



**FARRELL DOBBS**  
For President

**Radio Speeches**  
by the  
**SOCIALIST**  
**WORKERS**  
**PARTY**

**Candidates in the**  
**1948 Election**

# The VOICE of SOCIALISM



**GRACE CARLSON**  
For Vice-President

**10¢**

**PIONEER**  
**PUBLISHERS**

Published for the  
**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY**

by

**PIONEER**



**PUBLISHERS**

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

August 1948

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# Military Dictatorship or A Socialist America

**BY FARRELL DOBBS**

Speech of the Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, broadcast over a nation-wide network by the National Broadcasting System on May 15, 1948.

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

*By James P. Cannon*

The Socialist Workers Party launches today its first presidential campaign, and presents its candidate, Farrell Dobbs.

The Socialist Workers Party is the sole representative in this country of the authentic socialism of Marx and Engels, of Debs and Haywood, of Lenin and Trotsky.

We are called "Trotskyists"—and we are proud to bear that name.

For Trotsky—side by side with Lenin—was the leader and organizer of the Russian revolution—the greatest and most progressive social action in all history.

Even more than that, Trotsky defended the Russian revolution—and the principles of world labor emancipation which it embodied—against the Stalinist betrayers up to the very moment of his death, at the hands of a Stalinist assassin, in Mexico City eight years ago.

"Trotskyism" is a world-wide movement which unites revolutionary militants of all countries and nationalities, of all races and colors, in a common world organization, founded by Trotsky and known as the Fourth International.

The Fourth International has just successfully concluded its World Congress in Europe, with delegates in attendance from 19 countries and four continents. Though prevented by the reactionary Voorhis Act from affiliation, the Socialist Workers Party is in full sympathy with the world struggle of the Fourth International for the emancipation of the workers and colonial peoples from capitalist exploitation and oppression.

From this national radio forum I salute the World Congress of the Fourth International in the name of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States.

Farrell Dobbs, the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, has spent most of his active life in the socialist and labor movement. He was one of the leaders of the great Minneapolis truckdrivers' strikes.

For years he served as secretary-treasurer of the famous Local 544 of that city. As international representative of the Teamsters Union, he was the chief organizer of more than 200,000 motor transport workers in eleven states.

Farrell Dobbs was one of the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544 who served prison sentences in 1944 and 1945 for their defense of democratic unionism and opposition to the war. For a number of years he has been the editor of *The Militant*, the weekly Trotskyist newspaper.

It is my great privilege to introduce to you this evening the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for President of the United States, Farrell Dobbs.

## **SPEECH BY FARRELL DOBBS**

Less than three years after the termination of the Second World War we are threatened with the imminent outbreak of another war. Within the lifetime of one generation, we have gone through a vicious cycle of war; then depression; then another war; then the present inflation; and the frenzied preparation for a Third World War. This is the cycle of capitalism — war, depression, inflation, and again war.

The capitalist masters of America and their political tools at Washington are deliberately preparing to drag the American people into another war. Capitalist production for profits cannot be reconciled with peace and prosperity for the people.

Hardly two years after the converting of industry to peacetime production, the home market is already saturated. The workers can buy back only a small portion of what they produce, and the ruinous inflation, combined with a refusal to grant even a cost-of-living wage increase, only aggravates the contradiction. The countries of Europe and Asia, ruined by the war, are unable to buy the surplus American goods. The ruling capitalists see no way of postponing the threatened depression, which will be far deeper and more devastating than that of the Thirties, except by shifting to an armaments economy in preparation for an actual war. In their minds, peace is identified with the demands of organized workers for a larger share of the products of their toil, for a greater degree of security. Peace is identified in the minds of the profit-mongers with the nation-wide strikes of the miners, railroad, packinghouse, auto

and steel workers. They want to make an end of that. They want to break up the unions and free themselves from the necessity of dealing with organized workers.

The war which they are plotting and preparing is directed against the American people as well as against the rank and file of humanity throughout the world.

The drive against the unions was spearheaded by the passage of the anti-union Taft-Hartley Law whose provisions are now being used to smash strikes with injunctions and police terror. The steel trust, giving the lead to the major corporations, has refused to disgorge a single penny of its fabulous profits for wage increases to meet the increased cost of living of workers in the mills.

The Chrysler Corporation, wallowing in excess profits, has forced its workers to strike for modest cost-of-living increases.

The packinghouse workers have been battling injunctions and police terror on the picket lines for more than two months.

With all my heart I greet the heroic auto and packinghouse strikers who are fighting the battle of all workers today.

The preparations for war coincide with preparations for military dictatorship at home. The major posts in the cabinet and the chief positions in important government agencies are occupied by the brass hats of the army and the navy or the overlords of industry and finance.

