

Workers of the World, Unite!

## THE REGISTRATION LAG

— See Page 3 —

# THE MILITANT

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### SWP Election News

## Campaigning for Socialism

By George Clarke  
SWP Campaign Manager

Two blessed events occurred in Connecticut last week.

The first was the launching of the state electoral organization of the SWP on Sun. Oct. 3 in Hartford attended by an impressive ceremony in keeping with the birth of a new Trotskyist institution. Delegates were present from New Haven, New Britain, Bristol, Hartford and other Connecticut cities and a fraternal delegation from Massachusetts and New York.

The nomination of our national ticket, of the state presidential electors and of Morris Chertov, candidate for Governor was ratified unanimously. A state platform was adopted and speeches of greetings were heard from Lawrence P. Trainor, Massachusetts SWP State Organizer and by yours truly for the National Campaign Committee. Alvin Beriman, State Campaign Director was in the chair.

On the speakers rostrum was a battery of radio mikes representing the ABC and Yankee networks and independent stations which carried the speeches of Dobbs and Chertov to all parts of the state. As the program got under way, voices of radio announcers could be heard from all corners of the room saying: "We are speaking from the Bond Hotel here in Hartford where the Socialist Workers Party is nominating..." And that night, as we drove home exhilarated from our afternoon experience, we heard the entire program rebroadcast over two other stations.

The next day newspapers all over the state reported the convention doings.

The second Blessed Event was the birth of a nine pound baby girl to the wife of our candidate for Governor the day before the convention. The convention roared its approval. Two strapping babies had come into the world at the same time.

### CAMPAINING AT THE PLANT GATES

Farrell Dobbs went back to the huge Westinghouse plant in East Pittsburgh where Grace Carlson had been a month ago. It was another rip-roaring meeting. Eloise Gordon writes that more than a thousand were listening in the street, sitting on the steps leading up to the plant and leaning out of the window. "Farrell held them spellbound. A worker alighted from the street car and stopped right where he landed."

(Continued on page 3)



Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers candidate for President, speaking over a hookup of 15 Connecticut stations, including an ABC and Yankee Network, independent and NBC radio stations, from the Connecticut SWP state convention at Hartford on Oct. 3.

# Wallace Party Backs Democrats, Breaks Pledge of Independence

## FARRELL DOBBS TO DEBATE NORMAN THOMAS ON OCT. 17

"WHICH PROGRAM WILL LEAD TO A SOCIALIST AMERICA?"

The debate between Farrell Dobbs and Norman Thomas promises to be one of the most important events of the 1948 election campaign. The debate is scheduled for Sunday, Oct. 17, at 2:30 P.M., Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd St., New York City.

A place in the debate has been left open for the Presidential candidate of the Socialist Labor Party, who has been invited to participate but has declined the invitation.

Advance tickets for the debate can be obtained for \$1 at SWP offices, 116 University Place, New York City.

## RADIO AUDIENCE HEARS DOBBS AT CONNECTICUT STATE SWP CONVENTION

The following is the major section of the keynote address entitled, "Big Business and America's Future," delivered by Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential candidate, to the Connecticut SWP state convention on Oct. 3. The convention was held at the Bond Hotel at Hartford and the address was carried over the main radio stations of Connecticut.

Delegates to the first Connecticut State Convention of the Socialist Workers Party. Friends of the radio audience:

If you have listened carefully to the campaign speeches of the major candidates in this campaign, you will have noticed — as I did — that there is one refrain that runs through all of them. They say, in essence, that conditions may be bad in the United States but they are worse in the rest of the world.

The housing shortage may cause heartaches and suffering to millions of Americans — but the housing situation is worse in Germany.

Prices may be too high for families in Hartford and New Haven to make ends meet — but prices are higher in Shanghai and Hong Kong.

Negroes may be victimized and humiliated, civil liberties curbed and undermined by government-inspired reaction — but there are less democratic rights under the Stalin dictatorship.

Since the dawn of class society,

this has always been the argument of the vested interests and powers-that-be to resist change and progress. It was against such insidious poison that Patrick Henry shouted his famous battle-cry: "Give me liberty or give me death!"

### LAW OF HISTORY

The politicians who today peddle this narcotic either reveal the most downright ignorance of the laws of history and political economy.

(Continued on page 2)

## Iowa, Wisc. Join States Putting S.W.P. on Ballot

Word has been officially received that petitions of the Socialist Workers Party for Dobbs and Carlson were "received and filed" in Iowa and Wisconsin. Unless unforeseen difficulties crop up this assures the SWP a place on the ballot in both these states.

Final information will be forthcoming in the next few days of the certification of the party ticket in Minnesota where nomination was made by petition and in Washington where it was made by state convention.

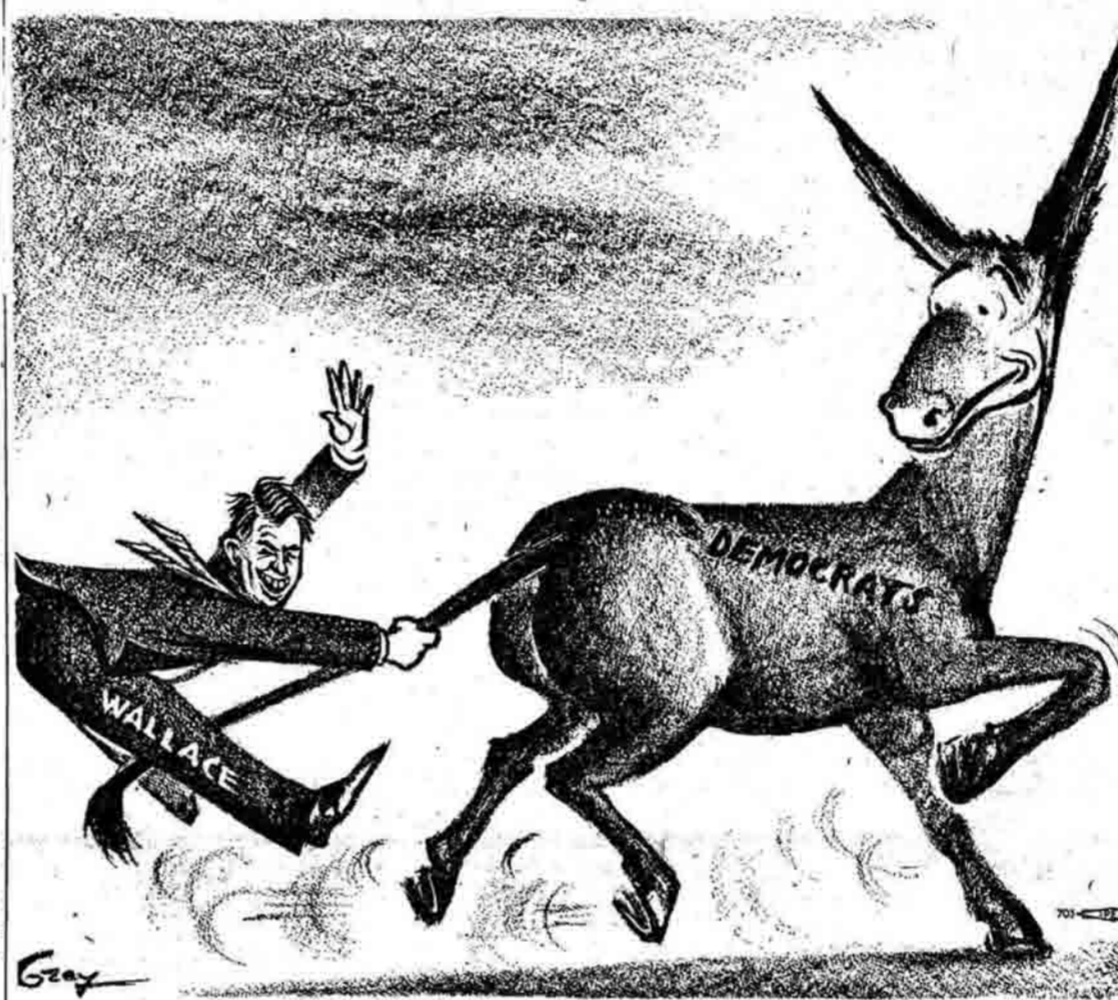
In addition a place on the ballot has already been won in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Utah and Colorado.

Along with Presidential electors the Wisconsin state organization filed petitions for James Boulton SWP candidate for Governor; in Minnesota the SWP filed for Vincent R. Dunne for U.S. Senator and in Washington for Dan Roberts for Governor.

As we go to press news has been received that Harry Braverman SWP candidate for Congressman in Youngstown, Ohio, is winning his court battle against the local election board. The case now goes to the State Supreme Court.

Next week's Militant will complete roundup of all states where the SWP is on the ballot and of all candidates running on the ticket in local elections.

