

AN OPEN LETTER
TO YUGOSLAV CP

(See Page 2)

THE MILITANT

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LEGLESS VET DEFIES WITCH-HUNTERS

Farrell Dobbs Scores Truman Strikebreaking Role

Kutcher Defends Civil Liberties at Kangaroo Hearing

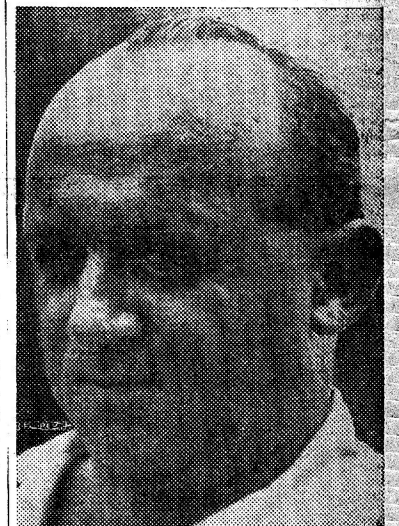
By George Collins

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 10 -- "Kangaroo court" -- these were the words

used by James Kutcher, the Purple Heart Veteran of Newark, N. J., who lost both his legs at San Pietro, Italy, to describe the Loyalty Board hearing called today at Philadelphia to decide whether he should be dismissed from his clerical job with the Veterans Administration because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

STAR-CHAMBER HEARING

The hearing was held behind closed doors, with only the attorneys and the representative of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee permitted to attend. The press and the public were excluded. The demand of Jimmy Kutcher and his attorneys for an open hearing was flatly denied at the outset on the pretext that government regulations, in order to protect the defendant, forbid public participation.



JAMES KUTCHER

Jimmy Kutcher had nothing to hide. But the Bi-Partisan Government needed secrecy to conceal the great outrage it was perpetrating against the civil liberties of the American people. The three-man Loyalty Board needed secrecy to hide its inquisitorial methods at a hearing where it acted as prosecutor, judge and jury.

The decision of the board is still being awaited but it is clear from the remarks of Kutcher and his representatives that there is little likelihood that a favorable verdict can come out of this star-chamber proceeding. In reality the Loyalty Board was only going through the farcical procedure provided by Truman's administrative order. This was a one-way street. The Board considered itself prohibited from considering the validity of Attorney-General Clark's listing of the Socialist Workers Party as "subversive," its only job being to ascertain whether Kutcher belonged to the SWP, which Jimmy freely acknowledged in advance.

THE LEGAL CHANNELS

In the event of an unfavorable decision, the case will first be taken through all the channels provided by the Loyalty Board procedure, Michael J. Myer, Kutcher's attorney, announced. This includes the filing of briefs with the top Loyalty Review Board in Washington and then with the Civil Service Commission. If these steps fail, the case will be taken into the civil courts and carried if necessary to the Supreme Court of the United States, Myers stated.

Jimmy Kutcher told me modestly and unassumingly what happened behind the closed doors of the hearing. The facts he revealed in his story show that this veteran of the North African, Sicilian and Italian campaigns fought just as bitter a battle against his accusers for civil liberties, for the right to join a party of his own choosing and against the imposition of thought control. This time, however, he was fighting.

(Continued on page 2)

De Gaulle Threat To Labor Mounts In French Crisis

By Joseph Hansen

The political balance in France today hangs by a frayed line that is giving way under the increasing strain. This is the common conclusion of spokesmen of all camps. The breaking strands are visible in the downfall of cabinets, one after the other.

Since January of last year, France has had five Premiers. Ramadier lasted less than 10 months. Schuman less than 8 months. Marie barely a month. The second Schuman Cabinet two days. No one ventures to predict more than a brief span for the new Henri Queuille Cabinet which could be formed at all only on sufferance of Queuille's friend, the fascist-minded de Gaulle.

The big political question now standing over France is what will follow when the last thread of these stop-gap regimes snaps?

Grave economic ills underlie the successive cabinet upsets. After the Allied victory in World War II, the French capitalists set their sights upon recovery as a world imperialist power. This meant financing costly expeditions to the colonial areas, especially Indo-China, to put down independence movements. It meant diverting workers from the factories into the armed forces and diverting production from the restoration of the ravages of war to the construction of a new war machine. It meant backing Wall Street's blueprint for assault on the Soviet Union, thus converting France into a European beachhead for American Big Business and American militarism instead of a center for the unification of Europe.

WORKING CLASS PAYS

The cost of this imperialist policy as always was placed on the backs of the workers and farmers. The universal scarcity of consumer goods that accompanied the increasing abundance of arms has forced prices continually upward. Three-quarters of the average French worker's pay goes for food alone nowadays.

Each cabinet has sought to carry out this task imposed on it by the capitalist class -- to strengthen French imperialism at the expense of the living standards of the working class.

The French workers in opposition to this policy have sought to safeguard their living standards and to bring them back to prewar conditions.

(Continued on page 3)

Liberal, Labor Bodies Back Demand Truman Pardon 18

The American Civil Liberties Union, in a letter to President Truman this week, demanded pardon and full restoration of civil rights to the 18 Socialist Workers Party and CIO mem-

bers who were railroaded to prison during World War II under the notorious Smith Gag Act. The letter was signed by Chairman John Haynes Holmes, Director Roger N. Baldwin, and Counsel Arthur Garfield Hays.

"DANGEROUS PRECEDENT"

The ACLU pointed out that "the Smith Act on its face violates freedom of speech and press and that 'their convictions, based solely on opinion without any overt acts, stand as a dangerous precedent for the curtailment of civil liberties in the critical days ahead.'" The ACLU then goes on to demand a pardon for the 18 "in accordance with our traditions of political freedom."

On Your Radio

SWP to Participate In Fifteen Forums Over Sta. WNEW Beginning Monday, September 20, and ending Friday, October 29, the Socialist Workers Party, will be heard on the air in a series of election forums to be sponsored by Station WNEW in New York City.

This series entitled "People's Choice" will consist of 30 broadcasts running nightly from 9:45 to 10:00 EDT.

In the first week of this series the Socialist Workers Party will be heard along with the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party on Monday, Sept. 20, Wednesday, Sept. 22, and Friday, Sept. 24.

WNEW is 1130 on your dial.

Numerous similar resolutions and letters by labor and liberal representatives have been sent to President Truman in the past weeks since the Civil Rights Defense Committee initiated its campaign to win restoration of civil rights for the 18.

UNIONS DONATE

The Philadelphia Joint Board Cloak & Skirt Makers Union, AFL, which also sent a \$15 donation to the CRDC, stated: "The conviction of the 18 was protested by labor and progressive organizations representing over 5,000,000 members. . . we request the President of the U. S. to immediately grant unconditional pardon and full restoration of civil rights to the 18 so that they will no longer be penalized by their unjust conviction under this vicious law."

The Textile Workers Union of America Local 58-CIO of Rockville, Conn., passed a resolution in support of the CRDC "in its campaign to obtain justice for the 18 and to work for the abolition of the Smith Gag Act, and sent \$10 to help forward the work of the Committee. UAW-CIO Dodge Local 3, Hamtramck, Michigan, donated \$25 "to aid these 18 victims so that they may once again pick up their threads of normal living and live like human beings." A resolution demanding pardon was also sent by Workmen's Benefit Fund Branch 198, Jamaica, New York.

BACK PARDON DEMAND

In his letter to the President, A. J. Muste, Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, stated: "One way in which you could give practical effect to your splendid statements on the civil rights issue would be to pardon the 18. . . These persons were the first victims of the Smith Act which seriously violates basic American concepts of civil liberties." Meyer Schapiro, Professor of Fine Arts at Columbia University, wrote: "It was only for their belief in socialism that the defendants were convicted. . . May I ask you, Mr. President, to pardon these men and in doing so to help bring about the repeal of the Smith Act."

Willard Uphaus, Executive Secretary of Religion and Labor Foundation, pointedly remarked: "We believe you will this year want to make good on your professed concern for civil rights by pardoning the 18. . . Such a pardoning act will speak louder than words."

Giving Her the "New Look"



"Labor Alone Can Halt The March of Reaction"

By Grace Carlson, SWP Vice-Presidential Candidate

The anti-democratic chain reaction set off by the bi-partisan war drive is following its own destructive course. Government strikebreaking, "loyalty" purges, witch-hunts, banning of minority parties from the ballot cannot be "contained" so as to affect only the trade unions and minority groups. With the barring of Truman from the Louisiana ballot, following virtually similar action in other Southern states, the hand of totalitarianism has reached out toward a major capitalist party—one of the initiators of the spreading reaction.

While the Louisiana action against Truman was taken by the race-supremacist Dixiecrats, it is the logical outcome of the methods of the Democrats and Republicans themselves. Indeed, Truman is only getting a taste of his own poison.

For the Democratic Party itself has either inspired or has stood idly by while the Socialist Workers Party, the Wallace Party and other parties have been removed from the ballot in state after state. It has helped to set the precedent, now used against it by the Dixiecrats, whereby the party in power can brutally and arbitrarily eliminate its opponents.

We must keep in mind, however, that the anti-democratic chain reaction does not hit every group with the same force and violence. The Democratic Party has been denied its place on the ballot in Louisiana. But even with the likelihood of more Dixiecrat states trying to follow suit, that's just a slap on the wrist compared to what labor and minority groups face.

