

Workers of the World, Unite!

LEWIS'S SOLIDARITY WITH FRENCH MINERS

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XII -- No. 44

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY NOVEMBER 1, 1948

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

SWP Election News Campaigning for Socialism

By George Clarke
SWP Campaign Manager

With this column your campaign manager signs off. And let me tell you, he does it in a happy mood. It was a grand campaign from start to finish and I know I speak for every campaign worker from here to Seattle and back when I say we shall ever look back on this campaign with the warmest feelings of pride and achievement.

When the campaign was first proposed, many viewed it as "impossible." Well, we did the impossible — and we did it well. We cracked the iron curtain of silence against us in the press and radio. I say "we" did it because we fought for every inch of newspaper space and every minute of radio time. Norman Thomas got his easier and in far greater measure because he bought his publicity with the coin of socialist principles which he traded with disgusting obsequy for the national spotlight.

We gained recognition as a rising power in the working class and as a significant tendency in the labor movement not only because we fought for this recognition, but because it is the truth. Thousands and millions of workers, seeing and hearing us for the first time, have recognized this truth. That they will remember us and move in our direction in the great struggles to come — of that we are convinced down to the soles of our shoes.

Whether this recognition will be translated into a proportionate number of votes for Dobbs and Carlson remains to be seen. We face great obstacles at the polls. We are a new party in our first bid for presidential votes. We are the only real opposition — the most extreme and the most radical — to the giant power of Wall Street. We can expect them to manipulate our votes, just as they try to keep us off the ballot. But the best way to beat this conspiracy is to go out and get the vote. The bigger the vote for Dobbs and Carlson, the better the chance to force a real count.

THE WIND UP IN NEW YORK

The campaign came to its fitting climax in New York last Wednesday. There is a story on the meeting elsewhere in this issue so I won't take up more space describing it except that all hearts were lifted by great speeches by great candidates for a great cause.

Our New York campaigners have many other victories to record. Here I want to deal with two of them because they show we are beginning to break down the Stalinist monopoly over the radical working class public in this city — and right in their own backyards.

The first was a big campaign rally on a street corner of the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, only a stone's throw from the hall where the Stalinists once violently broke up a Trotskyist public meeting. A large crowd listened to speeches by Mike Bartell, Dave Weiss and Harry Ring. When Farrell Dobbs mounted the platform the crowd had swelled to over 400 overflowing into the streets.

The second victory took place at the Fort Greene Housing project in Brooklyn where the Stalinist-run tenants group had organized a political symposium to hear representatives of the Democrats, Republicans, the Wallace Party and the Stalinists — but excluding us.

Mike Bartell, New York SWP organizer, carried the fight for an SWP speaker right to the floor. A big verbal battle ensued with the Stalinists resisting the demand of the majority of the meeting that we be heard. After trying unsuccessfully to stall the meeting with a musical program, the Brooklyn Stalinist leader, Simon Gerson, led his followers out of the hall. But more than half

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Fight for Socialism Will Go On, Says Dobbs in Final Radio Appeal

CLARK OFFERS EVASIVE REPLY ON KUTCHER CASE

The firing of James Kutcher, legless Purple Heart veteran from his clerk's job in the Newark office of the Veterans Administration because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, is arousing nationwide indignation. So strong has the resentment become among defenders of civil liberties and democratic rights that even Attorney General Clark, one of the witch-hunters lined up against Kutcher, finds himself embarrassed and forced to distort the facts to try to "justify" his stand.

On stopping off at Newark en route from New England to Toledo, Clark was asked by a reporter about the Kutcher case. Clark glibly explained that it is now in the hands of General Gray of the Veterans Administration and that eventually it will go on to the Loyalty Appeals Board.

"I felt from my talk with Kutcher," said Clark, "that his activities must have been motivated by a political standpoint and that he had been prompted by persons with political interests." The activities of Clark, one of Truman's right hand witch-hunters, are of course motivated by a political standpoint and prompted by persons with political interests. But in his case this is not a crime and he is not fired from his government job because his political standpoint happens to be reactionary and his violations of democratic rights are prompted by Big Business interests.

"However," continued Clark, Kutcher's "war record is very much in his favor as far as I am concerned. If it can be shown he was not actually subversive, I'm sure he won't be moved."

This is reassuring news! Kutcher "won't be moved" from his job — but he has already been fired! He is no longer on the payroll!

"If it can be shown he was not actually subversive" — Clark's concept certainly represents something new and sinister in legal procedure in America; something that hitherto has been labelled un-American, for it is one of the most vicious practices of the hated, dictatorial regimes of Europe. Instead of considering Kut-

The Strange Case Of Mr. X--Victim Of 'Loyalty' Purge

They Even Burned Notes of 'Hearing'

This is the case of Mr. X. His name was withheld by the N. Y. Star, which disclosed the facts on Oct. 24. Let Mr. X be subjected to public abuse, his wife and children persecuted, because he has been branded "subversive" and "disloyal."

As it is, Mr. X's promising career as an aeronautical engineer has been ruined. He was fired, without previous charges or hearing, from a job in private industry on orders of the Army-Navy-Air Force Personnel Security Board.

This is the Brass Hat Board row extending Truman's "loyalty" purge to millions of workers in private industry engaged on government contracts. Once fired, you may appeal to an Industrial Employment Review Board, composed exclusively of Army, Navy and Air Force officers.

When Mr. X was fired without warning as a "bad security risk," he was bewildered. His closest connection with politics was when he enrolled as a Democrat in 1936. He had never even joined a union. He figured it was all a mistake.

So he appealed to the review board and got himself a couple of lawyers, O. John Rogge, former Assistant U. S. Attorney, and his partner, Murray A. Gordon.

The review board at the Pentagon Building in Washington consisted of a lieutenant colonel, three majors, a lieutenant commander and a lawyer for the board. First off, the board ruled out Mr. Rogge's claim that the proceedings were unconstitutional. It also refused to present any case for the government. It merely cross-examined Mr. X.

The broad charges were "association with persons identified with Communist activities" and "participation in activities identified with Communist principles." Here is a sample of the proceedings.

"Q. Do you approve of the President's civil rights program? A. I do. Q. Do you approve of segregation of the races? A. I do not. Q. Does your wife approve of segregation? A. No, she doesn't."