### He Won't Let Go!



## Kutcher Demands Clark Reinstate Him on Job

WASHINGTON, Oct. 1—James Kutcher, legless Newark war veteran, met here for an hour yesterday afternoon with Attorney General Tom Clark to appeal against his dismissal as a clerk in the Veterans Administration because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Kutcher was accompanied by George Novack, Secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

The victimized veteran, who lost both legs in action in Italy, stated that his whole case revolves around the issue of Clark's designation of the Socialist Workers Party as "subversive."

In a written petition which he presented to Clark personally, Kutcher charged: "Your department did not give the Socialist Workers Party advance notice of such designation. You did not issue any specification of charges. You did not submit any evidence. And when my party asked you for a public hearing at which it could defend itself and answer the charges, you denied it."

"Only a public hearing, leading to the removal of my party from the blacklist, can enable me to save the job to which I believe myself as much entitled as you are entitled to yours."

### OPEN HEARINGS

Clark claimed at first that in denying a hearing to the SWP he was acting according to Truman's Executive Order establishing the procedure of the "loyalty" purge. When Kutcher and Mr. Novack pointed out that it was within his province to hold hearings, Clark then said he had held a couple involving unnamed organizations, but because they became so "boisterous" it was considered "impractical" to hold any more hearings.

Clark asked Kutcher whether he did not think he had received a "fair hearing" before the local loyalty board in Philadelphia on Sept. 10. Kutcher pointed out that while he could say anything he wanted at that hearing, since the board was bound in advance by the "subversive" list it refused to discuss the real issue, "Is the SWP subversive?" This fact, said Kutcher, made it impossible for him to get a "fair deal."

In the course of the discussion,

Clark revealed that his "subversive" list is "essentially the same" as an original secret list prepared in 1941 under the Roosevelt Administration by former Attorney General Francis Biddle. It was Biddle, acting under Roosevelt's orders, who carried through the prosecution of 18 leaders of the SWP under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

Clark gave the first confirmation — although it was long suspected — that the practice of the political blacklist was actually initiated under Roosevelt.

Clark claimed that the intent of the blacklist was to protect the government by eliminating "undesirables" from public employment, but it was not intended to harass any political party. Kutcher pointed out that the net effect

### KUTCHER FIRST

The Attorney General told Kutcher that while hundreds of others were dismissed from their jobs, Kutcher was the first to protest directly to him. This, Clark claimed, is "proof" that the procedure is "fair." Kutcher replied that, on the contrary, most victimized government employees have been intimidated and accept the dismissals because they do not want to be publicly stigmatized.

The only commitment that Clark made was that he would personally "study the record" of the case and talk on the matter with Maj. Gen. Carl R. Gray, Veterans Affairs Administrator, a banker and former vice president of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway.

This meeting was the result of (Continued on page 4)

## Dobbs, Carlson at N. Y. Rally Oct. 27

The New York organization will bring its election campaign to a smashing climax with the mass meeting for Dobbs and Carlson. The Rally for a Socialist America, in the grand ballroom of the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd St., Wed., Oct. 27, at 8 p.m., promises to be one of the biggest Trotskyist meetings ever held in this city.

In addition to Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates, the rally will be addressed by William E. Bohannon, SWP congressional candidate of the 11th district in New Jersey and author of "A Letter to American Negroes." James P. Cannon, veteran American Trotskyist leader and SWP National Secretary will preside at the rally.

Tickets at 25c are now on sale in all SWP branches and at the SWP City office, 116 University Pl., New York City.

## National Candidates of SWP Brand Move "Unprincipled"

Our repeated prediction that Henry Wallace and his new party would buckle and retreat under fire is being fulfilled even more quickly than we had expected. Wallace and his lieutenants are backing scores of candidates of the corrupt Democratic Party that "Boomerang Hank" has been denouncing from coast to coast.

On Sept. 30—four weeks before the election—C. B. Baldwin, Wallace's campaign manager, demonstratively announced that the so-called Progressive Party is withdrawing candidates or withholding opposition in more than twenty key Congressional and Senatorial contests to aid "liberal" Truman Democrats.

Just how frantically the Wallace party is trying to cling to the Democratic coat-tails is shown by the further fact, as Baldwin emphasized, that the Wallaceites are supporting not less than 41 of the 47 incumbents of Congress who scored 75% or better on the pro-Truman CIO voting chart.

### Headlong Retreat of Wallace

That this withdrawal of Wallace candidates is intended to strengthen the decrepit Democratic Party at some of its weakest points was likewise made clear by Baldwin. He pointed out that Wallace party backing is now going to 25 of the 35 Democratic incumbents who were elected by less than 55% of the vote in 1946.

Baldwin asserted further that the Wallace forces would have publicly endorsed even more Democrats "if it were not for the pressure and threats of withdrawal of financial support exerted on many Democrats if they accepted our endorsement."

This whole move comes as a cynical violation of Wallace's earlier campaign assurances that he was building a genuinely independent and progressive party against the two old-line capitalist parties.

We can imagine the feelings of hundreds of thousands of sincere Wallace supporters at this latest announcement. They have been giving of their time, energy and money in the belief they were helping to build a truly independent party. Now they find their leaders supporting the same bi-partisan politicians who are betraying the American people.

Not a single one of these Wallace-supported "liberal" Democrats even fulfills Wallace's own repeated definition of a liberal. The first criterion, according to Wallace, is that they shall be "for peace" and oppose the Truman-Marshall war program. Every one of the Democratic "liberals" now being strengthened by Wallace backing supports the Truman Doctrine, the huge military budget and peacetime conscription.

Among these are Chester Bowles, running for Connecticut Governor, of whom Wallace only two weeks ago said, "Bowles doesn't think that peace is important" and, "I don't know how good he'd be for peace." Another, Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas, of California, spurned the Wallaceite endorsement with the statement that "I strongly support the Marshall Plan."

### An Unprincipled Policy

This opportunistic and unprincipled move by the Wallaceite leaders is exactly what is to be expected from a splinter capitalist party composed of disgruntled Democratic "liberals," middle-class confusionists and Stalinist adventurers. Wallace had previously shown his colors when he said that if war came he would "naturally" support the war and that he is "the best defender of capitalism."

The millionaire demagogue Wallace and his party cannot fill the political vacuum created by the lack of an independent mass party of the working-class, a labor party based on the unions. The American workers need their own party, under their own control, running their own candidates and in uncompromising opposition to all the capitalist parties. That is the program the Socialist Workers Party fights for. That is the program you will be voting for when you vote for Dobbs and Carlson on Nov. 2.



Grace Carlson, SWP Vice Presidential candidate, addressing the 13th national convention of the Socialist Workers Party after receiving her nomination. Her acceptance speech was broadcast over Mutual and other networks.

## New York City SWP Broadcasts In Fifteen Forums Over Sta. WNEW

The Socialist Workers Party is broadcasting in the series of election forums sponsored by Station WNEW. The series entitled, "Peoples' Choice," consists of 30 broadcasts running nightly from 9:45 to 10 P.M.

The next SWP broadcasts will be heard on Mon. Oct. 11, Wed., Oct. 13, Thurs., Oct. 14, Mon., Oct. 18. WNEW is 1130 on your dial.

# Connecticut Radio Audience Hears Farrell Dobbs at State Convention

(Continued from page 1)

mony or they are deliberately deceiving the people to protect the material interests and huge fortunes of the few.

History is in constant motion and it is unlikely that the Republicans or Democrats will produce a Joshua to stop this movement. States and systems advance or degenerate. They never stand still.

Let us take an example. About thirty years ago, a capitalist democracy like ours was established in Germany. Trade unions flourished, social legislation more advanced in many respects than ours was enjoyed by large numbers and the right to vote was extended to all.

But as in this country, ownership of industry was in the hands of a few giant corporations and banks; the people suffered from unemployment, poverty, lack of housing, anti-labor laws and restrictions on civil rights — as they do here. A change to socialized ownership and workers' control of industry, to planning for production for use instead of anarchy for private profit, was an imperative and unpostponable necessity.

But the German Deweys and Trumans, and especially the German Wallaces and Norman Thomases, resisted and fought this change. They convinced the German people to bear their present ills rather than risk a change to socialism. They succeeded in halting progress but not change — a change for the worse; that is, to Hitler and fascism, to the rule of slave labor laws and concentration camps.

Woe to him who thinks that America is different from Germany and is excluded from this historic law of change!

## CHANGE IN AMERICA

A hundred years ago, America was a nation of small farmers and traders. There were rich and poor, capitalists and workers, it is true. But wealth was more evenly divided than it is today. Despite the desires and fears of men like Jefferson and Jackson, an irresistible change uprooted and overwhelmed the society of our forefathers.

