

KOREA IN FLAMES -- THE NAPALM ATROCITY

(See Page 3)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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CIO Leaders Use Shady Means to Sell Democrats

By Myra T. Weiss SWP Vice-Presidential Candidate

I think the CIO national leaders are using very shady means to sell the Democrat ticket of Stevenson and Sparkman to their members and American labor generally. I was astounded when I read the Aug. 18 CIO News to find a crude fraud attempted in the special section that presented a selected voting record of all members of the Senate and House.

Best Week Yet Recorded for Election Fund

By Reba Aubrey Fund Campaign Manager

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party sent in \$1,653 this week on their pledges to help finance the Presidential Election and carry on the challenge to the constitutionality of the reactionary Taft-Hartley Act in Michigan. This amount, the biggest weekly since the campaign was launched, boosts the national total paid through Aug. 25 to \$12,098, and puts the campaign pretty much on schedule with 71%. Another week like this and that 6% gap will be closed.

Allentown stepped forward to share over-the-top honors with Connecticut. In addition to these two branches, nine others are ahead of schedule: Cleveland, Philadelphia, Akron, St. Louis, Boston, Chicago, Minneapolis-St. Paul, New York and Buffalo.

Campaigning for Socialism

By George Clarke SWP Campaign Manager

Formally speaking, our 1952 presidential campaign will be kicked off this week by our two valiant candidates. Farrell Dobbs begins his coast-to-coast tour on September 3 in Cleveland. And Myra Tanner Weiss begins her trek for socialism and labor on the west coast in Portland, Oregon.

Dobbs will spend all of September coming east from Cleveland covering important cities in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New York. He will begin his October schedule in Los Angeles working his way up the coast and then east to Minnesota's twin cities, to Milwaukee, Chicago and St. Louis and winding up in the week before election in Michigan.

Myra's schedule, just as busy, is a little less complicated to read as she will come directly east from Seattle speaking in key cities in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. She will wind up her tour back in California.

That's a mite of speaking, as your campaign manager knows from personal experience. It includes not only addresses at SWP public meetings — which we hope you'll all come to — but press and radio interviews, speeches at symposiums, universities, at factory gates and outdoors in workers' neighborhoods. But don't worry. They've got the stamina — because they have the conviction that comes from being right in the biggest fight in the world today — the fight to change it.

RESPONSE TO RADIO BROADCASTS I said the campaign "formally speaking" started this week because we really began with the nation-wide television and radio broadcasts of the candidates during and after our convention in mid-July. They were the biggest blow in favor of the socialist cause and in the struggle against the imperialist war and the

Beinin Files For Congress In Chicago

11,000 Signatures For SWP Candidate

By Frank Roberts

CHICAGO, ILL., Aug. 24 — Irving Beinin, State Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, filed more than 11,000 signatures for Congress in the 2nd Congressional District last week. Although technically an independent, Beinin will campaign on the full program advocated by the S.W.P. Presidential candidates, Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss.

In the opening speech of his campaign at the S.W.P. annual picnic, Beinin gave full support to the striking farm equipment workers and to the demands of the packinghouse workers whose unions are in negotiations with the meat trust.

He pointed out that workers would be in a far stronger position on the picket line and in the negotiations with the bosses if they had their own party dedicated to the interests of the working people instead of the bosses.

Beinin spoke out sharply against the coming visit of the House Un-American Committee and pledged full support of the S.W.P. to any victim of this union-busting committee.

His opponents in this election will be Republican Congressman Vail, head of the anti-union Illinois Manufacturers Association and leading red-baiter in this area. The Democrats are running B. O'Hara, a Truman "liberal."

Because of restrictive election laws, the SWP will not be on the Presidential ballot in Illinois, but in the Congressional campaign, Beinin will push for withdrawal of American troops from Korea, and for a strong FEPC law. He will speak out, in Stevenson's home state, against the Democratic Party's bloc with the white supremacist South against the Negro people. Challenging Vail and O'Hara, Beinin offers the workers of the 2nd congressional district and the whole city the opportunity to hear and support an anti-war Socialist candidate.

Irving Beinin is a sheet-metal worker by trade who has been an active union fighter for many years. In 1951 he was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Alderman of the 5th Ward.



IRVING BEININ

Eisenhower Hurls New Threat of World War

Running on Truman's Record



SHAKY FUTURE OF 2-PARTY SYSTEM FORESHADOWED BY McCORMICK BOLT

By George Clarke

In appearance the major-party 1952 campaign is the dearest, dullest, most mediocre contest for the Presidency since the days of Harding and Coolidge. Its dominant note is not bitter conflict, but bipartisan agreement between the major parties on all important issues. We can thank the Democratic and Republican candidates for openly revealing the fundamental unity that exists in fact between the capitalist parties.