Wallace was pelted with eggs and tomatoes and physically threatened all along his Southern tour. This party has been barred from the ballot in northern states like Illinois.

As for the Socialist Workers Party, not only is it barred from the ballot in most states, but its leaders have been thrown into prison to silence them altogether. The Democratic administration did this during the war in the Minneapolis Labor Case while Wallace and Truman were vice presidents.

Truman is off the ballot in Louisiana—but millions of Negroes in the whole South are terrorized from voting. They are even shot to death, like Isaiah Nixon in Georgia last week. And every worker everywhere faces the threat of Truman's Taft-Hartley injunctions, Army strikebreaking and tear gas and clubs, as in the West Coast strikes.

But if injustice and class violence and abrogation of workers' rights have a chain reaction, so too has the resistance of labor. It can swell into a titanic force once it is unleashed. This chain reaction of the workers against the growth of totalitarianism can be set off by a Congress of Labor. Labor alone can halt the march of reaction. Let the rank and file representatives of all the unions hold a mighty Congress in Washington to draft a united program to smash the anti-democratic forces and they can set in motion such a power for defense of democratic rights as this nation has never known.



GRACE CARLSON Vice-Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Workers Party

Exposes Demagogy In President's Bid For Vote of Labor

FLINT, Mich., Sept. 11 -- In a ringing reply over radio station WFDF to Truman's Labor Day speech at Detroit, Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, today scored Truman's demagogic pose as a "friend of labor."

Dobbs underlined the sharp contrast between Truman's "pro-labor" campaign promises with his anti-labor record. Before his last-minute "veto" of the Taft-Hartley Act, Truman demanded Congress pass a savage anti-labor law to draft strikers into the army. The Socialist Workers Party candidate reminded his radio audience of the three strike-breaking assaults against the coal miners launched by Truman through the courts. He pointed to Truman's use of the Army two times to break strikes of the railroad workers.

ANTI-LABOR POLITICIANS

The Democrats and Republicans, Dobbs explained, work hand in glove with the employers promoting the war drive and the furious anti-labor offensive. As for Henry Wallace, Dobbs cited Wallace's record to show that he, too, was just another capitalist politician seeking to profit from "the failure of the union officialdom to launch a Labor Party."

"There is a mighty power in the hands of your United Auto Workers Union and the sister unions of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods," said the SWP Presidential candidate. "That is why President Truman came here to launch his election campaign in a speech at Flint Park on Labor Day. That is why the Republican Party quickly rushed Harold Stassen into Michigan to speak in rebuttal against Truman. The capitalist politicians know that without the electoral support of the mighty labor movement they couldn't hold public office for fifteen minutes."

"Truman tried to cover up his black record as a strikebreaker by giving you a friendly wave of the arm, a big grin and a promise of a period of new hope. Stassen tried to make you believe that the Taft-Hartley Act is for your own good. Both Truman and Stassen talked about almost everything but the real problems confronting the workers."

THE CENTRAL ISSUE

Pointing out that the outstanding issue of the 1948 elections was the unceasing and sharpening "war between labor and capital," Dobbs emphasized how well the rich know this and how it shapes their policies along with those of their government in Washington. The crying need for the working people also to fully understand this in order to smash the furious anti-labor offensive.

A number of serious defeats recently suffered by the workers on the political as well as the economic field were explained by Dobbs as due to the "false policy of the union leadership," who continue to "cling tighter than ever to the skirts of capitalist politicians."

"The auto workers," said Dobbs, "have a right to ask: What was Walter Reuther doing (Continued on page 2)"

DOBBS-CARLSON TOUR

The coming dates for the FARRELL DOBBS tour are as follows:

- Sept. 20 Cleveland
- Sept. 21-22 en route
- Sept. 23-24 Akron
- Sept. 25 en route
- Sept. 26-27 Youngstown

The coming dates for the GRACE CARLSON tour are as follows:

- Sept. 23 en route
 - Sept. 24-30 Minnesota
- (Minnesota schedule in detail will be announced next week)

An Open Letter to Yugoslav C. P.

The International Secretariat of the Fourth International has issued an open letter to the Central Committee and members of the Yugoslav Communist Party in connection with the conclusion of the Fifth Party Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The complete text of this communication appears below.

Comrades:

Although you thought it necessary to limit participation in your Fifth Party Congress exclusively to delegations from the Communist parties—none of whom have accepted your invitation—our movement has attached special importance to the discussion and decisions of your Congress.

The course you have decided to follow is now clear: It is to defend yourselves against the accusations hurled by the Cominform without breaking with the Russian Communist Party and with Stalin, the real instigators of the campaign in progress against you. We greet your determination not to capitulate to Stalin; but we note with regret the self-contradictory character of your defense against the Kremlin's attack.

Your leaders and delegates at the Congress have emphasized the fact that there are no programmatic differences whatever between your party and the ideology of the Kremlin. It appears that you share this ideology on two fundamental points: on the possibility of building socialism in one country; and on the "monolithic" character of the revolutionary party, which means the exclusion of any ideological tendencies that might some time advocate policies different from those of the party leadership.

"Socialism in One Country"

Your leaders and delegates at the Congress have reaffirmed the position, long held by your party, to the effect that Yugoslavia is already a country where socialism is being built and that it is possible to do this, to be sure only partially, thanks to the aid of the Soviet Union and of the other "new democracies." This aid is, however, now reduced by and large to the economic reprisals against you imposed by the Kremlin on all its satellites.

The conception of "socialism in one country" was never shared by Marx or Lenin. It is Stalin who, toward the end of 1924, introduced it into the Russian Communist Party and the Third International as a theoretical cover for his own nationalist policy, which mirrored the interests of the then budding Soviet bureaucracy and which has revealed itself as more and more hostile to the world socialist revolution. In formulating this anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist "theory," Stalin took care to generalize it for his own needs and to underline the special, as it were, "Messianic" character of the USSR, whose size and resources allegedly permitted the building of socialism to be realized in life.

More than 20 years have elapsed and the Soviet Union is still very far from having attained this objective. On the contrary, the victory of the Soviet bureaucracy, which succeeded in expropriating the masses politically and in installing the most bureaucratic police regime in the annals of history in order to maintain and extend its own privileges, has resulted in the utter degeneration of the Soviet Union as a workers state.

You have had occasion to observe this degeneration in a number of facts which, limited as they are, nonetheless remain very significant. Among these facts are: the life of Russian military and civil functionaries on a bourgeois pattern; the systematic spying by the GPU—the chief vehicle of the Kremlin's policies—on your party and

your government; the Kremlin's opposition to the Balkan Federation or any progressive unification of the economies of the various "People's Democracies," a unification which is so indispensable for their development; the bureaucratic and slanderous character of the Cominform attacks directed by the Kremlin.

What then will be the fate of Yugoslavia, if she, under far less favorable material conditions, enters the utopian road of "building socialism" within her own frontiers? Such a "theory," here too, carries with it the danger of serving as a cover for nationalistic policies of a privileged bureaucratic caste.

In our epoch of the world-wide division of labor and the world character of the productive forces, whose development has already brought the capitalist countries into collision with their own national boundaries, socialism can flourish only on the world arena. To think that each country can by itself build its own "socialist" society and will later associate itself with the other because of ideological kinship—to think in this way is to fall into petty-bourgeois utopianism, blinded completely to the realities of our epoch. Victory over capitalism, the victory of the proletarian revolution is possible in a single country, but the achievement of socialist construction is not possible without the joint efforts of at least a considerable number of countries, including the most advanced ones.

To realize socialism in life in Yugoslavia would mean to attain a level of development of the productive forces far surpassing those of the most advanced capitalist countries; it would mean the complete elimination of the differences between the city and the countryside, the building of a classless society where material abundance would already reign and where the state would have already lost its functions of coercion, becoming reduced to a simple administration of things, without police, without judges, without prisons and without a bureaucracy. In what historical perspective can such a goal be reached in Yugoslavia, a country predominantly agricultural and with very limited resources?

On the other hand, what is actually possible is to begin the building of socialism, while waiting for the extension of the proletarian revolution to other countries. The true framework for the socialist development of Yugoslavia is, to begin with, the Balkan Socialist Federation and the Socialist United States of Europe.

A "Monolithic" Party?

