

**CIVIL RIGHTS SPEECH
BY FARRELL DOBBS**

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THE MILITANT

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Congress Plays Football with People's Needs

Only Socialist Workers Party Program Offers Solution to Inflation, Race Discrimination

By Farrell Dobbs, SWP Candidate for President

Truman's motives for calling a Special Session of Congress are obvious. It is strictly a pre-election political maneuver. But whatever his motives, he has posed many of the burning problems facing us all. His message to Congress plainly shows, however, he has posed these problems only to leave them unanswered.

As for the Republicans, their conduct in and outside of Congress show just as plainly they don't want these problems even raised. And so we have again the scandalous spectacle of both ruling capitalist parties playing political football with the people's needs.

Take the question of inflation. The Republicans say they want to let the "natural" economic laws run their course. That is, DO NOTHING! Let prices go up and up until—the big boom bust!

Not that the Republicans are against any and all controls. They're just against government controls. They favor a special type of control—controls enforced by the "private government" of the huge monopolies. They fix prices, regulate production, ration out raw materials—all in the interests of their own unlimited profits.

Truman's proposals for government "control" of inflation are a mere reshuffle of his previous pitiful measures. They don't even touch the heart of inflation—the staggering war debt and the new burden of war preparations which Truman himself is foisting on the people.

That is why—though Truman has promised again and again to "halt" inflation—he has failed and must continue to fail. Washington's bipartisan war program can only feed inflation!

The ruling monopolies concerned exclusively with profit, the capitalist political parties concerned with preserving the capitalist interests and fattening on the spoils of office, can only rob the working people.

The Socialist Workers Party, whose message I bring to the country in this presidential campaign, is against the capitalist profit system. We fight for a Workers and Farmers Government and socialism. We have not the slightest interest in protecting the capitalists. That is why we can put forth the only realistic immediate answer to the burning problem of inflation.

The second plank of the SWP Election Platform declares: "For the inclusion in all union contracts of an escalator clause (also

known as the sliding scale of wages or automatic cost-of-living bonus) to meet the rising cost of living, with the safeguard that wages shall not fall below the basic rates established in the contract! For the application of this principle to wages of all government employes, veterans' allotments, old-age pensions and social security. For the establishment of price control, to be regulated and enforced by mass consumers committees of housewives, unionists, working farmers and small shopkeepers!"

Along with inflation, the immediate issue of the day is civil rights—particularly the fight to win first-class citizenship for the Negro people. For 16 years the Democratic Administration has sabotaged every move to end Jim-Crow discrimination and segregation. Now, three months before elections, Truman attempts a grandstand play for the Negro vote.

He issued two executive orders purporting to end discrimination in government departments and the armed forces. Every one can see the fraud in these orders. The order on the armed forces is silent about the key issue—segregation. The real meaning of this order is—segregation remains!

If inflation is to be curbed, if the Jim Crow system is to be destroyed root and branch, it will be done only by the mobilization of the working people of all races, united in mass action behind their own program. That is the cause for which my Party and I speak.

ON YOUR RADIO

FRIDAY, AUGUST 6

10:45 - 11:00 P. M. (EDT)

over National Broadcasting System

"ANSWER TO TRUMAN'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS"

by

FARRELL DOBBS

SWP Presidential Candidate

Grace Carlson Opens National Tour in Far West

First Campaign Rally In Salt Lake City

As we go to press, word is being awaited of the first meetings in Salt Lake City and Denver, the first stops on the nationwide tour of Grace Carlson, the Socialist Workers Party Vice-Presidential candidate. These meetings will break new grounds for Trotskyism in the west. Not since the days of the last depression, when Trotskyism flourished on the campus in universities in Salt Lake City and Denver, has the voice of revolutionary socialism been heard in these areas.