Under the direction and inspiration of this notorious Wall Street-Brass Hat combination, democratic rights and civil liberties are under constant attack. A bill to militarize the youth is being rushed toward passage. Government employes are subjected to Gestapo-like inquisitions. Congress itself is the scene of wild orgies of officially organized witch-hunting.

Foreign-born trade union leaders are picked up every day and held for deportation. The notorious Mundt Bill, now in preparation, would make all opposition to the military dictatorship a crime punishable by long prison sentences, by deportation and concentration camps.

The monopolists are determined to take all the colossal costs of the war out of the hides of the American workers.

*Business Week*, an authoritative Wall Street magazine, brutally admits to this purpose in its issue of April 24. I quote: "Living standards would have to go down — not up . . . we couldn't fight another war without dictating to everyone where to work, what to do and what to get paid for it. . . All the candy has been passed out now. This time there would be nothing left but the whip."

So speaks *Business Week*, an authentic voice of the monopoly capitalists, the chief enemies of the American people.

This is the outspoken program of military dictatorship — the iron heel of the capitalist oligarchy stamping out the lives, the hopes and the liberties of the masses of American people.

The military dictatorship is the inexorable product of a system which is driven inevitably, by the iron laws of its own contradictions and of its insoluble crisis, from one global war to another. The conclusion follows with the same logic:

There can be no effective struggle to defend the unions, to protect and improve the living standards of the workers, to safeguard and extend the rights and liberties of the American people, unless it is directed against the capitalist oligarchy and its agents in the bi-partisan coalition which rules in Washington.

There can be no effective struggle against war unless it is directed toward the elimination of the war-breeding capitalist system; toward destroying the power of life and death over the entire human race now possessed by a handful of madmen.

There can be no effective struggle against the twin monsters of war and military dictatorship unless it is directed toward the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government, which will organize this country and the world for a society based on human needs, without profits, classes or exploitation.

Only one party stands on the basis of such a program in the United States today. That is the Socialist Workers Party whose banner I shall be proud to carry in the coming presidential election campaign.

The party of Henry Wallace, despite its loud agitation for peace, disarmament and against internal repression, is not a genuine anti-war party, because it is not an anti-capitalist party.

A movement for peace pledged to disband at the outbreak of war is nothing but a mass swindle of the millions of people who have placed their confidence in this movement. The Communist Party, by supporting this Wallace swindle, is once again selling out the American workers to serve the momentary diplomatic interests of Stalin and his Kremlin gang.

There is another so-called peace party, not as large as the Wallace Party but just as loud in its anti-war pretensions. I am referring to the party of Norman Thomas. This party bears the name of the organization which once claimed Eugene V. Debs as its leader. But this is a cruel deception. Debs fought against the First World War before official entry of the United States. He went to jail for continuing this struggle after the declaration of war by Congress. Norman Thomas and his

cohorts betrayed the memory of Debs by jumping on the war bandwagon the day after the United States entered the war.

The struggle for socialism does not cease in time of war. On the contrary, those who quit the struggle when war breaks out cease to be socialists.

The Socialist Workers Party took its position in the Second World War in the tradition of Debs. It continued its struggle against war and capitalism, even though eighteen of its leaders suffered imprisonment for their fidelity to the working class and to the cause of socialism.

The Socialist Workers Party continues the same uncompromising struggle today on the brink of World War III.

*Workingmen and Workingwomen!* In your great numbers, and in your mass organizations, rests the power to stop this fatal plunge into war and dictatorship. You have the power to change everything.

*Organize this invincible power!*

*Unite with the Socialist Workers Party!*

Bind your ranks together with a socialist program, and begin the march to a world where we and our children can live in peace as free human beings without poverty and without fear!

# The Two Americas

**BY JAMES P. CANNON**

**Keynote speech of the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, delivered to the party's Thirteenth National Convention on July 1, 1948 and broadcast at that time over a nation-wide network by the American Broadcasting System.**

*Comrade Chairman, Delegates and Friends:*

We meet in National Convention at a time of the gravest world crisis—a crisis which contains the direct threat of a third and more terrible world war. The basic causes of this world crisis are no mystery.

The first cause is the breakdown of capitalism throughout Europe—and Asia—and the colonial lands.

The working people want peace and bread, which capitalism cannot give.

The colonial slaves don't want to be slaves any more—and capitalism cannot live without colonial slaves.

The working people, the poor peasants and the colonial slaves are in revolt against the continued rule of bankers and landlords.

On the other hand, American capitalism—the last solvent stronghold of an outlived and doomed world system—is trying to prop up the hated regimes of capitalists and kings and landlords by economic pressure and military force.

