about large unemployment in the Western zone.



MARSHALL

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

But the American military is far more concerned with its own prestige than with the plight of the Berlin masses.

Declarations like these sound like a mockery to German ears. The American military command is ruling by the club and bayonet, like the armed conquerors of ancient days.

That the Berlin situation is taking an ominous turn is made clear by the fact that negotiations have been taken away from the military administrators and placed directly into the hands of the governments.

FRENCH CLAUSE

Under pressure of the tremendous anti-war sentiment of the masses, the French note is careful to include the following statement: "There will be no appeal to force as a means of resolving the differences that may exist between the Soviet Government and itself on any point in the Berlin situation."

But Clay lies when he states that the "American people want to keep it up." It is further admitted that the air lift cannot prevent famine and chaos for any length of time.

Decomposition of Democratic Party Exhibited by National Convention

Drafting the Platform



Labor Bureaucrats Trapped In a Political Blind-Alley

Newspaper commentators last week vied with each other in finding morbid terms to describe the Democratic Party's national convention.

The description is not inapt. The delegates in Philadelphia were mourning over their anticipated loss of the spoils, plums and patronage they had enjoyed through 16 unbroken years of Democratic national political rule.

Their best political witch-doctors went through their rites and incantations. But looking at the patient, everyone shook his head gloomily. Even though the Democratic Party may linger on for quite a while, it is plain to see it will never be the same again.

The Democratic Party is rotten and bleeding internally. Its insides are a mass of malignant tumors which are now rapidly breaking down and decomposing.

UNHOLY ALLIANCE

For the past 16 years the Democratic Party has existed as an unholy, unprincipled alliance of conflicting interests. They range from the New Deal-type liberals and labor leaders to the Big City bosses and the Southern white supremacists.

But that tie has become frayed and broken under the stresses and strains of the more fundamental conflicts that have raged between these antagonistic elements.

NEW PARTY

Where will those wailing before this tottering structure — those like the labor leaders crying hopelessly for "another Roosevelt" — where will they turn now? Will they stand wringing their hands, waiting for the Democratic Party walls to fall on their heads?

It would be foolish for the workers to wait upon these demoralized and disoriented union leaders to give a sensible answer. The ranks of labor must begin now to build a political house of their own — their own party.

Opposition Group Strong At Gathering of Mich. CIO

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

As an example, the delegates of Dodge Local 3, representing 15,000 members, were overwhelmingly anti-Reuther. This same local elected a solid Reuther group for the UAW convention last fall.

While this shift away from the

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

Some observers have even stated that had the anti-Reuther forces organized and concentrated their forces for this convention, they possibly could have won the Michigan CIO from the Reuther group.

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

Open red-baiting was injected

into this convention by James Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer. In a tirade against "communists" who seek to "sovietize" the American trade unions, he aroused the right-wing delegates in opposition not only to the Stalinists, but to all militants dissatisfied with the Reutherite policy.

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

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

The Reuther leadership continued its disregard of democratic rights of minorities by refusing to place any oppositionist delegate on any convention committee.

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

The Reuther leadership continued its disregard of democratic rights of minorities by refusing to place any oppositionist delegate on any convention committee.

So raw was this violation of democratic procedure that even Reuther delegates got up to protest. However, Scholle's decision stuck.

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

The bankruptcy of the Reuther forces was best illustrated on political action. Here, the Reutherites could do no more than follow the same policy that had brought disaster in the past — follow the Democratic Party. More than a third of the convention opposed them. How many of these delegates wanted to support the organization of a genuine labor party, it is hard to say.

Among the anti-Reuther forces, the Stalinists received a decisive licking. Within the caucus both their nominees for president and secretary-treasurer were defeated. Two progressive anti-Stalinists were nominated by the caucus. Thus, the Stalinists are reaping the harvest sown from their no-strike pledges, piecemeal resolutions, and speedup campaigns. They are receiving blows from the militant workers at the same time that they lose their support from the right.

New Developments in Tito-Kremlin Break

By John C. Wright

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

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

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

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

Tito's regime is obviously trying to straddle. The Kremlin, just as obviously, is coldly and savagely determined to crush Tito. Stalinists everywhere, especially their press, are being whipped up into this same mood.