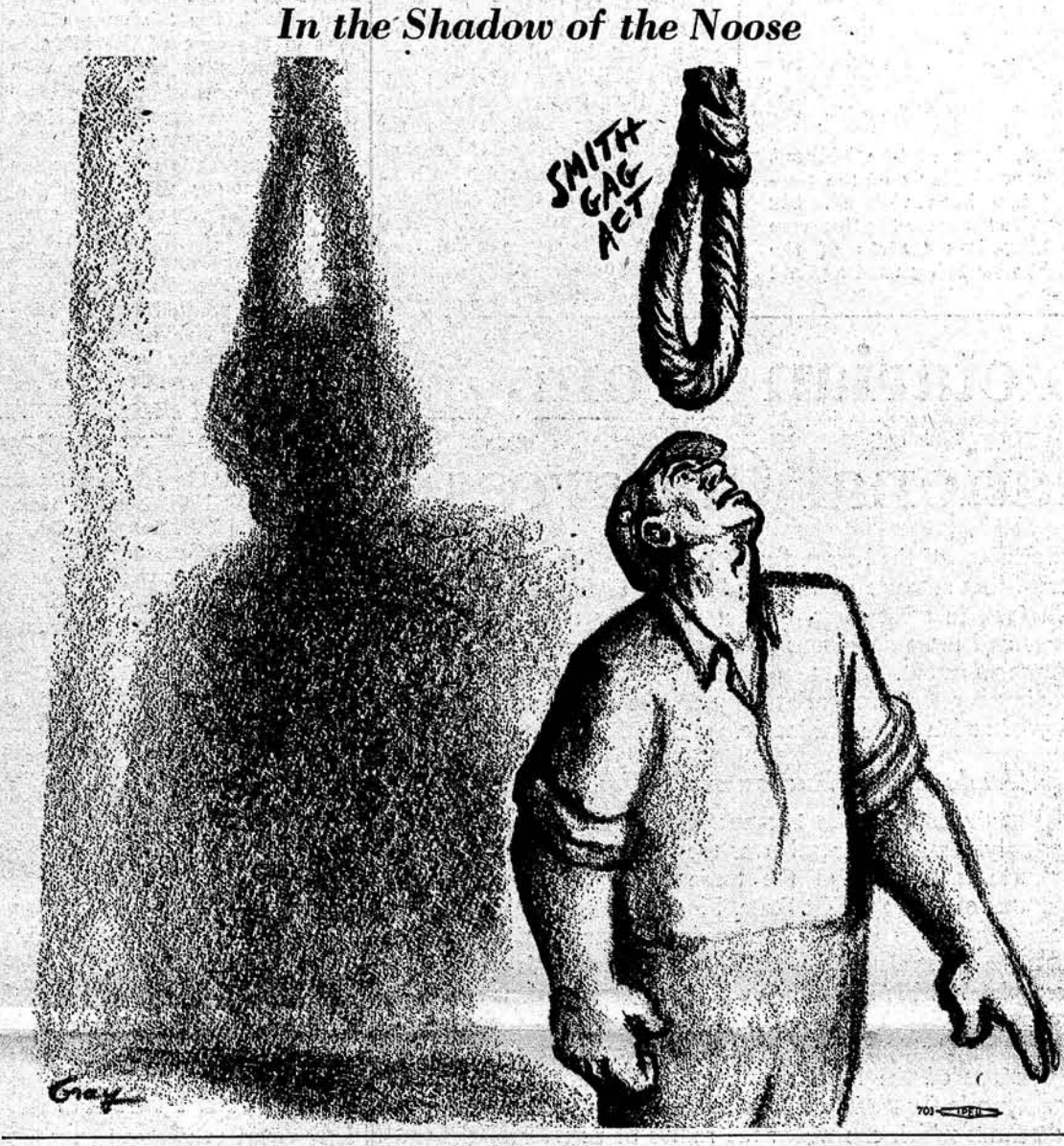
The Carlson tour in these areas comes in response to new worker members and sympathizers whose interest was aroused by the SWP presidential campaign and who are now eager to break ground for party branches. At the same time, work is being completed to put the party on the ballot in Utah and Colorado.