The small farmer has been displaced by large scale factory farming controlled by absentee owners. Small business has been gobbled up by giant corporations. Even the manufacturer, who knew production and was acquainted with his workers, has been pushed aside by Wall Street financiers and parasitic coupon-clippers. The small artisan's shop, where the worker owned his own tools, has given way to the system of mass production, where

thousands labor under one roof on monotonous chores created by an infinite division of labor.

This change was inevitable if mankind was to emerge from primitive conditions of life always at the mercy of uncontrollable forces of nature, prisoners of unending and backbreaking toil. But with this change has come a terrible evil which has robbed the great majority of the people of the security, the luxury, the comfort which should have been the fruits of their collective industry and creative science. And now this evil threatens to rob the people of life itself.

A financial despotism dominates America today. This group, which owns and controls the industries, the natural resources, the transportation — yes, even the land and the air — is so small that Ferdinand Lundberg, a reliable economist, said that 60 families rule America. Rockefeller, Morgan, Du Pont, Whitney, Swift, Harriman, to mention but a few, are names which are as well known as were the names of kings and princes in another age. And their number constantly grows smaller, not larger.

The Federal Trade Commission, watching this process, reports that more than 2,400 formerly independent industrial companies have disappeared into mergers since 1940. Nearly one-third of these companies have been swallowed up by corporations with assets totaling \$50,000,000 or more.

Just name the problem — any problem — that besets the working people and the cause springs readily to mind. Take anti-labor legislation. Everyone knows that the National Association of Manufacturers Association rushed the Taft-Hartley Bill through Congress with the aid of the Republicans and a majority of Democrats, despite Mr. Truman's campaign oratory to the contrary.

Big Business is a totalitarian force. It cannot permit the workers to have a voice in deciding the speed of production, the safety and healthfulness of working conditions, the rate of wages or the length of hours.

Under Big Business ownership, minority rules and majority submits.

## NASHUA CASE

Just the other day we had an example of this in New England. A textile manufacturer in Nashua, New Hampshire, decided he could extract more profits in the open shop south. So, after years of profit-making in Nashua, after milking the federal government for subsidies and the local government for all manner of tax



Morris Chertov (left), SWP candidate for governor of Connecticut, discusses his campaign with Farrell Dobbs, SWP candidate for President.

exemption and other rights, he served notice that he was closing his plant and laying off 3,500 workers.

Did he care that hunger and misery would stalk the 20,000 people of Nashua, a one-mill town? Did he even consult them? Why should he? The capitalist rules his factory as kings once ruled subjects.

How far is Connecticut from New Hampshire and how different are capitalists in this state? Think that over, workers of Connecticut!

Take prices. Here the connection may seem somewhat more obscure because of all the propaganda about the natural economic laws. But that is all bunk. Big Business fixes prices. They are keeping prices up now by forcing the government into war production, more profitable to them than serving the peace-time consumer.

Dewey says he has no quick answers to solve the problem of high prices. Naturally. The darling of Park Avenue and the servant of Wall Street knows that it is bad business to monkey with Big Business.

Truman thought he had an answer in 1946, but the Meat Trust showed him how mistaken he was. When they wanted the price of meat raised and Truman resisted, they declared a meat famine — and Truman surrendered.

Truman surrendered because the government is controlled by Big Business just as the chemical industry is controlled by Dupont. It was once said that the government was controlled by "unseen powers," meaning Big Business, which exercised its controls by lobbying, intimidation and bribery. A robber baron stated that it was easier and cheaper to buy a few hundred legislators than millions of voters.

Today this control is exercised openly, brazenly, without attempt to conceal.

## BIG BUSINESS CONTROL

The most important posts in the executive branch of the government are occupied by bankers, industrialists, speculators and corporation attorneys. Most of these plutocrats were brought in to the government by Harry Truman — although Roosevelt and Wallace also did their share — by Harry Truman who is now running up and down the country warning of the danger of Big Business control of government if the Republicans win.

Big Business control is so secure today that the most fateful decisions on the Berlin crisis — on whether there shall be war or peace — are being made this minute while Congress is in recess and the President is campaigning. They are being made by six men, four of them money kings and two brass hats and none of them elected by the people.

It would be no different if the legislature were in session. A National Security Council, consisting of financial tycoons and brass hats, presided over by James Forrestal of the Dillon, Read

and "loyalty" courts. The right to strike and to choose a union of one's own choice is overthrown by government by injunction. America, once the haven of oppressed from all over the world, now sees a frenzy of deportation proceedings against aliens who will not kneel at the altar of Big Business.

Free speech, guaranteed by the constitution, is now being gagged by the courts. Only a week ago, AFL Painters Local 481 here in Hartford was fined \$800 and its former President John O'Brien \$200 by a New Haven Federal Judge for carrying on political action during an election campaign.

If Thomas Jefferson who once said, "The tree of liberty should be watered with the blood of tyrants at least every twenty years" — if he were alive today he would see the name of his party on a Department of Justice "subversive" blacklist, placed there without prior notification, without charges and without a hearing. Then he would see veterans of the revolutionary war fired from government positions because of membership in the party.

For saying far less — that is precisely what happened to the Socialist Workers Party and to James Kutcher, the legless veteran who is being fired from his job with the Veterans' Administration because he is an admitted member of the party.

## DESPODIC PRACTICE

It is only natural that Big Business should carry over its despotic practices from industry to government. Those who prohibit free thought and free speech in the factories must eventually attempt to prohibit these rights in the voting booth, on the street and wherever men gather to voice their grievances and discontent.

They must do so, else freedom of speech in public places penetrate into the factories and destroy their dictatorship.

It was once said that a poor man sleeps with his door unlocked, because he has no valuables to protect. By the same token our present rulers sitting on a fabulous hoard of ill-gotten wealth, looted and stolen from the people, must constantly multiply the guard against the rightful owners. They must increase the number and the power of the police and decrease the rights and liberties of the people.

Last week, Mr. T. K. Quinn, an industrialist of Darien, Connecticut, told a Congressional committee that Big Business was an economic monster. The natural habitat of this beast is a totalitarian state. That explains why Mr. Quinn said there was "little difference between the Politburo of Stalin and the economic monster." And Mr. Quinn should know; he was formerly vice president of the General Electric Company.

## DICTATORSHIP

Their banners read "free enterprise" and "democracy" but the plans of Big Business spell out two diametrically opposite words: Police State and Dictatorship.

Trial by jury is being replaced by trial by inquisition and kangaroo

courts. If permitted to continue unchecked and unchallenged, these "economic monsters" will eventually substitute fascist mobs for their present bi-partisan servants.

## SWP PROGRAM

But how shall they be checked and challenged? The Socialist Workers Party rejects trust-busting as futile, utopian and reactionary. For fifty years, politicians, big names in American life such as Bryan, Roosevelt, La Follette, Wilson, have pursued this will o' the wisp. Anti-trust legislation was written into the statute books and innumerable legal actions were prosecuted.

In the end, however, the corporations were stronger and bigger than ever. It is impossible to turn the economic clock back. Modern machinery and modern industry is unsuited to small units and small business.

The Socialist Workers Party rejects equally the proposal of Henry Wallace to make capitalism progressive. This is a demagogue's snare. It is as impossible to cure capitalism as it is to cure arterio-sclerosis in a person of advanced age. Wallace should know this from his experience as Secretary of Agriculture and Secretary of Commerce — but this is the season for vote-catching.

I might add here that Norman Thomas would join with Wallace tilting at windmills if only Wallace were more friendly to the State Department and less friendly with the Stalinists.

## TOTALITARIAN RULE

The totalitarian rule of Big Business over our economy must be broken. The trusts and corporations must be socialized — that is, given back to the people who built them and keep them running — and operated under the democratic rule of the masses of workers.

The totalitarian grip of Big Business over the state must be broken. The despotic rule of the 60 families, the banks and the monopolies, must be replaced by the democratic rule of the workers and farmers who constitute the overwhelming majority of the American people.

This is the program of the Socialist Workers Party. It strikes deep at the root of the modern evil and thus alone can solve the problems of prices and housing, civil rights and war. All other programs, no matter how radical-sounding, touch only the symptoms, not the causes, or are intended for malicious deception of the people.

Who shall accomplish this transformation? Why, the working people. The workers who have been brought together under one roof by the trusts and monopolies, are the greatest power on earth.

The Socialist Workers Party says: Organize this power politically as you have done in your unions. Build a class party, a party of labor, controlled by the unions, and start the march to a government of workers and farmers which will bring peace, security, abundance and socialism to America and the world.

## GREAT START

Before I conclude let me say a word about the first State Convention of the Socialist Workers Party in Connecticut and its first candidate for Governor, Morris Chertov. This is a great beginning for the cause of truth in the state of Connecticut. It is in the tradition of Roger Williams, the pioneer fighter for liberty.