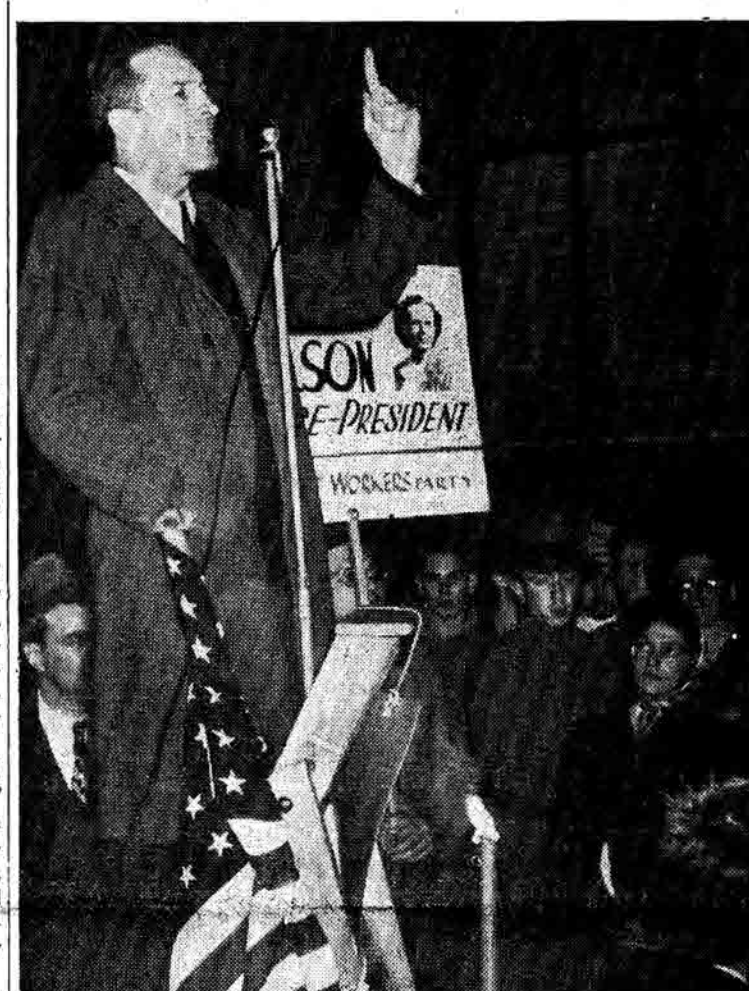
"Q. Now for instance, would you invite a Negro to your house? A. If I like a Negro, I would have him in my house. His color wouldn't make any difference. As it happens, there are no Negroes among my personal friends or in my social circle."

Then it came out. "Q. We have information that you have had Negroes in your house."

Suddenly Mr. X. recalled. His wife had once entertained a meeting of an inter-faith group at his home. Some Negroes participated. They had discussed the Freeport case, where a white cop shot down several Negro brothers, returned veterans. The meeting didn't decide to do anything. Mr. X. wasn't even present.

At the conclusion of the "hearing" Mr. X. was instructed it was "secret" and "confidential." He and his attorneys were required then and there to deposit all papers and notes in a metal basket, where these were burned before their eyes.

Later Mr. Rogge and Mr. Gordon decided to defy the injunction of secrecy. Mr. X. had nothing to lose. That's how the Star found out how you can be fired as "disloyal" for having Negroes at your house.



Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential candidate, addressing an open air rally of over 400 people in Brooklyn, N. Y., on Friday, Oct. 22nd. Red flares were ignited that lit up the entire scene of the meeting when Dobbs mounted the platform to explain the meaning of a Workers and Farmers Government.

MASS RALLY CLIMAXES SWP CAMPAIGN IN N. Y.

Over 500 people heard the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party at an enthusiastic New York "Rally for a Socialist America" in the Hotel Diplomat on Oct. 27.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP, as Chairman of the rally, struck the keynote for the evening with a short fighting speech summing up the 20-year struggle of American Trotskyism against imperialism and for socialism. In this one campaign of 1948, he said, more workers had heard our candidates and our message than in the previous two decades.

The first speaker was Abbey Anderson of the International Socialist Youth. She urged the vote to vote for Dobbs and Carlson and to join the fight for a Socialist America as the only means of averting depression and war.

William E. Bohannon, SWP candidate for the 11th Congressional District (Newark), gave a stirring talk on the problem of leadership for the Negro people. He contrasted the characteristics of Frederick Douglass, the revolutionary leader of the Negro people during the Civil War period, with such cowards and incompetents of today as A. Philip Randolph. Leaders like Douglass are needed, said Bohannon, and when they come forward they will stand on the program of the Socialist Workers Party.

Main speakers of the evening were Grace Carlson and Farrell Dobbs. Comrade Carlson in a merciless attack on the capitalist parties, contrasted their record in favor of Big Business with the record of the Socialist Workers Party in fighting against reaction and for a better world.

Farrell Dobbs began his talk by picturing the misery, fears and horrors of life under capitalism. Then he contrasted this dark future with the stirring possibilities under socialism. Not only will we have enduring peace, plenty and freedom under socialism, but for the first time, he said, genuine civilization and the universal

brotherhood of man will become possible. His outline of the brilliant perspective of socialism was warmly applauded.

The gathering contributed \$462.36 toward the SWP Election and Party Building Fund and two young people joined the youth organization.

Whether Truman or Dewey Wins, Workers Are Losers

(The following is the text of the speech delivered by Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential candidate, on Thursday, October 28 at 10:15 P. M. over station WNEW in New York City.)

Friends of the radio audience:

I want to begin my talk tonight by making a prediction. When the returns are announced on Nov. 3, regardless whether Truman or Dewey is elected President, Big Business will be the winner and the American working people the losers.

The great wealth, the natural resources and the productive system of America will remain under the domination of giant monopoly corporations.

The decision on war and peace—a decision which means life or death for the human race—will remain in the hands of a tiny group of industrial overlords in brass hats who control the bipartisan government in Washington.

Prices will continue to rise unless a new depression substitute unemployment for the high cost of living as the main evil plaguing the American people.

BOSS OFFENSIVE

The offensive against the labor movement will grow in scope and fury. America will become the scene of bitter class warfare and the unions will fight for their very existence against repressive legislation, government by injunction and police terror.

The Congressional witchhunters and inquisitors—now safely in office—will continue their dynamiting operations to blow up the precious democratic rights of all the American people.

This prediction—I am certain — will not startle millions of American workers who have had enough of the capitalist two-party sham. They know that the people wanted a change and were prepared—if necessary—to struggle and to sacrifice for that change.

What was lacking can be summed in one word—leadership. I should say: intelligent, farsight-

ed and courageous leadership because there is no lack of stupid, cowardly, yes—and even treacherous leadership.

The labor movement is the strongest numerical force in this country today. The tens of millions represented by the unions constitute the majority of the people.

Organized politically in a class party based upon and controlled by the unions, the working people could soon win the reins of government and start America on the road to peace, freedom and plenty.

But the leaders of American labor have neither the stomach

(Continued on page 2)



GRACE CARLSON
SWP Vice-Presidential Candidate

How Labor Can Smash The Taft-Hartley Act

By Art Preis

The Taft-Hartley knife has struck again—this time into the very vitals of the labor movement. In a unanimous decision, the National Labor Relations Board in Washington on Oct. 5 ruled that mass picketing and certain other specific acts in the conduct of a strike violate the Taft-Hartley Act. The majority of the Board went further, to hold international union officials responsible for alleged illegal acts of local unionists.

This ruling, involving a small strike led by the CIO longshoremen in Petaluma, Calif., makes mass picketing, even if peaceful, "coercion" within the meaning of the section of the law that forbids coercion of employees in their right to join, or not to join, a union. Blocking the entrance of a plant parking lot and following scabs in a car were also ruled criminal offenses — even if no one is molested.

"MAJOR LANDMARK"

According to NLRB Chairman Paul Herzog, the ruling establishes "a major landmark in the evolution of labor relations law." And indeed it does. For by making mass picketing illegal, the NLRB destroys the only really

effective weapon in a major strike. Had this ruling operated a decade ago, there would have been no CIO, no unions in mass production industry. The mass picket line has been the only potent defense against strikebreakers since the dawn of organized labor.