This is no mere editorial forecast. This is the hoarse voice of Stalin's secret murder-machine, ordering all its flunkies in France and in the U.S. to join the snarling pack now setting itself for the kill — either that, or take the consequences.

Tito pitted against Stalin — that is how the events are now personalized. Viewed on that plane, all the odds are in Stalin's favor. Dictator Tito not only cannot win over Dictator Stalin; Tito is unable even to temporize too long, despite the unquestion-

able room he still possesses for maneuvering between Washington and Moscow.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Both sides still try to cover up what they really want by raising

all sorts of side issues. And just because they must — whether they like it or not — introduce political IDEAS into their dispute, this struggle has a logic of its own. The Tito-Stalin rift is bound to become the starting point for a world-wide discussion of all these ideas and questions which touch the vital interests of working people everywhere.

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

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

98% BACK UNION SHOP IN FORD POLL BY NLRB

DETROIT — The Ford workers have given their answer to Ford Motor Company.

Here are the results of the NLRB election for a union shop held from July 1 to the 9th, under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. 88,943 of the 91,081 Ford workers or about 98% voted for the union shop. The total eligible to vote was 98,989 which included men on leave, on vacation, hospitalized, etc. The "no" votes totalled 1,214. There were 421 voided ballots and 924 challenged.

On the first day 30,000 men jammed the voting booths at the Rouge plant, some waiting in line for upwards of an hour and a half to cast their ballot.

In the face of combined company-government attack, the men tightened their ranks, despite a lot of dissatisfaction with the union leadership, and gave an inspiring demonstration of solidarity, which reminded the old timers of the wonderful fighting unity of the organization days at Ford.

The sweeping vote takes on even greater significance in view of the present union conflict with the company.

In the recent period, Ford announced an incentive program for foremen, with promotion dependent upon how little scrap and how much production over standards they could turn in. Furthermore, John S. Bugas, Ford vice-president, in a confidential letter

to supervisors, advised that the company had every right to establish "temporary" standards of production with no interference from the union, and that men have been known to work for many years at 125% and more above production standards with no ill effects.

CHANGED TUNE

Ford is also the only one of the "big three" who has not yet settled with the union on wages. Bugas has, of course, changed his tune since GM settled, about the Ford workers taking a cut in pay. The company has now offered 11 cents to the men earning up to \$1.50 and 14 cents to those above. But they couple this offer with a proposal for incentive production. The men resent the wage offer not so much because of its amount, but because they feel it is an attempt to divide the skilled workers from the unskilled. The men have also not forgotten the paid lunch periods which the company cancelled a couple of months ago. And they are determined to resist the speedup.

The negotiations have reached a stalemate and Rouge Local 600 has called for a strike vote on Sunday, July 18. Local 551 of Chicago has already voted unanimously for such action at the discretion of the national bargaining committee.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TROTSKYIST MILITANTS PARTICIPATE

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

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

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

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

Between the aims of the Congress organizers and the representatives of the colonial peoples existed an insurmountable contradiction. Sooner or later a conflict was inevitable between those who dream of "good" colonialism and those who aspire to free themselves from the colonial yoke.

On the first day, the debates had a somewhat academic tone, the socialists being content with platitudinous generalities, and the colonial delegates with putting forward their demands with an attitude of expectancy.

The Congress leaders, Fenner Brockway and Marceau Pivert, used every means to prevent the Trotskyist representatives from expressing their point of view. Our speakers were ignored and time was given to anyone who arrived in order to waste time. After spending nearly two hours

in vain discussions with the Bureau to permit two of the Trotskyist representatives to speak, there remained nothing else but to expose the facts to the Congress itself.

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

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

- 1) An economic commission, charged with studying plans, which when they had any meaning, meant the association of the colonies with their metropolitan countries.
- 2) A political commission which was subdivided into a general political sub-commission, a sub-commission for Palestine, and three sub-commissions, Britain and the British Empire, France and the French Union, Holland and the Dutch Commonwealth.

The organizers rejected the proposal for sub-commissions on Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East.

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

with great vigor in these Commissions. Our comrades Dan Trotskyist representatives to speak, there remained nothing else but to expose the facts to the Congress itself.