The tour by Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential candidate begins on August 18 in the State of Washington. First reports indicate meetings are being planned in Seattle, Tacoma and Aberdeen. Prior dates, previously scheduled for California, have been cancelled to permit Comrade Dobbs to participate in the challenge against Attorney-General Clark's subversive listing and in the appeal for the restoration of the civil rights of the 18 Minneapolis victims of the Smith Act. The following are coming dates of the tour by Grace Carlson:

- August 5-7, Denver
 - August 8, 9, en route
 - August 10-13, Chicago
 - August 14 en route
 - August 15-21 Michigan
- The first dates of Farrell Dobbs' tour follows:
- August 18-21 Washington State
 - August 22, 23 en route
 - August 24 Plentywood, Montana



CARLSON



N. Y. Petition Campaign Gets Off to Flying Start

By Irving Beinin, New York State SWP Campaign Manager

New York City, July 26—A total of 4,305 signatures was rolled up in the first weekend of the campaign to place the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in New York State. The campaign got off to a flying start with ten teams operating in various parts of New York State. A mobilization in New York City on the opening night netted a total of 2,400 signatures.

Incomplete reports from up-state teams indicate that the required minimum number of signatures has already been obtained in 16 of the 61 counties.

The New York election campaign was launched at a citywide membership meeting on July 22. The projected plans call for the most ambitious campaign ever conducted by the Socialist Workers Party in this state. The first

and most essential task, the reporters explained, is to meet the stiff requirements of the undemocratic state election law in order to get on the ballot. This law was concocted by the capitalist politicians for the deliberate purpose of depriving minority parties of the elementary right to appear on the ballot by placing almost impossible obstacles in

the road. It provides that such parties must obtain a minimum of 12,000 signatures, including at least 50 in each of the 61 counties in the state. In addition, a thousand booby traps are concealed in the legal provisions in the shape of numerous unreasonable and malicious technicalities.

Though the law fixes a six-week period in which such signatures may be collected, the plan adopted by the membership called for completion of the signature-gathering in four weeks. This will leave more time for political campaigning.

This second phase of the campaign as projected by the Campaign Committee, will open with a Trotsky Memorial meeting, which will at the same time be an Election Rally on Friday, Aug. 27 at the Hotel Diplomat.

Other plans include an intensive series of open air meetings, using loudspeaking equipment, throughout the city; speeches before unions, student groups; symposiums and radio forums; distribution of hundreds of thousands of pieces of campaign literature; door to door canvassing in working class districts; radio talks to be financed by a special radio fund and finally, a wind-up Election Rally at which both Dobbs and Carlson will speak.

In a special report, C. Thomas, Trade Union Director of Local New York, outlined plans to bring the Dobbs-Carlson Campaign into the labor movement.

Frank Field, Local Fund Drive Director, reported that all branches had accepted their quotas, and that \$1,500 of the \$7,500 New York quota had been raised in the first week of the campaign. The Painters Branch, the Brooklyn and East Side Branches, and the International Socialist Youth Club have already oversubscribed their quotas, Comrade Field reported.

Asks Justice Dept. Hearing On Listing as "Subversive"

NEW YORK, July 29 — At a press conference today in his national campaign headquarters here, Farrell Dobbs, SWP candidate for President, announced that the Socialist Workers Party has demanded a public hearing from Attorney General Tom Clark to seek the removal of the SWP from the political blacklist of "subversive" organizations issued by Truman's Department of Justice. Dobbs said he will insist at the hearing that the entire list be torn up.

Denouncing the political blacklist as an attempt to intimidate and victimize opponents of Truman's foreign and domestic policies, Dobbs told the representatives of the New York press: "Truman has suddenly discovered there are abuses of civil rights in this country. Let him start removing these abuses by eliminating those he is directly responsible for. One of the first things we're demanding is that he tear up his infamous political blacklist of so-called 'subversive' organizations published by his Attorney General Clark."