To make more effective its deadly thrust against the unions, the NLRB gave the knife a further vicious twist. It placed on the entire leadership of the international unions the legal responsibility for those acts of local unions which the Board holds to be illegal. And this same responsibility holds for an entire union local when some of its members engage in allegedly illegal acts.

This flagrant strikebreaking decision — which, if enforced, would all but nullify the right to strike and paralyze the unions — has at last brought home to some of the top union leaders that this is really a Slave Labor Law, fully capable of slashing the unions to pieces. And destroying the union leaders, no matter how conservative and compliant, in the progress.

But the growing fears of the top union bureaucrats is matched by their helplessness and cowardice in action. The only program most of them have been pushing these past few months is try-

ing to line up votes for Truman — the man who has broken more strikes than any president in history, who has been wielding the injunction club of the Taft-Hartley Act with deadly effect, and who hand-picked the very NLRB members now slipping the knife into the unions with their "interpretations" of the Taft-Hartley law.

True enough, these union leaders have been wailing in the union publications and in press statements about how bad the Taft-Hartley Act is. But at the same time many of them have been using the Taft-Hartley Act to feather their own nests by raiding established unions that have refused to sign the yellow-dog affidavits. They have turned the labor movement into a battlefield of fratricidal warfare, including wholesale scab-herding and strikebreaking against rival unions. These self-styled "labor statesmen" present the picture of scavengers seeking to live off bits and pieces snatched from the bleeding body of labor.

Their conduct is all the more despicable because an effective, realistic program to combat the Taft-Hartley Act has been offered. It is the program which the AFL International Typogra-

(Continued on page 4)



James Carey, CIO National Secretary, shown with James Kutcher at the N. Y. Herald-Tribune Forum where Carey protested Kutcher's dismissal from his clerk's job with the Veterans Administration.

Norman Thomas--Pro-War, Marshall Plan 'Socialist'

The recent public debate between Farrell Dobbs of the Socialist Workers Party and Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party achieved a significance far beyond the customary clash of presidential candidates in an election campaign. This was a truly historic debate in the sense that it illuminated the meaning and direction of two basic political tendencies that have contended for the support of the working class for a century.

In the past, the traditional debate between the social reformists and the revolutionary Marxists revolved around the question of method. How is socialism to be won, by gradual reforms and "evolution" or by a complete overturn of the existing capitalist system?

Previously, the "gradualist"—at least in words—agreed with the revolutionist on the general goal of socialism. Moreover, the traditional social reformist claimed to be a Marxist; at most, he wished merely to bring Marxism "up to date" by a few "revisions." In the debate between the Marxist Dobbs and the social-reformist Thomas, the latter abandoned all socialist pretense. He did not even mention socialism as a realistic goal, let alone "in our time"—he coined the phrase back in 1936. Thomas, as the leading spokesman in America for social-reformism, stripped off his socialist mask.

SNERS AT MARXISTS

He publicly sneered at the Marxists as "in a peculiar and rather appalling sense theological." The actual objective of the socialist, according to Thomas, is no longer socialism, at least not in any conceivable time. Rather, he said, all that he can perceive is "a tremendous choice of evils"—American imperialism or Stalinism. And of the two, he favored giving "critical support" to U.S. imperialism.

Thus, the Thomas of the pre-World War II "Keep America Out of War Committee" and "Socialism in Our Time" is now openly siding with the American war-makers and has actually discarded socialism as a realistic program. He presents us only with a "choice of evils"—the very same alternative offered by the Wall Street imperialists and the Stalinists.

Thomas clearly demonstrated that the issue in debate so far as no was concerned was not "Which Program Will Lead to a Socialist America," as advertised, but how can capitalist America best and most effectively destroy Stalinist Russia?

CLASS POLICY

In the past, Thomas and similar social-reformists made some attempt to base their program on the working class. That too has been abandoned. Dobbs explained how Marxist policy is based on the primacy of the class struggle and that it banks on educating the working class to fulfill its historic mission of taking power out of the hands of the capitalists and reorganizing society on rational socialist lines; that this is the only effective way of fighting and doing away with capitalism.

Thomas said not a word on what the workers should do. At no time did he propose any program of action for them, because he no longer believes in the working class or its ability to establish a new socialist society.

Thomas's policy instead is based on advising the capitalists, giving them gratuitous suggestions, drawing up "constructive" plans for them and the like. He gives advice to the U. S. State Department on the best methods of dealing with Russia, short of "appeasement"; he proposes what the State Department should do

with the United Nations; how Washington should push the Baruch plan for the atom bomb, etc.

Thomas went further and made an unabashed defense of class collaboration. When Dobbs challenged Thomas on this, the latter answered by pointing to the "collaboration" of the SWP with various groups of people in the defense of Leon Trotsky and the 18 Minneapolis prisoners.

Here again was revealed the clear-cut demarcation between Marxist politics based on a class approach and the politics of bourgeois liberalism based on the myth of class unity. Marxists favor united fronts of all tendencies within the labor movement or even with liberal individuals and groups on behalf of progressive aims, such as the defense of civil liberties, democratic rights, strike support. These help strengthen the labor movement and advance, in that sense, the whole socialist objective. But collaborating with the capitalists in defense of capitalist programs and objectives, or entering bourgeois cabinets and governments to help prop up and administer the capitalist state—

these demoralize and derail the working class movement and are thus crimes against socialism and the working class.

On the immediate, crucial question posed in the debate—particularly for anyone calling himself a socialist—How to fight the coming war, Thomas answered that the 'realistic' approach must make an appeal to the war-makers to 'disarm.' Dobbs answered that it was up to the workers to fight to take power out of the hands of the war-makers. Thus, all along the line the class line of division was drawn sharp and unambiguously clear.

Thomas performed—even if unwillingly or unwittingly—a useful service to the extent that he stated the true position of his tendency. To that degree he permits the workers to see the Socialist Party for what it really is.

But Thomas still persists in peddling his pro-war, pro-capitalist program under the label of "socialism." That's a violation of the pure food and drug act. He should, in all honesty, put a correct label on his product and sell it under its right name: Bourgeois liberalism in the loyal service of imperialism.

SWP CAMPAIGN EVOKES WIDE INTEREST ABROAD

The election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party has international significance. To workers outside the United States,

American Big Business appears as a colossus of evil. At the same time they understand that the working people of America have it in their power to lead the entire world into a new era of peace, freedom and plenty if only they could throw off the rule of Wall Street. Consequently the political development of the American working class is of burning interest to class conscious workers throughout the world.

It is for this reason that the SWP campaign aroused enthusiasm abroad. The ability of the American Trotskyists to participate for the first time in a Presidential campaign and the response of workers to the radio speeches and tours of the candidates was taken as a sign of the growing receptiveness of the American working class to the ideas of Marxism. Thus the campaign appeared to the working class vanguard in other countries as a heartening straw in the political wind.

The Trotskyist press has reported in considerable detail the progress of the SWP campaign, including excerpts from the speeches of the candidates and the essence of the platform on which they ran.