These are the two main elements of the present world crisis.

The Wall Street money-sharks, and the brass hats of Prussian mentality, are riding high in Washington these days.

The masters of America, drunk with power, are threatening and terrifying the people of the world—seeking to dominate and enslave them—striving to transform the other countries of the world into colonies of the American empire.

Their program is a program of madness, and is doomed to failure.

The great majority of the peoples of the world do not want to be slaves of America.

That is to their credit and we applaud them for it.

The attempt to enslave them would be profitable only for the small group of monopolists—and the military caste, who dream of careers as colonial administrators of conquered peoples.

But the criminal adventure would encounter such ferocious resistance that the American people at home would have to pay an enormous cost in living standards ruined, by inflation, in the stamping out of democracy by military rule. And America's young sons would have to pay in misery, blood and death.

The American people would be among the first victims of the insane campaign of American imperialism to conquer and enslave the world.

To avoid this calamity it is necessary now to show the people of the world the other America.

For there are two Americas—and millions of the people already distinguish between them.

One is the America of the imperialists—of the little clique of capitalists, landlords, and militarists who are threatening and terrifying the world.

This is the America the people of the world hate and fear.

There is the other America—the America of the workers and farmers and the "little people."

They constitute the great majority of the people.

They do the work of the country.

They revere its old democratic traditions—its old record of friendship for the people of other lands, in their struggles against Kings and Despots—its generous asylum once freely granted to the oppressed.



This is the America which must and will solve the world crisis—by taking power out of the hands of the little clique of exploiters and parasites, and establishing a government of workers and farmers.

The Workers and Farmers Government will immediately proceed to change things *fundamentally*—

Throw out the profit and rent hogs, and increase the living standards of the people who do the useful work.

Assure freedom and democratic rights to all, not forgetting those who are denied any semblance of them now.

Call back the truculent admirals from the seven seas—and ground the airplanes with their dangling bombs.

Hold out the hand of friendship and comradesly help to the oppressed and hungry people in the world.

These people don't want to fight anybody.

They only want to live.

There are two billion people in the world—and more than half of them don't get enough to eat.

These people should be helped—not threatened, not driven back into slavery, under the social system that has kept half of them hungry all their lives.

It is well to recall now that America was born of revolution in 1776, and secured its unity as a nation through another revolution—the Civil War—which smashed the abomination of chattel slavery in the process.

Our great, rich, wonderful country was once the light and the hope of the world.

But our America has fallen into the hands of a small, selfish group, who are trying to dominate the world—and to set up a police state at home.

These Wall Street money-sharks are just as foreign to the real America as were the despots who ruled the land before the revolution of 1776.

They are just as foreign as were the traffickers in human flesh and blood—the slave owners—whose power was broken by the Civil War—the blessed second American Revolution.

These imperialist rulers of America are the worst enemies of the American people.

American democracy, under their rule, is slipping away. The fear that oppressed Mark Twain, the fear that America would lose its democracy, is steadily becoming a reality.

The Taft-Hartley Law is but the most recent instance of this ominous trend.

The divine right of kings has reappeared in America—disguised as the divine right of judges to issue injunctions and levy fines against labor organizations.

Only three years have passed since the imperialists finished the last slaughter.

And now they are drafting the youth for another.

Militarism is becoming entrenched in America.

Militarism — so long synonymous with goose-stepping Prussianism—is now to be made synonymous with Americanism, if Big Business has its way.

A large section of the sturdy immigrants who helped to build this country came here to escape militarism. Now their grandsons face the same brutal regimentation here.

All this is part and parcel of the development of capitalism — the system which puts profits above all other considerations.

The capitalist system has long outlived its usefulness.

Capitalism offers no future to the people but depressions, imperialist wars, fascism, universal violence and a final plunge into barbarism.

To avoid such a fate, the workers of the United States must go into politics on their own account, independent of all capitalist politics. They must take power, establish a Workers and Farmers Government, and reorganize the economy of the country on a socialist basis.

Socialist economy in the United States, eliminating capitalist wars, profits and waste, will be so productive as to ensure a rich living for all who are willing and able to work, and provide security and ample means for the aged and infirm.

We should also help the hungry people of the world to improve their standard of life.

Socialist America will rapidly make that possible by helping them to secure their own freedom and develop their own economy.

Eventually, the economy of the entire world will be united and planned on a socialist basis.

This will bring universal peace—and undreamed of abundance for all people everywhere.

The real upward march of humanity will begin.

The American working class can open up the way to this new world.

They are the majority.

They have the power in America.

All that is necessary is for the working class to understand it—and to use it.