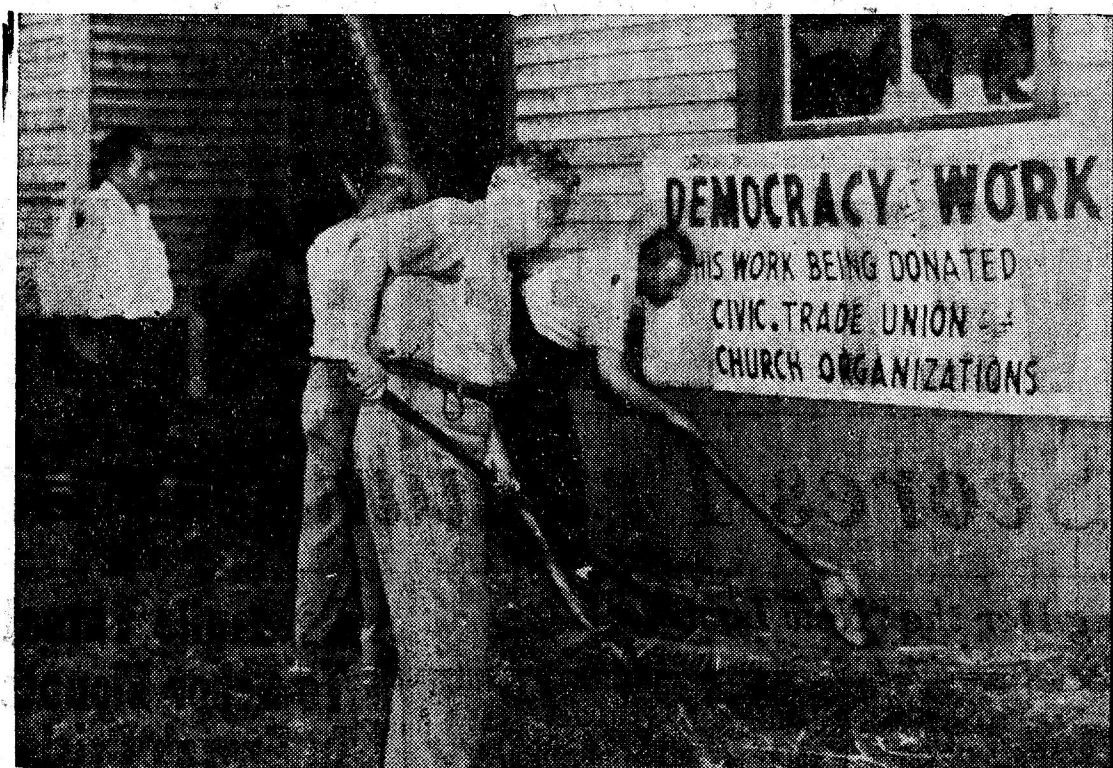
As regards your "monolithic" conception of the revolutionary party, this also stems from the arsenal of Stalinism but not from Marx and Lenin. The revolutionary party, is by its very nature, democratic, permitting the free presentation and struggle of ideological tendencies in its ranks.

The Bolshevik Party of Lenin to the very day he died had nothing in common with the horrible caricature set up by Stalin's bureaucratic and police apparatus, which sealed its victory over the Soviet masses with the blood of Kamenov, Zinoviev, Bukharin and then of Trotsky, i.e., of the men who made the Russian Revolution and who led the Communist International while Lenin lived.

The "monolithic" conception of the revolutionary party is the unmistakable sign of a Bonapartist bureaucracy which sets itself up over and above the masses and the party. If you cling to this conception you will head inexorably toward the foundering of your revolution and of your own party; you will travel toward the definitive installation in Yugoslavia of a bureaucratic-police dictatorship in the image of Stalin's regime.

Your Congress has, not deemed it necessary to probe more deeply into the meaning of your conflict with the Cominform, contenting itself

Democracy at Work



Detroit unionists pitch in to repair the damage done by a mob of white hoodlums to the home of a Negro member of the United Auto Workers (CIO). The Negro worker and his family, who recently bought the house in a white neighborhood, have received no police protection against the hoodlums.

with affirming the slanderous character of the Cominform accusations, while covering up the Russian Communist Party and Stalin, i.e., the real leaders of the campaign against you. This fact alone is a sign of grave danger.

What reasons impel you to feign ignorance of who is behind a Hodja or a Rakosi, a Dimitroff, a Thorez or an Anna Pauker, when they attack your party, your government, when they conspire to overthrow your leadership, when they issue decrees to institute an economic blockade against Yugoslavia? What is the meaning of your silence about the Kremlin and about Stalin, whose obedient puppets all of the above men and women are? And how is it possible for this Kremlin and this Stalin, who conduct this entire campaign, to truly represent inside the labor movement a leadership faithful to Marxism-Leninism?

If this were actually the case, then history would be only a sinister farce, and your conflict with the Cominform would be only a scene in this farce, incomprehensible to any one who seeks to reason.

Your position is truly untenable and can have no results other than to demoralize your party and the Yugoslav masses, while playing into the hands of your enemies, the direct agents of the Kremlin who have sworn to destroy your leadership and your party. Your conflict with the Cominform has in reality placed on the order of the day one single question, namely: THE NATURE OF THE STALINIST REGIME WHICH, THROUGH THE KREMLIN, LEADS THE USSR AND THE COMMUNIST PARTIES.

This regime has nothing in common with the proletarian revolution and socialism. It is the mouthpiece of the Soviet bureaucracy, consolidated into a privileged and uncontrollable caste inside the Soviet Union, applying throughout the entire world a policy strictly in defense of its own interests. The Communist parties serve as tools for this policy thanks to the Soviet bureaucracy's direct and absolute control over these parties. The Kremlin has likewise sought to

establish such a direct and absolute control over your own party and government. You tried to resist, and, from that moment, a life-and-death conflict with the Kremlin regime became unavoidable.

It is your duty as well as in your own self-interest to raise the clarification of your conflict with the Cominform to the plane of the true ideological reasons, which pertain to the nature of Stalinism. Only in this way will you be able to arm your party and the Yugoslav masses and resist the formidable assault launched against you by the Kremlin, now bent on wiping you out.

Bureaucrats depend only on the police apparatus for their defense.

Revolutionists depend above all on the ideological and political mobilization of the masses. Which of these roads will you choose? Stalin plots against Yugoslavia because your resistance to his direct and absolute control can become a dangerously contagious example. He cannot seek grounds for a "compromise. He must wipe you out. In this terrible predicament, your sole defense is the conscious support of the Yugoslav and world masses.

Yugoslav Communists! Appeal to these masses for this support! Break with Stalinism and denounce it openly! Institute a real regime of proletarian democracy in the party and in the country! Crush every bureaucratic move in your own ranks! Take the road of the real proletarian revolution, made by the masses and for the masses.

Issue a call for the real proletarian revolution in other countries of Eastern Europe! And of all of Europe and the world! This is the hour neither for tricky maneuvers nor for opportunist considerations. It is necessary to march in the vanguard. It is necessary to confront Stalin face to face with the open face of Revolutionary Marxism.

International Secretariat of the Fourth International
September 1948

Campaigning With Dobbs and Carlson

By George Clarke, SWP Campaign Manager

By rights and by custom, the Presidential candidate should get top billing, but your campaign manager got so excited about happenings in the Smoky City, he decided to begin with the only woman candidate for Vice President.

Grace Carlson spoke at a noon-day plant gate meeting at the big Westinghouse plant in Pittsburgh. Eloise Gordon writes that "workers at the meeting estimated there were close to a thousand" present and that we had a better crowd than Senator Taylor. "We made quite an impression," Eloise says, "the workers sure listened attentively. No one walked away. In fact they hung around as though they wanted to hear more."

The second big item was the publicity. We received the biggest press since the campaign began in Pittsburgh. The Pittsburgh Press published a two column picture of Grace and under it a lengthy interview. The Post-Gazette printed practically a column-long interview. In addition there were write-ups in the Sun-Telegraph, the Hazlewood paper, some of these running stories two days in a row.

And it wasn't because Grace got soft that we got this publicity. The Post-Gazette quotes her as saying: "I make the same proposals and the same stand I made prior to my indictment and conviction in 1941 in Minneapolis under the Smith Act."

In the Press she is quoted as follows: "I don't think Henry Wallace is a Communist. He's a capitalist who thinks he knows a better way to carry out Roosevelt's policies. . . . I don't think he has the fanatical spirit of the John Brown type that would carry him through."

The third item is about a meeting in a new territory, Hazlewood. Comrade Carlson writes: "It was a good meeting although we got off to a bad start with a belligerent drunk in the audience. He was for Truman and Roosevelt, against Reds, etc. But when he said that he knew what the workers needed better than I did because he was a railroad worker, then I told him a thing or three!"

"I explained that my father was a RR boilermaker, my brother-in-law a railroad trainman and that I'd lived in the shadow of the round house most of my life. He wasn't converted but he kept quiet after that and left early. Three RR workers who had come in with him, stayed on and contributed."

MICHIGAN: Now we can return to the top man on the slate. Detroit reports a meeting of 150 held under party auspices with Farrell Dobbs as the main speaker. Jack Gaynor says it was a "very spirited meeting. The audience was very responsive. They applauded loudly when comrade Dobbs described what a Workers and Farmers Government would be like in the U. S. During the question period a worker asked about the Minneapolis strike. You could have heard a pin drop as Farrell gave a vivid blow-by-blow account of those great battles."

The bouquets are still coming from the General Motors City in response to comrade Dobbs' radio answer to Truman's Labor Day speech: Genora Dollinger, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator, writes from Flint: "It was the first time we have been able to reach the night shift workers here. . . . Farrell did a wonderful job! We think it was his best broadcast so far. . . . We have heard numerous reports from workers in the shops, all very favorable, indicating they were deeply impressed."

so far. . . . We have heard numerous reports from workers in the shops, all very favorable, indicating they were deeply impressed."

The public meeting in Flint had an attendance of 55. Two young workers joined the party. Three former members are on the way back in and sympathizers who heard our candidates are closer to us than ever before.

Genora says: "The comrades in Flint are proud of our candidates and our election campaign. It spurs our membership on to do a better job of building the party."

We are awaiting the report on the noon-day meeting where comrade Dobbs was scheduled to speak to the Pontiac Fisher Body workers. The same evening he was to speak over station WCAR Pontiac and later at an outdoor rally.