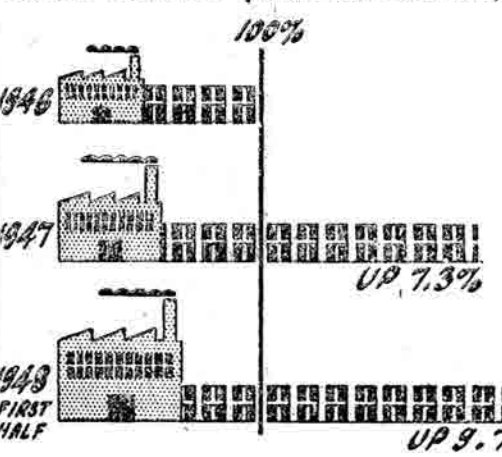
FOREIGN PRESS

The following extracts from the Trotskyist press abroad indicate their reaction to the campaign:

La Lutte Ouvrière, newspaper of the International Communist Party, Belgian Section of the Fourth International: "Through this campaign, the SWP is making itself known and rooting itself in the American working class, opening in this way new perspectives in the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat. It is this which is important for us; because we are aware that the American proletariat, with a strength of 15,000,000 organized workers, constitutes a decisive factor in the future of humanity. The day they launch the assault on American capitalism will decide the fate of the world."

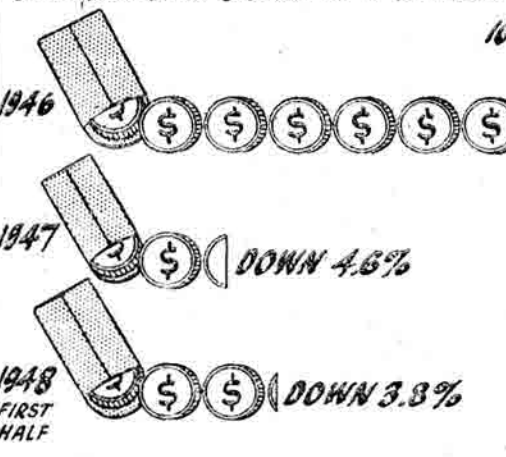
Contra la Corriente, newspaper

PRODUCTION (FARM & INDUSTRIAL)



This chart from the AFL Labor's Monthly Survey shows from official figures that while workers are producing more, their buying power is decreasing all the time. Federated Pictures

CONSUMER BUYING POWER



Our Fight for Socialism Will Go On, Says Dobbs

(Continued from page 1)

nor the guts for such a bold, independent policy. The Murphys, the Greens, the Reuthers and the Whitneys have sold out the interests of the American workers for a mess of promises. They have traded the votes of labor for the unreliable word of a man who smashed the railroad strike, hamstrung and fined the miners and who has issued more injunctions than any other President, including Herbert Hoover.

ABDICATED LEADERSHIP

These labor leaders have no one to blame but themselves for the emergence of the party of Henry Wallace. When they abdicated political leadership, Wallace stepped in to head the growing opposition to the bipartisan policies of war and reaction.

Yet Wallace's leadership is more noisy than genuine, more apparent than real. The Progressive Party only talks about a break from the parties of Big Business.

Its program is not fundamentally different from the Democrats except in the tactics to be used in foreign policy.

It supports dozens of Democrats who oppose Wallace even on these tactics, betraying its own pledge to support only opponents of the Truman-Marshall Doctrine.

Its aim of reforming capitalism is indistinguishable from that enunciated in the Democratic platform.

It is controlled by a millionaire capitalist politician and not by the democratic vote of the rank and file through their organizations and unions.

The party of Henry Wallace does not and cannot provide leadership for American workers and independence from the parties of Big Business because it too is a capitalist party—the same old corruption disguised by brave words and radical promises.

How shall the lost battle be turned into a winning war? Where shall the American workers break out of the straitjacket of the traditional capitalist two-party system and fight consistently for the building of a Labor Party based on the unions.

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CAMPAIGN KEYNOTE

"The keynote of their campaign is the call to the American people to unite with the Socialist Workers Party in order to stop war by ending the capitalist system that breeds war. We are confident that the bold campaign and inspiring message of the SWP candidates will help the American workers along the road of independent anti-capitalist politics."

Socialist Appeal, newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain: "This is the first time that the Socialist Workers Party has contested the Presidential elections, and their campaign marks a big step forward in the development of the revolutionary Marxist movement in the United States."

The Dublin, Ireland, Trotskyist Group sent the following letter: "We have read your 1948 Election Platform and the articles in The Militant supporting Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President. We are sure great numbers of American workers will be inspired as we were by the revolutionary socialist message they proclaim. We wish you every success in your election campaign."

Contra la Corriente, newspaper

PITTSBURGH

Sunday Forums at 4 P. M.

Nov. 7: Analysis of Presidential Elections

Speaker: Frank Roberts

Nov. 14: Celebration of 31st Russian Revolution Anniversary and 20th Anniversary of MILITANT

1418 Fifth Avenue, 2nd floor

World Events

By Joseph Hansen

French Government Orders Troops To Fire on Miners

The "tough" attitude of the Henri Queuille regime toward the mine strike that began Oct. 4 has brought France to the verge of civil war.

The miners' demands are modest. They ask that their present wage of \$57 a month be raised \$13 to make up for the decline in their living standards due to skyrocketing prices. To guarantee the new minimum level they ask a sliding wage scale.

These demands were formulated by the CGT which includes about 250,000 of France's 400,000 miners. Two other unions, the Christian Workers and the Workers Force, who at first joined the Stalinist-headed CGT in the strike, have broken ranks and ordered their members back to work where possible.

The government offered a wage boost of \$8.50 a month which was rejected. At first the mining areas were completely peaceful. Then the Queuille regime began a drive to break the strike. Police were sent in to "maintain order." The police clashed with strikers.

In protest, the union withdrew safety crews manning pumps and ventilating systems. Strikebreakers were sent in to replace these men.

The troops were ordered to take over the mines and moved forward with tear gas against the strikers and their wives, who hurled missiles at the steel-helmeted soldiers.

The government thereupon ordered police and troops to fire on the strikers "when necessary" and mobilized 40,000 army reservists. At St. Etienne, troops opened fire on the miners with their rifles, killing two and wounding forty.

On the surface the conflict would thus appear to involve no more than a struggle between the mine workers and a reactionary government over economic demands. But that is only the surface appearance.

Like all the other workers in France, the miners have suffered the intolerable consequences of inflation. The French capitalist class has attempted to place on the workers' backs all the costs of the war's devastation, the costs of re-conquering the colonial areas in revolt, and the costs of preparing for World War III in addition to keeping up capitalist profits.

Like all other workers, the miners have been forced repeatedly on strike in desperate efforts to keep up with the rising cost of living. All this has driven home the conviction that the rule of the capitalists must be replaced. This conviction is so widespread that every major action the workers undertake at once brings to the fore the fundamental question—will this action knock out the flimsy props of French capitalism?

Obviously the situation imperiously demands that the French workers prepare for decisive actions to oust the capitalist misrulers and establish a Workers and Farmers Government.

The leading French capitalists are thoroughly aware of this. So they have been preparing for action. Their man is de Gaulle, the sinister figure who plots to come to power in the style of Mussolini and Hitler. However, he is biding his time, hoping to gain the advantages of a "legal" seizure of power, in the manner of Hitler. Meanwhile, Premier Henri

Queuille, a long-time political friend of de Gaulle, who was made head of the government with de Gaulle's acquiescence, is acting the part of tough cop, trying to beat down the resistance of the workers and to smooth the way for de Gaulle.