We firmly believe they will do so.

We firmly believe the real America—the America of the workers, the people—will help save the world by saving herself.

We, the American Trotskyists—we, the National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, summon our America to her great destiny—not as conqueror but as liberator of the world.

# Capital and Labor in 1948

**BY FARRELL DOBBS**

**Speech of the Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, broadcast over a nation-wide network by the American Broadcasting System on May 29, 1948.**

The unceasing war between labor and capital is the outstanding issue of this election campaign. This is well understood by the rich, and they determine their politics accordingly. It is not fully understood by the great mass of the working people. Yet this conflict of capital and labor has been greatly intensified during the past year.

The employing class, aided and abetted at every turn by the government at Washington, has been conducting a furious offensive against the workers. Their object is to beat down living standards, and make the workers pay for the Third World War. They aim to break up the trade unions and impose upon the people of this country a military and police dictatorship.

At the very start of our analysis we must begin with incontestable facts. The anti-labor offensive of the employers and the government has scored numerous successes during the past year or so. Due to the false policy of the union leadership the workers have suffered a number of serious defeats on the political as well as the economic field. The danger of still greater defeats and even catastrophies for the workers of America is inherent in the present drift of things.

Let us review in brief the price that the workers have already paid in the last year or so for tolerating the misleadership of the present labor officialdom and the false policy that is imposed upon the unions.

Labor's purchasing power has been driven down 15 percent since V-J Day. At the same time, corporation profits have soared to unprecedented billions of dollars.

Concessions to the unions are bitterly resisted. The steel trust rewarded the no-strike pledge of Philip Murray, president of the Steel Workers Union, with a cynical refusal to grant any cost-of-living wage increases whatever. Henry Ford II has even had the gall to demand that the Ford workers take a wage cut.

Today Congress works directly from the blueprint laid out by the National Association of Manufacturers. Price controls

were obediently smashed and taxes reduced for the rich when the NAM cracked the whip. With the corporation heads dictating policy, the Washington government enacted the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law, a dagger aimed at the very heart of the trade union movement.

The Taft-Hartley Act fosters company unions, legalizes scabbing, sanctions the firing of union members and restores government by injunction. It restricts freedom of speech and freedom of press, entangles the unions in a maze of red tape and proscribes political activity by the unions.

Under the Taft-Hartley Act, the National Labor Relations Board operates openly as an agent of the employers, as it did when it obtained injunctions against the Typographical Union.

The Democratic and Republican politicians in the state capitals have not lagged behind their Washington cousins. Widespread state legislation has been adopted restricting the right to strike and picket, undermining union security in collective bargaining agreements and interfering in the internal affairs of the unions. These repressive laws have been passed not only in agricultural states, but even in major industrial states like Michigan and Pennsylvania.

The Democrats are no less guilty than the Republicans for the bitter governmental attack on the unions. President Truman has dragged the coal miners into court three times in 18 months in strikebreaking assaults against them. Truman has twice used the army to break strikes of the railroad workers. The President has been eagerly assisted by Judge T. Alan Goldsborough. Judge Goldsborough — one man — proclaims, "*I am the law.*" This one man vetoes the will of 600,000 coal miners, tens of thousands of railroad workers, and ultimately, the will of 15 million organized workers.

The Republican Governors of Iowa and Minnesota called out the National Guard to break up picket lines of the packing-house workers, fighting in self-defense against the greedy meat trust. New York City's Democratic Mayor William O'Dwyer sent his cops into Wall Street to club the striking AFL financial employes away from the doors of the stock exchange.

Strikebreaking is the one field in which government monopoly is replacing "free enterprise." The bi-partisan coalition of Democratic and Republican politicians are in the strikebreaking business up to their necks.

What are the official labor leaders doing about it?

Instead of mobilizing the workers for defensive battle, they have retreated before the corporations and the government. They have tried to buy friendliness in the circles of wealth and state power by so-called "labor statesmanship."

CIO and AFL officials alike eagerly support the Marshall Plan. Both unions have sent representatives abroad to sell the program of Wall Street imperialism. They have stood as apologists for the bloodthirsty monarchist government in Greece — a government which decreed the death penalty for strikers.

Two weeks ago, Philip Murray rammed through the convention of the CIO Steel Workers Union a resolution empowering Murray to decide union policy on peacetime military conscription. This undemocratic procedure is nothing but preparation to capitulate to brass-hat demands for the prussianization of American youth.

When the union rank and file tried to mobilize last year to block passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, the "labor statesmen" sabotaged the struggle. Then they capitulated to the Slave Labor Law by rushing to sign the "yellow dog" affidavits.