The withdrawal of the Wallace party leaves Morris Chertov the only real opponent of the bi-partisans in the race for Governor. Tell the workers of Connecticut about this — and tell them about our program and our record — and I am sure that they will vote for Dobbs, Carlson and Chertov on election day, they will join the Socialist Workers Party, the great new force in American politics whose star is just beginning to rise in the labor movement.

## DOBBS-CARLSON TOUR

The following are the next dates of Dobbs' tour:

Oct. 13 New York  
14-15 Connecticut  
16 Philadelphia  
17-18 New York

The following are the next dates of Carlson's tour:

Oct. 13 New York  
14 Camden, N. J., Phila.  
15 Connecticut  
16 Philadelphia  
17 New York  
18 Allentown  
19 New York  
20 Lynn, Mass.

# World Events

By Joseph Hansen

## DeGaulle Can Still Be Stopped!

The following is a digest of an article by E. Germain on the French situation written on Sept. 28.

During the past week, the de Gaulle campaign which aims at an immediate conquest of power along the cold road has suffered some checks. The project to hold provincial elections in October was defeated by a few votes in the Assembly. De Gaulle hoped to obtain close to an absolute majority of votes in this proposed election. The Stalinists joined in the de Gaulle demand at the last minute.

Much graver for the de Gaulle movement than this parliamentary defeat, which a handful of votes can change at any time, is the sudden increase of violent incidents between de Gaulleists and Communist workers.

These incidents began at Grenoble, when the guard service of the General, composed largely of toughs recruited from the gutters of Marseille, drove their jeeps into a Communist counter-demonstration, shooting into the crowd, killing an old Communist partisan and wounding some dozens of people.

The answer of the workers was stunning. They promptly stopped all the jeeps and burned them in the public square.

Other incidents occurring the last few days in the provinces as well as in the environs of Paris, have disturbed the capitalists with the question, "Can de Gaulle hold his men?" They are ready to support the would-be Bonaparte only on the basis that his seizure of power avoids civil war.

De Gaulle seems to understand that incidents such as those at Grenoble can hurt his immediate chances, and he has ostentatiously dissolved his "guard service." But it is evident that in face of the more and more determined attitude of an important layer of vanguard Communist workers, the logic of his politics will soon oblige him to push the secret arming of his hands.

The majority of the capitalists, however, continue to openly declare their confidence in de Gaulle. The suddenly aggravated international situation strengthens de Gaulle's hand.

The great unknown of the situation is the working class and its capacity for spontaneous resistance. Here the Stalinist chiefs continue to behave like the most cynical procurers for the de Gaulle dictatorship, systematically demoralizing the workers through their so-called "whirling strikes."

The three trade union bodies, the CGT, the reformist unions and the Christian unions, proclaimed a two-hour nation-wide general strike Wednesday, Sept. 24 in order to obtain a wage increase. On the very eve of the strike the government capitulated and granted a 15% general increase. Yet the strike went right ahead.

From the numerical standpoint, it was an enormous success. More than five million workers quit work in the largest demonstration France has known since the "liberation." But this aimless movement was considered by the great majority of strikers themselves as an absolutely useless demonstration of force.

The Trotskyists denounced the "parade" character which the Stalinist and reformist chiefs intentionally gave the strike and

called on the workers to prepare a real general strike. More than 10,000 copies of their appeal were distributed and thousands of special editions of factory papers under their editorship met with remarkable success.

The criminal policy of the Stalinists, who are ready to capitulate to de Gaulle without a fight, may increase the demoralization of the workers. But hundreds and thousands of the best Communist militants are aware of the criminal character of this policy. Never has the program of the International Communist Party (Trotskyists) "taken" to well among the Communist workers as at present.

During the Renault strike some 15 days ago, a meeting of 3,000 workers voted almost unanimously for a Trotskyist resolution calling for a complete general strike. Two days later, at the final strike meeting, the Stalinists surrounded our comrades with a strong-arm squad of especially selected "hard-boiled" Stalinist members to prevent the Trotskyists from taking the floor. When the Stalinist leader announced the end of the strike in face of general indignation, the sentiments of the strong-arm squad changed abruptly and they pushed our comrades to the rostrum. These "hard-boiled" Stalinists had appointed the Trotskyists as their spokesmen!

At the Renault meeting of Sept. 24, which was attended by only the most hardened members of the Communist Party, our comrades distributed their factory paper, *La Verite-Renault*, ("The Renault Truth"). Not a single copy was torn or thrown away.

In the Marrane factory, at a trade union assembly composed exclusively of Communist Party members, one Trotskyist proposed the course to follow and with the exception of the Stalinist leader, all the speakers supported him.

At the local union of Gennevilliers, the Stalinist leaders joined in a public discussion with our comrades on the "traitorous" character of the policy of their national leaders.

At Puteaux, a working class suburb of Paris where our movement won a heroic tradition during the occupation, the distributors of Trotskyist literature together with the distributors of *L'Humanite*, the Stalinist newspaper, joined in running out de Gaulleists. An agreement was then reached to continue this joint struggle on a bigger scale the following week. The Stalinist leaders invited our comrades to join them in forming a workers guard.

Of course, these are still isolated incidents, but they are symptomatic. Today only the Trotskyist program succeeds in capturing the ear of the advanced Communist militants. They repeat our declaration that it is not yet too late to stop de Gaulle. Ten thousand Communist militants turning to action can set off the masses and reverse the whole situation. The struggle to convince these militants of the absolute necessity for immediate action — that is the task of the Trotskyists. Despite their insufficient means, they have been doing this to perfection up to now.

# THE MILITANT ARMY

## Join Militant Army Of Sub-Getters and Election Campaigners

Since the start of the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign, at least 50,000 persons have seen *The Militant* for the first time and 3,000 have become subscribers.

There are many ways these 3,000 new readers can — and some already do — help reach others with *The Militant's* message of socialism. We welcome them not only as readers but also into the Militant Army of sub-getters and campaigners for the SWP candidates, Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President.

Several subscribers get two to five copies regularly for campaign work. Most issues contain subscription coupons for the convenience of new readers. Regular sub cards will be furnished anyone wishing to do sub work.

Finally, all readers can advance this work by donations toward the expense of printing and mailing ever more Militants, campaign platforms and other literature.

## New Jersey Radio Forum

of League of Women Voters for U. S. Senate candidates including

GEORGE BREITMAN  
over Sta. WJNR (1430 on dial)  
Thur., Oct. 14, at 8:05 P. M.

## Allentown

Election Campaign Meeting

Speaker:  
Grace Carlson  
LABOR TEMPLE  
124 West 6th Street  
Monday, Oct. 18 at 8 P. M.



Alvin Berman, Connecticut State Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, addressing the state convention in Hartford, Conn., on October 3.

## SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SUB

# THE MILITANT

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These are expressed in its  
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Vol. XII — No. 41

Monday, October 11, 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 Nikolaev — 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 Registration Lag

Although the voting-age population has increased by several millions since 1944, the registration figures have declined badly in a number of key states. Registration in the largest city, New York, last week fell 234,585 short of 1944's figure of 3,556,377. It was even 68,678 less than in 1940. According to the city's population trend, 800,000 more eligible voters should have registered this year than eight years ago.

Republican leaders claim the decline is due to "apathy" in "normally Democratic" districts. The Democrats reply by noting the drop in "normally Republican" areas. All join in a chorus of abuse against the "indifference" of the voters. This chorus, we may be sure, will be echoed by the labor lieutenants of the capitalist parties in the CIO and AFL.

The "labor statesmen" will issue their usual slander of the rank and file as "lazy" and "stupid" because they did not flock once more to register in order to vote for candidates of the old-line parties that have deceived them and betrayed their trust for so long.

These millions of so-called "apathetic" voters are not at all indifferent to the grave issues facing this country. They are simply indifferent to the outcome of the election insofar as the only choice, as they see it, is Wall Street's Dewey or Wall Street's Truman or the middlehead demagogue Wallace.

Blame is indeed due for the "apathy" of the workers. But this blame must fall wholly and directly on the union leaders, the Murphys, Greens, Reuthers, Lewises, Dubinskys, Potofskys, Tobins, who have blocked the building of labor's own party.

What alternative have these union leaders offered to Truman, the greatest strikebreaker

in American history, or Dewey, the darling of the Standard Oil trust and the Chase National Bank? What real choice does this present the voter?

In one of his more candid columns, the politically astute Walter Lippmann wrote in the Oct. 4 N. Y. *Herald-Tribune* that while there are "great issues" and "grave problems" facing the country, "to these problems the Republicans do not have one set of answers and the Democrats as a party another set. . . . That holds not only in the field of foreign policy. In domestic policy . . . there is no fundamental conflict of doctrine — no ideological conflict remotely comparable with that which separates parties, say in France, or even in Britain."