Eisenhower nods his "me too" assent for the retention — at least for the time being — of the Democratic status quo. His only amendment — obviously! — is to change the managers of things — as they are. Stevenson "me too's" Eisenhower's "crusade" to clean up the "mess" in Washington, but he wants the new "faces" to be Democrats — naturally! — instead of Republicans.

SAME POSITIONS The candidates may be more amicable, gentlemanly types than those who have sought the

presidency in the last two decades. But their affable conduct is due less to their personalities than to their identity of position on the plans and preparations for U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary war: This is the overriding issue before America today, dominating domestic politics and determining its direction. If everyone agrees that war is America's big enterprise, what need is there to bother about Negro rights, Taft-Hartley, taxes and the high cost of living?

But everyone does not agree — contrary to appearances and to the performance of the old parties' presidential candidates. Both propose a boycott — although Powell only tentatively. But both are convinced that the present alignment cannot last and are seeking an alternative for the future.

Colonel McCormick cannot be brushed aside as a midwest isolationist "screwball" who has spent most of his life fighting King George and the Redcoats. (Continued on page 4)

fiction and lies of the present two-party system.

McCORMICK'S BREAK

Colonel McCormick's dramatic break with the Republican Party foreshadows this eventuality from the right, as Congressman Powell's bitter denunciation of the Democratic Party for "betrayal" does from the left. The similarity of approach between representatives of the two most divergent and mutually antagonistic interests on the American scene is of more than passing interest. Neither McCormick nor Powell has an alternative to the old parties' presidential candidates. Both propose a boycott — although Powell only tentatively. But both are convinced that the present alignment cannot last and are seeking an alternative for the future.

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Gov. Stevenson Echoes Provocative Policy of Gun-Waving General

By Farrell Dobbs SWP Presidential Candidate

I have repeatedly warned, since I was chosen to head the Presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party, that the election of either a Republican or Democrat in November will lead to atomic war.

Now the bristling imperialistic speech made by Eisenhower at the American Legion convention Aug. 25 and the "me-too" speech made by Stevenson to the same audience Aug. 27, has posed the issue of war or peace squarely before the American people.

Eisenhower chose the gathering of jingoistic Legionnaires at which to declare his belligerent policy of "pushing back Communist influence" to the borders of the Soviet Union.

Basically, this is not a new policy. It was implicit in the Truman Doctrine of "containment." What is new is the open declaration of aggressive aims against established governments. Eisenhower listed all of Eastern Europe, China, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Northern Korea, Northern Japan and the northern half of Indo-China as countries whose governments must be destroyed. It must be assumed that he would automatically add to the list any nation, such as Iran or Egypt, which refuses to follow U.S. dictates.

Raps War Parties



FARRELL DOBBS

What does such a policy mean? Above all it means repeating the intervention in Korea and its bloody consequences on a global scale. It means war with China, and ultimately war with the Soviet Union.

Such is the plan of the brass hat candidate Eisenhower. Does Stevenson differ with him? Stevenson did not mention Eisenhower's speech when he followed the Republican candidate on the rostrum of the Legion. He did not take issue with the aggressive policy advocated by the general. On the contrary, he echoed the

general program of military aggression and war against the anti-capitalist sector of the world, stating: "We must press forward to improve our position and not hesitate or waver." In the double talk of capitalist politics, this means step up the war preparations. Stevenson knew what Eisenhower's speech meant. He knew it was a "violent" warmongering speech. But Stevenson did not warn the people against the con- (Continued on page 4)

DOBBS NATIONAL TOUR TO BEGIN IN CLEVELAND

Farrell Dobbs, Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, begins his national campaign tour with a speech at the Cleveland SWP headquarters, 10609 Superior Ave., on Thursday, Sept. 4, 8:30 P.M.

The next leg of his tour will be Akron where he will address a meeting at the Portage Hotel, Main and Market Sts., Saturday, Sept. 6, at 8:30 P.M.

In Youngstown, Dobbs will speak Sunday, Sept. 7, 8:30 P.M., at 234 E. Federal St.

The following week-end the SWP candidate will be in Buffalo, where his meeting will be held in the Orchard Room of Hotel Lafayette Saturday, Sept. 13, 8 P.M.

A conference of Ohio branches of the SWP, held in Cleveland on Aug. 23, called for a write-in vote for Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP candidate for U.S. Vice President.