Before we move on to Ohio, there are a few things to be said about our ballot status. We have filed in Utah, Colorado, New York and Connecticut. Word from the Secretary of State is expected any time now in all these states on the certification of our ticket on the ballot. We are watching for last minute dirty plays by the capitalist politicians.

In addition we expect to file within a week in Montana. San Francisco is going over the top in its signature drive to put Harry Press on the ballot for State Assembly in the 18th assembly district. Los Angeles expected to file the 4250 signatures needed to put Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP candidate for Congress, on the ballot by Sept. 15. The Braverman Congressional fight in Youngstown is still raging with the local election board still uncertain as to whether to reverse their ruling or to go into court.

Youngstown also reports a very good state picnic highlighted by Grace Carlson's speech and a good indoor meeting which was followed by a long question period.

NEW YORK reports an Active Workers Conference held on Sept. 11 attended by executive committee members of all branches and all other activists. An ambitious campaign was mapped out which included a series of street meetings, the organization of Dobbs-Carlson Clubs around each branch and a sub drive. New York also reports that they are participating in a WNEW program which will put the party on the air for six weeks from Sept. 20 to Oct. 29 with one 15 minute and 15 four minute broadcasts.

We want to conclude this week on an advertising note. There are two splendid pamphlets thus far published for campaign purposes: "The Voice of Socialism" and the "Letter to American Negroes" by William Bohannan. They can and should be sold far and wide. We think that every pamphlet sold can mean a vote and perhaps a member. Sales should come easy. Lets have some reports.

Youngstown Readers Attention

Farrell Dobbs Socialist Workers Party Presidential Candidate will speak Monday, Sept. 27, 8:00 P.M. 234 E. FEDERAL ST. YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO
Auspices Socialist Workers Party

James Kutcher Defies 'Loyalty' Witch-Hunters

(Continued from page 1)

ing for the ideas he had believed in all his adult life.

The "impartial" Loyalty Board, consisting of Benjamin E. Hinden, Dr. W. A. Jacques, and J. P. Elzroth, with George H. Merker, acting as their attorney, made no attempt to deny Kutcher's irrefragable four and one-half year service record during a war which he opposed because it was not at all fought for democracy or for the "four freedoms."

They made no attempt to deny Kutcher's two-year employment record with the Veterans' Administration where he was rated as "very good" and "excellent." They did not even question Reverend John I. Daniel, Congregational Minister and chaplain of the Newark Area Committee of the American Veterans Com-

mittee who testified to Kutcher's courage and idealism.

The government freely admitted that Jimmy had no access to confidential information on his job which the prosecutor himself said was not of a "sensitive" character. The government did not introduce any evidence to show specific actions of "disloyalty" on Kutcher's part, nor did it present testimony that Kutcher had dealings with a foreign power.

The government case came down to "proving" that Kutcher was a member of the Socialist Workers Party. "It was all superfluous," Jimmy said, "because I had freely and proudly affirmed membership in the party prior to the hearing." But that was all the board was required to do, since Truman's order had specified that government employees hold-

ing membership, or even associating with organizations on the Department of Justice blacklist were subject to dismissal.

The persecution of Kutcher, the very hearing itself, throws dramatically into the limelight the whole vicious circle of thought control the government is now imposing on the American people. M. J. Myer, Kutcher's counsel, demonstrated to the board that the SWP had been placed on the blacklist without a hearing and that Attorney General Clark, despite a previous promise to the American Civil Liberties Union, had denied a hearing when demanded by the SWP.

But that was as far as Myer got, Kutcher said. "The impartial judges refused to permit me to introduce evidence showing that the SWP is not subversive. They refused to permit George Clarke, Campaign Manager of the Socialist Workers Party, to testify on the program and principles of the party. He was dismissed from the stand and from the hearing after having identified himself, he attempted to answer a question by Mr. Myer dealing with the party."

One man had decreed the SWP "subversive" and there could be no appeal from this fucher-like edict. Jimmy Kutcher was forbidden to question this Hitlerite pronouncement just as were his attorney and representatives of the SWP. By such sinister procedure a legless veteran and countless others could be deprived of their jobs without even being permitted to show that the basis of the persecution was groundless.

From Kutcher's story it was clear that the Loyalty Board "judges" at the hearing were not mere government underlings tied by government regulations which they were executing on orders. They took the role of inquisitors, subjecting Kutcher to a most searching examination, delving

into every nook and corner of his political thinking. They were not only determined to convict, which was easy enough because they didn't require evidence, but to prove to their superiors that they were competent witch-hunters.

What right had Kutcher to be a socialist when he had been treated so well by the government? Dr. Jacques demanded. Did it not provide him with a pension, a job and artificial legs? Did he think an ordinary worker could get as much under socialism? Sneers of skepticism, Jimmy said, were written over their faces when he told them that the workers would be better off under socialism—since for one thing they will not get their legs shot off. There will be no wars and no depressions, Jimmy told them; these twin evils will be gone.

The main line of questioning revolved around "overthrow of the government by force and violence." Here the presiding "judge" refused to permit a presentation of the SWP position, but from Kutcher's description it was clear to me that the prosecutors resorted to all kinds of legal chicanery to make it appear that he and the party he belonged to really believed in and wanted nothing else but the use of force and violence.

In vain did Jimmy repeat time and again that he believed in changing the present outlived capitalist system into a socialist society by convincing the majority of the people of the need for such a change. The judges were nettled, Jimmy felt, because of his understanding of class society and the historical process. He informed them that despite his desires, this transition would not come peacefully because of the refusal of a minority of capitalists to abide by the will of the majority when their privileges and profits were at stake. For proof he cited the resistance of the slaveholding minority to the election of Lincoln, and the more recent fascist violence of Franco

to overthrow the legally constituted Loyalist Government in Spain in 1936. The inquisitors waived aside these convincing examples in their determination to twist Kutcher's answers to suit their own sordid purposes.

Jimmy told them that they need only look to the presidential campaign to see that the Socialist Workers Party is seeking the support of the majority. Jimmy recalled one of his inquisitors sneering. "Do you mean to say that you expect to win this election?"

"Not this time," Jimmy responded; "but I am confident that the American people will turn to the ideas of Marxism as the only solution to the devastating wars and depressions which will plague mankind as long as capitalism endures."

The great "democrats," we learned from Jimmy, did not hesitate to question him on how he would vote in the supposedly inviolate secret ballot in November. Why didn't Kutcher quit the SWP

after it had been listed as "subversive"? Clearly, the government and its "judges" were attempting to intimidate and terrorize this veteran with the attorney general's diatribe and blacklisting of the socialist organization he belonged to as "subversive."

But Kutcher was not intimidated. He told them he would vote for Dobbs and Carlson, that the SWP was a legal party and he saw no reason why he should not exercise his franchise in accordance with his political beliefs, that the SWP was falsely and arbitrarily placed on the subversive list and a public hearing would bear out this fact.

From his story I gathered the clear impression that the legless veteran had towered above his inquisitors. He represented the truth — and regardless of their decision — the people would presently come to know that truth.

In addition to M. J. Myer, as counsel, Kutcher was represented by Arthur P. Burch. George Novack, Secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, was the only other person permitted to attend the hearings.

DOBBS SCORES TRUMAN

(Continued from page 1)

on the platform with strikebreaker Truman in Detroit? Why are the top union officials trying to breathe new life into the corrupt Democratic Party, while they cynically tell the workers who want to build an independent Labor Party, "Now is not the time?"

In conclusion Dobbs said: "Workers of Flint! 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! Cast your vote

for a socialist society of peace, freedom and plenty by voting for the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party!"

SWP LOCAL NEW YORK

Campaign Jamboree
Caravan Hall
110 East 59th Street
Hear:
Nick Small's Band
See:
Campaign Follies of '48
FRIDAY, SEPT. 24 - 8-30 P. M.
ADMISSION \$1.20

THE MILITANT ARMY

New York's resumption of normal sub-getting work began with 80 subs this week to lead all branch returns. More than a score of branches sent five to 25 subs each, while scattered subscriptions came from the far corners of the 48 states.

No returns were out of the ordinary, however. Several branches are still busy with petition campaigns to put the Socialist Workers Party presidential or local candidates on the ballot. New York has just successfully concluded a very strenuous petition task.

In New York, Harlem branch obtained 25 subs, Brooklyn 20, Bronx eight and others less, from small Sunday mobilizations. Three subs were sold at a street meeting in Yorkville.

Sylvia Blecker of New York reported her sister's telling her about a girl friend who had been praising very enthusiastically a paper she had just discovered and subscribed to. "Only four

pages, but a goldmine of honest and intelligent reports and explanations of things—politics, world affairs and labor news. A fellow gave me a copy. I had never seen anything like it. I sent in a subscription right away. I'll bring you a copy. Everybody ought to read it."

Of course it turned out she was talking about The Militant.

Twenty-five subs came direct from readers, including renewals and new subscriptions by friends who first learned of The Militant through hearing Socialist Workers Party radio broadcasts. Some were from New York and California and others from Ohio, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Florida, Chicago and Buffalo.

Branches sending subs included Akron, Baltimore, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Flint, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, West Virginia, Newark, New Britain, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, St. Paul, San Francisco and Seattle.