The top union officials, servile and cowardly before the enemies of labor, are very tough against the militant union members who want to fight back against the union-busters. Government-inspired red-baiting is today running wild in the unions, led and encouraged by the top officials. Democracy in the unions is under attack because the leaders are acting against the interests of the rank and file. They dare not permit freedom of discussion and criticism.

## **Packinghouse Defeat a Warning**

The defeat of the packinghouse workers' strike is an ominous warning that the union officialdom is following a fatal course. It is a crime against all organized labor that the packinghouse workers were left isolated and unaided, while the meat trust starved them out, and the courts, police and National Guard broke up their picket lines.

This grim lesson has not caused the union officials to change their course. On the contrary, they cling tighter than ever to the skirts of the capitalist politicians. They strive desperately to breathe new life into the Democratic Party, while they cynically tell workers who want to build an independent labor party, "Now is not the time."

Thanks to the spineless union officials, the night-riders of reaction seem to have everything their own way. But the rank and file of the unions have not yet said their last word. They want to fight and they know how to fight. That was firmly proven after V-J Day when the great troop demonstrations from Berlin to Tokio forced the brass hats to bring the veterans home; when four million embattled workers forced the monopoly corporations to grant wage increases; when veterans, industrial workers, white-collar workers and the middle classes united solidly

and victoriously against their common enemy, America's Sixty Richest Families.

The basic reason for the present frustration of the workers in their efforts to smash the anti-labor offensive can be stated simply and correctly as follows:

The exploiters of labor are conscious of their class interest. They are united in the fight against the workers. And they have the governmental power on their side. The basic weakness of the workers in the capital-labor war as it stands today is to be found in the union leadership and their false policy. Instead of recognizing that the conflict between labor and capital is irreconcilable, the labor leaders preach the ridiculous idea of the brotherhood of labor and capital and the identity of their interests — a formula which causes the most raucous laughter in the councils of the rich. Instead of recognizing that the workers can never get a fair deal from government until they set up a government of their own, the labor leaders restrain and sabotage every movement of the rank and file to set up their own political party, which would aim at the formation of a workers government. They support the imperialistic government of the capitalists in its monstrous program to enslave the whole world. They act in effect as agents of the capitalist ruling class in the ranks of the workers.

The retreat of the labor movement must be halted. The rank and file of the workers must recognize the reality of the war of capital and labor and create within the labor movement a new policy and a new leadership corresponding to this reality.

Twelve years ago, when the workers in basic industry were beginning to organize their industrial unions, they soon found that the old AFL leaders were not an aid, but an obstacle to the campaign. It was necessary to thrust aside the old leaders and raise up new, young leaders from the ranks.

Today organized labor is compelled to take the road of independent political action. Capitalism must be fought and defeated on the political as well as the economic field. For that task, leaders of broad vision are needed; leaders like Eugene V. Debs, Big Bill Haywood and Albert Parsons; leaders who can tell one class from another in present class society.

*Workers of America!* Close your ranks against the union busters! Defend democracy in your unions! Seek out the able young men and women in your ranks who can lead you with a correct program. Combine your economic struggles on the picket line with independent labor political action.

Unite with the Socialist Workers Party to rid America of the plague of capitalism with its wars and depressions! Build a socialist party of peace, freedom and plenty!

# Why American Workers Need a Labor Party

**BY FARRELL DOBBS**

Speech of the Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, broadcast over a nation-wide network by the Columbia Broadcasting System on July 6, 1948.

*Working People of America:*

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Labor Party Would Get Response**

Never were conditions more favorable for the launching of a national Labor Party. This party would command immediate response from 15 million unionists and their families, who represent the mightiest organized force in this country. It would arouse the hopes of unorganized workers, who stand to

gain from *every* advance by the unions. The Labor Party could count on firm support from the Negro people, who already regard the CIO as their main ally in the fight against discrimination. The nation's youth, who are being groomed for another imperialist slaughter, and the working farmers, disillusioned with the capitalist parties, would rally to the Labor Party.

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

## **Will Act for the People**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As Secretary of Commerce, he gave silent consent to



Truman's strike-breaking actions against the miners and railroad workers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Need Party They Can Trust**

This third party bossed by millionaire Wallace, who declares that he is "the best friend capitalism has in the United States today," is surely not the kind of party American labor wants. The workers need a party of their own, a party they can trust to protect their welfare without compromise or betrayal.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Workers and Farmers Government**

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

The Marshall Plan and the Taft-Hartley Act are but two sides of the same capitalist coin. The Marshall Plan is intended to finance police regimes for the suppression of labor abroad, just as the Taft-Hartley Act is used to break strikes here.