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Farewell to Inger Swabeck

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

Dear Friends:

I will first relate Inger's biography. She was born in Horsens, Denmark, May 30, 1895. Her maiden name was Inger Lindhardt. She came to the United States, to stay here in Chicago, in the spring of 1916. A little later Inger met Arne Swabeck, who was also an immigrant from Denmark, in the Chicago Karl Marx Club, the local Scandinavian branch of the Socialist Party. On May 12, 1920, Inger and Arne were married. She became the mother of one son, Edgar, who was born June 11, 1921. Inger died at the age of 53. Her survivors are a mother, a sister, and a brother in Denmark; a sister, Mrs. Thora Hansen, a resident of Chicago; her husband Arne, and her son Edgar.



INGER SWABECK

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

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

One of Old Guard

Inger was one of the old guard of the party. She was one of those who sustained and supported the party in its hardest days, when it seemed that the whole world was conspiring to break it, to smash it. In those hard days of the early Thirties, when very few people cared for us or believed in our future, Inger cared. She believed.

We had to call Arne from Chicago to New York in 1930. We could not get along without him. He had to give up his job. They had to break up their home, dispose of their furniture and come to New York to work under conditions of unbelievable hardship and poverty, to try to hold the fragile nucleus of the party together.

Inger came uncomplainingly. And even under those difficult conditions, she set about her own chosen task to put together a few sticks of furniture and make a home where her warrior husband might rest and recuperate from his labors and his battles; and where her young son might grow up in an atmosphere of mutual affection, and mutual respect and concern for humanity.

I was privileged to be a frequent guest in the home that Inger made for her husband and her son in New York. It always seemed like an oasis. All the storms of the world were raging outside, but the home that Inger made and presided over always recalled to my mind the beautiful words of the English poet, Rupert Brooke: "There was peace and holy quiet there."

More Beautiful Than Ever

I last saw Inger two years ago, after a long separation. She and Arne had been released from their task in New York and had returned to Chicago. Arne had gone back to work at his trade and she had built a new home in her own town, Chicago. When I last saw her she seemed to be more beautiful than ever. With grey hair framing her fair young face, she seemed to be blooming with a second youth. Her life work was crowned with victory. Her husband, who had worn himself sick under the long stress of his tasks in New York, had been restored to health under her

tender care. Her son had grown to manhood and had taken his own place in the army of labor and the army of the socialist revolution.

I will never forget the pride that glowed in her face when she told me: "Edgar is on his own now. He is grown up. He is making his own living, has joined the union, and joined the party all by himself."

It was just then, when everything seemed best, that the worst troubles of dear Inger's life assailed her. Physical illness took a cruel toll of her body; and on top of that, the dark sickness of the mind, which no medicine could cure, came over her. She fought a long time against that, but it was a losing fight. All her courage, and all her husband's tender care, and her son's solicitude — not all that was sufficient to contend with that dread enemy.

And when Inger finally yielded to it, she remained true to herself and to her real nature, which was dominated above all by her concern for others, by her love for others.

I think we can most truly describe her as we all thought of her, as we remember her, if we recall the words of the great apostle, Paul: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal."

Gift of Love

We remember her, we, and all who know her, all those whose paths of life touched hers — we remember her as one who "had love." Hers was the precious gift of love. Her whole life was spent in the service of others. Even in her last act she gave testimony to her love. She feared that the sickness of her mind would grow worse, not better. She feared a greater evil, a greater calamity, for her family; and she wanted to choose for them the lesser evil. That is the real meaning of her last act of renunciation and sacrifice.

If we remember her that way we will remember her truly as she really was. And we will speak the truth if we say that her last action in taking her own life was no sin, but on the contrary, a final demonstration of the basic principle of her life, of her love and concern for others.

It is not for us to enquire into the wisdom of her act, or to judge, or to criticize. It is only for us to try to understand. It is for us only, as we stand here with the grief-stricken family of this blameless woman, the blameless husband, and the blameless son and the grieving sister — it is only for us to say to them that we, their friends and comrades, do understand. We stand here with our arms around them in sympathy and solidarity. And we entreat them: Dear friends, do not refuse to be comforted. Be rather comforted and consoled by the memory of all that Inger gave to you to all of us. We are all better for that, and our lives are brighter.