The conference vigorously protested the "virtual disfranchisement" of all voters opposed to the Democrats and Republicans because of state election law restrictions which bar minority

parties and independent candidates from the ballot in Ohio. The state SWP group voted to support legal action by the Socialist Labor Party and the American Civil Liberties Union to reverse the ruling of State Secretary Ted W. Brown against counting write-in votes. It also endorsed a suit by a Progressive Party member who is challenging the constitutionality of election law restrictions aimed at denying ballot rights to minority parties. New provisions went into effect Jan. 1, 1952, which raise the number of nominating petition signatures required from 1% of the last preceding gubernatorial vote to 7%.

TOUR SCHEDULE

Table with columns for date, city, and time. Includes dates from Sept. 3-4 to Sept. 12-17 and cities like Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Portland, Seattle, Chicago.

Myra T. Weiss Speaks in Seattle

Myra T. Weiss, SWP candidate for Vice President, starts her national campaign tour with a speech in Seattle, Sunday, Sept. 7, 8 P.M., at the Frye Hotel, Parlor A, Third Avenue S. and Yesler.

Pullman Porters Hit Both Parties

The Black Worker, official paper of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, is unique among most of the labor and liberal press: So far, at least, it has not tried to falsify, whitewash or cover up the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket.

The August issue of The Black Worker has a full two-page editorial on "The Negroes' Battle for Civil Rights in the U.S.A." which reflects the thinking of many politically-conscious workers and Negroes today. It begins by demonstrating the importance of civil rights, not as a political football, but as a test for democracy:

"Until civil rights becomes a reality to minorities and, especially, Negroes, the democracy of the United States is a limited democracy."

"FREEDOM MUST BE WON"

Then it warns that the only way to get civil rights is by fighting for it: "... unless Negroes wage an unceasing and uncompromising fight for civil rights, they will

never get them from the United States federal government.

"It is well nigh an historical maxim that freedom is never given by any government to any group or class, voluntarily. Freedom must be won from governments, even though they be labelled democratic."

Then comes an indictment of Sparkman that few labor and liberal papers would print today (although most of them would have before he was nominated at the Democratic convention):

CONDEMN SPARKMAN

"In the light of the foregoing principles, it would be a bad blunder and moral retreat, were Negroes to stand by with arms folded and let the nomination of John J. Sparkman, Senator from Alabama and consistent foe of civil rights, for Vice-President, go without protest, even though they be without the power to change it..."

"While Senator Sparkman may be classified as a Southern liberal, he is not considered a liberal so far as Negroes are concerned if

he is not for civil rights. Nor should any aspirant for public office in the U.S.A. today be recognized a liberal unless he is unequivocally in favor of civil rights.

"It is a matter of common fact that any person in public life who is against civil rights is also against democracy..."

"Were Negroes to fail to challenge, expose and condemn the anti-civil rights record of Senator Sparkman, they would be traitors to themselves and democracy."

While not placing Stevenson in quite the same category as Sparkman (although Stevenson picked Sparkman as his running mate), the editorial continues:

"But, while Sparkman is definitely unacceptable to Negroes as Vice-President... we are far from considering Governor Stevenson as an ideal candidate for the Presidency."

"Either Governor Stevenson seeks to appease the South or he is ignorant of the facts of the action of Southern states on all issues of civil rights." (A little

later the editorial seems to rule out the second possibility when it says: "We are sure Governor Stevenson is aware of these facts of political history.")

Hitting at Stevenson's declarations in favor of "state's rights" on civil rights and his refusal to condemn the filibuster, the editorial says:

"We consider Governor Stevenson's position on civil rights weak and indefensible..."

Briefly, it rejects the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket as "definitely impossible," and then takes up the question of the party platforms, on which most of the labor and liberal press is placing so much stress.

PLATFORMS DECEIVE

"Party platforms have been consistently used for political propaganda to deceive the people," it warns. Dismissing the Republican platform as an attempt to woo the Dixiecrats, it turns to the Democratic platform:

"While the plank on civil rights (Continued on page 3)

Our Tasks in the American Labor Movement

Trade Union Report At SWP Convention

The following is a condensation of the trade union report delivered at the 15th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, July 17-20, 1952, by Bert Cochran, Chairman of the Trade Union Committee:

Since the formation of our party in 1938, and even before, with the founding of the Workers Party in 1935, our aim in the trade unions was to help organize a left wing based on a radical program of transitional demands. We had in mind, to duplicate, in the changed circumstances of the period, the achievement of the early Communist Party, when under the leadership of Foster and others, the Trade Union Educational League was formed and played a considerable role in the labor movement of the early Nineteen Twenties.