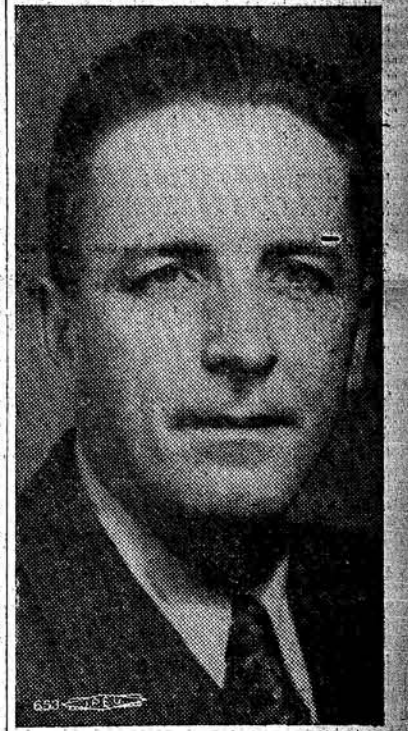
Dobbs released to the press the text of a letter he sent today to Clark, demanding an immediate hearing, open to the public and the press, with the right to present witnesses and all necessary evidence in refutation of the blacklisting evidence. (See below for full text of Dobbs' letter.)

This is the first direct challenge of the Attorney General's action. Other organizations on the list have gone into the courts, but this is the first demand for a hearing by the Department of Justice itself.

The SWP request for a hearing was initiated at the suggestion of the American Civil Liberties Union. It followed an inter-

view by Roger Baldwin, National Director of the ACLU, with Clark. Mr. Baldwin protested the procedure of blacklisting organizations critical of the administration without hearing and by administrative decree.

Clark promised Baldwin he would grant a hearing upon the demand of any blacklisted organization. The SWP promptly accepted this challenge, not only on its own account, but in defense of the civil and political rights of all present and potential targets of this Gestapo-like practice of the political blacklist.



FARRELL DOBBS

TEXT OF DOBBS LETTER TO ATTORNEY GENERAL

New York, N. Y. July 28, 1948

Attorney General Tom Clark, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The Socialist Workers Party has been placed with other political parties and organizations upon the so-called "subversive list" issued by the Department of Justice. This was done without prior notification to our party, without a hearing, and without any specification of the grounds for such action.

Our party vigorously objects not only to the arbitrary and unheard-of procedure by the Department of Justice in this matter but equally to the dictatorial principle of a political blacklist. The imposition and use of this blacklist by the Truman administration strikes a severe blow to democracy in the United States and clearly restricts the constitutional rights of the Socialist Workers Party. For one party in power to attempt such suppression of the rights of another is a long step toward the establishment of a police state and thought control in our country.

The American Civil Liberties Union has informed us in a letter dated June 23 that, following its protest of the procedure of listing agencies without hearings, the Attorney General has agreed to hold a hearing for any organization challenging its blacklisting.

We hereby request that your office grant such a hearing to the Socialist Workers Party without undue delay.

We also request that you provide us in advance of the hearing with a detailed statement of all charges against our party and the specific grounds upon which the Socialist Workers Party is alleged to be "subversive" so that our representatives can properly prepare their refutation.

We further request that the hearing be open to the public and the press and that we have the right to present witnesses and submit all necessary evidence in denial of the blacklisting classification.

The request for a hearing by your office is made without prejudice to any further action the Socialist Workers Party may take in defense of its legal rights through the courts.

Our representative is ready to come to Washington and arrange a suitable date for the hearing as soon as your reply is received.

Sincerely,
FARRELL DOBBS,
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for President
of the United States

SWP Offers CP United Front on Smith Act

Letter from the Socialist Workers Party to the Communist Party

The Central Committee
Communist Party, USA
New York, N. Y.

July 28, 1948

Comrades:

The indictment of 12 leaders of your party under the Smith Act is another sharp reminder that in this gag law the rulers in Washington have a diabolical weapon whose barb is aimed at the working class political and trade union movements.