But even here, as we say farewell to Inger, we must not forget our duty. We must not forget that we are soldiers in the war for the liberation of humanity. We must remember, too, that Inger in her own way, in her own fashion, was also a soldier of the revolution. For that her grave, as the poet Heine said, should be marked not with a cross but with a sword. We must all try to do a little more now to make up for her loss and to honor her memory.

World Needs Us

The strongest warrant for living is the sense of being needed. The world needs us; the party needs us. I venture to remind the stricken husband of this dear woman; I venture to remind him that for the old guard of the party, to which he and she both belong, duty is the first commandment. And when duty calls, even though they have been knocked to the earth and have to crawl on their hands and knees, the old guard will answer and obey.

We who have this philosophy dare to end even a funeral service on a martial note. We will say farewell now to this dear child who blessed our lives with her love. And then we will rise, all of us together, rise from the ashes of grief to go back to work, back to the battle.

The Struggle of the Latin Americans For Liberation from the Imperialists

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

For the United States of Latin America

For four centuries, the immense territories of Latin America have been the favorite prey of international brigands, serving as a most important source of their wealth. After the Spain of the conquistadors, came England of the Manchester era to uncover a gold mine in the shape of unlimited markets, cheap sources of foods and raw materials. Next came American imperialism—to flood the continent with its agents, bankers, oil prospectors, and rubber planters. After eliminating its German and Japanese competitors and compelling its English partner to confine itself to Argentina, Yankee imperialism rules today as absolute master over the Latin American peoples. Through "Good Neighbor" and "Western Hemisphere Defense" conferences, and by standardizing armaments and cleverly distributing credits, Wall Street and the State Department play, as best suits their interests, with semi-dictators (as in Brazil) or pure "democrats" (as in Chile). Through their diplomatic agents and AFL labor funkies, they brutally intervene in the native labor movement, buying up wholesale journalists, deputies and statesmen, organizing communist witch hunts and forcibly splitting the trade unions.

Stifling within narrow national boundaries which block the establishment of a domestic market, lacking an adequate demographic base, tied to the landowners through large-scale foreign trade and to foreign capital through the banks, the miserable and belated Latin American bourgeoisie is incapable of solving any problem whatsoever. They have not been able to integrate into the orbit of capitalist production the huge Indian and Negro communities which dot the entire continent like so many islands of backwardness. They have been unable to tear the different countries away from the bondage of single-crop production, leaving each country's economy vulnerable to severe shocks from world economic crises. They have not succeeded in seriously resisting imperialism but have for a century furnished im-

perialism, through the various native political cliques, with countless servile agents. They have not succeeded in uniting into one single Latin American nation all these different countries which speak the same language, whose economies are interdependent, whose existing divisions and mutual quarrels serve only to enslave peoples and strengthen international capitalism.

The Workers And Capitalists

In every Latin American country the specific weight of the proletariat surpasses by far that of the native bourgeoisie. Eking out their existence, often under the most intolerable conditions, as among the miners and agricultural workers, these workers periodically engage in revolutionary movements—fierce and desperate in their violence. Terrified by the elemental power of these mass movements, the bourgeoisie finds itself again and again compelled to establish dictatorial regimes, which follow in the wake of democratic interludes (Cardenas, APRA, Bettancourt). In the course of the latter, the native bourgeoisie frequently exploits the working class movement in order to blackmail and exert pressure on foreign imperialism. Most often the state in Latin America assumes a Bonapartist form of a peculiar type, tacking and veering between this weak, heterogeneous but rapacious bourgeoisie, foreign imperialism, and a wide layer of the petty bourgeoisie on the one side, and the young proletariat, which grows in numbers and confidence, on the other.

It is upon this young Latin American proletariat that falls the task of solving the historic problems which the bourgeoisie has failed to solve.