So long as capitalism endures, hunger, police violence and war will ravage the world,

To guarantee enduring peace and clear the road for a new era of progress, we summon every working man and woman to support the program of the Socialist Workers Party. It is a program of struggle for a Workers and Farmers Government. It is a program to end the oppressive system of capitalist misrule.

The Workers and Farmers Government will abolish the ruinous power of the greedy profiteers over the lives and welfare of the American people. It alone will reorganize industry and agriculture into a planned economy which will guarantee abundance, freedom and security to all.

War and poverty, fear and race-hatred, will then disappear and, like cannibalism and slavery, become relics of a barbarous past.

*Working men and women of America!*

The fate of civilization depends on the working class! Take the road of independent political action to establish a Workers and Farmers Government!

You can set out on that road in the 1948 elections by casting your vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

Join with the Socialist Workers Party in its unceasing struggle to build a socialist society in which life on this earth will be a thing of beauty and a thing of joy.

# The Struggle for Civil Rights

BY GRACE CARLSON

Acceptance speech of the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President, delivered to the party's Thirteenth National Convention on July 3, 1948 and broadcast at that time over a nation-wide network by the American Broadcasting Company.

## *Biographical Note:*

With a brilliant educational background including B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. degrees, Grace Carlson lectured for two years at the University of Minnesota and for five years held the post of Vocational Rehabilitation Counselor of the State Department of Education. But she was not satisfied. Burning with a hatred of injustice and poverty, war and class tyranny, she abandoned her successful career to devote her energies to the trade union movement and the working-class struggle for socialism.

Grace was a charter member of the Minnesota State Employees Union Local 10; for four years delegate to the St. Paul Trades & Labor Assembly and member of its Education Committee for three years; twice a delegate to the Minnesota Federation of Labor conventions. She is a member of the National Committee of the Workers Defense League, and for ten years has been an active worker in the Minneapolis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Grace Carlson was one of the defendants in the famous Minneapolis Labor Trial which sent her, Farrell Dobbs and other SWP leaders to prison for their socialist and anti-war ideas.

Twice she has run as SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota, in 1940 and again in 1946. In 1942, when already sentenced to prison, she was the SWP candidate for Mayor of St. Paul, where she was born.

## *Delegates to the 13th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party—Working Men and Working Women of America:*

It is with deepest gratitude that I have accepted your nomination as candidate for 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, Congress and Supreme Court.

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 these 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 investments 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.

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 Labor 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 put Hitler in power because of the failure of the labor leaders and the **Stalinist party in Germany**.

Today the workers know that they are the ones especially aimed at. They were ready for **nation-wide resistance against** the Taft-Hartley Act. Their leaders sabotaged the fight. 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 the 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 which have defended the working class against its capitalist enemies.

This is the message of the Socialist Workers Party in this 1948 election 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 U. S.

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.

# The Only Road to Peace

**BY GRACE CARLSON**

**Acceptance speech by Grace Carlson after her nomination by the Socialist Workers Party as candidate for Vice-President, delivered to the party's Thirteenth National Convention on July 2, 1948 and broadcast at that time over a nation-wide network by the Mutual Broadcasting System.**

*Delegates to the 13th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party—Working Men and Women of America—Friends of Peace and Freedom everywhere:*

I accept, with grateful thanks, your nomination as candidate for Vice-President. In these dark days of imperialist reaction, when rumors of war fill every headline, a candidate of our party must be a real anti-war fighter—a crusader for peace.

I am keenly aware of the responsibility you have placed

upon me. I pledge myself to do all that I can to carry forward the struggle against the Third World War—the Atomic Horror, which our American masters are now preparing for us and all of the peoples of the world.

There is only one way to fight war—that is, to do away with the capitalist system, which breeds war, and replace it with an international socialist society. Socialism or Barbarism—that is the choice before us.

Other people have tried other ways to fight war. All of them have failed. How many millions of peace-loving Americans trusted Woodrow Wilson in 1916 and depended on his promise to keep us out of World War I? Do you remember the old pacifist song that was popular in those days, “I Didn’t Raise My Boy To Be a Soldier?” Like the mothers and fathers of all ages and of all climes, the mothers and fathers of 1916 were saying, “I didn’t raise my boy to be a soldier—I brought him up to be my pride and joy.”

They thought that Wilson would help them. They hoped that he would save their boys from the horror of the First World War, which was then raging in Europe. They voted for Wilson in large numbers in the 1916 election.

But Wilson was a capitalist politician—a tool of Wall Street. When he was told that America’s capitalist interests required it, Wilson violated his pacifist promises and took the United States into the war. And many thousands of American boys, who had been brought up to be their parents’ “pride and joy,” died miserable deaths on the battlefields of Belgium and France.