We of the Socialist Workers Party were the first victims of the Smith Act. In 1941, eighteen of our party leaders were convicted under this Act in the famous Minneapolis Labor Case. They were imprisoned for terms ranging from 12 to 16 months. This conviction and the refusal of the Supreme Court on three different occasions to hear our appeal has set the precedent now being used against you.

We fought this conviction and the Smith Gag Act with all the power at our command. We succeeded in mobilizing hundreds of CIO and AFL unions, Negro, Jewish and other mass organizations representing over five million members. At the time of our case your party ignored the danger inherent in this conviction. Instead of helping fight it, the Communist Party sought to obstruct all efforts to arouse the labor movement to this danger.

Now that you are under attack, we, the first victims of the Smith Act, offer you our aid. We are convinced that only a united struggle by the whole labor movement—by all the tendencies within it—can defeat this conspiracy to deprive you of your democratic rights. The conviction of the Trotskyists paved the way for the present assault on the Communist Party. A conviction of the 12 indicted members of your party would in turn embolden the government to use the Smith Act for further persecution of workers' organizations.

We ask you not to permit the profound political differences between your party and ours to stand in the way of a broad united front of the working class in defense of Civil Rights. While you did not come to the defense of the Trotskyists when we were prosecuted under the Smith Act, we have already made public our opposition to your indictment and are fully prepared to further assist in your defense.

We repeat. Only the solidarity of the whole labor movement and of all tendencies within it, can defeat the Smith Act which threatens all sections of labor.

We propose that representatives of our party be included on any defense committee set up in behalf of the 12 indicted leaders of your party. This in itself would be a forceful demonstration that on the issue of Civil Rights all sections of the labor movement, despite profound differences, can and must unite in self-defense against the dictatorial political agents of monopoly capitalism.

With us would come into such a united front defense organization a considerable section of the labor movement, which we and our co-workers have already succeeded in arousing to the grave dangers of the Smith Act during the famous Minneapolis Labor Trial.

We make this proposal in the name of our Political Committee and expect to receive a favorable reply from you at an early date.

Fraternally yours,

Farrell Dobbs
For the Political Committee
of the Socialist Workers Party

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THE MILITANT

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Branch Responses Splendid In \$25,000 Fund Appeal

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

The Socialist Workers Party branches have given a splendid send-off to the \$25,000 Election Campaign and Party Building Fund.

New York City can take a bow for sending in the largest amount this first week. This local is off to a jet-propeller start, having turned in over one-quarter of its \$7,500 quota.

national convention is a sizable \$1,000 and that the branch fully intends to cover it.

Party will respond to the unexampled opportunity before us with a like enthusiasm.



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.



LENIN

—LEON TROTSKY, Copenhagen Speech, 1932.

In Defense of Civil Liberties

The Socialist Workers Party demand for an open hearing by Attorney General Tom Clark to remove the SWP from Truman's political blacklist of "subversive" organizations is the beginning of a major fight in defense of fundamental civil liberties in the United States.

Farrell Dobbs' letter to Clark, published on the front page, is a summons to every person who values his political rights and freedoms to join in the battle to halt the repressive drive of the Truman Administration.

Truman's blacklist is one of the dirtiest blots on the traditions of democracy in this country. It takes a leaf from the pages of the Nazis, who also issued blacklists of "subversive" organizations — that is, all organizations opposed to Nazi policies.

The very manner and method in which Truman's blacklist was drawn up and published reeks of the Nazi technique. The list was drawn up and issued by decree. One man — Attorney General Clark — presumed to declare what organizations are "subversive" — or *verboten!* None of the organizations so branded was given a hearing or any opportunity to challenge the listing. No

specific charges were made in connection with the listing.

Truman's action was aimed at smearing organizations and political parties who oppose the policies of the Democratic Party and the bipartisan administration — particularly its war-mongering foreign policy.