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Monday, September 20, 1948



TROTSKY

The experience of my life, in which there has been no lack either of successes or of failures, has not only not destroyed my faith in the clear, bright future of mankind, but, on the contrary, has given it an indestructible temper. This faith in reason, in truth, in human solidarity, which at the age of eighteen I took with me into the workers' quarters of the provincial Russian town of Nikolaiav — this faith I have preserved fully and completely. It has become more mature, but not less ardent.

—Leon Trotsky, Address before Dewey Commission, Mexico City, 1937.



LENIN

"Stiffening" Taft-Hartley Law

"Important changes in the Taft-Hartley law are in the works," declares *The Wall Street Journal* of Sept. 4. These changes won't soften the infamous Slave Labor Law. Instead, they will "stiffen" the act, according to the inside information jubilantly reported by this mouthpiece of Big Business. The changes are being prepared right now by the Senate Committee headed by Joseph H. ("Foul") Ball, Republican of Minnesota, who is one of Senator Taft's head errand boys. They will be tailored "with the aid and comfort of many Democrats," says *The Wall Street Journal*. Naturally, "until after the elections" the new proposals will not be widely publicized. Here are some of the changes now shaping up, according to *The Wall Street Journal*: Force unions to pay scabs and strike-breakers for time lost because of picketing "which kept them off their jobs." Make it illegal for unions to engage in collective bargaining over employer contributions to union welfare funds. Exclude business "local in character" from jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board. Ban industry-wide bargaining. Require all members of unions on any policy-forming, governing, representative, ad-

ministrative, disciplinary or negotiating body to take the "anti-communist" oath. The aim of this is to drive all militants out of the unions under guise of a drive against "communism." Outlaw strikes aimed to secure a contract held to be in violation of any provision of the Taft-Hartley Law. This "stiffening" of the Act is the payoff "won" by the top union officialdom for thinking they could live with the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law, for giving up the fight against it and signing the notorious yellow-dog oaths. These labor "statesmen" reacted precisely as Big Business had calculated. They fell for the "inch at a time" strategy of the monopolists. They fell for the Big Business propaganda that after all the Taft-Hartley Law is not as bad as it has been pictured. *The Militant* has repeatedly warned that this Slave Labor Act is not the last of its kind. Still worse legislation is sure to follow if uncompromising struggle is not waged against the brutal challenge of Big Business. The report of *The Wall Street Journal* indicates the timeliness and correctness of our warnings. Having won a major beachhead in their political war against labor, the Republicans and Democrats are now preparing further savage blows.

"Fear Bloodshed in Georgia"

The grim portent of Herman Talmadge's victory in the primaries as Democratic nominee for Governor in one-party Georgia was intimated in the following headline of the Sept. 11 *Amsterdam News*: "FEAR BLOODSHED IN GEORGIA." The accuracy of this dark foreboding was soon confirmed. On the very same day the headline of the prominent Harlem paper appeared in the streets of New York, Isaiah Nixon, a Negro father of six children died in a hospital at Dublin, Georgia, of three gunshot wounds. He was murdered because he dared to vote under the American flag that waved at the polls. According to the Associated Press, Nixon braved Sheriff McCrimmon's "advice" not to vote, and exercised his basic democratic right to cast a ballot. A few hours later, two white supremacist brothers, Johnnie and M. A. Johnson, pushed into the home of the 28-year-old Negro and shot him down before his wife and children. This murder is a token of what to expect under the reign of Talmadge the Second. Like his notorious father, this young American imitator of Hitler campaigned on a lynch-minded platform of racial hatred. It took more than this to clinch his victory, however. Talmadge won through the infamous "unit" system instituted by the Democratic Party in Georgia, which weights

the Negro-hating rural vote against the less-bigoted vote of the cities. In addition, hundreds of Negroes courageous enough to register were struck off the lists by the Talmadge machine. Open terror and intimidation barred thousands more from voting. The hooded Ku Klux Klan rode through Negro districts. Fiery crosses burned in many areas, casting a menacing light over this "election" of an American Fuehrer. Talmadge's accession to the Georgia dictatorship should not be dismissed as a temporary and accidental aberration in American politics that will be righted without effort. It is a sign of the mounting strength of reaction in our land. All the native fascist scum, already emboldened by the anti-labor drive, witch-hunts, "loyalty" purges and "spy" hearings, will take fresh courage at this victory over democracy. Talmadge will now set out to consolidate his power in Georgia. This means a reign of fear and violence that will have repercussions far beyond the borders of that unhappy state. Georgia will become one of the pest-holes of the fascist disease. Let labor pay special attention to organizing serious struggle against this sinister political trend in America! Talmadgeism is on the march. Disaster faces the labor movement if this danger is not recognized and indispensable defensive measures taken in time.

Government Strikebreaking

In a class society, the government functions as the executive committee of the ruling class. This Marxist truth has been made most apparent in the maritime industry. Today on the Pacific Coast, the United States Army is being used to spearhead a strikebreaking assault on the maritime unions engaged in a showdown struggle with the ship-owners. The use of the Army as a strikebreaking agency in the present dispute was a calculated move openly executed by the employers. After breaking off negotiations the employers pushed the Army forward to put the unions "on the spot." A demand was made that the union work Army cargo with the expectation that this demand would be met with a refusal. When the union acceded to the demand the employers declared it was nothing but a "communist trick" and refused to go along. They then demanded that the Army use its "own means" to work cargo. At this snap of the whip the Army fell into line and began recruiting its own "working force"—to fink on the longshoremen. This is only the latest in a whole series of government actions designed to destroy the independent unions of the maritime workers. Following World War I the government smashed the seafaring unions in the lockout of 1921. From 1921 to 1934 the open shop prevailed in the maritime industry. When the

maritime workers on the Pacific Coast began their historic struggle for independent unions in 1934 the government again intervened on the side of the ship operators. General Hugh Johnson, then head of Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Administration, was sent to recruit strike-breakers to put down the strike—which he dubbed a "communist insurrection." In 1936-37 the shipowners tried again to restore the open shop but were compelled to capitulate after a 99 day strike. That encounter proved conclusively that the shipowners were unable, through their own resources, to break the strongly entrenched maritime unions. From then on every major dispute on the waterfront found the unions confronted with the direct intervention of the government acting as agents of the employers. At one time or another, each branch of the government, executive, legislative and judicial, has been brought into play against the unions. The agencies of a capitalist government could not act otherwise than to execute the bidding of their bosses, the bankers, industrialists, and other monopolists. Only a Workers and Farmers government can defend the rights and living standards of the working people. The workers will learn, through such experiences as the maritime workers are going through in their struggles, that only their own class government is worthy of their confidence and support.

SWP Supporters Urged to Intensify Election Fund Campaign Activities

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

This week 11 branches sent in collections amounting to only \$664. This is a sharp decline from previous weekly averages. It is of course understandable in the light of the strenuous election activities in which most of the branches are involved. But the endangering of the fund entails with it the future of the campaign itself. Buffalo, which sent in the largest sum, namely \$220 shows that campaign work need not conflict with the fund campaign, inasmuch as Buffalo has been able to bring itself almost up to the half-way mark directly following the strenuous N.Y. State petition campaign, in which it played an important part.

Many branches are becoming

quite aware of the relatively short time that remains and of the need to speed up fund payments. "From here on out," writes J. White (Conn.), "we will seriously attempt to speed up the drive now that the petition campaign is getting on the ballot is over." Nick Lyons comments that he has been following our campaign closely and is "pleased and inspired by the wonderful work you're doing." Inspiration and concentrated effort — these will unflinchingly put all the branches over the top!

Pittsburgh, which sent in \$40, explains that their "low rating on the campaign fund scoreboard" is due to some setbacks but expects to be "in a better financial position after the Dobbs meeting," and able to correct their

"slow pay" pace. We know that they will do it, as will the other lagging branches. The best of luck, Pittsburgh. Each week sees new individual contributors coming forward to lack the Dobbs - Carlson Campaign. Among these are Wayne Leighty of Duncansville, Pa., Theodore Moss, of Los Angeles, M. Ostlip of Bristol, Pa., Mary Gray of Chicago, who sent \$2, writes: "I know that all these little amounts add up to the big amount we need to carry on the campaign. After hearing the Dobbs speech here on Sept. 6, I felt like giving my whole salary! It was one of the most inspiring talks I have ever heard." Let us hear from more of our friends and readers who feel the same way.

SCOREBOARD FOR \$25,000 SWP ELECTION FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Rochester	50	75	150
Tacoma	50	61	120
Baltimore	50	55	110
Milwaukee	400	414	103
Allentown	50	50	100
St. Louis	50	46	93
Philadelphia	500	425	85
Seattle	600	500	83
West Virginia	100	70	70
Minnesota	2,000	1,392	70
Youngstown	800	545	68
New York City	7,500	4,554	61
Pittsburgh	200	120	60
Reading	150	95	60
Cleveland	400	237	59
Newark	750	425	57
Flint	400	216	54
Los Angeles	2,500	1,115	45
Buffalo	1,000	457	45
San Francisco-Oakland	1,500	654	43
Toledo	200	82	41
Chicago	2,000	808	40
Detroit	1,800	610	38
Boston-Lynn	400	130	32
San Diego	50	13	26
Connecticut	250	32	12
Akron	400	10	3
General	1,075	225	20
Total	\$25,000	\$13,416	54

WORKERS FORUM

Finds Kutcher Persecution Typical Of Capitalism

Editor: The persecution of James Kutcher because of his courageous loyalty to the working class by the capitalist enemy of mankind can be overcome only by the abolition of capitalism and establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth of the World. As long as there is capitalism there will be tyranny, for only under socialism can men be free. Our job will not end by joining with the CRDC, WDL, or ACLU, despite the vital necessity of such action. Each and every one of us must have equal courage with Comrade Kutcher in declaring our loyalty to the socialist struggle and in bringing the message of revolutionary socialism home to our fellow workers. In so doing we must expose the Stalinist betrayers, "Truman liberals" and all others who would confuse and destroy our class. We must never cease in our efforts until the glorious day of victory.