The working class could easily sweep all these reactionary forces into the garbage can if they were united around a genuinely revolutionary leadership. But the leadership over the majority of the workers is held by the Stalinists. Their political objective is not to achieve socialism in France but to regain posts in the capitalist government which they can use in bargaining for a deal between the Kremlin and Washington.

The Stalinists try to utilize the French workers for their own reactionary aims. They are interested in enough strike action and demonstrations to impress the French capitalists with the desirability of again installing the Stalinists in the government as watch dogs over the workers. At the same time, to save their bureaucratic apparatus from the explosive effect of revolution they try to head off any far-reaching working class action, to dissipate the energies of the workers and to confine their strikes within the narrowest possible frame.

This policy can lead only to defeat and demoralization and facilitate the de Gaulleist march to power. The Stalinists are repeating what they did in 1934-1936 in France—divert the working class from the path of socialist revolution.

The Trotskyists in France are doing their utmost to break the grip of the Stalinists. They demand that the strike struggles be widened and coordinated and centered around key slogans that clearly pose the basic question facing France today: A Workers and Farmers Government or fascism.

Australian Stalinists Berate "Deviations" Of British Stalinists

The Australian Trotskyist paper, The Socialist, calls attention to a curious dispute between the British and Australian Stalinists. A page of the Aug. 14 Tribune, Australian Stalinist sheet, "is almost entirely devoted to summaries of the attack made by the Central Committee of the Australian Communist Party on the leaders of the British Communist Party, and the reply of the British Communist Party."

Sharkey of Australia charges Pollitt of Britain "with having advocated a 'Left Labor Government,' with having supported drives for more production under capitalism, etc.," reports The Socialist.

"The same charges," continues The Socialist, "could equally be leveled against the Australian Communist Party, as it has supported the same policies itself."

In the opinion of The Socialist this attack on the British Stalinists may be "intended as a gesture to the colonial masses." Attacking the British Stalinists as "too mild in their attitude to the government of imperialist England" would fit in with such an "anti-imperialist" campaign.

"Significantly," observes The Socialist, "the Malayan Stalinists have reprinted and endorsed Sharkey's attack on the British Party."

Subscribe to THE MILITANT

THE MILITANT ARMY

20th Anniversary Of the Militant

Four branches of the Socialist Workers Party have announced their plans for celebrating the 20th anniversary of The Militant. As last year, all branches plan to observe this historic occasion.

Newark will hold a buffet supper and dance the night of Nov. 20 at headquarters, 423 Springfield Ave.

Pittsburgh will hold a meeting and social Nov. 21 combining celebration of two historic anniversaries: The Militant and the Russian Revolution of 31 years ago. The event will be at Pittsburgh headquarters, 1418 Fifth Ave.

Boston plans a Militant Anniversary social Nov. 13 at headquarters, 30 Stuart St.

St. Louis will hold an anniversary meeting Nov. 18 at headquarters, 1023 N. Grand Blvd. Speakers will review The Militant's 20 years.

Other branch celebrations will be announced next week.

Proceeds of all these celebrations will go to The Militant, to help defray the heavy deficit between the price of subs and the actual cost of publication.

Thousands of readers outside the industrial centers and not able to reach any of these celebrations can join in their spirit by sending an anniversary donation to The Militant.

Nov. 15 marks the 20th anniversary of the first appearance of this paper as the spokesman for revolutionary Marxism in this country. Against almost insurmountable obstacles of early isolation, poverty, government suppression and Stalinist gangsterism, The Militant has maintained a consistent program of class struggle, always in the forefront of the labor movement.

Hence advanced workers recognized this as their paper. Their nickels and dimes and dollars financed many free distributions and the maintenance of subscription rates far below cost.

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Entered as second class
March 7, 1964 at the
Post Office at New York,
N. Y. under the act of Mar.
3, 1979.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 8, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9830)
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

Vol. XII—No. 44

Monday, November 1, 1948



TROTSKY

Capitalist monopolies, having corroded the middle classes, are devouring the democracies. Monopolies themselves were a result of private ownership of the means of production. Private ownership, having once been the source of progress, came into contradiction with modern technique and is now the cause of crisis, wars, national persecutions and reactionary dictatorship. The liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production is the central historical task of our epoch and will guarantee the birth of a new, more harmonious society. The act of birth, daily observation teaches us, is never a "gradual" process but a biological revolution.

—Leon Trotsky, interview in St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Mar. 1940



LENIN

An Act of International Solidarity

John L. Lewis's letter to William Green, printed elsewhere on this page, asking the AFL President to use his influence with Truman to "stop the shooting of French coal miners who are hungry" is a refreshing and welcome departure from the servile hand-raising to State Department policy that has become almost second nature with the top union bureaucracy. It is the first time in many, many years that an outstanding labor figure has reached a helping hand across the sea to striking workers in a foreign country. It revives again the splendid tradition of international labor solidarity practiced by the genuinely great American labor leaders from William H. Sylvis of the American Labor Union down to the Haymarket martyrs, "Gene Debs" and "Big Bill" Haywood.

We have often pointed out the political backwardness of Lewis that forms such a paradoxical combination with his militancy in fighting for purely economic demands. He is 100 percent wrong in his opposition to socialism and class politics. But Lewis struck a most timely blow in behalf of the beleaguered French coal strikers when he tore the veil of hypocritical humanitarianism from the Marshall Plan to show how it builds up the "bureaucrats and financially powerful in

France" while "American money, American guns and American bullets are to be used to shoot, starve and oppress French citizens." This denunciation of State Department policy and expression of international labor solidarity will undoubtedly hearten the French miners and help stiffen their resistance to the French government's onslaught.

And Lewis's gesture will hearten militants here in America as well. It will aid in building up the feeling of brotherhood among the working class throughout the world, in emphasizing that workers everywhere face one common foe, and that they must do everything possible to help each other in their common struggle.

In its way, Lewis's letter is a sign of the awakening political consciousness of the American workers, the turn away from pure-and-simple economic unionism to the broad political questions that affect labor so decisively and immediately nowadays. It is another significant indication of the deep currents now stirring the American labor ranks. It strengthens our conviction that American labor will slough off its backwardness in the coming period and assume its responsibilities as leader of the whole nation in freeing America from the grip of the industrial tyrants.

The Clang of the Iron Heel

A crack has developed in the iron curtain surrounding Truman's "loyalty" purge, affecting not only two million federal workers but millions more in private industry engaged on government contracts and sub-contracts.

The case of James Kutcher, legless Newark war veteran fired from his government clerical job for membership in the Socialist Workers Party, was the first to give us a clear glimpse of the truly sinister, fascist-like nature of the purge.

Now a few more cases have come to light. They disclose that the witch-hunt is being conducted not only against those with socialist ideas, but anyone holding even the mildest liberal views on the questions of unions, racial equality, civil rights—or even suspected of holding them.

On another page we tell the case of Mr. X, a young aeronautical engineer employed by a private company, who was fired on orders of the joint Army-Navy-Air Force Personnel Security Board. A subsequent "hearing" of his appeal before the Board revealed that the sole ground for his dismissal was the fact that Mr. X's wife once held an interfaith council meeting in their home at which Negroes were present. This was enough to make Mr. X a "bad security risk."