Today it is the political blacklist. Tomorrow — as in Hitler's Germany — it will be concentration camps. That is the inevitable logic of such totalitarian abuses as political blacklists.

If a minority working-class political party like the SWP can be put on a blacklist by mere administrative decree for advocating policies opposed to the administration's, why can't unions be so branded if they dare to pass resolutions in opposition to government policies? What person's civil rights are safe if this blacklist stands?

The Administration blacklist is already being used to throw out staunch unionists from their jobs, as the Westinghouse case in Philadelphia shows.

That is why every defender of civil rights — every labor, Negro and civil liberties organization — should back up the SWP challenge to this country's first political blacklist.

SCOREBOARD FOR \$25,000 SWP Election Drive Fund

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Quota, Paid, Percent. Lists various branches like Allentown, St. Louis, Baltimore, etc., and their respective contributions.

ANXIOUS TO KNOW MORE. Heard your speech tonight and it has me quite anxious to know more about your platform for the coming presidential election.

Trotskyists Electioneer In Bedford Stuyvesant

On Friday, July 16, we got a striking illustration of the attractive power of our Trotskyist program, and the response we can get in the election campaign.

Letters on Broadcasts

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

STENCH FROM READING, PA. A worker here was recently discharged from his job for having been forced to eat from garbage cans, due to the fact that the Nazi-owned Reading Hospital did not pay him enough in wages to buy food.

FROM PALMYRA, PA. After listening to the acceptance speeches of both nominees of the Socialist Workers Party, you offered to send for the asking the literature of your party and convention without obligation. Please send to me.

WANTS SWP IN KANSAS CITY I read a great many of your articles with interest and approbation. I too realize your concern and interest in the common man, and your discontent with the racial prejudice of the United States.

FINDS US "COMPLETELY UNREALISTIC" I am not a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party but nevertheless find The Militant interesting. Do not, however, consider me a prospect as I have decided to support the candidacy of Edward Teichert for the Socialist Labor Party for president.

HAS THE RIGHT IDEA The workers gave the capitalists the power and the money and the ability to step all over them by voting for the democrats and the Republicans, the Siamese twins.

Behind the CP Indictments

Totalitarian regimes convert all agencies of the state into the tools of a single ruling group. This group does not merely suppress all class opponents. It bends all powers of government toward silencing and destroying any one or any group which dares to criticize or oppose any of its policies in any way.

We see the trend toward totalitarianism in the present Administration in Washington. This regime is conducting an ever more brutal and unrestrained drive to silence and suppress opponents of the Truman foreign policy. Toward this end it is cynically bending all government agencies, including the courts. The judiciary, which is supposed to be above all partisan political influence, has been completely converted into a tool of the political party in power and its particular foreign policy.

This is clearly evidenced in the case of the indictment of 12 leaders of the Communist Party. These indictments and prosecutions are designed immediately and directly as part of the Democratic Administration's drive to impose its foreign policy on the people of this country and to crush with every power of government all voices of opposition.

We can dismiss out of hand the specific charge which Truman's Department of Justice has chosen as the "legal" pretext for its attempt to railroad the Stalinist leaders to prison. This is the charge, under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act, that the Stalinists "advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence." Such a charge is a bald-faced and monstrous frame-up.

No one knows better than the Washington prosecutors that the CP is NOT a revolutionary party. Indeed, the Stalinist Party is the most treacherous and consciously counter-revolutionary force in the world labor

movement. The Democratic Administration during the war did not hesitate to work in collaboration with the Kremlin and to accept the services of the American Communist Party in suppressing genuine working-class revolutionary movements.

In 1940, you will recall, Roosevelt's government railroaded to jail Earl Browder, then the head of the CP, on a trumped-up false-passport charge. That was during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, when relations between Washington and Moscow were strained. No sooner were the White House and Kremlin in their wartime embrace, than Earl Browder was released from prison under a presidential pardon. The Communist Party worked hand-in-glove with the Administration as the most shameless strikebreaking agency within the labor movement.

