

SWP CANDIDATES IN 13 STATES

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THE MILITANT

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OPPOSE THE WAR-MAKERS ON NOV. 2!

Vote the Dobbs-Carlson Ticket of the Socialist Workers Party!

By FARRELL DOBBS and GRACE CARLSON SWP Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates.



FARRELL DOBBS



GRACE CARLSON

BRAVERMAN CARRIES BALLOT FIGHT TO OHIO STATE COURT

COLUMBUS, Oct. 19—The Supreme Court of Ohio heard arguments on the Braverman case today. The Socialist Workers Party in Youngstown is fighting to place the name of Harry Braverman on the ballot as a candidate for Congress from the 19th Congressional District. The hearing was attended by Ted Selander, Ohio State Secretary of the S.W.P., and Braverman, who served as his own attorney.

people who had signed the Braverman petition and had moved to another address after registering. In the final stages of the fight, the county prosecuting attorneys spent two days taking depositions from clerks of the Board of Elections before a court stenographer. Since all the witnesses were subjected to cross examination by Braverman, doubt was cast on (Continued on page 3)

Rally for Socialist America in N. Y. to Hear Dobbs-Carlson

The response so far indicates a packed hall on October 27 at the "Rally for a Socialist America," the final mass meeting scheduled by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party to climax the election campaign, according to Michael Bartell, Local Organizer.

Speakers at the meeting will be Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential candidate; Grace Carlson, Vice-Presidential candidate; and Wm. E. Bohannon, SWP Congressional candidate in New Jersey. James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party will act as chairman.

The rally will be held at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd St., Wednesday, Oct. 27, 8 p.m.

We have travelled thousands of miles and talked to millions, in person and over the radio, and always we have hammered on the main point: There is one overwhelming and decisive issue before the American people—War.

As sharply and unequivocally as we know how, we have repeated our basic theme: Either the workers and farmers take political power, set up a Workers and Farmers Government and establish a socialist peace; or capitalism in its death frenzy will level civilization under the atomic bomb.

All other crucial problems of our times—inflation and depression, the destruction of civil liberties, the oppression of the Negro people, the abominable housing conditions—all these finally depend for their solution upon our ending the dominant evil, capitalist war.

The very preparations for war preclude even temporary and partial solutions of our grave social problems. How can we build millions of needed new homes, when the capitalist government diverts huge quantities of labor and materials into building the mightiest military force ever known? How can we keep prices down, when Washington drains \$45 billion dollars a year from our pockets for the war budget? How can we safeguard civil rights, when the militarists and jingoes are trying to whip the people into docile industrial slaves and bomb-fodder for the conduct of total war?

Consequences of New War

And this is nothing compared to what war itself will bring us. Even capitalist publications like U. S. News admit that in this next war the American people will suffer not less than 9 to 10 million casualties; labor will be placed under an iron military heel; we will spend not less than 500 million dollars; the national debt will pile up to as much as 750 billion dollars; production of all consumers goods will be halted and the dollar won't be worth ten cents.

Surely this prospect—and it is one of terrible immediacy—overshadows all other questions. Surely it should be the question of greatest urgency and discussion in this election campaign.

Yet both Truman and Dewey have declared that the question of foreign policy—of war or peace—is not an issue in politics." On this gravest of questions, they demand a single-minded "unity." And any who would raise the issue, or cast doubts upon the bi-partisan war course, they brand as "subversive" and threaten with suppressive laws and prosecution.

Why do they fear to bring this life-and-death question before the American people? Why do they threaten any party, like ours, which dares to examine this question publicly and demands that the people themselves, by referendum vote, decide this issue on which rests their whole future and the fate of humanity?

Because this conspiracy to once again plunge the American nation into war cannot stand the light of day, cannot bear full and free discussion. Because this war conspiracy hatched by the bankers and brass hats can only be put over on a docile, confused and unwary people, who are not in possession of the facts.

Why is the Wall Street money oligarchy plunging into a new war adventure? Are they

madmen? They are driven by the very system itself to expand and crush all rivals just as were the German industrialists and bankers before the last world war. American capitalist economy would be in mortal crisis today if the government expenditures for war preparations did not prop up production.

American capitalist economy with its tremendous accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, with the ever-growing lag between expanding productive capacity and diminishing purchasing power of the masses, is pushed inexorably to reach out for control of the world, to eliminate all competitors in the world market, to seize every possible field for new investments for idle capital.

Grasp This Reality!

Grasp this reality, fellow workers of America! The profit system breeds wars. All the propagandist talk about defending democracy against totalitarianism is deception. If the brutal Stalinist regime did not exist, U. S. capitalism would find other pretexts for war just as it did in 1917 and 1941.

That is why Wallace lies when he says his program can prevent war. Remember, Wallace boasts that he is "the best friend of capitalism." He upholds and defends the profits system. If he demagogically seeks votes today by his fake promise of "peace," tomorrow, as he already has promised, he will support U. S. imperialism if and when it goes to war. Because Wallace believes in capitalism first and foremost, he can only disarm and mislead any anti-war movement, and betray it at the crucial moment.

As for Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party, he supported American imperialism in the second world war and has already promised to support it again in the next world war.

Our record, the courageous conduct of our leaders in the face of persecution and jail sentences, is convincing proof that the SWP is a genuine fighter against capitalist war, is the only real anti-war party. But aren't we too small to be effective? Isn't it better to vote for a bigger party, like Wallace's, despite its support of capitalism, and thus pile up a big protest vote against war?

Vote SWP On Nov. 2

That is false thinking. The capitalists are not afraid of fake anti-war movements, regardless of their size. Sometimes they even help organize them to head off effective opposition. The only real, the only effective fight against war and the preparations for war is the fight to take power out of the hands of the war makers and place it in the hands of the representatives of the workers and farmers. That is why a vote for the SWP on Nov. 2 is the most effective way of building the anti-war forces and staying the hands of the war-makers, the most effective way of giving new hope and courage to the left wing forces throughout the country, the most effective way of transforming the socialist movement into a movement of masses and summoning the American people to the struggle for a Socialist America.

VOTE SWP ON NOV. 2!

The Answer to Capitalist Politics!



Carey Denounces Firing Of Kutcher, Legless Vet

James Kutcher is rapidly becoming a national symbol in the defense of democratic rights and civil liberties in America. Kutcher is the legless Purple Heart veteran who was fired from his \$42-a-week clerical job with the Veterans Administration at Newark, N.J., because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

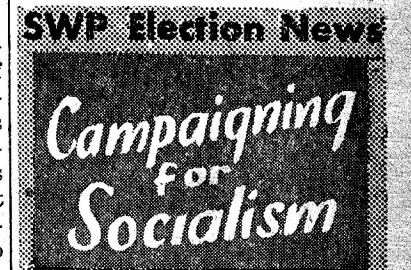
At the annual N.Y. Herald Tribune forum on Oct. 19, James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO, cited the case to show how far the reactionary drive against civil liberties has proceeded in America. Kutcher was fired, Carey said, "because he was an admitted member of an organization... gratuitously termed subversive in the personal opinion of the Attorney General. Is it only incidental that the man in question is a war veteran who lost both of his legs in World War II?"

The Oct. 20 N.Y. Star carried a scathing article by Gerald W. Johnson under the title: "Jim Kutcher's Loyalty Versus High Echelon Loyalty." The politicians in high office can be disloyal with impunity, states Johnson. In contrast, Johnson pointed to the case of Kutcher: "James Kutcher left his legs—both of them—in Italy, but that's no proof of loyalty. He joined the Socialist Workers Party and that cancels honorable service in the United States army in time of war, because the Socialist Workers Party is not approved by the Attorney-General... James Kutcher has been discovered, exposed, and driven from his job in the Veterans' Bureau branch office at Newark. So we can once more sleep easy at night; the country is saved."

The Brooklyn Eagle in an editorial Oct. 18 scored the firing of Kutcher: "We deplore this incident and believe an injustice has been done." It held that the Trotskyists "certainly do not rank as subversives," and pointed out that "there is nothing unconstitutional about a man subscribing to a philosophy of Socialism, Communism or any other radical idea... We doubt that anything will be gained by singling out individuals such as this veteran and applying an overall policy of subversion against them."