The Bolivian revolution, the great strikes in Chile and Brazil, the upsurge of the labor movement in Venezuela, the recent bloody days in Bogota are proof that the working masses of Latin America are no longer willing to remain the eternal victims of capitalist hucksters. Advancing its candidacy for power, the Latin American proletariat will assume the leadership of each national anti-imperialist movement and will—around its program of national and social emancipation—unite the impoverished city poor as well as the peasants who are eager to free themselves from the big landowners. The revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat in every given country will learn in every social crisis, and in every conflict between the masses and imperialism, to advance boldly the program of the Socialist United States of Latin America. It is the duty of the proletariat in the U.S. to assist their Latin American brothers with all the forces at their command. At the very moment when Yankee imperialism is reaching out for world domination, the base of its power in Latin America will be found shattered. Before the workers in the United States engage it in decisive battles at home, Yankee imperialism will receive the most unexpected blows from the workers south of the Rio Grande.

Reformist "Solutions"

If humanity is still beset by the havoc and terror unleashed by the explosion of the productive forces, if mankind has not yet solved its tasks, the fault does not lie with the workers. They have launched attack after attack on the old system of production. They have long furnished the most eloquent proofs of devotion, sacrifice, abnegation and initiative. The responsibility does rest on the treacherous leadership of the working class, and solely on them.

To blame was—and is—the Social Democracy. It was the Social Democrats who in 1914 deserted to the service of the bourgeoisie; and in 1918 they assured the ruin of the German revolution; and ever since, they have proved themselves to be, in the words of Leon Blum, the "loyal managers" of capitalism. Equally to blame is Stalinism. After causing the disintegration of the parties of the Third International, Stalinism, by a whole series of turns has led these parties to adopt the methods of class collaboration, sometimes cruder, sometimes more refined, but at all times as pernicious and perfidious as the class collaboration methods of the Social Democracy.

And now today, both of these movements, under the pretext of avoiding the "unnecessary overhead expenses" of the proletarian revolution, adopt, each in its own way, the reformist solutions of the "Third Force" and of the "New Democracy." These "solutions" can lead the working masses only to new catastrophes.

(Continued Next Week)

THE MILITANT ARMY

15-Week 25c Subs Begin Rolling In

In preparation for the Presidential Campaign subscription drive which features a 15-week 25c introductory sub to *The Militant*, 20,000 new sub cards have been mailed to our agents through out the country. They are also available to any readers wishing to support the campaign.

This is an attractive two-color card. The receipt stub that goes to the subscriber carries pictures of the SWP candidates, Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice-President. There are spaces for regular six-month and full year subs, new or renewal, as well as the 25c special.

Readers may send for as many of these cards as they expect to be able to use. Subs will be acceptable in any form, however, as long as the names and addresses are complete and legible and accompanied by payment.

...Even before more than a few hundred people had seen the new sub card the 25c subs began rolling in. Delegates to the recent SWP convention in New York sold subs wherever they went, in groups on street corners, in restaurants and in the hotels where they stayed. Comrades from Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Philadelphia and Buffalo were among the first to turn in new subs.

New York's Chelsea Branch is leading the country in new subs, turning in 34 this week. The branch is organized into teams competing on a point basis for subs and new members. Early returns promise some lively competition. Whitey has been getting so many subs he puts his own rubber stamp on the cards he turns in — 14 this week. M. Giarrusso was second with 6 subs and Ed Shea turned in 5.

June was a short month for subs because comrades were busy on convention arrangements. Following are the branch returns:

| | |
|---------------|----|
| New York | 66 |
| Philadelphia | 33 |
| St. Paul | 18 |
| Chicago | 17 |
| Minneapolis | 16 |
| Milwaukee | 13 |
| San Francisco | 13 |
| Oakland | 9 |
| St. Louis | 8 |
| Buffalo | 7 |
| Detroit | 6 |
| Akron | 5 |
| Boston | 5 |
| Connecticut | 5 |
| Flint | 5 |
| Cleveland | 4 |
| Pittsburgh | 4 |
| Seattle | 3 |
| Newark | 2 |
| Toledo | 2 |
| Youngstown | 2 |
| General | 30 |

TOTAL 278

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Radio Speeches of SWP National Candidates

Socialism or Barbarism

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

Comrade chairman and delegates:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Truth About Stalinism and Socialism

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

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

Let me tell you the truth about Stalinism and socialism.