Another workers was fired because his aunt, whom he had not seen in three years because of a quarrel, was allegedly a "communist." Another got the axe on "suspicion" of being a "communist" because he subscribed to the Book Find Club, which, according to the Board, distributed books by such "com-

munist" novelists as Theodore Dreiser, Leon Feuchtwanger and Howard Fast. Still another found he was given the boot because someone had seen him entering the Stanley Theatre in New York City, to see a Russian technicolor film, *The Stone Flower*, based on an old fairy tale!

This monstrous "loyalty" purge is not episodic. If we are wise to the lessons of history, particularly the rise of fascism in Germany and Italy, we will understand that the mounting wave of reaction in America will inevitably engulf the labor movement itself. Indeed, Truman's "loyalty" purge and the Taft-Hartley Act are all part of the gigantic offensive of Big Business to destroy organized labor. We are witnessing the clear precursor to totalitarian dictatorship.

The forces of reaction have already become supremely arrogant and unrestrained. They command all the levers of political power and coercion. They cannot be halted by mere letters of protest, occasional resolutions, indignant editorials. A mightier force must be set in motion. That is the American labor movement, mobilized in militant, nation-wide, united action.

It can't happen here, say the smug and the ignorant. It is happening here. The political blacklist, the condemning of groups and individuals without trial or hearing, the firing of workers on the merest suspicion of liberal ideas, the frenzied witch-hunt—it is the clang of the iron heel of fascism that we hear. Let labor take heed and act now before that heel stamps on its neck.

Behind the Dixiecrats

In his Oct. 20 column the well-known columnist Joseph Alsop published some interesting information about the backers of the Dixiecrats or States' Rights party.

"By and large, the Democratic party in the South has been controlled by a conservative oligarchy," he says. "In other times the oligarchs were mostly big planters. Now the planters have been pretty much replaced by utility magnates, textile men, industrialists, bankers and, more and more, the new oil barons of Texas and the Gulf states. The States' Rights party is essentially the response of this conservative oligarchy to the pressures which have been steadily pushing the national Democratic party farther to the Left."

Among these oligarchs, Alsop lists "H. R. Cullen, a fabulously rich Houston oil man. . . Cullen arranged for a private plane to take H. Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat Presidential candidate, to the Houston convention, and a special train to take Fielding Wright and his Mississippi cohorts to the same meeting. He is believed to be the chief sparkplug of the oil industry's backing for the Dixiecrats. Among the oil corporations, the Humble Oil Company has reportedly particularly interested itself in the Thurmond-Wright 'crusade.'"

This powerful group, in Alsop's opinion, utilizes the racial issue as a cover in advancing their economic interests. "Southern oil men

were more enraged by the Supreme Court decision which awarded to the Federal government ownership of the last great national oil reserves in the tidelands than by the Truman civil rights proposals." The tidelands oil issue "has received at least as much attention at the various Dixiecrats get-togethers as the civil rights issue."

"The real danger," Alsop feels, "is that the Southern conservative oligarchy, in an effort to preserve the threatened status quo, will be tempted to turn more and more to this sort of thing, to the end that every issue, from offshore oil to the minimum wage, may be hidden and submerged in the race issue."

Readers of the *Militant* readers will scarcely be surprised to learn that the Southern oligarchs have fascist leanings. The power behind the Nazis in Germany was similarly the munitions-makers, steel kings and financial tycoons. There too the Nazi racial dogmas only covered up their sordid economic interests.

The lesson labor must learn from such facts is not to leave the fate of democracy in America in the hands of the Southern oligarchs and their Northern twins. To do so is to invite the disaster that befell Germany. Labor can defend democracy against these predatory interests only by its independent struggle on both the economic and political fields.

SWP Fund Campaign for \$25,000 Is Extended for Another 30 Days

By William F. Warde
National Fund Director

The Socialist Workers Party Election and Party Building fund, originally scheduled to make its goal of \$25,000 by the end of October, has been extended for 30 days. The final date has now been set for Nov. 30. Those branches who have been so buried in election activities that they could not make the October deadline please note! You have another four weeks to catch up on loose ends, collect pledges and visit sympathizers for contributions.

This week a total of \$430 was received. That's far from being the highest week of the campaign. In fact it was barely enough to lift the percentage two points to 77% of our goal.

ALLENTOWN HITS 122%

Allemtown, already in the 100% or-better category, came through with another \$11 to hit 122% and a tie with Tacoma. "We are still hoping to do more for the campaign," they write. Congratulations to this plucky branch and the fighting spirit they display! Pittsburgh jumped from 73% last week to completion of their quota of \$200. This represents a

magnificent achievement for the Pittsburgh comrades as everyone will recognize who understands the difficulties faced by these self-sacrificing Trotskyists. But as they write, "We keep promising we make to the party and the workers."

San Francisco-Oakland spurred last week from 81% to 94%, almost within touch of their goal of \$1,500. They write that they are keeping their "fingers cross-

ed." Which we take to be a favorable omen.

West Virginia inched up another 5% with a \$5 contribution to move into the 90% category and neck and neck with Newark.

Seattle knocked off another three points with \$20 for the week bringing them to 83% of their goal of \$600.

Toledo sent in \$18 for an additional 9% toward their goal. They now stand at 73%.

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	61	122
Allentown	50	61	122
Tacoma	50	61	122
Milwaukee	400	419	105
Cleveland	400	400	100
Philadelphia	500	500	100
Pittsburgh	200	200	100
Reading	150	150	100
Minnesota	2,000	1,892	95
San Francisco-Oakland	1,500	1,403	94
Newark	750	675	90
West Virginia	100	90	90
Flint	400	347	87
San Diego	600	500	83
Youngstown	50	41	82
San Jose	800	654	82
New York City	7,500	6,034	80
Akron	400	307	77
Detroit	1,600	1,200	75
Toledo	200	145	73
Buffalo	1,000	712	71
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	\$19,203	77

WORKERS FORUM

Seamen Wise On Imperialism

Editor:

During one of our coffee-time bull sessions, I had an accusation leveled at me by a Stalinist seaman. He called me a pamphleteer and said that I mouthed phrases that had little bearing upon actual fact. According to him, it was all right to read Marxist books, but after all they had been written some time ago and these questions are subject to change. I asked him what charges he was specifically referring to.

"Well," said Blackie, "you're wrong on that idea of self-determination of peoples. That statement you made that all troops should get out of the colonial countries and let the people decide for themselves how they want to be governed is an incorrect position. You wouldn't say that if you really knew the score."

"All right," I said, "what's the score?"

Some of the interested listeners to these informal debates moved in closer to hear the gems of wisdom from this gazony.

"Now take Italian Somaliland," he began. "I think that Italian Somaliland should be given back

Eddie, who couldn't contain

E. S. New York

Myra Weiss Trims Holifield in Debate

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 25 — Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 19th District here, this week took the measure of Chet Holifield, her Democratic opponent, in a public debate before 350 Mexican-American workers at a forum sponsored by the Community Service

Organization.

Comrade Weiss exposed the so-called "liberal" Holifield as a strikebreaker who had voted for Truman's "Work-or-Draft" Bill in 1946 when Truman broke the railroad strike. The Democrat drew a chorus of "boos" when, under questioning from the floor, he admitted he would suppress any general strike.