The Kutcher case was likewise prominently featured in the October issue of the New Jersey CIO News. It reported the activities of the State CIO Council and State CIO President Carl Holderman in defense of James Kutcher's civil rights. "Holderman pledged CIO support of Kutcher's fight for reinstatement at a press conference held under the auspices of the Civil Rights Defense Committee," the union paper reported. "The State CIO President denounced the government's loyalty probe as a 'very infectious business that is spreading beyond the confines of government ser-

vice into labor." In New Jersey the list of organizations supporting the state Kutcher Civil Rights Committee is steadily growing. The Baptist Ministers Conference of Newark and Vicinity, representing Negro clergymen who speak for congregations of more than 100,000 people, has formally endorsed the fight on behalf of the veteran. The members of the Newark branch of the NAACP took a collection for the committee and referred the question of endorsement to their executive board. Contributions and resolutions of support should be sent to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, 19 West 10th St., New York 11, N.Y. The address of the committee in New Jersey is 843 Broad St., Newark.



By George Clarke SWP Campaign Manager

We're on the home stretch now and the pace is quickening throughout the country to wind up this glorious first Trotskyist Presidential election campaign in a grand finale. The campaigners for Dobbs and Carlson are on the ball everywhere spreading the party message, selling pamphlets and subscriptions to the Militant, speaking in halls and on the streets and getting out the vote for the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Here in New York, the climax will come with the Rally for a Socialist America, to be held on Wednesday night, Oct. 27th at the Hotel Diplomat. Everything has (Continued on page 2)

Dobbs Forces Thomas to Admit Pro-War Position

By Joseph Hansen

The debate between Farrell Dobbs, Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party and Norman Thomas, Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, held in New York, Oct. 17, was an important event in the 1948 election. It was the only debate in which two candidates for the highest office in the country discussed their programs from the same public platform. It was also the first time in many years that workers of New York had the opportunity to hear issues debated by leading representatives of opponent working class parties. The audience was estimated at 1,000.

Farrell Dobbs, opening the debate, sought to prove that only the socialist program of Marxism can lead humanity from poverty, fascism, and imperialist war to peace, freedom and abundance and that the Socialist Workers Party has consistently adhered to this program while the Socialist Party under Norman Thomas has abandoned Marxism and in World War II openly supported American imperialism.

Norman Thomas claimed in his presentation that the Socialist Workers Party does not have a scientific attitude toward the social and political realities of the day, but adheres to Marxism as to a religion, that we must reject this theologian's approach to the burning questions of our time and adopt a realistic way of looking at the world.

The debate thus boiled down to the question, does the science of Marxism still apply to present day realities or has it become an out-moded doctrine that must be replaced by something more "scientific"?

"We are actually dealing here with a century-old struggle waged by the adherents of scientific socialism against all pretenders who have advocated, under a socialist label, programs and theories that have nothing in common with socialism," Dobbs declared in his opening remarks.

Comrade Dobbs posed four basic questions: "Why has the bankrupt system of capitalism survived? Why has the Russian revolution degenerated? Why has the scourge of fascism lacerated mankind? Why have the devastations

of one world war been followed by another, with a third and more terrible war in open preparation?"

"The imperialists could 'dragon' the socialist working class of Europe into the first world war in 1914 thanks only to the betrayal of the Social Democratic leaders." These leaders preached socialism in peace-time but when "war broke out they forgot their promises and supported the war of the imperialists. They set the pattern in World War I which Norman Thomas followed in World War II."

By way of contrast, Lenin and Trotsky and their collaborators, who adhered to the program of Marxism, "fought capitalism in war as in peace" and succeeded in leading the great Russian revolution of 1917.

This socialist revolution, had it spread to the other European countries, "would have sounded the death knell of capitalism" but the Social Democratic leaders who "continued to preach socialism in words" placed themselves "at the service of the capitalist class and its regime. The Social Democratic leaders saved tottering capital-

ism, and took over the responsibility of government when the capitalists were no longer able to rule in their own name."

These Social Democratic leaders instigated the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg who were trying to prepare the socialist revolution in Germany. "It was this ruthless crushing of the German socialist revolution that opened the road to Hitler and enabled Stalinism to rise in Russia."

Dobbs then pointed out that Stalinism is a "cowardly, national reformist movement which began with the repudiation of revolutionary internationalism and thereby broke fundamentally with the doctrines and the traditions of Bolshevism."

Thus Stalinism has nothing in common with Marxism. "At bottom, Stalinism has very much in common with the reformist Social Democrats. The Stalinists," declared Dobbs, "have consistently and unceasingly fought the Marxist Internationalists, the Trotskyists, with every weapon from frame-up and slander to mass murder and individual assassination, while they have frequently colla-

borated in the most intimate manner with the reformist socialists of the Social Democratic camp in all countries of the world, including the United States.

"The prolonged survival of capitalism, with all its frightful consequences, is due primarily to the influence and the treacherous work of these two reformist currents in the labor movement, one falsely calling itself 'socialist,' and the other 'Communist.' All the might of American imperialism could not save international capitalism, nor save itself, without their aid."

Dobbs then explained why the program of Marxism retains its full validity. So long as an irreconcilable conflict of class interests exists between the workers and their capitalist exploiters, "the political program of a working class party must be determined accordingly. All the political actions and judgments of a workers' party must always be directed against the capitalist class, and never be taken in collaboration with them. The class struggle is the central and governing principle of socialist politics." This class struggle must be

carried "to its necessary conclusion—that is, to the victory of the working class and the abolition of capitalism." In this way "the socialist society will be realized. This is the teaching of Marxism. There is no other way."

A successful socialist revolution in America would mean not only the end of reactionary capitalist regimes throughout the world but in addition "the monstrous Stalinist regime of police oppression, forced labor and bloody purges could never survive the American socialist revolution."

Comrade Dobbs then analyzed the position of Norman Thomas, demonstrating that it represented not socialism but bourgeois liberalism. Prior to World War II, Thomas promised to oppose imperialist war; but when the conflict broke out, he broke his promise. Norman Thomas "derives his basic policies from the American State Department, as shown by his support of the imperialist war from 1941 to 1945 and his present support of the Marshall Plan which is nothing but the program of preparation (Continued on page 2)

Dobbs Bares Thomas's War Role

(Continued from page 1)

for another world war." In contrast to the bourgeois liberalism of Norman Thomas, Dobbs demonstrated how the program of the Socialist Workers Party, independent of both the Kremlin and Washington and in the tradition of Marxism "is designed to serve the interests of the working people and not of their masters or bureaucratic betrayers."

Dobbs concluded: "The alliance of the American imperialists with all the reactionary, privilege-seeking elements throughout the world is a great and fearsome power. But the alliance of the great American working class with the oppressed and freedom-seeking peoples of the world is a still mightier power. And in the end it will prevail."

THOMAS REPLY

Norman Thomas in reply declared: "The difference I will accept is this: Farrell Dobbs hails as scientific that which seems to me in a peculiar and rather appalling sense theological."

Thomas attempted to depict the real world as he views it — "a world in which there are very grave dangers — the danger of war. I look out at a world in which poverty is unquenched, despite our marvelous technological power. I look out on a world in which the increase, as if by explosion of populations in certain lands threatens the whole world with hunger unless we can vastly improve agricultural practice, stop the erosion of top soil, and voluntarily, probably, check the increase of population."

Thomas praised the democracy he sees in America: "It is a capitalist country in which it has been

demonstrated that if and when the workers generally desire, they can win a great deal for themselves and they can win it by pretty orderly processes." Thomas held that democracy "has a good deal of reality" in capitalist America, otherwise "we wouldn't be holding this meeting."

CLASS COLLABORATION

In reply to the charge that he collaborated with the capitalist class, Thomas pointed to the "collaboration of people" in giving Leon Trotsky a hearing in Mexico and in demanding a pardon for the 18 Trotskyists railroaded to prison during World War II for their socialist views. He did not bother to point out that the "collaboration" scored by Dobbs was specifically collaboration with the imperialist war-mongers and their agents in the State Department on behalf of the Wall Street war preparations program.

In contrast to the picture he painted of democracy in America, Thomas pointed to the Soviet Union where the Stalinist regime is in power. "The most complete tyranny that the world has ever seen in action. Now don't read me words out of a book. Don't tell me there is no private property and there is no capitalist class. The state has taken over the functions. The dictatorial state has taken over the functions of the old capitalist class and your bud and there is no capitalist class. more tyrannical than capitalists under the curbs that we have succeeded in imposing."

This state of affairs in the Soviet Union, Thomas held to be a direct consequence of Bolshevism. "The arid controversies, the bitterness, the cold impersonal cruelty that have worked such woe on the great scale of mighty

Russia are all to be found in the history of the Bolshevik party before 1914."

Thomas saw the main job as one to stop "the drive which has taken the slave state to the very borders of central Germany." "How is it going to be stopped?" he demanded.