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

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

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

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

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

And crime of crimes! Lenin and Trotsky were so indelicate as to publish all the secret treaties they found in the Czar's confidential files. These documents exposed the conspiracy of the imperialist powers to divide up the world, like Al Capone and Bugs Moran split up the bootleg liquor market in Chicago.

You of the older generation will remember how the Wilson administration united with the Japanese Mikado and sent troops against the Soviet Union.

For four bitter years the Russian working people were forced to defend themselves against foreign military intervention, as well as against the sabotage of their deposed native capitalists and landowners.

They emerged victorious, but cut off from the rest of the world. The Russian workers were hungry and battle-worn, yearning for respite and peace. The heaviest blow of all to them was the death of their leader, Lenin.

How Stalin Betrayed the Russian Workers

Stalin exploited these conditions to defame and exile Trotsky, to impose upon the Russian workers a false policy of nationalism, and to drag them into the trap of his police rule.

The American capitalists are thus directly responsible for weakening the resistance of the Russian working class and enabling the Stalinist dictatorship to stamp out workers' democracy in the Soviet Union.

It wasn't until Stalin had consolidated his totalitarian rule that the American State Department granted diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union. American capitalism hated the truly democratic government of Lenin and Trotsky. But they found it easy to collaborate with dictator Stalin, and even to cover up for him, when it served their ends.

Now American imperialism no longer needs Stalin. So they conveniently discover that his brutal regime is totalitarian. But when they try to identify Stalinism with socialism, they cut a lie from the whole cloth.

Stalin is anything but a socialist. Stalinism is an obstacle on the path to socialism. This obstacle will be removed, not through capitalist wars of conquest, but by the unpostponable struggle against capitalism itself.

One hundred years ago, Marx and Engels in their famous Communist Manifesto predicted that capitalism would bring the world to disaster unless the workers took over the reins of government and set up a world socialist society.

Today, the madmen who rule America are preparing to use their power to plunge humanity into a barbarism of endless wars in their insane drive to enslave the world.

This power of the American capitalists derives from their monopoly ownership of the tremendous wealth and resources of this country and their monopoly control of government. This monopoly must be wrested from their hands.

SWP Seeks to Liberate America

To break the economic stranglehold of monopoly capitalism, the Socialist Workers Party calls for the nationalization of the basic industries of the country and their operation under the control of the workers.

To liberate America from the political rule of Wall Street, the Socialist Workers Party advocates the establishment of a Workers and Farmers government.

Once these parasites are off our backs, war will be only a word in the history books. We shall then stand on the threshold of a new era of unlimited human progress.

Our country has everything necessary to provide permanent security and prosperity for all. We have the raw materials, the industries, the most advanced technology, a skilled labor force, and a high cultural level. These can be put to work to provide a life of abundance for every man, woman and child in the nation.

When the mighty American working class takes these steps, the whole world will follow. The tyrants will fall in every land. Franco, Chiang Kai-shek, the Greek king and every other dictator, including Stalin, will be brought to book by the oppressed and the exploited of the earth.

The peoples of all lands will join with us, to build the world on new foundations. A world in which the age-long dreams of poets and prophets will become a living reality.

The Struggle for Civil Rights

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

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

Workingmen and working women of America! It is with the deepest gratitude that I have accepted your nomination as candidate for the Vice-President of the United States.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Truman's Civil Rights Program Is Phoney

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SWP Speaks For Persecuted Minorities

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

How to Fight This Evil?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NAACP Forces Sears to Meet On Discrimination

By J. Hawkins

SANTA MONICA, CALIF. — The local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People dissolved the United Committee to End Job Discrimination at Sears-Roebuck, and called for all participating organizations to suspend mass picketing at the local Sears store Friday evenings. In a few days the negotiating committee will meet with the Sears store management, and hopes to wind up its long bitter campaign to force the local store to hire without racial discrimination. Preliminary statements by the management indicate that the NAACP will not come away empty handed.

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

Ever since the creation of the United Committee by the NAACP, the Stalinists have flocked to its weekly meetings as representatives of various organiza-

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

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

SWP Candidates Greet Each Other



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

Photo by Roseman

Penn. Opens Drive For Dobbs-Carlson

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

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

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

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

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