In short, whether you vote for Dewey or Truman, you're voting for the same fundamental program. The union leaders insult the intelligence of the workers when they blame them for not seeing a difference that does not exist.

The workers are not "indifferent" or "dumb." They are waiting for a clear call, a program of action. Let the officials of the leading unions summon a National Congress of Labor of all the unions. Let this Congress of Labor launch an independent labor party. Then the "indifference" of the workers will change to stormy enthusiasm — such enthusiasm as they demonstrated in the Thirties when the CIO gave them the answer of industrial unionism to open-shop oppression.

The Socialist Workers Party and its candidates, Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President, are campaigning and fighting for this program. By voting for the SWP candidates, you will be helping to advance this program and make it a reality.

## "Force And Violence"

Every capitalist ruling class—including the Wall Street barons in this country—represents itself as the defender of "law and order" and "constitutional means" against working-class organizations, particularly the Marxists, who allegedly "advocate force and violence" and "seek to alter the form of government by unconstitutional means."

This propaganda is designed to conceal the fact that actually the capitalists unhesitatingly resort to the most bloody and illegal means when their rule is seriously challenged by the working class majority, as witness the recent history of Germany, Italy and Spain.

We have a striking reminder of this in an appeal made on Oct. 4 in England by a leading British capitalist, J. Gibson Jarvie, chairman of the United Dominions Trust, Ltd. In a widely-publicized speech, this eminent banker called for nothing less than armed rebellion against the Labor government. This "revolution . . . may be bloodless or it may not," said Jarvie, "but it must come . . . I believe in constitutional methods, but I also believe—and I make this statement deliberately—that when the government is in the hands of reckless and incompetent megalomaniacs there may come a time when the

only possible course is to rebel."

Here is the voice of a privileged capitalist minority advocating any means to oust a Labor government elected by an overwhelming popular majority. This is no isolated opinion.

In France today, Gen. Charles De Gaulle —darling of the French and U. S. imperialists — is openly mobilizing armed storm troops to seize power. A N. Y. *Times* correspondent cabled from Paris last week that "on de Gaulle's recent tour . . . his (private) police force had jeeps and assorted firearms including machine guns."

For what purpose? De Gaulle openly stated it on Oct. 1: "Under democracy, power is obtained by an appeal to the people, but if law and order breaks down I reserve the right to take whatever action I regard as advisable."

In other words, capitalists discard democratic methods as easily as they do a worn-out garment and resort to force and violence when it suits their purposes and needs. When the capitalists accuse us Marxists of "advocating" force and violence, they are simply resorting to the "stop thief" cry of the criminal—an old dodge aimed at distracting attention from the guilty party.

## Truman On Civil Rights

Truman stumped down South to bulwark his chances there against Gov. Thurmond's Dixiecrats. For four days, Truman roamed the fair state of Texas, a Jim-Crow stronghold and scene of some of the worst lynching atrocities in recent years.

The President talked about the weather, communism, the Republicans, the power interests and whatever other topics swam across his stream of consciousness. He boasted how he had "stopped" John L. Lewis and the mine workers in the federal courts.

But he was mum as an oyster on civil rights. On Negro rights, on anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation he was a graven image of silence. Not even a direct and public challenge from Gov. Thurmond could incite so much as a mouse-squeak from Truman on the one issue that transcends all others in the South and that has convulsed and riven the Democratic Party.

It was easy for Truman in Philadelphia to boast he would not "compromise" on his promised civil rights campaign. But it's another story down South. That's where the real test came of whether Truman is campaigning for votes or for principles.

Farther north, in Oklahoma City, Truman did hint—merely hint—at the question of

civil rights, in a speech devoted principally to whether the Democrats or the Republicans are doing the most to suppress "communists."

Truman compared his "loyalty" purge among two million government employees and the federal frame-up indictments against the 12 Communist Party leaders to the record of the Republican-controlled House Un-American Activities Committee with its "reckless disregard of the Bill of Rights."

His own "loyalty" purge, he bragged, gives "each individual—now listen to this, this is the meat of the thing—each individual . . . full opportunity to protect himself against charges which may be unfounded, distorted, or unbiased."

Like the Kitcher case, Mr. Truman? Like James Kitcher, the legless war veteran who has been given notice of dismissal from the Veterans Administration in your "loyalty" purge because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party? Jimmie Kitcher got a "hearing," all right. The loyalty board, at a closed session, just wanted to know one thing—was he or wasn't he a member of the SWP? Attorney General Clark said the SWP was "subversive" and if Kitcher belonged to it—the dismissal would stand.

That's the real "meat" of Truman's "civil rights" program.

# Ask Branches to Increase Efforts In S. W. P. Election Fund Campaign

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

Although a total of \$1,132 was received this week in the Socialist Workers Party election fund campaign—a tribute to the hard work and self-sacrifice of our comrades, friends and sympathizers—it is nevertheless necessary to run up the warning signal. Two weeks ago we reported that at least \$2,000 a week was necessary to make our goal of \$25,000 on schedule. Last week \$1,633 came in; this week receipts dropped below that figure.

Reading branch was the only one this week to move up into the 100% - or - better category. Congratulations to the Reading comrades whose consistent plugging has again put them over the top!

San Francisco - Oakland, who have been climbing steadily, this week sent in \$276, bringing them up to 81% of their goal!

Newark chalked up another \$50, taking them up to 80%, almost on the nose with the Bay area comrades and up with Seattle.

Seattle sent \$30, sufficient to cross the 80% wire but not quite enough to keep them ahead of the sprint from Newark.

Cleveland climbed from 59% to 77% with a total for the week of \$71.

Youngstown, formerly ahead of Cleveland, is now running neck

and neck with that branch, a weekly total of \$87 bringing them to 77%.

New York City, with a goal of \$7,500 moved up to 72% with a total of \$400 for the week.

Pittsburgh, faced with unusual difficulties, nevertheless managed to collect another \$10, bringing them up to 65%.

Toledo crossed the halfway mark to 51% with \$4.

Chicago inched up from 43% to 49% with a total for the week of \$119.

Detroit moved from 44% to 48% with \$65 for the week.

A contribution of \$10 and another of \$15 helped the "General" category. Thanks a lot H. A. of Chicago and E. H. of Eureka, Calif.!

The next few weeks are very important for the success of the Socialist Workers Party Presidential campaign. Thousands of workers who have not yet seen our platform or heard our candidates can be reached if we have the necessary funds. We ask all our friends and sympathizers to rush their contributions. Dig deep to make the Election Fund Campaign a complete success!

## SCOREBOARD FOR \$25,000 SWP ELECTION FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Baltimore	\$ 50	\$ 65	131
Tacoma	50	61	122
St. Louis	50	55	111
Milwaukee	400	419	105
Allentown	50	50	100
Philadelphia	500	500	100
Reading	150	150	100
Rochester	50	50	100
Boston-Lynn	400	380	95
Minnesota	2,000	1,792	90
Flint	400	328	82
San Francisco-Oakland	1,500	1,222	81
Newark	750	600	80
Seattle	600	480	80
Cleveland	400	308	77
Youngstown	800	612	77
New York City	7,500	5,424	72
West Virginia	100	70	70
Pittsburgh	200	130	65
Los Angeles	2,500	1,476	59
Akron	400	206	52
Buffalo	1,000	524	52
Toledo	200	101	51
Chicago	2,000	982	49
Detroit	1,600	775	48
San Diego	50	16	32
Connecticut	250	32	13
General	1,050	168	16
Total	\$25,000	\$16,976	68

## BOOKSHELF

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY — What It Is — What It Stands For. By Joseph Hansen. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York, N.Y. 32 pp. 10c.

If you heard of the Socialist Workers Party for the first time in the 1948 elections, and wish to know more about this dynamic new-comer to the national political scene, we recommend this latest pamphlet from the press of Pioneer Publishers.

It tells the absorbing story of the Socialist Workers Party, its dramatic origin in conflict with Stalinism 20 years ago, its inspiring aim of building a Socialist America, and its militant methods of action.

The pamphlet begins with the searching question, "Who rules America?"

The answer leads to a lively discussion of "The Government of Money" that operates behind the scenes and to the great alternative now facing America — of going down in capitalist barbarism or forging ahead to socialism.

"What miracles of production" will be possible under socialism, declares the author. "Imagine the food, clothing, houses, automobiles, radios, refrigerators, civilian planes, all the modern conveniences required for good living, that we can turn out! To what heights we can expand industry! Picture our grimy, tenement-cluttered urban areas turned into modern, beautiful cities, filled with parks, clean and shining in the sun!"

And that "is only the beginning." In contrast to the brilliant and attractive future facing a Socialist America, the pamphlet describes the perspective of Big Business. Their schemes mean another war and "a barbarous reaction worse than anything yet experienced in Europe or Asia. They mean fear and agony, slav-

ery and death. What a monster an American Hitler would be, financed by Wall Street, armed with the atomic bomb and enforcing the racial hatreds of the Southern Bourbons!"