Thomas advocated as a realistic program an appeal to all nations to disarm: "The end of the armament race and the strengthening of the United Nations, abolishing of veto power. Those who want that, have a program, a program worth advocating."

BREAKS PLEDGE

At the conclusion of his first rebuttal, Dobbs asked Thomas why he had broken his promise to oppose war, solemnly given in the resolution passed by Thomas and his friends at the 1936 Socialist Party convention.

Thomas was forced to give an explanation: "I never was a 100 percent satisfied in 1936 with that resolution. It was a compromise resolution. But I was willing to accept it as a compromise resolution of that date. It did not prove adequate to the development of facts in the following years."

He tried to make out a difference between one imperialist war and another, trying to justify his support of World War II in contrast to his opposition to World War I. He came to the conclusion that revolution was not likely in "any conceivable time." All we had was a "tremendous choice of evils." And so he decided that the best thing he could do was to give "critical support" to the imperialist war.

Farrell Dobbs ended the debate by expressing his confidence in



Farrell Dobbs at the rostrum in the debate with Norman Thomas (seated) Oct. 17 at the Hotel Diplomat in New York. George Clarke (background), SWP Campaign Manager, acted as chairman.

the revolutionary capacities of the American working class: "Norman Thomas doesn't believe that the workers have the power to make a revolution and that's why he falters and halts and leans back on the American State Department. He's got no faith in the working class. We HAVE. And that's where we differ fundamentally with the Socialist Party. We have unbounded faith in the mighty American working class and we stake our lives on that future that will be made by the struggle to make a proletarian revolution, overthrow the capitalist system and build a socialist America and go on from there to build a socialist world."

Campaigning For Socialism

(Continued from page 1)

pointed to this meeting in the work of the New York organization. The dozens of street meetings, the organization of Dobbs-Carlson clubs, the speeches before forums, the distribution of thousands of pieces of literature—all form the background of what is expected to be the biggest party rally in the campaign.

Don't miss it — and if you've got a friend or shopmate who wants to hear the best in America, don't let him or her miss the Rally for a Socialist America — featuring Farrell Dobbs, Grace Carlson, James P. Cannon and William Bohannon.

PHILADELPHIA STORY

Our Philadelphia campaigners have been so shy and retiring about talking of their campaign doings that we never fully appreciated the big things going on in the City of Brotherly Love. But we had our eyes opened at the campaign rally there a week ago Saturday. The large party hall was crowded to the doors with workers from the Westinghouse plant, young students, people who had heard our speakers on street corners, Negro workers and even some mothers with their kids. And what an enthusiastic gathering. Your campaign manager was a little nervous about pinching Dobbs but he got the thrill of his life when he started to speak. And Grace Carlson, who made a grand speech, told me the same thing. It was our crowd — a workers' crowd, every last one.

Philadelphia has really been campaigning in the streets — I think they don't take second place in this even to New York. They have an excellent loud speaker system and they're out on the street night after night. Hundreds of subs have been sold on the corners and innumerable supporters of Dobbs and Carlson and the SWP have been won.

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IT'S DONE WHEN DUNNE DOES IT

A smashing campaign for U.S. Senator is being conducted by Vincent R. Dunne in Minnesota. He's the man who led the movement that made Minneapolis a union town. Comrade Dunne is really making it hot for Ball, the bosses' man and that phony progressive, Mayor Humphrey. His name is in the papers day after day challenging his two rivals to a debate, blasting them from hell to breakfast, exposing the double-talk, the deceit and the real record. Vincent has been on the radio, speaking at forums and thousands of the best-looking and hardest-hitting campaign leaflets are circulating throughout the state. I wish I had more space to quote from comrade Dunne's speeches and statements. They've got the same lethal quality as Joe Louis' haymakers.

ANOTHER BIG DEBATE

One of the best indications of the recognition our campaign is getting are the debates our candidates are having with representatives of the major parties. The

outstanding one in this field is reported from Los Angeles where Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP candidate in the 19th Congressional District was scheduled to debate her opponents, the Democrat Holfield, endorsed by Wallace, and the Republican Quigley. We hope to have a report on this event next week.

While we are on L.A., here are a few notes on comrade Dobbs' visit in that city two weeks ago. As in San Francisco, the biggest audience in ten years came to hear Dobbs, Cannon and Myra Weiss. And the night before the meeting there was a reception for Dobbs with the hall full of workers from the GM plant, maritime and oil strikers, needle trades workers and others — they talked about their problems with comrade Dobbs for hours. In addition a good street meeting was held in Boyle Heights, a Stalinist stronghold where Wallace had spoken a few days before.

A Mexican auto worker summed up the impression Dobbs had made: "He's not just another politician — he's one of us."

QUESTION BOX CORNER

At a UAW symposium in Bristol, Conn., attended by representatives of all parties, a Republican newspaperman asked comrade Dobbs the kind of questions he relished. Do you subscribe to the philosophy of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky? Do you want to abolish the capitalist system? Isn't your party on the subservient list? Do you advocate that soldiers elect their own officers? Weren't you jailed for opposing the last war? The man wasn't a stooge, he was an opponent!

Another interesting sidelight of this debate was the way the Democratic representative "boosted" Truman. "After all," he pleaded, "Truman is less irresponsible, less dangerous and less obnoxious than Dewey."

STALINISTS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The "lesser evil" gentlemen are being paid off in their own coin every day. Take this case. No sooner did Wallace get through supporting Humphrey, the Democrat for Minnesota Senator, Humphrey paid them back by declaring that the Taft-Hartley law was not a major issue in the campaign. That being the case, Robert Wishart, once a well known Stalinist union leader and now a supporter of Humphrey invited Joe Ball, one of the inspirers of the Taft-Hartley Law, to speak before his UE local. Ball started his speech with a denunciation of the national UE leadership as "communists." Yes, that's right Wishart didn't invite Vincent Dunne to speak before the local.

Most of those at the Dobbs-Thomas debate last Sunday were surprised to see me as chairman. Here's how it happened. Liston Oak, editor of the Social Democratic New Leader was scheduled to be the impartial chairman. Ten minutes before the debate opened we discovered by accident that he had prepared a speech where he declared his support of Thomas and denounced the Trotskyists as "immoral Bolsheviks." We objected, saying that the debate called for only one speaker on each side. Then I won the toss with Fleischmann of the S.P. How right Trotsky was when he warned us to watch our pockets when these fakers start talking about morality. . . Bouquets to Jack Dale of L.A. who is now campaigning in Utah.

Dobbs Asks Interview with Truman

(Upon receiving the following letter of reply from Peyton Ford, Assistant to Attorney General Clark, Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential candidate requested a personal interview with President Truman. The correspondence is printed below.)

Dear Mr. Dobbs:

Your letter of September 29, 1948, to the President concerning the inclusion of the Socialist Workers Party among the organizations designated by the Attorney General, as within the purview of Executive Order 9835 has been referred to this department.

The list of organizations made public by the Civil Service Commission on September 25, 1948, to which you have referred, does not, as you know represent additional or "expanded" designations but is merely a consolidated list of those previously designated, segregated according to the classification contained in Part III, Section 3 of the Order.

In carrying out his obligations under the Executive Order the Attorney General has had strict regard for all of the substantial and procedural rights of those affected thereby.

Yours sincerely,

Peyton Ford
The Assistant to the Attorney General
* * * * *

Oct. 18, 1948

President Harry S. Truman,
The White House,
Dear Mr. President:

On September 29 I wrote you a letter protesting the listing of my party, the Socialist Workers Party, on the political blacklist of so-called "subversive" organizations published by your Attorney General, Mr. Tom Clark, under your Executive Order 9835.

As the Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, I urge you to use your powers to secure a fair and public hearing for my party and redress from the Attorney General's administrative abuse to which we have been illegally and unconstitutionally subjected.

Instead of a reply from you, I received on September 29 a letter

from Mr. Peyton Ford, Assistant to the Attorney General containing nothing beyond a lot of double-talk and advising that my letter to you has been referred to his department.

Mr. Ford's statement that "the Attorney General has had strict regard for all of the substantial and procedural rights of those affected" stands in flagrant contradiction to the facts. We have been denied a hearing; we have been denied a list of the charges and allegations on the basis of which the Attorney General has presumed to declare us "subversive"; we have been denied the right to confront and cross examine our accusers — in a word, our rights as guaranteed by the Constitution have been completely violated.

By referring my appeal back to the Department of Justice, you referred it to the very agency against which I had appealed, and which in turn again denies us a hearing on the basis of your Executive Order. It seems to me that you are passing the buck. Certainly this run around you are giving my party belies your campaign professions on civil rights.