G. R. Stryker
 Bayport, N. Y.

Worker Agrees Landlords Must Go

Editor: Due to the fact that my father has been dead for 15 years, my mother has to work. Our payday (we work at the same place) is on the 15th and the last of each month, therefore, we have had to shift the time of our paying the rent to the 15th of the month. Although we have been faithful tenants, the real estate agency sends us a letter (copy enclosed) every month, threatening to evict us unless the rent is paid. They know now, that their rent will be paid, but they are so greedy and distrustful that this threat never fails to reach us. You can see just what protection a small guy can expect from the infamous, avaricious, capitalist burglars. The Socialist Workers Party must strive to abolish landlordism. Landlords and the real estate groups are really little more than thieves in that they take money for performing no actual labor or service. Private landlords and real estate must be abolished.

J.R.M.
 Harrisburg, Pa.

narotics violations that are the normal fare of your Mister District Attorney.

Harold Swanson
 Minneapolis, Minn.

De Gaulle Threat Mounts

(Continued from page 1) levels. Repeatedly they have engaged in strikes and demonstrations that at times have swept the entire country. Each time inflation has swiftly wiped out their bitterly-won gains. Consequently their dissatisfaction with the capitalist system has grown more and more profound and their desire for a fundamental solution to the acute economic problem facing them has been expressed in actions going far beyond the mere and simple demands of trade unionism. Thus they have formed widely-representative committees, taken over City Halls, occupied factories, shut down key industries, and otherwise indicated that they want an end to capitalism with its poverty, misery, and wars.

DOCILE SERVANTS

The aspirations of the French workers have been thwarted in every way possible by the cowardice and treachery of their official leadership, in the first instance, the Stalinists who still enjoy the largest following. The French Socialists act, as they always have, as the docile servants of the French capitalists. The Stalinist policies, on the other hand, remain wholly subservient to those of the counter-revolutionary Moscow oligarchy. But all this has neither resolved the social crisis gripping France nor softened the class struggle there. On the contrary. The sharpness of class conflicts in France is graphically reflected in the polarization of political camps. The center parties have steadily lost to the de Gaulleist authoritarian movement to the right and to the traditional working class parties to the left which appear to the working people to represent their socialist aspirations. As a result, these center parties, the supply house for all the recent Premiers, have found it more and more difficult to balance the two big camps. Clearly a showdown is shaping up that will end this balancing

role of the center and ultimately result in either the victory of fascism with the crushing of all workers organizations and a further degradation of the living standards or a Workers and Farmers Government coming to power in France and leading the country back on the road to progress.

American Big Business hopes de Gaulle will be winner in this unfolding conflict. Through the editorial columns of its press Wall Street has indicated its impatience over the political instability in France and the "desirability" of a "strong" government such as de Gaulle proposes.

IMPATIENCE AND FEAR

Part of the impatience of American imperialism arises from its desire to consolidate Western Europe for operations against the Soviet Union. This is coupled with fear of the outbreak of a socialist revolution in France which would not only force revision of the war plans but bring Wall Street face to face with serious consequences at home as the inspiration of a new proletarian revolution resounded throughout the world. Washington is already thinking in terms of a deGaullist dictatorship in France. This was shown beyond all dispute by the statement Sept. 10 of Paul G. Hoffman, one of the chief administrators of the Marshall Plan, that de Gaulle in power would not be considered a "fascist" but would be entitled to receive American dollars under ECA. De Gaulle, at present, is stepping up his campaign for new elections. The keynote of his current political tour is "To Power!" The precise moment he chooses to strike is a tactical question. Undoubtedly he bears in mind the advantage of seizing power under cover of strict legality as did Hitler before him in Germany.

The great danger facing the French workers in face of de Gaulle's threat is the lack of the mass revolutionary party.

However, the French Socialists have discredited themselves, while the Stalinists have lost political capital heavily since the



GENERAL DE GAULLE

end of the war. If civil strife erupts in France there is every possibility that Stalinism will not succeed in preventing the formation of the mass revolutionary working class party. Such a party can grow with unexpected speed under the pressure of stern necessity. The Trotskyists, who pointed out the danger of de Gaulle when the Stalinists were among his most ardent supporters, are certain to head the movement that will end once and for all the threat of fascism in France. The rapidity with which key slogans advocated by the Trotskyists have gained popularity in France indicates that such an outcome is already in the making.

Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

- Dobbs-Carlson campaign material, *The Militant*, Fourth International, books and pamphlets on Socialism available.
- ARROW—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p.m.; Branch meeting every Thurs. 8 p.m.
 BALTIMORE—1121 E. Baltimore St., Phone Wolfe 1763. Daily, 9 a.m. - 9 p.m.
 BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 20 Stuart St., open Mon. 5:30-9:00 p.m., Wed. 7-10 p.m.
 BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m., afternoon except Sun.
 CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEARBORN 4767, Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.-5 p.m. Library, bookstore.
 CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Room 801, 8:30 p.m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
 DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave., Phone TR 7-6271, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.
 FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street, Phone: 2-2498, Open House Saturday evenings.
 LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St., Phone VANDYKE 8061.
 SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Street, Room 214.
 WATTS—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St., LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m. Library, bookstore.
 MILWAUKEE—SWP State Campaign Headquarters, 608 S. 5th St., Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Broadway 2-9645.
 MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St., Phone MSH 7-6751, Monthly except Sun., 10 & 11 p.m. Library, bookstore.
 NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p.m. Militant Forum Club, 155 Main St. (next to Strand Street).
 NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8:10-10:30 p.m.
 NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave., Phone BIRMGHAM 2-2674, Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m.
 NEW YORK CITY (HQ.)—118 University Pl., Phone GR. 5-8149.
 EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St., 1st fl.
 HARTLEM—105 W. 110 St., Rm. 23, Phone MO. 2-1958. Open discussion. Thurs. 8 p.m.
 BRONX—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl., Phone LU. 5-0101.
 ST. LOUIS—1530 W. 23rd St., Phone CE. 2-7433.
 CHELSEA—150 W. 23rd St. Phone CE. 2-8164.
 OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.
 PHILADELPHIA—1903-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl., Phone Stevedore 9778. Open daily. Forum, Fri. 8 p.m.
 PITTSBURGH—1418 17th Ave., 2nd fl. Sunday evening discussions on "The SWP Election Program". Every week, 7:30 P. M.
 SAN DIEGO (Cal.)—SWP, 432 "F" St., Room 301.
 SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI. 6-6410. Daily except Sun., 12-1:30 p.m.
 SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. South & Washington, Phone MATA 9778. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting, Fri. 8 p.m. Library, bookstore.
 ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Militant Forum, Thurs., 7:30-10 p.m. ST. PAUL—640 Cedar St., Phone GARFIELD 1137. Open daily, Bookstore.
 TOLEDO — Weekly meeting every Friday night at 7:30, Koops Hall, 413 Summit, Room 1, top fl.
 YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 5-1556. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

Subscribe to **THE MILITANT**

Pitching for Socialism

By Farrell Dobbs, Presidential Candidate

DETROIT, Sept. 18 — The people of Michigan know that the Socialist Workers Party is in the 1948 election battle.

Our Michigan comrades are doing a bang-up job of campaigning. They have a first-class sound truck which is kept in constant use. Thousands of copies of the SWP election platform, pamphlets, The Militant and other literature have been distributed. They are seizing every chance to get in their licks over the radio.

Our local candidates are right in there pitching. Howard Lerner, Genora Dollinger and William Yaney are doing a Trotskyist job in their campaign for Governor, U. S. Senator and Secretary of State.

Every Michigan comrade is carrying the message of socialism right into the factories and the working class and Negro neighborhoods. The workers are giving them a sympathetic hearing.

I have heard numerous stories of workers taking our literature onto the job, reading it by sentences or paragraphs as best they could under the speedup of the auto corporations are imposing upon them. The comrades report that very little of our literature is found on the ground after a distribution. The workers take it, read it and talk about it. Thousands of Michigan workers now know about the SWP, its candidates and its program.

The Flint comrades were right on their toes when strikebreaker Truman came to town. They managed to drive our sound truck, with signs proclaiming our party, candidates and slogans, three-fourths of the way down Truman's parade route. Thousands of people, who were lined up awaiting Truman's appearance, saw and heard the Trotskyists too.

Truman spoke 17 minutes over the major Flint radio. Since Truman received free time, our comrades demanded and won 17 minutes free time for me to answer Truman over the same station. I spoke at 6:15 P. M., right after a broadcast of

the news and baseball scores. A big audience was reached in Flint, Pontiac, Saginaw and many upstate communities.

In Detroit, the comrades distributed over 15,000 pieces of SWP literature at the Truman rally in Cadillac Square. Truman's audience at the Pontiac railroad station received 3,000 copies of SWP campaign material.