The pamphlet gives us a "look at the inside works" of capitalism, explaining in a simple and lucid way what makes the capitalist class act the way it does.

The major obstacles standing in the way of socialism are examined and shown not to be so formidable as they seem at first sight.

Finally the pamphlet takes us inside the Socialist Workers Party to show us what it is like and how it operates and what its relationship is with the rest of the labor movement.

"Life inside the Socialist Work-

ers Party is active and stimulating," declares the author. "The emphasis upon the long-range view and the great emancipating goal of socialism lifts you out of the stifling, dreary circle of existence imposed by capitalism on working people. You become part of the vanguard whose lives are tied in with the magnificent future that lies before humanity."

## Now On Sale

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Discussions on Negro Question and other timely subjects.

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## Camden, N. J.

Thursday, Oct. 14 -- 12 noon

Camden, N. J. factory gate meeting

JOHNSON SQUARE

Cooper St., bet. Front and 2nd

Speakers:

Grace Carlson

George Breitman

George Clarke

## Brooklyn Forum

"Truman, Wallace and the Dixiecrats — The Break up of the Democratic Party"

Arthur Burch

Thursday, Oct. 14 at 8:45 P. M.

at 635 Fulton Street

Speakers:

Farrell Dobbs

Grace Carlson

Speakers:

Farrell Dobbs

Grace Carlson



Dr. Grace Carlson (right), Socialist Workers candidate for U. S. Vice President, filing her nominating petitions to get on the Minnesota state ballot. Accompanying her at the office of Arnold Gandrud, Assistant Secretary of State, at the state capital in St. Paul, are her sister Dorothy Schultz, the Schultz twins, Vincent and Raymond, and V. R. Dunne, SWP candidate for U. S. Senator from Minnesota.

## Campaigning for Socialism

(Continued from Page 1)  
rooted to the street as Farrell let 'em have it."

They're going back to the Westinghouse gates when Manny Terbovich, Chicago SWP organizer, gets into town at the end of the month to address meetings of Slovenian workers on the Tito-Stalin conflict.

### SPREADING THE WORD

An additional 200,000 copies of the National Election Platform made their way into the homes of workers in the form of a reprint of the full text which appeared in the *Denver Post*, the biggest paper in the city which circulates throughout the entire Rocky Mountain region. That's the soil of big class battles, ploughed up by the Western Federation of Miners, the I.W.W., by Bill Haywood and Gene Debs. It's a good place for Trotskyist ideas.

A big and very effective part of this campaign, which has not received enough notice in this

column is the campaign on the streets in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles and other cities. For New Yorkers, soapboxing is a tradition but in other parts of the country it is a new experience.

Detroit is particularly enthusiastic about their sound-truck street meetings. Jack Gaynor reports a meeting of 250 in a Negro neighborhood. A novel feature was the mike they had circulating through the audience for people to ask questions.

Among the questions asked were: When will the Third World War begin? What has happened to the promises made to the Negroes before and during the war? The audience was attentive and sympathetic.

The New York Campaigner estimates that in the 25 street meetings already held some 5,000 persons have heard our speakers, bought \$60 worth of campaign literature, took 4,500 copies of the election platform and signed about 50 interest and Dobbs-Carlson Club cards. Several workers informed us at these meetings that they were changing from Wallace to Dobbs and some have already joined the party.

### ON THE AIR

This week our Detroit campaigners won a victory in a two-months long battle with station WWJ, biggest radio station in Michigan for equal time with Glen Taylor who had been interviewed over the station last July. They took the case through all FCC channels and finally WWJ came across. On Mon. Oct. 11 at 11:30 P.M. Grace Carlson will be interviewed over the station.

Up in Duluth, there was a rebroadcast of Comrade Carlson's

speech on Oct. 4. We will have our first Iowa broadcast in Des Moines over KWDM in Des Moines, with Grace speaking.

We got a good press in Pittsburgh again. Lengthy interviews with photographs of comrade Dobbs were carried in all editions of the Pittsburgh Press, the Sun Telegraph and a good sized write-up in the Pittsburgh Courier, leading Negro newspaper. The Press quotes Farrell as saying that "America is one place where the fascists can be whipped by the left."

The N.Y. Times gave its first substantial writeup to our campaign in reporting the Hartford convention. The story must have been too hot because it was jerked out of the second edition. There was plenty of publicity, as usual, in Minneapolis about the filing, and writeups in the Youngstown Vindicator of Farrell's trip.

### THE CAMPAIGN TOURS

Farrell Dobbs will speak at a waterfront meeting in San Francisco on Oct. 7 and at an indoor meeting the next day. Then he will fly to Los Angeles where a big rally will be held on the 10th after which he returns to New York. Grace Carlson has just returned from a flying trip to Washington and is now in Milwaukee.

New York is working hard to build up its biggest "Rally for a Socialist America" on Oct. 27 at the Hotel Diplomat.

## Newark Forum

The Real Issues in 1948

Speaker:

Harry Ring

Friday, Oct. 15 at 8:45 P. M.

423 Springfield Avenue

## 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 11331. Daily 8 a.m. - 8 p.m.; O. Coover Sr., 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 — 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Phone DEArborn 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m. - 5 p.m. Library, bookstore.  
CLEVELAND — Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p.m.; Weekdays, 1440 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).  
DETROIT — 4058 Woodward Ave. Phone TY 7-2397. 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 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.  
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 MEIn 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m. - 5 p.m. Library, bookstore.  
NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.) — Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p.m. MILItant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).  
NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 555 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p.m.  
NEWARK — 423 Springfield Ave. Phone BIRgley 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m.  
NEW YORK CITY (HQ) — 116 University Pl. Phone GR 8-8149.  
EAST SIDE — 251 E. Houston St. 1st fl.  
HARLEM — 103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO. 2-1895. Open discussion, Thurs., 8 p.m.  
BRONX — 1034 Fulton St. Phone ST. 3-7435.  
CHELSEA — 130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH. 2-9434.  
OAKLAND (Cal.) — Write P. O. Box 1251, Oakland 4.  
PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone STEvenson 4-6230. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p.m.  
PITTSBURGH — 1418 Fifth 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. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.  
SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., South & Washington. Phone MAIn 8756. 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 — 540 Cedar St. Phone GARfield 1137. Open daily, bookstore.  
TOLEDO — Weekly meetings every Friday night at 7:30, Kadpa Hall, 413 Summit, Room 1, top fl.  
YOUNGSTOWN — 254 E. Federal St., Phone 2-1855. Wed., Fri., Sat. 1:30 to 4 p.m.

## The Home Stretch

By Farrell Dobbs, Presidential Candidate

NEW YORK, Oct. 5. — We enter the home-stretch in the presidential contest armed with valuable experience already gained in the campaign and confident that the Socialist Workers Party is emerging as a force to be reckoned with on the national political arena.

Millions of people know about the SWP today where only thousands heard of us before. Many have given us a sympathetic hearing despite the heavy pressure of the red-baiting hysteria. They are becoming aware of the bleak future under capitalism. They want to know how they can protect their interests.

Some in our new audience have already begun to grasp the essence of our program to abolish capitalism and build a socialist society. As the world crisis becomes sharper in the days ahead, the Trotskyist program will win the support of an increasingly large section of those who are now learning about our party.

Our slogans for independent labor political action are widely publicized through the presidential campaign at the precise moment when the political bankruptcy of the top union officials is most glaringly revealed to the workers. We are thus laying foundation stones for the building of a strong left wing in the unions.

We get particularly good response to our program among the doubly-oppressed Negro people, who have no illusion about capitalist "democracy." They are already convinced of the marrow of their bones that economic, political and social relations must be changed fundamentally.

Students, too, show keen interest in our ideas. The bitter alternatives under capitalism of a wartime chow line or a depression bread line have inflicted upon American youth a frustration which violates every law of nature. They are seeking a perspective that will restore to them youth's precious right to believe and dare and do.

The impact of our campaign and the timeliness of our basic program is also reflected in the changing attitude of the Stalinist rank and file toward us. From the reports of comrades and from my own experiences on the road, I have learned that many Stalinist workers are beginning to shed their worst prejudices and listen to our arguments.

All this has been possible because the party was capable of making the bold decision to launch a full-scale national election campaign despite our limited forces and financial resources. And having made our decision, we set to work with determination and confidence, learning the ropes as we met each new problem.

Basic to our success has been the long, hard hours of labor by the party membership gathering petitions to put our national ticket on the ballot. We have already made the grade in nine states, with at least two additional states virtually a certainty. That impressive performance, reinforced by placing a number of local candidates on the ballot, laid the basis for our major propaganda activities.