I therefore request you to demonstrate good faith in your promises regarding civil rights by granting me a personal conference with you so that I may present the facts of our case and secure redress of the injustice committed against us.

Yours truly,
Farrell Dobbs,
Socialist Workers Party



Vincent R. Dunne, SWP candidate for U. S. Senator from Minnesota, greets Grace Carlson, SWP candidate for Vice President, at the railway station in Minneapolis, at time of her homecoming. Picture courtesy Minneapolis Morning Tribune.

FLINT Wind-Up Election Rally

Genora Dollinger, SWP Candidate for U.S. Senator

William Yancey, SWP Candidate for Secretary of State

Sunday, Oct. 31 at 3 P.M.
215 East 9th Street.

Wisconsin, Western Michigan and Chicago Readers

hear

Farrell Dobbs

over

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MINNESOTA READERS - ATTENTION! Come and Hear

V. R. DUNNE, SWP Candidate for U. S. Senator speak on

"Ball and Humphrey -- the Wall Street Twins" and

ARNE SWABECK, Outstanding Chicago Trade Unionist discuss

"The Programs -- the Candidates -- the Issues in the 1948 Election Campaign"

FRIDAY, OCT. 29, 1948 — 8 P.M.

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10 So. 4th Street, Minneapolis

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- Dorothy Schultz, Minnesota Presidential Elector
- The Schultz Twins, Vincent and Raymond

Appeared in the Oct. 11 issue of The Militant

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World Events

By J. Gomez

Revolt in Peru

The revolt of Callao in Peru is the culmination of a prolonged political struggle between the Apra, a mildly reformist party, and the small ultra-reactionary group of the ruling plutocracy of landowners and capitalists. This ruling clique did not hesitate, as soon as it was able, to wipe out all opposition. Representing a small minority in the Senate, a group of ultra-conservatives staged a sit-down with the result that proceedings were completely paralyzed.

They then proceeded to destroy the dominant position of the Apra in national life. President Bustamante, although he came to power with the help of the Apra, deserted his allies of yesterday, just as Gonzalez Videla of Chile deserted his erstwhile Stalinist allies, and is ruling the country in the most dictatorial manner, by presidential decree. Actually, from a democratic and parliamentary point of view, the Apra armed uprising was completely "legal," as it was directed against a small minority which was trying to impose its will on the parliamentary majority. It is obvious that the conspirator against the democratic process and the parliamentary system was not the Apra but the tiny ruling clique. Furthermore, by outlawing the Apra, this clique destroyed the parliamentary system of representation. Here is another striking confirmation that the capitalist rulers adhere to the "democratic process" only when that serves their best interests, and that they discard and violate democracy, when they find their rule menaced in even the smallest degree.

Only the Peruvian forces of the Fourth International were able to correctly evaluate the meaning of the struggle against the Apra. From the first day, they sounded the alarm. They proposed to the Apra, which has the active support of the middle classes as well as the majority of the working masses, to launch a counter-offensive of its own by a mobilizing the popular forces on the basis of their economic and political needs.

But the Apra, a middle class party, doesn't understand the realities of the present day social struggle. Instead of taking the offensive, it appealed to the "good" capitalists and "good patriots" to work with them for the "national" interest. They got their answer in the good old tradition of the "civilismo" days of the dictators of the twenties and thirties, Leguia, Sanchez Cerro and Benavides. The Apra was outlawed and subjected to a campaign of persecution and imprisonment. Thousands of apristas have already been arrested, a big number are due to be tried by military courts, and a manhunt is in progress for the remainder.

The Apra has, of course, undergone considerable change since its foundation in 1924. When it started its political career, it was one of the most developed petty-bourgeois radical anti-imperialist parties. It exercised influence not only in Peru but throughout Latin America.

But long ago it renounced its struggle against imperialism. Since the beginning of the Second World War, the Apra, personified particularly in its founder and chief, Haya de la Torre, became one of the main supporters of U.S. "democratic" imperialism. The same change took place in its opposition to the reactionary forces at home.

Its sorry plight today proves that the only possible liberation force today in Latin American politics is a revolutionary party resting on the working masses.

Chilean 'Democracy'

The Sept. 17 N.Y. World Telegram reported that the Chilean President, Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, declared that "the U.S. has won the first major battle to halt Russian expansion. . . ." Videla, although he came to power thanks to Stalinist support, speaks in the name of the landowning and capitalist interests. What can be read between the lines is that the ruling parasites of Chile, without the inspiration and help of U.S. imperialism, would not have had the power to launch their campaign of terror against all working class organizations.

They wouldn't have been able to adopt the law which permits only pro-capitalist labor organizations to function. Under this new law, not only are the Stalinist and other working class organizations outlawed, but even the civil rights are taken away of all individuals that are opposed, or suspected of being opposed to the established ruling class. The government ordered the Election Boards to remove more than twenty-five thousand names from the voting list. Thousands of workers are deprived daily of their jobs. Furthermore, concentration camps were set up, and numerous Stalinists, militant socialists, and Trotskyists confined for their participation in the recent mine strike, which was broken by the army.

This law is hypocritically captioned for the defense of democracy. Obviously, it isn't for the defense of the democratic rights of the people of Chile. Its proper label is: "For the defense of the established capitalist privileges."

August Thalheimer Dies in Cuba

August Thalheimer, one of the former leaders of the Right Opposition against Stalin in the German Communist Party, died Sept. 19 in exile in Cuba at the age of 64.

A student at the universities of Berlin, Strausburg and Oxford, he joined the German Social Democratic Party as a youth. Together with Karl Radek, who later became famed as one of the outstanding journalists of the Soviet Union, Thalheimer edited the Goepinger Volksstimme from 1912 to 1913.

He participated in the underground work of the revolutionary organization, "Spartakusbund," and became one of the founders of the German Communist Party. He was a member of the Central Committee until 1924 and editor of Rotte Fahne, central organ of the German Communist Party until 1923.

From 1924 to 1928 he worked at the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow and taught at the Sun-Yat-Sen university. One of his works was published under the title: "Introduction to Historical Materialism" and translated into many languages.

Expelled by the Stalinists from the German Communist Party in 1928, he joined Brandler in organizing the Right Opposition.

In 1933 he went to France to direct underground work against Hitler. During World War II, he was interned, but succeeded in escaping from the Gestapo and landing in Cuba.

His efforts to return to Germany after the war were unsuccessful. A visa to France was cancelled at the last moment.

Thalheimer leaves a number of articles on philosophy, historical materialism and various questions of the working class struggle which have appeared in various magazines. His manuscript on the history of dialectics remains unpublished.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Detroit Leads in Militant Sub Drive

Detroit still leads all branches with 612 subscriptions in three months of the Presidential election sub campaign. This is nearly one-fifth of the 3,100 subs received to date.

New York is second with over 400, Flint third with about 350 and Philadelphia a close fourth. Election rush prevented accurate tabulating of subs by branches. Other high scorers are Los Angeles, San Francisco, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Newark, Chicago and Pittsburgh, in undetermined order.

Three thousand new readers found The Militant useful in studying election campaign issues and comparing political programs. This paper will be just as valuable after the election. The Militant will continue to lead the struggle for an independent labor party and the fight for civil liberties and labor's rights, against the

Taft-Hartley Act, against government by injunction, against the "loyalty" blacklist and other anti-labor onslaughts.

Encouraging numbers of renewal subscriptions are being received from new readers who got acquainted with The Militant during this campaign, either by responding to radio broadcasts or by attending street meetings or being visited by sub-getters. Nearly 1,200 of the first 15-week subs are expiring this month, but the many that are being renewed prove that we have made solid new friends.

SEATTLE Final Election Rally

Daniel Roberts
SWP Candidate for Governor
Sat., Oct. 30 at 8:30 P.M.
Maynard Building
First Ave. & Washington

Subscriptions: \$1 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879.

THE MILITANT

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Vol. XII—No. 43

Monday, October 25, 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 Nikolaiev — 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

The Key Civil Rights Case

The firing of James Kutcher, legless Newark veteran, from his government job because of his political views has become THE civil rights case of this year.

That is not simply because the victim is a war-maimed veteran, but because he is the only one of hundreds fired for their political views who has dared to make a principled stand. He provides a perfect test case of whether a man may dare to think and speak freely in these United States.

The facts are plain. James Kutcher was a member of the Socialist Workers Party in 1941 when he was drafted. He was a member in 1943 when a German mortar crew in Italy blasted his legs and the Army doctors amputated them. He was a member when he obtained a job two years ago with the Veterans Administration as a \$40-a-week clerk. He has never denied his political views.