The SWP candidate presented the program of socialism against capitalism with its wars and exploitation. Her clear and forceful arguments evoked great enthusiasm from the audience as she demolished the distinction between the "good capitalist," Holifield, who was backed by the Wallacite Jack Bernan, and the "bad capitalist," the Republican Quigley.

The Independent Progressive Party candidate who had withdrawn in favor of Holifield, the Truman Democrat and Marshall Plan supporter, also spoke. Comrade Weiss exposed the Wallacite's hypocrisy in endorsing Holifield while denouncing Truman. The audience roared with approval when she challenged him to take a principled position and support her, the only candidate in the district opposing the Marshall Plan and bi-partisan war conspiracy.

"Socialist Workers Party - What It Is - What It Stands For"

Who rules America? Who are the "informal, invisible, shadow" figures behind the White House? What future do they plan for America? What do the inside works of capitalism look like? Where is the capitalist system headed? How will socialism work out? What inspires the members of the Socialist Workers Party?

These questions answered by Joseph Hansen in this 32-page pamphlet. Send for your copy.

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Three speakers at N. Y. meeting for academic freedom protesting dismissals of educators for their political beliefs and activities. (L. to r.) Norman Mailer, author of best-selling novel, "The Naked and the Dead" and member of the Katcher Civil Rights Committee; Legislative Director of CIO Teachers Union Rose V. Russell and Dr. Harlow Shapley, Director of the Harvard Observatory. Federated Pictures

The Case of the Legless Veteran

By I. F. Stone

(Reprinted from Oct. 22 N. Y. Star)

The Case of the Legless Veteran is beginning to haunt the men in charge of the loyalty program. It is not merely the cruelty with which the government has treated a man who deserved consideration from his country. The circumstances provide a *reductio ad absurdum* for the syllogism of suspicion which has hitherto served as rationale for the purge.

Just as discussions of the race question in the south sooner or later come around to sex, so discussions of the purge always get back to the atom bomb. The clincher, the would-you-want-your-sister-to-marry argument, is whether you would place a Communist in charge of the secret of the atom bomb. The answer at the moment is, of course, obvious. This answer is triumphantly assumed to justify the discharge of a letter carrier for having once contributed \$5 to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Some people think the atom bomb more precious than the Constitution.

The Case of the Legless Veteran demonstrates that the loyalty purge goes beyond any supposed necessity for protecting secrets so vital they justify the abandonment of traditional liberties. The political views and the job involved show that the effect is to punish a man for his ideas, irrespective of his conduct or his record.

James Kutcher, who lost his legs to a German shell and his livelihood to American hysteria, is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyist group opposed to the Soviet regime. No one could suspect a Trotskyist of trying to steal the atom bomb and ship it to the Kremlin, except perhaps with mechanism attached to make it go off when Stalin turned the spigot on the office samovar.

No suspicion of divided allegiance is raised. The Trotskyists have been blacklisted for their political ideas. Just what the government finds objectionable about their ideas is not clear. They are lumped with other radical parties, including the Communists, under the general heading of organizations which "seek to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means." That's as vague as it is broad.

No further explanation is given. The loyalty order does not require the attorney general to give an accused organization either a hearing or an explanation. . . Membership in the blacklisted party is enough for discharge, though the organization may be a legal political party, campaigning for public office. That this provides disturbing precedent for the future should be obvious. If Trotskyists can be proscribed, why not Socialists? If Socialists, why not New Dealers? . . .

Basic political liberties and basic procedural safeguards are threatened by the standards of judgment and procedure applied in The Case of the Legless Veteran. These in turn are not the handiwork of that 80th Congress, but were established by the loyalty order. The order was Harry Truman's and Harry Truman claims to be a friend of civil rights. More pitiable than a man without legs is a President without firm principles.

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.
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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 5800. 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., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
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SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., South & Washington, Phone Main 3778. Mon. through Sat., 12:30-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.
ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Militant Forums, Thurs. 7:30-10 p. m. ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone GARfield 1157. Open daily. Bookstore.
TOLEDO — Weekly meetings every Friday night at 7:30, Kappes Hall, 413 Summit, Room 1, top fl.
YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St. Phone 3-1858. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 p. m. 4 p. m.

Baltimore Hospitality

By Farrell Dobbs, Presidential Candidate

BALTIMORE, Oct. 26—Drama rode the rails with me today from New York to Baltimore. Not everyone noticed it, but there it was, a real-life tale of human tragedy under capitalism, powerfully portrayed by two Negro youth in military uniform.



One young soldier was a veteran of World War II, returning home to Baltimore for the first time in five years, his breast heavily decorated with campaign ribbons and battle stars. The "Hershey bars" on his sleeve reached almost to his elbow. He looked old and wise far beyond his years.

The other was a young—a very young—drafted, just entering the conscript army of World War III, heading for a military training camp in the Jim-Crow South.

They met for the first time on the train and soon became fast friends. Strong bonds of common suffering as Negro victims of cruel discrimination and as the cannon fodder of imperialist war drew them together.

When they parted at Baltimore, the drafted compressed the story of their future, and the future of all American youth under capitalism, into four bitter words, "See you in Russia."

I walked off the train with the veteran. When his feet touched the good earth of his home town, he set down his barrack bag, breathed deeply and exultantly, smiling happily at the world.

"Home!" he said, "Home at last, after five long years, but I still can't believe it until I get out to the northwest side and see my mother."

Then an unpleasant memory of the past must have flashed through his mind, for he suddenly

turned to me and said grimly, "I don't want to mess up, mister, but nobody better try to push me around."

I wished him luck and he headed for the cab stand.

Baltimore gave the returning hero his first welcome. Baltimore thanked the veteran of five years of hell in the European and Pacific war theatres by pushing him back to the end of the line until every white passenger was comfortably seated in a taxi.

I hope he picked up the Baltimore Sun a few hours later and read the following story:

"An audience of young men and women heard the young presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party picture a future America with no policemen, no armies and no capitalists, but with all of life's needs provided for everyone in bounteous measure. . .

"Mr. Dobbs illustrated how the workers and farmers government which he some day hopes to head will end the need for policemen, jails, courts and judges. . .

"When we abolish the profit motive and increase production—as we would increase it in our economy of plenty—watches and other valuables would become as common and as easily attainable as water. No one would want to take yours and so we would need no police.

"Abolishing armies would be just as simple, he asserted. With the profit motive abolished and the economy of plenty substituted for the capitalists' economy of scarcity, the people of the world have no motive for which to fight each other. . .

"We must organize, he said, by two and threes, by dozens and thousands to establish the Workers and Farmers Government, abolish the capitalist system and form a socialist society."

SWP Election Tour

On Historic Ground

By Grace Carlson, Vice-Presidential Candidate

Boston, the scene of so many stirring events in the First American Revolution, provided us with some more stirring events in our campaign for a Third American Revolution.



Three days of meetings in Boston, Cambridge and Lynn last week, we had large, interested audiences and some of the largest and liveliest discussion periods that I've had any place on this tour. The Massachusetts folks are discussers from way back.

The discussion at Harvard University was ended by the grounds policeman, who threatened to turn off the lights. Before that, questioners and discussers of all shades of political belief had taken the floor. Sponsored by Harvard Students for Dobbs and Carlson, 85 students had crowded into the meeting room and another 50 had been turned away.