Thanks to our getting on the ballot in sufficient states, we obtained considerable free time for radio broadcasts over national and state networks and individual local stations. We have reached a bigger audience through these broadcasts than our combined audiences of the past 20 years.

We have had excellent outdoor meetings in working class and Negro neighborhoods and at plant gates. These audiences have been characterized by their interest in our fundamental solution for the current political crisis.

Through the campaign we have broken into the newspapers, magazines and radio newscasts to an unprecedented degree. From this experience the whole party is learning rich lessons that will enable us to exploit these mediums more fully in the future.

Party literature has been distributed in huge quantities throughout the campaign. Here again we are learning new technique. Especially important is the beginning we have made in translating our fundamental program into simple but precise language.

Most striking of all is the way the entire party membership is growing in experience and ability as a result of the presidential campaign. New speakers, writers, technical specialists, money raisers are being developed.

Comrades in mass organizations are learning new techniques for political agitation thanks to the impetus of the presidential campaign and the new opportunities. The whole party is extending its activity onto a broader arena of political work.

We still have almost a month in which to add new campaign achievements. Every comrade to his appointed post! Let's go down the home-stretch with everything we've got!

## SWP Election Tour

### Militants in Minnesota

By Grace Carlson, Vice-Presidential Candidate

"All the Militants are for Dobbs and Carlson," reads a sign prominently displayed above the literature rack in the Minneapolis headquarters.

But Comrade Vincent Dunne, who originated the slogan made a serious omission in the sign. He left off the name of the SWP senatorial candidate from Minnesota. Certainly, all the militants in Minnesota are for V. R. Dunne, a former leader in the historic truck-drivers strikes of 1934 and now our senatorial candidate.

It's a certain thing that one 1934 militant — now a bartender in a Willmar tavern — is for Ray Dunne! After our Willmar public meeting last week, a number of us stopped at this tavern for refreshments and conversation. Our friend, the bartender, introduced himself, shook hands with Comrade Dunne and asked about the meeting. Then, he came over to our table and shook hands all around.

When he was given a copy of the election platform and The Voice of Socialism, he was pleased as punch. He assured everyone in the place that "it was these boys, Vince Dunne and Farrell Dobbs and the others that really did something for the working people in this state."

As we were leaving, several people came over

to shake our hands and to say that they were with us.

We made some friends at the Willmar meeting itself. This was our first meeting in Willmar and the first meeting of my tour where farmers outnumbered the workers in the audience. These were working farmers, radical-thinking farmers, who agreed immediately with our call for a Workers and Farmers government. And they made a down-payment on that plan by contributing to our campaign!

Very few candidates have the same entertaining personal experience that I had in Minneapolis the other day. All day long the phone was kept busy with eager questioners who wanted to know who the Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate is. It seems that a local radio station had included a question about vice-presidential candidates in one of its quiz programs.

When I answered the phone and told the questioners that I was the vice-presidential candidate, they were quite surprised. Usually, they went on to ask me for the names of all the other vice-presidential candidates so that they could fill in the answers to the quiz. I obliged them, of course, but then I asked them for their names and addresses so that we could send them information about the Dobbs-Carlson campaign.

I think that we can all agree that the women who get the SWP election platform will be much further ahead than if they had received just a box of Soylax!

## Case of Ilse Koch

By Joseph Hansen

An outraged Senatorial committee is going to probe and investigate the justice dispensed by the U. S. Military Government in Germany. And why are Wall Street's Congressmen indignant and angered? It seems that the Brass entrusted with commuting sentences of imprisoned Nazis, commuted one too many at a time Congressmen do not appreciate: namely, the time voters go to the polls.

The cause of it all is none other than Ilse Koch, widow of a commandant at Buchenwald concentration camp, who is not the type you will generally find teaching a Sunday School class; in fact she is known for short as "The Beast."

At Nuremberg Court last summer, the American prosecution described how she had inmates beaten to death and how her devotion to Nazi culture led her to making lampshades and wall plaques out of tattooed skin from murdered prisoners as well as covering the family album in the same material.

She was scheduled to be dropped from a beam with a rope around her neck. But an accident occurred, most mortifying to all concerned expect Frau Koch. "The Beast" by some hook or crook, obviously done to cheat justice, turns up for sentence decidedly pregnant, though how she got that way in prison under the vigilant eyes of the American generals, judges, prosecutors and guards is a mystery that is still unsolved and which maybe not even a Senatorial probing and investigating committee can unravel.

Naturally she can't be hanged in that condition. The generals, judges, prosecutors and guards have been outwitted and all they can do is admit defeat and let "The Beast" off with a lifetime sentence. So she goes into deep freeze with other Nazis who might suffer harm and annoyance from the German citizenry if turned loose too soon.

It is while lightening the sentences of the latest batch of top-drawer Nazis in connection with setting up the new puppet government in Western

Germany that the Brass discover "The Beast" has been wronged and injured.

The Koch family album bound in tattooed human skin can no longer be viewed among the prosecution's exhibits, as it has been misplaced or pilfered. That leaves as the most damaging evidence nothing but the unanimous testimony of former Buchenwald prisoners. Since "The Beast" flatly denies this testimony and claims that the wall plaques and lampshades of human skin found in her apartment don't belong to her, how can she be guilty?

The red-headed Nazi widow is really only a nymphomaniac, which means her love life is intensive, extensive and not what you'd call normal. She is sadistic too. The military governors combing through the details of her case commute her sentence at once to four years so she can be paroled next year, thus fixing up the wrong done her by the Nuremberg Court.

This gives much comfort to the Nazis one and all since it shows how well the American Military Government understands and appreciates their type and how ready it is to forgive and forget in expectation of services to be rendered. But in Washington it pains Wall Street's Congressmen no little as the news hits the headlines right on the eve of election. How are they going to explain a complex subject like this to the mothers and young American girls eligible to vote, not to mention the veterans told they were sent overseas to stamp out Hitlerism?

So they waste no time launching a probe and investigation, and their first important action is to inform the press what heights of indignation they have reached.

I am holding my breath waiting for the results of the probe since learning in the Oct. 2 Business Week that "During the past year there has been a big shift in our attitude toward the Germans. We now regard them as allies in the conflict with Russia." Seeing how this Nazi violet has become the symbol of Wall Street's policy toward Germany, it looks like she's pretty safe.

# THE MILITANT

## 'Tight' Strike Policy Can Win West Coast Maritime Victory

### Uniformed Strikebreakers



This solid wall of armed Indiana state troopers broke the strike of CIO United Electrical members at the Bucyrus-Erie plant in Evansville. Congressmen from the Hartley Committee moved in then and helped smash up the local union. Federated Pictures

## Wallace Backs Campaign To Pardon the Eighteen

### SWP Backs Fight Of N. Y. Tenants

By Jean Bennett

NEW YORK, Oct. 6 — 150 members of the Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants League met last Wednesday night to organize a fight against the New York City Housing Authority which sent notices to thousands of tenants living in this area to vacate by Nov. 15 or face eviction proceedings.

This is the latest incident in the running battle with the city administration which 20 months ago moved to evict 2500 tenants from their homes.

At that time, the Harlem branch of the Socialist Workers Party proceeded to organize the tenants to fight these evictions. A series of packed mass meetings were held and preparations made to mobilize all tenants in the community to resist evictions by militant action. Faced with this determined opposition, the Housing Authority retreated and the eviction proceedings were halted.

Recently however, many of the tenants once again received notices to vacate, the first step in the legal process of eviction. The Tenants Committee immediately sent a large delegation to the local agency and demanded an explanation. The committee was assured that this was simply a "formality," that all these tenants would be offered temporary housing while a new housing project was being erected on the site of the present houses. Suspicious of promises by this agency, the committee called a mass meeting of the tenants.

#### THE DEMANDS

The following demands were unanimously adopted by the body: That no tenant be compelled to move, unless the new apartment offered was decorated and all facilities in order; that the rent in the new apartment be no greater than that which the tenant had been paying; that the new apartment be at least as large as the present one; that no tenant be compelled to move outside of Manhattan.

In addition the meeting voted unanimously to come to the defense of any individual tenant who was faced with eviction, even moving the furniture back into the house, if necessary.

Michael Bartell, City Organizer of the Socialist Workers Party promised the mass meeting the full support of his party in their fight. He further explained the reasons for the housing crisis, the need to eliminate the rent hogs and launch a large scale housing program that would wipe out the slums.

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

Henry Wallace, presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, has added his name to the growing list of prominent liberal and labor leaders who are demanding a full presidential pardon and complete restoration of civil rights for the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO who were convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act and imprisoned during the war.

In answer to a letter from SWP presidential candidate Farrell Dobbs, one of the 18 Minneapolis Case victims, Mr. Wallace on Sept. 21 wrote that the 18 who served prison sentences of from 12 to 16 months "were not convicted on the basis of any acts of violence but solely by reason of their expression of political views and opinions."