This year, on the basis of orders from Truman, Attorney General Clark published a list of so-called "subversive" organizations. On this list was the Socialist Workers Party, which never received any specific charges and was flatly denied a hearing to defend itself. James Kutcher was fired because of association with an organization listed as "subversive" by one man, without a hearing.

The flagrant nature of this case, the malici-

ous branding as "disloyal" of a veteran who lost both legs in battle, the clear-cut issue of principle involved has aroused widespread indignation. James Kutcher symbolizes the whole meaning of the current witch-hunt whose ultimate purpose is to terrorize and silence free-thinking American people with "thought-control."

A number of prominent labor and liberal figures have courageously voiced public protest against this outrage. Among them are such famous ex-veterans as Harold Russell, Bill Mauldin, Merle Miller and Norman Mailer, and union leaders like Carl Holderman, President of the New Jersey CIO Council and Peter Flynn, its Secretary-Treasurer. The New Jersey CIO and the American Veterans Committee have come to Kutcher's defense, as have numerous magazines and newspapers.

Formerly, a protest of this type would have sufficed in a case like Kutcher's. But today the forces of reaction are riding high.

James Kutcher will not receive justice until a powerful protest movement comes to his defense. This means, above all, that the entire labor movement must rally in his behalf. The labor unions have a tremendous stake in the preservation of civil rights. The Kutcher case is the key civil rights case today.

Taft-Hartley Decisions

One year of the Taft-Hartley law has amply demonstrated that it does not merely restrict or curtail the rights of the unions—it is an out-and-out union-busting instrument.

Two NLRB rulings of the past ten days, if enforced, will make it a cinch for employers to smash strikes and destroy striking unions. One ruling outlaws all mass picketing, "even where . . . conducted peacefully," as "intimidatory and coercive" and in violation of the Taft-Hartley Act. The other declares that "strikers who have been permanently replaced are no longer eligible to vote in a representation election."

In short, an employer can run scabs into his plant. He can fire all strikers. He can secure an NLRB "election" at which only the scabs may vote and thus gain legal recognition.

If he can't break the union even under these conditions, the employer can get the government to slap an injunction on the union and convict its officers of "contempt" if they fail to comply with a court order dictating that they "cease and desist" from demanding certain terms and instead sign a contract on the employers' terms.

That's the case in the contempt ruling handed down last week against the AFL International Typographical Union and its officers, who are charged with violating an injunction by seeking contracts allegedly evading the closed-shop ban in the Taft-Hartley Act.

This Taft-Hartley onslaught is going even beyond the law itself. The Atomic Energy

Commission, an agency having nothing to do with labor law enforcement, has ordered the General Electric Corporation not to recognize the CIO Electrical Workers in the Schenectady atomic energy laboratory run by GE for private profit, because its officers have not signed the Taft-Hartley yellow-dog affidavits and are "suspected" of being "Communists."

Now that the government presumes to dictate what officers a union may elect, private employers are naturally following suit. The West Coast shipowners are flatly refusing to negotiate with the striking CIO maritime unions because, said one of the ship moguls, Lewis Lapham, "We don't like the leadership."

On top of this, the Taft-Hartley Act has given unscrupulous, short-sighted union leaders the green light for opening the worst fratricidal warfare inside the labor movement in many years. These union-raiding scavengers are scab-herding and strikebreaking against established unions which have failed to sign the yellow-dog affidavits. Thus, instead of fighting the Taft-Hartley Act, the unions are cutting each other's throats to the great delight of the labor-hating employers.

When the CIO and AFL leaders, instead of organizing a united struggle against the Taft-Hartley Act, tried to buy immunity from the law by compliance with it, they committed a crime against organized labor. The results of little more than a year of this law proves the unions cannot "live with" it. They must destroy this law, or it will destroy them.

Persecution of Stalinists

Hatred for Stalinism — legitimate and justified as it is—should not blind us to the grave danger for the entire labor movement involved in the present drive to illegalize the Communist Party.

This has already gone to extreme lengths. Twelve leaders of the Communist Party have been indicted under the Smith "gag" Act. This is the same act under which 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Union were railroaded to prison during the war. Should the Stalinists be convicted, one more dangerous precedent will stand upon the statute books for use against other labor organizations.

In addition to this, several leading members of the Communist Party in Colorado have been given "indefinite" jail sentences and denied bail for "contempt" of the Grand Jury that is investigating the Communist Party in Colorado. The "crime" of these Communist Party members was refusal to answer certain questions and to turn over lists of party members.

Furthermore, every foreign-born worker who belongs or is associated with the Communist Party, has been subject to rabid persecution. No matter how many years he may have lived in the United States, no

matter what family ties he may have established, he is subject to deportation. A few days ago, Immigration Service Director Watson Miller upheld an order of a lower official to deport John Santo, National Organization Director of the CIO Transport Workers Union.

The Democratic and Republican hatchmen of Big Business selected the Communist Party as their target in this campaign to wipe out civil liberties and destroy the labor movement because the Communist Party happens to be highly vulnerable. The witch-hunters calculate that the unsavory reputation and isolation of the Stalinists will limit the number of workers and labor organizations willing to defend their rights.

But if the witch-hunters are successful, no labor organization will be immune or safe from attack. The recent savage rulings of the NLRB and the courts give us an inkling of what is in store for all labor, if the red-baiters are not stopped dead in their tracks.

That is why, despite the sharp differences that exist between different sections of the labor movement, the WHOLE labor movement must unite—as a matter of life and death—in the defense of civil liberties. The witch hunt must be stopped!

\$18,873 Contributed to Election Fund So Far; Reach 75% of Quota

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

This week a total of \$1,023 was received in the Socialist Workers Party election fund campaign, making the grand total to date \$18,873, which is 75% of our goal of \$25,000.

Rochester sent another \$25 this week, bringing them to 150% and likewise to the top of the list, thus nosing Baltimore out of first place.

St. Louis, already in the 100%-or-better category, sent in another \$1, giving them a score to date of 128% and a position ahead of Tacoma, their nearest rival.

Cleveland came through in exemplary style with a contribution for the week that lifted them from 77% to 100% completion of their quota. Well done, comrades!

Newark jumped from the 80% class into the 90% with a contribution of \$75 for the week.

West Virginia. The hard-plugging comrades in the coal fields started down the last quarter of their lap with a \$10 contribution that brought them to 85%.

San Diego likewise inched out

of the seventies with a \$5 contribution that took them to 82%.

Youngstown, with a quota of \$800, hit 82% with \$42 for the week.

New York chalked up \$240 for the week, clipping off another 3 points for a total to date of 80% of their quota of \$7,500.

Detroit climbed from 65% to 75% with \$160 for the week.

Buffalo bounded up from its 52% of last week to 71% of their goal of \$1,000. A contribution of \$188 did the trick.

Toledo, barely at the half-way mark last week, sent in \$26, taking them to 64%.

Chicago notched up another 7% rising from 49% to 56% with a contribution for the week of \$143.

Thanks to Comrade J.H.H. of Youngstown for a contribution of \$2.

SCOREBOARD FOR \$25,000 SWP ELECTION FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Rochester	50	75	150
Baltimore	50	65	131
Boston	275	355	129
St. Louis	50	64	128
Tacoma	50	61	122
Milwaukee	400	419	105
Allentown	50	50	100
Cleveland	400	400	100
Philadelphia	500	500	100
Reading	150	150	100
Minnesota	2,000	1,892	95
Newark	750	675	90
Flint	400	347	87
West Virginia	100	85	85
San Diego	50	41	82
Youngstown	800	654	82
San Francisco-Oakland	1,500	1,222	81
New York City	7,500	5,994	80
Seattle	600	480	80
Akron	400	307	77
Detroit	1,600	1,200	75
Pittsburgh	200	145	73
Buffalo	1,000	712	71
Toledo	200	127	64
Los Angeles	2,500	1,476	59
Chicago	2,000	1,125	56
Lynn	125	35	28
Connecticut	250	32	13
General	1,050	185	18
TOTAL	\$25,000	\$18,873	75

Press Comment On Kutcher Case

(Reprinted from "Feathers from the Left Wing" column, Oct. 10, N. Y. Herald-Tribune)

Early in World War II, eighteen Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party were tried and jailed in Minneapolis for violations of the same Smith act under which the twelve Communist party leaders are now indicted. Far from challenging the constitutionality of those convictions, the Communists then approved the law and applauded the conviction of the unhappy Trotskyists. This the SWP "Militant" recalled, with more sorrow than wrath, when the twelve were lately indicted, but said that they could not return evil for evil, but must protest against the indictment as loudly as they could. For this decision they were recently thanked by John Gates, one of the indicted Communists, in typical Stalinist style. While defending himself against expulsion from the American Veterans Committee, Gates was asked a question about the Socialist Workers party and replied that he did not consider them a party, but a mob of "assassins." This is all introductory to another story. A veteran named James Kutcher, who lost both legs in action in Italy and who has held a job for two years in the Veterans Administration in Newark, allegedly doing satisfactory work, was recently dismissed because he is a member of the Trotskyist SWP, and because that party is on Attorney General Clark's blacklist. Now practically all "Leftist" papers, and many that are not, have reported this case with some sympathy.