But this was not the last betrayal at the hands of capitalist politicians. In the election campaign of 1940, President Roosevelt said time and time again that he hated war and that he would never agree to send American boys to fight on foreign soil. And another generation of mothers and fathers, who didn’t want to raise their boys to be soldiers, hoped that Roosevelt would keep us out of World War II. They trusted him and voted for him.

Once again, American capitalist interests demanded that the United States enter the war. American investments had to be protected! German and Japanese competitors had to be removed! And so, once more, American blood was spilled on foreign battlefields. Lonely graves on Okinawa and in Italy and in a half a hundred other far-flung places, bear sad testimony to Roosevelt’s broken promises.

Mothers and fathers of America, don’t make the same mistake again! Don’t depend on the lying promises of today’s capitalist politicians. Don’t trust them to keep your boys out of the next war! They are no different from Wilson and Roosevelt. They will betray you again and again and again!



If you support the capitalist party candidates — Dewey, Truman, Wallace or whoever—you will find inevitably that you have raised another crop of soldiers for U. S. imperialism!

True enough, Wallace says that he is completely opposed to Wall Street's plans for a war against the Soviet Union. But that's for today. He has also said that he will support the war once it has been declared. And it couldn't be any other way! The millionaire Henry Wallace is completely sold on the merits of the so-called free enterprise system. He may differ with some of the Wall Street leaders from time to time as to their tactics. He may believe that it's best to make a deal with Stalin right now. But when the time comes, Wallace will find a way to justify American imperialism's next war, just as he has done in the past.

But Farrell Dobbs and I and the Socialist Workers Party, for which we speak, are consistent anti-war fighters. We fight against war, and for socialism—365 days a year, year in and year out—before, during and after war.

We were opposed to World War II at a time when Henry Wallace was whooping it up for the war. Don't you remember Vice-President Wallace's solemn declaration that World War II would usher in the Century of the Common Man?

But Farrell Dobbs and I thought — and spoke — otherwise. We said that nothing could come out of this bloody capitalist war but increased suffering for the common men — of all countries — and increased profits for the wealthy few. And sadly enough, for the common man — so called — it was Dobbs and I who were right and not the demagogic Wallace! Nothing good can ever come out of a capitalist war — certainly, nothing good for the working people.

Of course, the capitalists and their political agents and high-paid journalists try to tell us that these wars are fought for high and holy causes — “To Make the World Safe for Democracy” or “To Establish the Four Freedoms All Over the Earth.” Is there a single soul left on the face of the earth, who still believes that there was even ONE Freedom established by World War II — let alone Four?

Now they are telling us that the Third World War, which is being prepared, is necessary in order to prevent the spread of “Stalinist totalitarianism.” They moan about the lack of political freedom in the Soviet Union and in the border countries. They talk about “freedom,” these Republican and Democratic fakers, who have not only tolerated but supported the system of abject political slavery in the South! Anyone who is truly interested in spreading political freedom can start right here in the United States — right in Washington, D.C., itself.

The Socialist Workers Party is unalterably opposed to Stalinist totalitarian methods and to nationalism. Stalin has committed terrible crimes against the Russian people and the peoples of the neighboring countries. But we do not believe that they should be rescued by the American imperialists. The American imperialists and their junior partners, the English imperialists, dream of turning Russia into a colony for capitalist exploitation. They hope to succeed where Hitler failed.

Wall Street's war-makers must be stopped! Mothers and fathers of America, young men and young women who are about to be conscripted, militarized and prussianized, all of you who shudder at the all-too-real prospect of a fearsome atomic war, support the Socialist Workers Party and its candidates! All of you who want to walk the path of peace, join with us in our anti-war struggle.

There is only one path to peace and that is to replace the capitalist system of war, poverty and fascism with a socialist society of peace, plenty and freedom. Join with us to speed the day when peace and not the sword will rule the earth!

# For a Workers and Farmers Government

**BY FARRELL DOBBS**

Acceptance speech of Farrell Dobbs after his nomination by the Socialist Workers Party as candidate for President, delivered to the party's Thirteenth National Convention on July 2, 1948 and broadcast at that time over a nation-wide network by the Mutual Broadcasting System.

*Comrade Chairman and Delegates:*

I accept the nomination as the first presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, tendered to me by this convention. I thank you for honoring me with your confidence.

We enter the battle for the presidency in a period of grave economic and political crisis — a crisis as vital in its consequences to the American people as that which confronted our forefathers 172 years ago.

Before the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, the American people lived under the tyranny of the British lords of trade and their political agent, King George. That tyranny was smashed by revolutionary struggle at Bunker Hill

and Valley Forge. And the United States leaped forward to achieve the greatest capacity for production of any nation.