Our Tactical Course

In the pre-war period, the CIO leadership was shared by the Stalinists on one hand, and the newly arisen and rapidly congealing American labor bureaucracy, on the other. They were in alliance against the ranks, and both bound by a common platform of Rooseveltianism and People's Frontism. Our objectives were too weak and scattered to make possible the formation of a going third power, or grouping; or for that matter, to even pursue a uniform, straight-line tactical course. Occasionally, we would bloc with the Stalinists for given ends. Occasionally, we would try to form, or at least we would advocate the formation of, a third group. But in the main, we tended to bloc with the so-called progressive bureaucracy against the Stalinist sector.

The New Situation

Our party leadership had quite a debate over the exact meaning of this new set of circumstances in the American labor scene, arising directly out of our attitude towards the Reuther machine, which in the summer of 1947 began fighting for monopolistic control of the Auto union.

suffered shattering defeats, and were disintegrating. There was no immediate possibility for the formation of new sizable oppositions, and America generally, and the unions particularly, were haunted by the spirit of fear, the witch hunt and political reaction. The tempo of development in the decade or better between our adoption of the Transitional Program and the present has proven far slower than we had anticipated and counted upon.

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The war period was one in which our work in the labor movement prospered exceedingly. Our tactical approach of caution notwithstanding, we were winning new members, we were gaining a broader sympathy for our agitation and slogans, we were dealing blows to the Stalinists, who were then in their jingo period; and we were making strong headway, especially in the Auto union, in regrouping the progressives in a third group, under the slogan of "Breaking the No-Strike Pledge."

The fact is that outside of our continuing leadership of the Truckdrivers movement in the Northwest, the results were minor and our influence feeble. The Stalinists emerged as a veritable power in the new CIO movement, and effectively blocked off any possibility of our small and unknown party gaining many adherents, or broad influence.

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In Retrospect

It is interesting to consider whether in the light of the past ten-fifteen year development, we were prudent and wise in making such an effort — and such an energetic effort, at times — to help in the organization of a left wing in the unions, and to execute various maneuvers and form complicated blocs, in a movement where the programmatic basis was often unclear, and almost invariably not too satisfactory.

It is really impossible to understand, to comprehend our trade union work, except when taken in the context of our general party activity and perspective. We have to project ourselves back, for a moment, to 1938, when a new social crisis was brewing in the country, when millions were again unemployed, and when it was becoming clear to very many that six years of the New Deal's pump-priming had not solved the crisis of American capitalism.

Strikers Close Goodrich

AKRON, Aug. 22 — After nine weeks of futile negotiations for a contract, CIO Rubber Workers Local No. 5, Akron, and six other Goodrich locals throughout the nation struck last Sunday at midnight in defense of elementary union security.

Carrying the ball for the Big Four rubber monopolists, the Goodrich corporation had demanded that a new clause be inserted in the contract making the union liable for wildcat strikes. Echoing the sentiment of all the men and women in the plants, Kenneth Oldman, President of Local 5, stated at the last local meeting: "We can't live with this proposed clause."

The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore

By GEORGE BREITMAN
10¢
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3
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Propaganda Tasks

There is more to this question of propaganda than some may imagine. For a whole period to come, we have to work in a limited milieu, we have to direct our efforts and literature toward those people who are most interested in our ideas, and who will give us a hearing. We cannot just shout promiscuously at the general mass, for that would be like hurling seeds into a storm, hoping that by good fortune a few would find their way into productive soil.

Marxism -- a Guide to Action

But now the American labor movement is a very well organized one; from a mechanical point of view, possibly the best organized labor movement in the world. It would be sheer adventurism to project a perspective of influencing this broad labor movement except on the basis of winning support of considerable numbers for our ideas.

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Groundwork for Great Deeds

In the present period our trade union forces are often augmented by mere mechanical effort. But to really maintain and integrate trade union groups in these difficult days, the mechanical aspect is the least of the problem. The party must believe in it. Young people, to sacrifice, to stay in plants year after year, braving the speedup and the isolation, have to be inspired with the conviction that their sacrifice is not in vain, that it is appreciated by the party, that what they are doing is important, that they are laying the groundwork for great deeds and achievements at a later stage.