This is, moreover, a "natural" for "The Daily Worker"; and if Kutcher were a Communist there would be protest meetings and picketings all over the place. "But," says "The Militant" of Sept. 27 editorially, "there is one newspaper for which the Kutcher case does not appear to exist—a publication, incidentally, whose columns for months have been complaining about the government's witch-hunt and 'loyalty' purge of political dissidents. That is 'The Daily Worker,' mouthpiece of the Communist party. Since the Kutcher case was made public more than a month ago, 'The Daily Worker' has studiously avoided all mention of it. It is almost fantastic that a party, itself under heavy attack, a party professing to fight for civil rights, is stone silent about the most dramatic civil rights case in years."

Braverman Fights Ballot Case

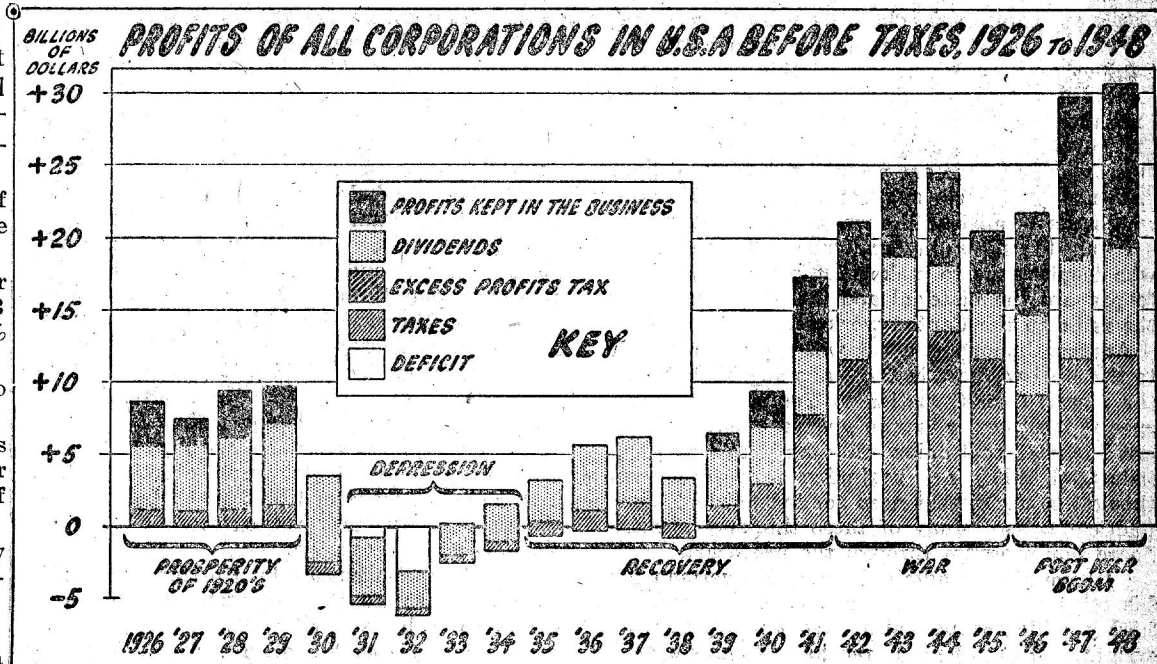
(Continued from page 1)

Every aspect of the Board of Elections case. Eventually, the county prosecutors were compelled to throw out the entire two days testimony and agree upon a statement of facts as the SWP wanted it in almost all details. This statement of facts, together with the argument presented by Braverman for the SWP was put before the Supreme Court today. The Court will rule on the question within a few days.

All four Mahoning County prosecutors, and two Trumbull County prosecutors have been participating in the case on the side of the Board of Elections, while

Braverman alone presented the SWP case. Braverman is a Youngstown steel worker and the local secretary of the SWP. The county prosecuting attorneys complained repeatedly about the vigorous Trotskyist fight. "I've been in first degree murder cases," one of them shouted at one point in the testimony, "and I never worked this hard!"

Subscribe to THE MILITANT



WORKERS FORUM

Who Wants \$30,000,000

Who wants 30,000,000 dollars? That is the amount available to any community that wants it. All that is necessary is for that community to be willing to open its doors to an experimental station to determine the cause of hoof and mouth disease. This is a disease that only attacks cloven-footed animals, cows, pigs, goats, etc.

The big cattle and sheep raising interests got a big scare last year when it was learned that an epidemic of this disease had broken out in Mexico. They demanded that congress appropriate money to study the cause and find a cure. Congress was obliging and granted the sum of thirty million dollars. Now these same interests still want the research—in someone else's back yard. They are afraid that if experiments are carried on locally the native herds will be affected. This in spite of the superhuman safeguards that are to be built into the experimental station. Also in face of the testimony of Dr. I. A. Galloway of England, who stated that a similar experiment had been going on in the heart of their dairy country for 25 years with no known case of the disease infecting the herds.

So we have the ridiculous spectacle of an industry demanding money from Congress and getting it, then afraid to use it!

On the other side of the picture is the fact that research in

medicine for human beings is carried on in most of the big hospitals of the country, research into the most contagious diseases known. And in addition, these research centers have a very hard time getting money to carry on that research. MILLIONS TO PROTECT THE MEAT INDUSTRY BUT PEANUTS FOR THE HUMAN RACE.

R. M. San Francisco

Business Connections Of John Foster Dulles

Life magazine prints in its Oct. 4 issue a long article about John Foster Dulles, the secretary of State of tomorrow. He is presented as a great "idealist," a churchman who "believes that force is evil unless allied to a moral and even a spiritual purpose." However, "despite the opposition of some of the churches, he came out strongly for rearmament."

But there is something which Life refrained carefully from informing its readers. The same John Foster Dulles happens to be one of the directors of the International Nickel Company of Canada, a giant corporation which in 1946 was accused by the U.S. department of Justice of having "monopolized the manufacture, distribution and sale of nickel . . ." and "preserved their monopoly position by cartel agree-

ment with French and German competitors."

A financial statement issued by the Financial Post Corporation of Canada reveals that in the past, nickel has been classified as a "munitions metal." To meet the war requirements, the company spent \$35,000,000, opened new mines, reopened old ones, built new plants, installed new equipment etc. This "program was successful in increasing productive capacity by March 1943, from the pre-war rate of 230,000,000 lb. of nickel annually by 50,000,000 lb. of nickel a year."

But unfortunately for the company — "a cut-back in production was instituted in the fall of 1945, following the sudden cut-backs in military requirements!" And the millions of dollars of new investments have since been useless.

No doubt the rearmament program supported by John Foster Dulles will provide a shot in the arm for this company of which the same John Foster Dulles happens to be one of the directors.

A Reader

MILWAUKEE Wind-Up Election Rally

Farrell Dobbs SWP Presidential Candidate Friday, Oct. 29 at 8:15 P.M. West Side Turn Hall 1034 N. 4th St. (cor. Highland)

PITTSBURGH Sunday Forums at 4 P.M.

Oct. 31: Meaning of Stalin-Tito Rift Speaker: Manny Terbovich Nov. 7: Analysis of Presidential Elections Speaker: Frank Roberts Nov. 14: Celebration of 31st Anniversary of Russian Revolution and 20th Anniversary of the MILITANT 1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor

Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Dobbs-Carlson campaign material, The Militant, Fourth International, books and pamphlets on Socialism available.