My public meetings in Flint and Detroit have been well attended by enthusiastic audiences of auto workers with a good percentage of Negro workers among them. In both cities, the workers have listened attentively to my explanation of the struggle for socialism and have then demanded that I tell them the story of the famous Minneapolis truck drivers strike of 1934.

I visited Chicago before coming to Michigan. Despite the handicap of the Labor Day weekend, the comrades organized impressive public meetings in both Chicago and Indiana Harbor. My explanation of the Workers and Farmers Government and the socialist society it will build was well received by the workers.

In individual conversations with workers after the meetings, I found that they are thinking deeply about the grave political problems confronting them. There is widespread resentment against the treachery of the high union officials in endorsing the hated strikebreaker, Truman.

Comrade Manny Terbovich and I discussed the SWP program in a 15 minute broadcast over the Hammond radio, which has a big audience in the Calumet region where 250,000 industrial workers are concentrated.

The worker comrades told me that in the steel mills in that area there is a great deal of sympathy with the fight of Jimmy Kutcher, our less war-veteran comrade, who has been victimized by the Truman administration because of his political beliefs.

Next stop on my tour is Pontiac, Michigan. From there I go into Ohio. Every stop brings new experiences and new inspiration that our programatically-mighty little party is not so far away from the day when it will be a numerically-powerful big party.

THE MILITANT

Army Aids Bosses in Threat To Smash West Coast Strike

Maritime Workers Prepare For a Show-Down Struggle

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 14—The maritime strike on the Pacific Coast shows all the earmarks of a show-down fight. The employers have the initiative and are out to smash the CIO International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

Organized longshoremen have been the backbone of maritime labor since the days of the great 1934 strike. If the longshore union is destroyed now, the employers know that they will have

See Editorial Government Strikebreaking Page 3

easy days ahead in dealing with the seamen's unions. They have learned this from past experience in dealing with maritime labor.

After World War I, the longshore union was broken in the 1919 strike. Two years later, in 1921, the government and operators combined to get the organized seamen. In a bitterly fought-out strike, with the U.S. Shipping Board holding a club over industry to prevent any deals with the union, the seamen finally went down to defeat.

By directing their heavy fire against the CIO longshoremen now, the operators hope to repeat the pattern of union wrecking that proved so successful for them in the open-shop era following the First World War.

In their present drive against the ILWU the Waterfront Employers' Association has devised a simple stratagem for this stage of the strike. Every statement they make, every news release issued, begins: "We can't do business with communism." This is certainly not a new device. It is an attempt to hide the real issues of the strike, which are more pay and recognition of the union with its long-established principle of the hiring hall.

The employers hope now to take advantage of the red-baiting hysteria being whipped up in Washington. They seek to direct the present wave of reaction against the longshoremen and seamen to over-ride and drown-out the legitimate demands of these workers.

This plan of the employers is now being unfolded over the question of how to move Army cargo tied up by the strike.

After several meetings with local Army brass and a daylong debate among top executives of 152 shipping firms of the Waterfront Employers' Association and 35 members of Pacific American Steamship Association, the employers announced that they will not handle Army cargo.

Their statement said in part: "1 — It would not be in the best interest of the Army mission to resume the handling of its cargo if it required again saddling the operation with the harassment and sabotage of Communist Party-line leadership.

They are trying to build, and explain what the Socialist Workers Party offers: "What the Socialist Workers Party has to offer you is not vote-catching promises but a program that teaches the workers of all races what they can do for themselves when they organize and use their political power. . . His conclusion is "To smash the Jim Crow system altogether, join with the Socialist Workers Party in creating a Workers and Farmers Government!"

"2 — From our experience and knowledge, of transport we are satisfied that our decision will not materially hamper or delay the Army program. The industry will make prompt arrangements with the Army to supply gear, equipment and administrative personnel to handle its cargoes." This open bid for Army strikebreaking was prefaced by a long denunciation of the Stalinist head of the CIO-ILWU. The employers call an offer by Bridges and Co. to move Army cargo "a 100 per cent political move!"

After the shipowners made their demand for Army action the local brass turned down Bridges' offer and announced its intention to hire outside the union hall. This decision was widely publicized but not a single legitimate longshoreman answered the Army's call.

This is the first move to break the strike and it is following a well known pattern in the maritime industry. The shipowners have in every previous crisis called on the government to do the job upon the unions that they themselves could not do.

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 10—Attempts of the Waterfront Employers' Association and Pacific American Shipowners Association to stampede striking longshoremen and seamen into bitter internal wrangling among the several unions involved over the question of anti-communist oaths have failed completely of their purpose as the Pacific Coast maritime strike enters its tenth day with ranks solid.

CIO longshoremen in meetings held up and down the coast voted in a secret ballot by an overwhelming majority against compliance with the Taft-Hartley anti-communist affidavit and to reject the employers' "final offer."

CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards have refused to sign the anti-communist affidavits, and the membership has overwhelmingly rejected the "final offer" made to them. The Independent Marine Firemen, while among the first to sign the Taft-Hartley oath, are not shaken by the operators' propaganda. The operators have shown the same hostility and arrogance to them as to the non-complying unions.

Indicative of the Firemen's attitude is the statement of their union president in his report to the membership on negotiations: "In thirty days time they won't be talking so tough and in sixty days time they will be a little more reasonable. . ."

The present arrogant attitude of the operators is evidence that they never at any time wanted to reach an agreement. They had hoped to place the onus of breaking off negotiations on the unions.

Censored



This scene and others showing American troops and Sherman tanks helping Japanese police break a strike of movie workers at the Toho film studio were ordered deleted from Japanese newsreels by General Douglas MacArthur's censors. Federated Pictures

When this failed they adopted the line of "you can't do business with communism."

The present red-baiting campaign is directed ostensibly against Harry Bridges, Stalinist president of the longshore union. Actually it is directed against the unions of striking seamen and longshoremen.

There was no question of "not doing business with communism" during the whole long period of the war when Bridges was the pliant tool of the operators, giving away many of the conditions longshoremen had fought for. Bridges then was what they call the "responsible union representatives."

Times have changed now. The longshoremen are demanding restoration of some of their old conditions. In the longshore locals up and down the coast they have found new leaders who rose to prominence in opposition to Bridges' wartime sell-out policies. This is the pressure to which Bridges has partly adjusted his tactics, and is therefore speaking more militantly.

Negotiations have been placed in the hands of a top committee of International officials headed by Bridges. But the demands that this committee has advanced are those formulated by the membership of the longshore locals.

The longshoremen are demanding, 1) retention of the present hiring hall set up, 2) 18c. an hour pay increase and, 3) elimination of penalty clauses in contract.

Despite the seeming solid front of the employers there are some indications of a rift developing among the operators. Independent stevedoring companies in the Northwest have signed up with

the longshoremen. The Shepard Line steamship company has agreed to sign with the Marine Firemen and Marine Cooks under all terms and conditions existing up to September 1 when the strike was called, and in addition to pay a bonus of \$20 per month per man until such time as an agreement is signed with the PASA.

The San Francisco Chronicle reported at the beginning of the strike that "a quick check showed that at least some shipping operators were seriously disturbed at the anti-Communist tack (of the WEA and PASA)." This is beginning to become manifest in the feelers and offers now

Auto Local Backs Anti-Oath Officers

SOUTHGATE, Calif. Sept. 2 — A bitter 8-month battle ended in victory for six officers of UAW Local 216 who had refused to sign Taft-Hartley "yellow dog" affidavits.

In a stormy meeting, a guilty verdict brought in by the Trial Committee failed to secure the necessary two-thirds vote of the membership. The vote was 255 in favor of the "guilty" verdict and 178 against.

The issue arose last December when right-wing elements succeeded in pushing through a motion requiring all members of the Shop Committee and Executive Board to sign the so-called "non-communist" affidavits. This was in direct violation of UAW policy to keep signing of such affidavits to the minimum. The Taft-Hartley Law requires affidavits only from the nine top officers of the union.

The six were accused of dereliction of duty as officers, and conduct unbecoming a union member for refusing to sign the affidavits.

Rather took no action to bring the fight to an end, even though it has disrupted the local for eight months and made effective struggle against the speed-up impossible.

The rejection of the Trial Committee verdict indicates that the members of this General Motors Local are more concerned about the speed-up than they are with the political views of democratically-elected officers.

being made by some of the companies.

It is not surprising that the shipping hogs are already beginning to break ranks. They are right now enjoying the greatest profits in their long racketeering history. Companies that made over a million in 1947 include most of the operators now struck on the Coast: American-Hawaiian, American Mail Line, American President Line, and Moore-McCormack Lines. Moore-McCormack, an east coast outfit, made over \$9-million dollars. Adding their 1947 profits to the undistributed profits of earlier years, the American President Lines, a government-owned company and one of the mainstays of PASA, had between 15 and 16 million dollars in the bank.

These operators must think constantly of their lush profits that the strike has temporarily halted, and many of them are wondering if an "ideological war" against communism is worth the cost.

While the operators seem to be weakening on this issue, the unions have seized the challenge and are strengthening their ranks. In an advertisement appearing in all San Francisco papers, the unions' position is clearly stated: "Refusal to comply with the Taft-Hartley Law is not 'communism.' It's good, common sense trade unionism."

"It is the policy of the independent United Mine Workers, whose president happens to be a Republican.