Among the signers of the pardon appeal for Dobbs, Grace Carlson, SWP vice-presidential candidate, and the other 16, are Norman Thomas, presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, Roger Baldwin, John Haynes Holmes and Arthur Garfield Hays of the American Civil Liberties Union; August Scholle, president of the Michigan CIO Council; Willard S. Townsend, president of the CIO United Transport Service Employees; Irving Abramson, CIO Eastern Regional Director; and John Dewey, eminent philosopher and educator.

#### ORIGINAL DEMAND

The original demand for pardon was conveyed to Daniel Lyons, U.S. Pardon Attorney in Washington in 1945, by George Novack, Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. It was supported by over 300 union, Negro and labor fraternal organizations comprising more than two million members.

Dobbs wrote to Wallace on Sept. 13, reminding the latter of his statement to reporters at his nominating convention that he would support the appeal for restoration of the civil rights of the 18. "You have frequently criticized President Truman for his do-nothing attitude on important questions of civil liberties," Dobbs said. "Here is one case where he can act to rectify an injustice. It is all the more necessary that you (Wallace) state your position since this frameup and railroad to prison of the 18 occurred while you were Vice-President under the Roosevelt administration."

Mr. Wallace, in a letter to Dobbs, stated, "I believe that the prosecution and conviction of these defendants violated a fundamental constitutional principle and therefore advocate the granting of pardons to them and the restoration of their civil rights."

Farrell Dobbs has written his thanks to Mr. Wallace for this letter of support and urged him to send a letter expressing his views on the pardon case directly to President Truman.

### Committee in N. J. To Defend Kutcher

NEWARK, Oct. 4 — The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee of New Jersey today announced the opening of its office at 843 Broad St., Newark. The committee describes itself as "a non-partisan citizens' group formed to win justice for James Kutcher, Purple Heart veteran who lost his legs in action in Italy in 1943 and who now faces the loss of his job as a Veterans Administration clerk in Newark because of his political views."

The chairman of the New Jersey committee is Peter J. Flynn, who is also state secretary-treasurer of the New Jersey State CIO Council. In a statement on the opening of the New Jersey office, Mr. Flynn declared:

"It is wholly fitting and proper at this time that we should see an intensification of activities to help the legless veteran, James Kutcher, for this is the week that he has been designated as National Employ-the-Physically Handicapped Week."

After describing the issues in the case, Mr. Flynn added:

"Our committee does not subscribe to Mr. Kutcher's political views, but we believe that he has the right to hold them and a government job too, just as he did during the war as an infantryman."

### Kutcher Demands His Reinstatement

(Continued from page 1)

the growing public outcry at the victimization of Kutcher which brought the case to the attention of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. She, in turn, personally queried Clark on the matter.

The CIO's Committee to Abolish Discrimination, through its Director, George L. P. Weaver, has written to "congratulate" the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee "on its prompt and forthright action in defense of the civil rights of Mr. Kutcher."

The National Planning Committee of the American Veterans Committee (AVC) has unanimously adopted a statement calling on "all liberal organizations and upon all individuals who believe in our Bill of Rights to come to his (Kutcher's) defense. If an administration may discharge a legless veteran from his job as a clerk for his political beliefs, there may be no limit to the current 'disloyalty' purge. No one will feel safe from the reactionary hysteria now sweeping the country."

Norman Mailer, author of the great war novel, "The Naked and the Dead," this week joined the Kutcher defense committee.

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 3 — The Pacific Coast maritime strike which began Sept. 2 settled down last week to the "battle of the ads" between Waterfront Employers and the striking unions.

The independent Marine Firemen's Union opened up with an advertisement in all leading San Francisco newspapers, inviting the employers to resume negotiations. The employers responded with an "Open Letter," demanding that the firemen sign a contract and work behind the picket lines of CIO longshoremen and cooks unions. This was answered through a second ad by the Firemen's Union.

This verbal exchange has served to expose some of the lying propaganda of the Waterfront Employers' Association.

#### MALONE'S FORMULA

In his answer to the employers, Vincent J. Malone, President of the Marine Firemen, proposed the following formula:

"First — Assign to all unions involved a reasonable negotiating period. Second — At these negotiations, all union officials should stand aside, and the negotiations be conducted by a committee of men who have to work under the contracts. A reasonable number on the committee, not to exceed ten. Third — Confine the shipowners' committee to representatives of operating companies, and keep the attorneys in the back room. Fourth — Incorporate the results of such negotiations in a tentative agreement to be voted on by secret coastwise referendum ballots, with a simple question — Are you in favor — yes or no?"

This proposal was summarily rejected by the operators. Malone's formula was seconded by Harry Bridges, president of the CIO longshoremen's union, who offered to step aside so that a rank and file negotiating committee could meet with the operators.

The shipping magnates have declared that the only stumbling block to an agreement with the maritime unions is refusal of leaders of the CIO longshoremen and Marine Cooks to sign the non-communist affidavits.

#### HYPOCRISY EXPOSED

The hypocrisy of this position was exposed last week in a widely distributed statement of the Joint Action Committee. This statement, "Questions and Answers about the Maritime Strike," clearly explains that there is no law which requires any union official to sign the yellow-dog oaths.

The union statement declares: "The only reason for any union to sign the 18 affidavits necessary for compliance under Taft-Hartley, is to obtain the services of the National Labor Relations Board. From the inception of the law, many of the biggest unions, AFL and CIO, have refused to sign. They have done so because, in effect, the board is an employer's agency. There is not a single labor member on it. The result of its 'services' is that the unions are bogged down in red tape, injunctions, and election which render them all but helpless."

"The ILWU and MC&S leaders have refused to sign, not merely on the basis of their individual decision, but on the basis of a 95% NO vote by the membership of their unions."

This statement also nails the operators' lies concerning the contract negotiations and demonstrates how they simply went through the motions but never had any intention of coming to terms.

Striking longshoremen and seamen here are thus not only fighting for the much needed wage increase of 15 cents per hour, which is becoming increasingly important to them as the cost of living continues to mount, but are engaged in a battle to preserve the very existence of their unions.

#### MURRAY INTERVENES

Simultaneously with this local publicity campaign, CIO president Philip Murray has intervened in Washington in an effort to force re-opening of negotiations. Murray demanded of W. W. Smith, head of the U.S. Maritime Commission, which owns an 80 per cent controlling interest in the American President Lines, to "use the good offices and powers of the Commission to bring about the resumption of collective bargaining."

APL is one of the largest companies on the Pacific Coast, influ-

ential member of the Pacific American Steamship Association, and firmly committed to the employers' policy of "no further dealings with Communism."

Actually the U.S. Maritime Commission has a much greater stake in the maritime industry than is indicated by the fact that it owns 80 per cent of APL stock. The entire shipping industry was built and is operated by government subsidies. It is a completely non-economic industry, does not operate on a competitive basis, and would soon cease to function without the aid of public funds.

During World War II the U.S. government poured \$25 billion into the maritime industry. It is from this vast public investment that the present operators have filched their reserve funds that are now being used against the strikers.

Government subsidies of the shipping industry are sufficient to pay more than double the present wages if they went directly to the men who actually do the work. But under the policy of the Maritime Commission, which maintains the myth of "private ownership," the government subsidies are channeled through the offices of the operating companies who syphon off huge profits for themselves.

These same companies have a long record of graft and corruption. Their management of the industry is so scandalous that a Congressional investigation committee in 1935, headed by Hugo L. Black, recommended that the system of indirect subsidies then in effect be discontinued.

In view of this record, it is not likely that the Commission will "step into the current strike on behalf of the unions. Unless some pressure from outside the industry forces the Maritime Commission to act, the whole history of this agency since its inception in 1936 indicates that it will maintain a hands-off policy at this juncture.

However, there are other forces at work which may bring about a change in the present situation. The men on the picket lines have on several occasions voted for a "tight" strike policy. They have discouraged any piecemeal "settlement" which would allow cargoes to begin moving under pre-strike wages and conditions.

The result of the present "tight" policy is to effect a gradual paralysis of industry on the Pacific Coast.

While the major financial and industrial interests now support the policy of the shipping clique, the strike can force these powerful forces to change their mind.

The unions can insure such a successful outcome of the strike by keeping all cargoes tied up, by demanding that the operators open their books, and that the government agency which finances them — the U. S. Maritime Commission — be sharply reminded of its responsibility to the public.

#### Picket Line Candidate



Campaign while you strike—that's the way Harry Press, 32-year old member of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, does it. During the day, he takes his place on the waterfront picket line and at night he fights the shipowners' stooge, Thomas A. Maloney, on the election hustings. Maloney is endorsed by both boss parties for Assemblyman from the 20th District. Comrade Press says in a statement that the working class voters will have a "clear cut choice." There can be no doubt of it.