- AKRON—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 1753; Daily 8 a.m.—9 p.m., O. Coover St., MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale.
- BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St., open Mon. 5:30-9:00 p. m., Wed. 7-10 p. m.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3900. Every afternoon except Sun.
- CHICAGO—77 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEAR 4177. Daily except Sun., 11 a. m.—5 p. m. Library, bookstore.
- CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m., Week's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off. Wade Park Ave.).
- DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-5267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m.
- FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2495. Open House Saturday evenings.
- LOS ANGELES—Militant Pub. Ass'n, Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8961.
- SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.
- WATTS—Militant, 1790 E. 97th St.
- LXNN, (Mass.)—Militant Pub. Ass'n, 44 Central Ave., Office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p. m.
- MILWAUKEE—SWP State Campaign Headquarters, 908 S. 5th St. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone BRoadway 2-9645.
- MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7871. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.—8 p. m. Library, bookstore.
- NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p. m. Mill-
- tant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).
- NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p. m.
- NEWARK—428 Springfield Ave. Phone Biglow 2-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p. m.
- NEW YORK CITY (HQ)—116 University Pl. Phone GR 5-8149.
- EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St. 1st fl.
- HABLEN—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO. 2-1868. Open discussion, Thurs., 9 p. m.
- BRONX—1094 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU. 9-0101.
- BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 2-7433.
- CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH. 2-9454.
- OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.
- PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5290. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.
- PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Tues., Wed., Fri., 7 to 9 p. m., forums, Sun., 4 p. m.
- SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.
- SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. South & Washington. Phone Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting: Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.
- ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Militant Forums, Thurs. 7-9:10 p. m.
- ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone GE 4-1157. Open daily. Bookstore.
- TOLEDO—Weekly meetings every Friday night at 7:30, Kapps Hall, 413 Summit, Room 1, top fl.
- YOUNGSTOWN—234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1855. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

Campaign Highlights

By Farrell Dobbs, Presidential Candidate

New York, Oct. 19—So many events are packed into a presidential campaign tour that it is hard to chronicle all of them. This week I want to back-track as far as Ohio and record a few more of the campaign highlights.

For me, one of the outstanding events was the Canton radio speech, made possible through the combined efforts of the Akron and Cleveland comrades. That speech, honoring the memory of the revolutionary anti-war fighter, Eugene V. Debs, was an important preliminary to my debate last Sunday with war-supporting Norman Thomas, who seeks to mislead the workers in Debs' name.

I want to express my gratitude to Ted Selander, who inspired me to make that broadcast, helped to prepare the material and introduced me over the radio to the Canton workers.

Another important event was my radio speech to the steel workers in the Mahoning Valley over the powerful ABC station in Youngstown. From special meetings with two groups of steel workers, I learned that union militants in that teeming industrial valley are beginning to give serious thought to the urgent need for independent labor political action. Many of these thinking workers heard our program through the broadcast.

I have always admired Harry Braverman for his talents, both as a 100% Trotskyist and as a highly skilled coppersmith, layout man and millwright. But when I reached Youngstown I learned that Harry is acquiring a new skill in an altogether different field. Here is the story:

The Ohio comrades worked long and hard to gather sufficient signatures to put Harry on the ballot as our candidate for Congress in the Youngstown district. Then the Democratic hatchet men went to work on the petitions and disqualified him on trivial and illegal grounds.

Legal aid was secured and our case taken to court. Although the lawyers all agreed that justice was on our side, so much heat was put on them by the local capitalist politicians that they dropped the case like a hot potato.

Harry took up where the scared lawyers left off. He boned up on the law books and got off-the-record advice from a lawyer or two in preparation to argue his own case before the Ohio Supreme Court.

When I left him, he was deliberating whether he should open the argument with a demand for a writ of certiorari or a writ of mandamus.

The Westinghouse plant-gate meeting in Pittsburgh was an event long to be remembered. Especially when Eloise Gordon stood at the microphone, telegraphing her enthusiasm, determination and courage to the audience of more than 1,000 electrical workers.

While Eloise, who is a native of San Francisco, was speaking, one of our old-timers in Pittsburgh said with a proud gleam in his eye, "That's our Frisco Flame!"

Ted Kovalesky will be interested to know that a reporter from a Pittsburgh capitalist paper asked about him. This reporter has been reading the Militant for some time and has become a fan of "The Diary of a Steelworker." He thought that the worker, Kovalesky, must be a skilled

professional writer of long experience.

My visit to Buffalo was cut short because of the Hartford broadcast. Nevertheless, we had a first-rate public meeting with a big turnout of auto, electrical and steel workers. The Buffalo comrades are really on the war path against the Stalinists. Several scalps are already in their trophy case.

While in Buffalo I met a young Negro steel worker recently recruited into the party. When he grasped my hand, my eyes were drawn to his powerful arms, broad shoulders and winning smile. He reminded me of legendary "Joe Magarac," the Paul Bunyan of the steel industry, who ladled molten steel from the furnace with his bare hands and squeezed it into rails, eight at a time, four through the fingers of each hand.

Like Joe Magarac would have done, our young steel worker celebrated his entry into the Socialist Workers Party by winning top honors in the Buffalo area during the petition campaign to put the party ticket on the ballot in New York.

The Connecticut comrades are right up in the front ranks in the presidential campaign. They performed the work of titans to put our ticket on the ballot. Then they turned loose a first-class electioneering campaign.

The state convention in Hartford was fully equipped with all the necessary paraphernalia, including a battery of radio microphones, announcers and sound engineers for a 15-station broadcast and reporters from the Connecticut press and the N. Y. Times.

The Bristol comrades managed to get me on the program of a political forum sponsored by UAW Local 626 where representatives of the Democratic, Progressive and Socialist parties also spoke.

Last night the Harlem comrades got me on a similar program here in New York, sponsored by the NAACP, where I debated spokesmen for the Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Liberal and Socialist parties.

We are getting in some good licks at these forums, and all of us get valuable training through them to prepare ourselves for future battles against our political opponents.

A number of comrades who have participated with me in broadcasts were speaking over the radio for the first time. The most recent were: Miriam Braverman, Milt Alvin, Ted Selander, Morris Chertov, Alvin Berman and Harry Press.

Despite their natural nervousness in appearing before a radio microphone for the first time, the comrades without exception turned in a top-notch performance. They were able to do so because their training in the party has given them the necessary basic understanding and experience to rise to the needs of unusual occasions.

That fundamental training, that basic know-how is what prepares the cadres of the revolutionary vanguard party to meet the new tasks of leadership during the heat of great mass actions.

Leon Trotsky had precisely these factors in mind when he wrote in a letter to the French youth, "Every comrade can and should become a general in the proletarian army."

Ship-Owners Plot To Smash Unions On West Coast

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 17 — Waterfront employers last week underscored their determination to destroy the maritime unions on this coast. They rejected out of hand two moves on the part of union representatives to resume negotiations.

In week-long talks with employer representatives, national CIO Vice-President Allan Haywood and his assistant, R.J. Thomas, had tried to work out a formula for resuming negotiations. The employers' answer to these efforts was given by Lewis Laphan, president of American-Hawaiian steamship company. He said: "We are in our September position in regard to Bridges (President of the CIO longshoremen) and the longshore union. We don't like the union leadership."

Haywood reported after his talks with the operators that "the non-Communist affidavits offered no problem to resuming negotiations." He reminded the employers that "they have been dealing with Bridges for the past 14 years and up to 9 o'clock on the night of Sept. 1 they were willing to sign a contract with him if they could get one." He added, "In my opinion there is no reason for their present attitude."

BRIDGES OFFER

When talks stopped between national CIO representatives and the employers, Bridges repeated his offer to step aside for a rank and file negotiating committee of striking longshoremen. This offer had been made previously by Bridges through newspaper advertisements and in a radio broadcast. The employers had refused to consider it with the excuse that it had not been formally presented to them.

Bridges repeated the offer in a letter to the operators which said in part, "Please regard this letter as formal notification. . . to advise striking workers to establish a negotiating committee composed of striking rank-and-file members only, exclusive of national and local officers. . . to be elected from the picket lines by secret ballot."

Although no official comment was immediately forthcoming from the employers, one of their representatives was reported in the daily press that "No matter how thin you slice it, it's still Bridges."

The uncompromising attitude of the employers stiffens week by week while the Stalinist leadership of the striking unions intimate that the strike demands can be scaled down in the interest of "peace." Last week Hugh Bryson, President of the CIO Marine Cooks, announced in a public meeting in Portland, Oregon, that a settlement could easily be reached if the operators would only make an offer to the striking unions. A more explicit feeler was tendered by Bridges. This appeared in an advertisement in the leading daily papers of San Francisco proposing a long-term agreement to insure "stability on the waterfront."

This latest offer, made without consulting the ranks of the striking unions, was designed to allay the hostility of shippers who are dependent upon the maritime industry for transportation services. The offer said, "In order to afford shippers of waterborne commerce an opportunity to make long-term plans in the interest of their business and to assure a long period of stability on the waterfront, the union proposes a long-term contract instead of the one-year contract which has been the practice in the past."

GREATER ARROGANCE

These proposals are viewed by the employers as signs of weakness within the union ranks. The employers react with greater arrogance and renewed insults.