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Branch	Pledge	Paid	Percent
Connecticut	\$ 125	\$ 137	110
Allentown	40	43	108
Cleveland	300	264	88
Philadelphia	350	298	85
Akron	150	120	80
St. Louis	50	40	80
Boston	500	397	79
Chicago	1,500	1,189	79
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,500	1,144	76
New York	4,500	3,323	74
Buffalo	1,500	1,081	72
San Francisco	900	626	69
Detroit	2,113	1,194	57
Seattle	400	216	54
Newark	1,000	528	53
Milwaukee	325	130	40
Flint	300	118	39
Pittsburgh	40	15	38
Youngstown	400	150	38
Los Angeles	2,200	800	36
Oakland	300	92	31
General	150	293	196
Total through Aug. 25	\$18,600	\$12,098	65

GOOD WEEK RAISES SWP ELECTION FUND TO 65%

(Continued from page 1)

writes Kay Kean, "to collect a few dollars from friends and go over our pledge slightly." Boston chalked up an 8-point gain with \$41; Chicago a 9-point gain with \$139, New York 12 points with \$534; Minneapolis-St. Paul 7 points with \$108. Even though the closing date of the campaign has been moved up to Sept. 30, some of the branches hope to complete their pledges by the end of Aug. Richard Boerner, for instance, sent this note with \$152 for San Francisco: "We have very high hopes of fulfilling our pledge by the end of the current month."

Frank Powers writes for Seattle: "Enclosed is another \$40. This puts us over the halfway mark and the rest of the money will be coming in by Aug.

28. So we're sure to meet it in full." Other branches, slow in getting started because of strike unemployment, now feel certain of making their pledge in full by the new Sept. 30 deadline. G. Holly mailed in \$50 for Milwaukee, stating: "We intend to complete our pledge by the new end-of-September deadline." The Youngstown comrades sent this assurance with \$50: "With the extension we should now be able to meet our quota IN FULL AND ON TIME." Los Angeles made a 13% gain with \$300 and Oakland sent \$10 with this promise: "There will be a large sum from us next week." Our appreciation goes to W.C.C. of Stratford, Canada, who contributed \$5 to help in "the election campaign."

THE MILITANT ARMY

Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman writes to congratulate the Militant staff on recent issues of the paper and to report a very good sale of the Aug. 11 issue. "Everyone is eager to buy The Militant these days!" she writes. "The front page is so attractive and so lively with current 'election news' that the paper sells itself like never before. Our comrades here made a special request that the Militant staff be commended for the fine appearance and contents of the paper."

"Harry, Pauline, Donald, Dave, Helen, Larry, and Ralph sold 68 copies of the August 11 Militant and 20 copies of the Harry T. Moore pamphlet in the Negro neighborhood last week. We found the Negro people well informed on politics. At least they know the Democrat and Republican parties are no good and they expressed a great deal of interest in The Militant and in the Socialist Workers Party. Now is really the time to get out with our literature."

New York Literature Agent Ethel Swanson also reports a good response to the Aug. 11 Militant. "We had a good sale of the Militant containing Dobbs' Open Letter to Congressman Powell on 125th Street in Harlem Saturday afternoon. For some reason the street was not as crowded as it usually is, but our small crew (New York has been getting our party on the ballot), Lenny, Earl, Johnny, and I sold 36 papers and two copies of the Moore pamphlet in an hour. Just about everyone we talked to said they'd like to see Congressman Powell speak out for a new party. "In our week-to-week work special credit goes to Comrade Joyce of the Downtown branch, one of our most consistent and enthusiastic Militant salesmen. She has her own Militant route in an Eastside housing project which she began before our sub campaign and has been continuing since. She sells from six to 18 single copies a week plus a couple of trial subscriptions. As a result of her weekly visits Joyce has been able to add some regular subscribers to our list. I think this is a wonderful way to spread our ideas and help build the party!"

Detroit is continuing the renewal campaign begun several weeks ago with a first return of 21 subs. Literature Agent Janet McGregor writes, "All of our names have been given out now, and most of the workers who were laid off are getting calls back to work. So within a few weeks we should see some results." Three letters recently from Kay Kean report the good results of a week's activity selling The Militant in Akron. In the first she writes, "Enclosed is a subscription obtained from a person who wrote in after one of our recent TV broadcasts. Sally and I spent last evening introducing the SWP program to this rubber worker and listening to his firsthand tales of Jim Crow terror in Georgia." The next day: "I obtained the enclosed renewal today during my sale of 15 copies of the Militant with the Powell headline. This subscriber is an old time unionist from the mines whose sub I originally obtained during the summer campaign of 1951, and who has renewed since. He plans to come to our public meeting with Farrell Dobbs speaking." And a few days later: "In preparation for the Dobbs public meeting I carried out another sale of 12 Militants and met a young couple who are definitely interested in attending the meeting. Their views on Korea as a useless war coincided with that of our candidate. I'm including Militant sales as part of the preparatory publicity for our meeting. New interested readers of the paper will be glad to follow up their first reading by attending a talk by our presidential and vice-presidential candidates."

"WELFARE STATE" OR SOCIALISM
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