"It is the policy of the CIO United Steelworkers, whose president happens to be a Democrat.

"It is the policy of the AFL International Typographical Union, whose leaders are of varied political convictions.

"At any rate, we make our stand on one simple, democratic principle: The policy of any union in relation to the Taft-Hartley Law cannot be dictated by the employers. It must, and will be determined by the democratic will of the union membership."

Have you asked your Friends to Help the Dobbs-Carlson Campaign?

In the World's Steel Center

By Grace Carlson, Vice-Presidential Candidate

The Pittsburgh-Youngstown area is widely known as the steel center of the world. Along the shores of the Mahoning, Allegheny and Monongahela rivers are located some of Steel's biggest names — Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Jones and Laughlin, Carnegie-Illinois, U.S. Steel, Republic Steel. To recite these names is to recall long years of workers' struggle against these huge corporations and some of the bloodiest — and noblest — pages in American labor history.

But many other and varied industries are also located in the Pittsburgh area. This area has the largest tin plate mill in the world; the largest electrical manufacturing works in the world; the largest plate glass manufacturing plant in the world; the largest food producing plant in the world, and so forth and so on.

Pittsburgh's downtown area, between the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers before they join to form the Ohio River is known as the "golden triangle." Billions of dollars of wealth is concentrated in the hands of the capitalist monopolists of the "golden triangle." They own everything in sight — but they don't own the future. We own the future — we who are building the foundations of a workers' world.

We made a very important down payment on the future when we established Socialist Workers Party branches in Youngstown and Pittsburgh. These Trotskyists are facing up to their big capitalist opponents — who own the newspapers, the radio networks, and the local governments of these cities — and they are getting in some telling blows. At the present time, it may seem like a David-Goliath contest, but after all the tiny David won out over the giant Goliath because he was properly armed!

Armed with the Socialist Workers Party election program, the Youngstown and Pittsburgh Trotskyists are demanding — and getting — publicity in the press, free radio interviews and many other concessions usually granted only to capitalist party candidates. And all of this intensive and enthusiastic campaigning has brought results. There were many new faces at the public meetings in Youngstown, Hazelwood and Pittsburgh and many pieces of Trotskyist literature were taken back to steelworkers and electrical workers homes for future study.

And when these workers and the many more who will be reached through them really understand that the Carnegies and the Mellons and their kind play no useful role in our society, we will be at the dawn of the bright future of Socialism.

Letter to American Negroes

By Dinah Sanders

Perhaps never before has the question of the Negro's rights been used so sordidly as a political football as in this present election year. Back and forth it goes — Truman issuing his civil rights declaration, passionately avowing his concern for the Negro people, and Wallace countering with his Southern Tour to show how willing he is to sacrifice while Truman only talks.

Back and forth it goes — with Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, who supports Wallace this year, castigating Walter White of the NAACP who supports Truman, for "abandoning efforts to ease the world plight of the Negro people to serve the interests of President Truman's Administration." Round and round it goes — with Negro preachers plunking for a national "Truman Sunday" in the churches, and Adam Clayton Powell teetering astride the political fence, so fearful of his political future.

But above this yammering and bidding for votes, rises a calm voice of reassurance — a splendid pamphlet called "A Letter to American Negroes" (published by Pioneer Publishers). Bohannan, the writer, a Negro himself, tells his people the truth. He explains about politicians and promises; he recounts the lessons of the Civil War, and tells about the class struggle today. Having lived the class struggle for the 35 years of his life, first in Georgia and then in Newark, N. J., Bohannan knows the fate of the Negro

in a capitalist society, and he knows the truth: "Either the working people will take power and establish a Workers and Farmers Government or the capitalists will drag us all down to barbarism and ruin."

"A Letter to American Negroes," in addition to posing the question, gives the answer: "A Workers and Farmers Government. It tells how: "The same way that the capitalists came to power — that is, through organization and action, above all, political action." And then it tells about Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, SWP candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. It tells of their records in the class struggle and the fight for the second emancipation of the Negroes. It compares their record with that of politicians like Henry Wallace, who talks a good fight against Jim Crow today when running for office, but who, when in office, declined to end discrimination in his own Commerce and Agricultural departments.

Bohannan exposes the kind of party Wallace is trying to build, and explains what the Socialist Workers Party offers: "What the Socialist Workers Party has to offer you is not vote-catching promises but a program that teaches the workers of all races what they can do for themselves when they organize and use their political power. . . His conclusion is "To smash the Jim Crow system altogether, join with the Socialist Workers Party in creating a Workers and Farmers Government!"

Notes from the News

LEAD STRIKE — An important strike of the CIO Mine, Mill and Smelter Union against the mines, mills and smelters of the St. Joseph Lead Co. of Flat River, Missouri is entering its tenth week. After the strike began the company broke off all negotiations stating it would not deal with the union because it has not signed the Taft-Hartley affidavits.

ANOTHER UE SECESSION — Workers of the Royal Typewriter Co. at Hartford, Conn., belonging to the CIO United Electrical Workers, voted overwhelmingly in an NLRB election for the CIO auto union. 5,448 ballots were cast in the election. The results were: for the UAW, 4,954; no union, 381; 33 were challenged and 80 ballots voided.

TELEPHONE WORKERS — The CIO Telephone Workers and the Independent Communica-

tion Workers of America announced that the two unions have joined forces for a "co-operative effort to break the Bell System's opposition to a third round wage increase for the 500,000 workers employed by Bell."

WEISBORD IN LONDON — Albert Weisbord, leader in 1936 Passaic textile strike and head of left-wing Weisbord group for many years is now in Britain representing the AFL Hat and Millinery Workers Union on the Marshall Plan.

LOUDSPEAKER RULING — Magistrate Peter Abeles of Bronx Magistrates' Court upheld the right of a political campaigner to use a loudspeaker in New York City without a police permit. Abeles dismissed a complaint brought by the Police Department.

New Jersey Candidates of SWP Expose UN

NEWARK, N. J., Sept. 4—

The goal of the Socialist Workers Party is "the establishment of Workers and Farmers Governments in all countries, based on production for use and joined together in a Socialist United States of the World." The New Jersey candidates of the SWP today informed Carl Van Doren, chairman of the editorial board of World Government News, a periodical advocating a "federal world government."

Mr. Van Doren had sent a questionnaire to George Breitman, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, and William E. Bohannan, SWP candidate for Congress in New Jersey's 11th District.

The questions asked were: 1. Do you believe the United Nations should be transformed into a federal world government with powers adequate to keep world peace and with direct jurisdiction over individual persons in matters delegated to it? 2. If you become a member of the 81st Congress, will you support legislation to bring this about?

THE ANSWERS The answers of the SWP candi-



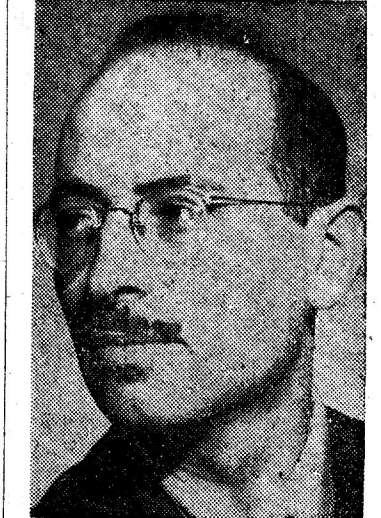
WILLIAM E. BOHANNAN SWP candidate for Congress, 11th District, N. J.

dates, in a letter dated Sept. 4, 1948 were as follows: "In response to the questions which you have asked the undersigned candidates of Congress, we prefer to express our views

through this letter rather than through the Yes-or-No check-sheet you sent us. At the same time, you will observe that we are by no means evading your questions.

"In our opinion the United Nations is incapable of securing or keeping world peace, no matter what transformations it may undergo. Like the League of Nations, it is dominated by a few powerful governments which are divided by profoundly antagonistic economic and national interests and are engaged in incessant warfare, whether of the cold or hot variety. These governments are concerned only with protecting and promoting the interests and privileges of their rulers—the oppressive capitalist class in the United States, the oppressive bureaucratic caste in Russia. In their struggle for control over markets, raw materials and military bases these governments are even prepared to plunge the whole world into a civilization-shattering war.

"So long as such governments are in power, the United Nations will continue to serve as an arena for world rivalry and maneuvers,



GEORGE BREITMAN SWP candidate for U. S. Senate, N. J.

and as a mask behind which war preparations by the enemies of the people will proceed at an everfaster pace. The transformation of the United Nations into a "federal world government" based on such reactionary regimes and with direct jurisdiction over in-

dividual persons in matters delegated to it would solve nothing. It would only strengthen the hand of the dominant imperialist bloc in the United Nations and, if anything, would act to sharpen the tensions leading to war.

"Lasting peace can be attained only by the scrapping of national boundaries and through the co-operation and fraternity of the peoples of the world. But such a change cannot be effected without the abolition of the capitalist system of production for profit, which is the basic cause of imperialist wars. Our aim is the establishment of Workers and Farmers Governments in all countries, based on production for use and joined together in a Socialist United States of the World. This is the only kind of 'world federation' that can work because it is the only kind that will make possible international economic and political collaboration to destroy poverty and institute world abundance. The Socialist Workers Party and its candidates are pledged to support all measures, inside and outside of Congress, that will lead to this goal."