This Stalinist policy of attempting to find allies within the ranks of the employers has strengthened the hand of the ship operators.

The attempt to appease shippers has found more concrete expression than simply offers for future "plans in the interest of their business." At the present time cargoes have been moved off strike-bound docks in nearly all ports on the coast, including San Pedro, Stockton, Oakland, Portland and Seattle. San Francisco is the only major port where strike-bound cargoes have not been moved in a general clearance of the docks "to satisfy the demands of the shippers." The local strike committee has spiked all such attempts thus far, although in at least two instances cargoes have

been moved from behind the picket lines even here.

How the ship operators directly benefit from this is apparent from the close financial tie-up between the big shippers and the shipping companies through the Matson empire, to mention only one instance.

This same policy which allows for the movement of cargoes from strike-bound docks, also permits the loading and discharging of foreign-flag ships. Here again the policy is advocated by the Stalinist leaders as one to "divide the ranks of the employers."

How much the ship operators would gain from such a move was disclosed before the strike began by the union's research department. Foreign-flag ships are a main source of profits for a

large group of American companies. An ILWU research bulletin showed that "these companies receive profits from foreign business not only from their agency services but also from their financial interests in other branches of the shipping industry."

At present foreign vessels are tied up. The only ones able to continue operations on this coast are those that have been diverted to the Puget Sound Canadian ports, where CIO longshoremen are working, and others diverted to Tacoma, where AFL longshoremen are working.

Bridges' strike policy has further been used to justify feelers put out to the Pacific Far East Lines and the American Pacific Lines that vessels of these companies would be allowed to

sail under interim agreements while the strike is still in progress, if these outfits will break with the policy of the employers' Association and meet with representatives of the striking unions.

A similar offer was made by leaders of the striking unions in the port of Seattle to sail all ships of the Alaska fleet for the Alaska Steamship Association.

But the ship operators are proceeding in such a high-handed manner that they do not now see any need to take advantage of these offers made by the Stalinist leaders of the unions. They feel confident that this time they can starve the maritime workers back to their jobs under open-shop conditions, something they failed to do in the 1936-37 tie-up that lasted for 99 days.

In face of the employers' pro-

vocative attitude, the policy pursued by the officialdom of the striking unions betrays a lack of understanding on their part of the aims of the waterfront employers. They do not seem to realize that these employers are out for the kill.

Another policy is being expressed more and more on the picket lines. It is advanced by men who work in the industry and feel in their daily lives what is at stake in this strike. This policy calls for a "tight strike." It means to tie up everything possible. Such a policy would result in the eventual paralysis of large sections of industry on the Pacific Coast. It would bring great pressure on the ship operators to settle with the striking unions. Such a policy would win the strike.

THE MILITANT

S.W.P. Candidates On Ballot in 13 States

(In all other states including California and Ohio, write in Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson)



Candidate for U. S. President



Candidate for U. S. Vice-President

CALIFORNIA

HARRY PRESS
S.W.P. Candidate
for 20th Assembly District
(San Francisco)



GENORA DOLLINGER
S.W.P. Candidate
for U. S. Senator

MYRA TANNER WEISS
S.W.P. Candidate
for 19th Congressional Dist.
(Los Angeles)



WILLIAM YANCEY
S.W.P. Candidate
for Secretary of State



COLORADO
FARRELL DOBBS GRACE CARLSON

CONNECTICUT



MORRIS CHERTOV
S.W.P. Candidate
for Governor



HOWARD LERNER
S.W.P. Candidate
for Governor

NEW YORK
FARRELL DOBBS GRACE CARLSON

WISCONSIN

JAMES BOULTON
S.W.P. Candidate
for Governor



PENNSYLVANIA
FARRELL DOBBS GRACE CARLSON
on ballot as Militant Workers Party

WASHINGTON



DANIEL ROBERTS
S.W.P. Candidate
for Governor

OHIO

HARRY BRAVERMAN
S.W.P. Candidate
for 19th Congressional Dist.
(Youngstown)
(Still contested in Courts)



UTAH
FARRELL DOBBS GRACE CARLSON

SWP Election Tour

Crowded Days

By Grace Carlson, Vice-Presidential Candidate

NEW YORK—A day-by-day account of the past week's tour activities offers convincing proof that we are striking some telling blows for the Socialist Workers Party program in the industrial east.

Oct. 13—Along with New York local members, I spoke at three street corner rallies in the Harlem district of New York City. Although it was a cold night, we had gratifyingly large audiences. Our comrades kept warm by hustling around with party pamphlets, election platforms and Militant sub blanks.

Oct. 14—George Clarke and I proceeded to the Philadelphia party headquarters and then took off in a sound truck for Camden, New Jersey. This was a new "crossing of the Delaware" to bring the SWP program to the RCA and Campbell Soup Co. workers at a noonday election rally.

Later in the afternoon, we spoke to the Westinghouse workers as the shifts changed at that huge Philadelphia plant. Considerable interest in our rally was aroused by the plant guards who forced us to move from our first location, on grounds that it was "Westinghouse property." But Philadelphia's sound equipment is powerful so we sent our socialist propaganda right across the "Westinghouse property" and right through the open windows of the Westinghouse plant, itself.

Oct. 15—I made an early morning trip to New Haven for an interview over Radio Station WNHG. I had a very pleasant talk with the announcer, who expressed great respect for the lively election campaign that our Connecticut branches are putting on. And inasmuch as the announcer really knew something about politics, we had a very interesting and worth-while 12-minute interview. This program is called Shoppers Bazaar. I know that the women listeners who took my "shopping hint" will find that the SWP program is the best buy in the field!

There was time after the radio interview to visit my youngest Connecticut constituent, Judy

Chertov, our gubernatorial candidate's pretty, round-cheeked baby girl.

Oct. 16—George Clarke and I returned to Philadelphia and were greeted at the Broad St. station by an impressive delegation of the Friendly City's finest citizens. I was presented with a dozen beautiful red roses. The best part of these generous receptions is that our people are genuinely enthusiastic about our campaign and genuinely eager to pay their respects to our candidates. They are at the opposite pole from the jaded, cynical, job-seeking delegations that greet the capitalist candidates.

There was no lack of enthusiasm at the election rally in the Philadelphia headquarters that night. Standing room only was the rule! We tore ourselves away from the reception that followed the meeting at 1:20 a.m. for the trip back to New York city.

Oct. 17—This was the day of the famous Dobbs-Thomas debate and all that I had to do was to sit back and enjoy seeing an outclassed Social Democrat go down under the vigorous verbal hammer-blows of a Trotskyist champion.

Oct. 18—I travelled up the Lehigh Valley to Allentown for an election rally there. We had received some fine front-page publicity about the meeting and this must have frightened the AFL bureaucrats in whose Labor Temple we were scheduled to meet. At any rate, their refusal to permit us to use the Labor Temple left us without a meeting place 15 minutes before the scheduled time. But our resourceful people did finally rent a hall in the Elks Building and we had our rally. It was very cold in this hall because it had been closed up for a long time but our devoted members and friends sat there with their overcoats, scarves and gloves on for a full hour.

Contrast their behaviour with Tom Dewey's! A small accident on his train made him denounce the engineer as a lunatic who should be shot at sunrise. It's no wonder that Dewey isn't a Socialist. He couldn't take it!

Notes from the News

WOODWORKERS SPLIT — The Canadian district organization of the CIO Woodworkers Union held a separate convention to set up an independent organization during the regular convention of the parent body. They charge that the red-baiting of President James A. Fading forced the secession.

CAMPAIGN SONG — Reporters on the Truman campaign train composed the following parody of the popular song: "I'm Looking Over a Four Leaf Clover":

I'm looking over a well-warmed-over Dewey from '44;
One for the money and two for the show;
Halleck was promised but Warren will go.
No use complainin'; I'm still maintainin';
We'll get what we had before;
Harry or Dewey, the same old hooley,
Again and again and more.

CUBAN UNION HEAD SLAIN — Aracelio Iglesias Dias, general secretary of the Nacional Maritime Federation and Stalinist representative in the House of Representatives, was struck down by six bullets fired by gunmen while he presided at a union meeting Oct. 17. Other union members wounded named Alberto Gomez Quesada head of a government-sponsored union as leader of the assassins.

BAR STALINISTS—The Indiana CIO voted to ban members of the Communist Party from CIO unions in the state.

SHOE UNION—The Stalinists have lost control of another union—the CIO Shoe Workers. At the union's recent convention in Boston, the new president, Rocco Franceschini, previously a Stalinist supporter, led the debate in favor of a pro-Truman, anti-Wallace resolution, which passed overwhelmingly.