The very indictment now pressed against the CP contains the evidence that it is directly motivated by the change in the Democratic Administration's foreign policy. The indictment specifically states that the charges are based on the activities of the CP since April 1945 — that is, since the beginning of the open break in relations between Washington and Moscow.

Capitalist frame-ups against leaders of working-class parties and tendencies are not unusual. What is unusual in the case of the 12 CP leaders, is that this frame-up is the mechanism for the particularly sinister aim of silencing an opposition to the specific foreign policy of the Democratic Administration. The government has selected the CP as the most vulnerable victim. But the blow is aimed far beyond the CP. It is aimed at ALL who would dare to speak against the Truman Doctrine. It is a blow on behalf of an advancing TOTALITARIANISM.

The NMU Elections

The crushing defeat of the Stalinists in the recently concluded CIO-National Maritime Union election, constitutes a decisive repudiation of their ten-year leadership of the largest seafaring union in the maritime industry.

Of the 180 elective offices the Stalinists lost every one contested by the opposition led by President Joseph Curran. The majorities ranged from 3 to 1 for the top office of president to 2 to 1 for the rest of the slate. Approximately 41,000 members voted over a three month period, the largest vote cast in the history of the union. They voted *finis* to Stalinist domination in the NMU!

The Stalinists have been in control of the NMU from its very inception. From 1938 their control was unchallenged and absolute. They had no organized or even vocal opposition. They had every opportunity to demonstrate, under almost ideal conditions, their boasted capacity to provide "progressive" leadership to the labor movement.

Instead, their ten-year rule produced a rank and file revolt which swept them from office by such a decisive and overwhelming majority. For a decade the Stalinists had dragged the union from one adventure to another. Radical phraseology and social demagoguery were used as a cover for reactionary policies which inescapably weakened and undermined the union.

Their method of slandering, framing and crucifying critics and opponents poisoned the atmosphere in the union and threatened the destruction of democratic discussion and decision. Their ten year record of misrule earned them the aggressive hostility of the best union militants and made them discredited, hated and despised in the ranks.

At the last membership meeting of the union in the port of New York the announcement of the election results heralding the exit of the Stalinists from their commanding position was hailed by the seamen as the dawn of a new day for the National Maritime Union.

ATTENTION CHICAGO & DETROIT READERS GRACE CARLSON SWP Vice-Presidential Candidate will speak Friday, Aug. 13 - 8:00 P. M. 777 W. ADAMS STREET CHICAGO, ILL. and in DETROIT, MICH. Tuesday, Aug. 17 - 8:00 P. M. CIVIC CENTER John R. and Erskine Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

WORKERS IN FACTORIES EAGER FOR MESSAGE OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

The workers in the factories are ready to respond to the appeal of Trotskyism. I have observed in my own shop an eager response already and my campaign is only beginning.

The whole atmosphere is one of uncertainty. The workers feel frustrated. They have a powerful weapon — the ballot — but feel powerless to use it. I have found that being known in my shop as a Trotskyist, far from being a handicap, gives one prestige and some authority.

Among them are two former Wallace supporters, who made up their minds; others are on the way. Avowed Truman supporters and workers who have shown no previous interest in politics are also turning an attentive ear to the Trotskyist program.

Avowed Truman supporters and workers who have shown no previous interest in politics are also turning an attentive ear to the Trotskyist program. The response is already so encouraging that one of the former Wallaceites — now a Militant reader and a Dobbs-Carlson supporter — expresses constant amazement. "These people won't listen to your program," he used to insist. "They only talk baseball and horse racing."

Segregation to Stay Says Gen. Bradley

One day after Truman, Commander-in-Chief of all U.S. armed forces, issued his order for "equality of treatment and opportunity," his Chief of Staff, Gen. Omar Bradley, made it clear that racial segregation will stay.

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

List of activities and meetings across various cities including Akron, Cleveland, Detroit, Flint, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Youngstown.