Now a new set of tyrants — the monopoly corporations and banking syndicates — have fastened themselves upon the American people. Under their rule, **want and fear stalk through** the land. Food and clothing cost a king's ransom. Housing conditions are a national scandal. Negroes and other minorities are subjected to cruel persecution. The foreign born are hounded— unless they happen to be unemployed kings, or fascists who were run out of their native land.

For the unions, monopoly capitalism has provided a slave-labor law, the Taft-Hartley Act. Government strikebreaking has become routine procedure in every labor controversy.

Witch hunts against political minorities are conducted by the government. Scientists are subjected to military regimentation. The proposed Mundt bill threatens to establish thought control. These are ominous steps toward a police state.

Another long stride toward a military and police state is the peacetime draft of American youth, who will be subjected to the tender mercies of the anti-labor brass hats.

Over every man, woman and child hangs the threat of war, with the grim prospect of destruction from atomic bombs.

These are the bitter fruits of capitalism, which today rules America through the Republican and Democratic parties.

A new Declaration of Independence is needed to smash this new tyranny. Millions of working people no longer trust the Republicans and Democrats. Nor can they trust any other politician who supports and defends the capitalist system.

The working people need to build their own political party, armed with a program to serve the class interests of the men and women who toil.

The Socialist Workers Party is such a party. This is demonstrated by the platform adopted at this convention.

The Socialist Workers Party is 100% opposed to the capitalist system. We call for the establishment of a socialist society. We advocate the nationalization of the basic industries and their operation under workers control.

The Socialist Workers Party calls for full equality for Negroes and all other minority peoples. We are opposed to any restriction on the right to strike. We demand that all laws which abridge the civil rights of the people be wiped out.

The Socialist Workers Party advocates a law to take the war-making powers away from Congress and to let the people vote on the question of war or peace.

We demand that the 17 billion dollars earmarked for war preparations be used for government-built, low-rent housing.

The Socialist Workers Party calls for the withdrawal of all American troops from foreign soil. We demand that the oppressed peoples of all lands be allowed to run their own affairs.

The Socialist Workers Party advocates the formation of a Workers and Farmers Government, to run the country, not in the interests of the wealthy, but in the interests of those whose labor creates this country's wealth.

If we examine American history, we shall get an idea how this can be done.

Back in 1776, King George said that his handpicked governors had to rule America because the people weren't fit to govern themselves. King George was answered by the formation of committees of mechanics, farmers and tradespeople throughout the colonies. These committees organized a Continental Congress, and under its leadership deposed the king's governors and established American independence.

Today, the Democratic and Republican politicians pack the government with bankers, industrial barons and brass hats. Like King George, they also claim that the working people are not fit to run the country. But what are the facts?

The workers and farmers, with their marvelous technical skills and creative capacity, produce everything used by man. All the capitalist does is to make a profit on the products of industry and agriculture. Yet the capitalist politicians insolently deny that the working people are fit to make laws and administer them. They must be shown otherwise.

If I am elected president, I shall issue a proclamation calling for the democratic election of committees of industrial workers and white collar workers, sharecroppers and working farmers, students and Negroes, rank and file soldiers and sailors — in short, committees of all the exploited and the oppressed, the great majority of the population. My proclamation will ask these committees to organize a national Congress of Labor to draft a program setting forth the economic and political demands of the American working people. I shall ask that Congress of Labor to elect a broad national executive committee — which I shall appoint as my cabinet. You won't find in my cabinet a single banker, industrial baron or brass hat.

Regardless of the outcome of this election, the working class can and should organize politically along these lines.

*Working people of America!* The Socialist Workers Party asks for your vote in support of the program I have outlined. We summon you to join with us in the struggle for a socialist society, in which at long last you will really find complete freedom from want and true freedom from fear.

# Socialism or Barbarism

BY FARRELL DOBBS

Acceptance speech of the Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, delivered to the party's Thirteenth National Convention on July 3, 1948 and broadcast at that time over a nation-wide network by the American Broadcasting Company.

*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 great 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, can't have old-age pensions, can't have economic security, because they cost too much. Yet billions are spent on the military budget and corporation profits are at an all-time high.

Using Stalin's crimes to justify their 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 dictators in South America? Why did the House vote to include fascist Spain in the Marshall Plan?

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

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 World War I 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.

But 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, as 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 was the death of their leader, Lenin.

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 of this country and their monopoly control of government. This monopoly must be wrested from them.

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

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 technology, a skilled labor force, a high cultural level. These can be put to work to provide an abundant life for every man, woman and child in the nation.

When the mighty American working class takes these steps, the 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. 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.

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