Most important is the fact that the meeting resulted in the formation of a permanent Socialist Workers Party Study Club on the Harvard campus.

Although the reactionaries in charge of the New Jersey Weather Bureau turned on a cold driving rain last Sunday, we had a fine turnout at the Newark election rally. Of course, our courageous veteran, James Kutcher was there. A fighter like Kutcher who faces up to all of the

attacks of red-baiting Government officials is not one to be defeated by rain!

It was another cold, rainy day on Monday when I went up to New Britain to speak at an NAACP-sponsored Forum. Some 55 people turned out to hear Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist and Socialist Workers Party spokesmen. As is usually the case in such forums, little attention was paid to the Republican and Democratic speakers although they were Negro professional men of some standing and ability.

The alert audience at this forum knew that the Republicans and Democrats were parties of American capitalism and turned to the Progressive, SP and SWP spokesmen for answers to the problems of war, poverty and Jim Crow.

Like his mentor, Norman Thomas, the SP speaker made a red-baiting attack on the Progressive Party although he said some very true things about Wallace's failure to fight Jim Crow when he was in Washington. I gave the SWP position—that Wallace cannot wage an effective fight against war or Jim Crow because he is a capitalist politician; that the Communist Party betrays the workers by supporting Wallace; that Norman Thomas is a fake socialist, who is now lining up with the State Department; that we stand for an all-out struggle against the whole capitalist system.

After I returned to my seat, Mrs. Paul Robeson, the Progressive Party spokesman, leaned over to say "Good for you!" and asked for some of our campaign literature.

Highest Paid Labor Leader

By Joseph Keller

One of the evils within the old AFL that helped precipitate the revolt of the CIO was the big salaries and expense accounts of the AFL bureaucrats. When the CIO was formed, the ranks insisted that their officers be paid wages comparable to what a skilled worker getting the union scale might receive.

It was not because the CIO workers begrudged their leaders the extra money. But bitter experience had taught them that union officials who are too far removed from the workers in their living standards lose touch with the realities of the workers' lives, become soft and corrupt.

The old-line AFL moguls—the Greens, Tobins, Wolls, Hutchinsons and Freys — not only lived like well-heeled business executives, but thought and acted like them.

One feature of the recent mine workers convention that the capitalist press gave much publicity was the raising of John L. Lewis' salary from \$25,000 a year, plus a \$10,000 annual bonus, to \$50,000 — making him the highest paid union official in the world. John Owens, Secretary-Treasurer, got a boost from \$18,000 to \$40,000, and International Executive Board members were raised from \$500 to \$1,000 per month.

Lewis and the officials of the UMW are in the top national income brackets. Their scale of living places them closer to the more successful capitalist executives than to the mine workers. This is the outward sign of the fundamental weakness of the Lewis leadership.

Like the Greens, Murrys and Tobins, the UMW leaders live in a world apart from the workers. They are accustomed to material security and luxury. They regard their jobs as a source of emoluments and wealth. They thrive under capi-

talism, live like capitalists and are capitalist-minded.

That is why Lewis — personally so aggressive in economic struggles — is an unregenerate reactionary in politics. He clings to the system that nourishes him. He is a Republican in his pocket-book and in his heart.

Lewis may fight the capitalist government on this or that issue, and sometimes he may win a point, but in the end, and on the basic issues, he must submit. His great talents, his inspiring combativeness founder on the rocks of his backward social and political philosophy.

Lewis' militancy differs in an important respect from that of the early CIO. That latter militancy was linked with the rights of the members and was the democratic expression of their will. It could not be turned on or off at the whim of a leader.

But the UMW is internally throttled. Lewis runs it with a well-paid machine based on personal loyalty to himself. He appoints two-thirds of the district presidents. He is a bureaucrat — albeit a far more capable one than most — lacking in faith in the powers and intelligence of the workers. Which means he is blind to the real source of his own powers. And in this too he reflects the psychology of the capitalist class system — ruler and ruled — which he upholds.

That is why the labor movement, if it is to go forward, cannot depend on even so talented a man as Lewis. For the job of fundamental social reorganization that labor is destined to undertake, new and superior leaders are demanded, leaders linked integrally with the way of life of the working-class, leaders with real social vision and understanding of the class forces that move society.

Notes from the News

UNION TRENDS IN CANADA — Stalinists have their strength in Canadian unions in reverse of the situation in the U.S. They have little influence in the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO) but are quite powerful in the Trades and Labor Congress (AFL). The recent CCL convention was rough on the Stalinists. It confirmed the expulsion of Canadian locals of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and denounced "some Communists" who misled labor unions. In contrast, the AFL convention backed the expulsion of a right-wing union leader, Frank Hall, Vice President of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, for helping an anti-Stalinist group switch its union

allegiance. The convention also condemned the Marshall Plan.

OLD ARMY GAME — Mayor Flaherty of Lorain, O., refused to negotiate with local 644 of the CIO United Public Workers, involving water works employees and other municipal workers, on the ground that Lillenthal of the Atomic Energy Commission won't deal with the union on atomic project jobs.

CLERKS SECESSION — Representatives of eight Stalinist-controlled locals that have pulled out of the CIO Clerks union have set up an independent "Distributive Trades Council."

DAILY WORKER — The Daily Worker average circulation is recorded in its statement of ownership as 21,206.



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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XII

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1948

NUMBER 44

Support of CIO Strengthens West Coast Maritime Strike



Striking members of the CIO Oil Workers Union point to the Union Oil Co. plant in Wilmington, Calif., half a mile away from where they are standing. A court injunction prohibits more than two pickets per gate beyond this point.

Oil Strikers Continue Grim Fight Against Odds

RICHMOND, CALIF., Oct. 25—The great oil strike is now entering its fiftieth day as thousands of rank and file workers continue to slug it out with the profit-swollen corporations on the West Coast.

The workers are engaged in a life or death struggle to preserve their organization.

The latest blow to be struck against them is the order, issued by the National Labor Relations Board, for a new election to "determine the bargaining agents" for 4,000 men employed by Standard Oil in Richmond. The NLRB has ruled that both scabs and strikers are eligible to vote in this election.

This new maneuver by the government and the bosses came in the midst of renewed negotiations brought about by the strikers' stubborn refusal to surrender. Once again government interference has come to the aid of the bosses. The full meaning of this NLRB order was made clear when a government official announced that while negotiations may continue, no settlement can be signed until all the workers (scabs included) have cast a ballot on determining what organization shall represent the employees.

Standard Oil Company then announced through their attorney that they were "studying the situation to see if further negotiations of any kind were legal with the striking unions."

NOT FRIGHTENED

Although more than ten million dollars in law suits are pending against the union and hundreds of arrests are made by the police, the oil workers are not being frightened into submission. Day after day and night after night the striking oil workers are on the picket lines battling it out with ever increasing determination to save their union.

The raw, inexperienced men of fifty days ago are today the vanguard of labor's fight against Standard Oil. Men, who fifty days ago came to picket with portable radios and wearing sport shirts, are now carrying rocks and clubs to defend themselves and wearing asbestos gloves as protection against tear gas bombs.

One striker, Frank Bush, aged 51, was picketing a section of railroad track only a few days ago when a train of oil cars attempted to enter the Shell Oil plant in Martinez, Calif. Brother Bush stood on the tracks and refused to budge despite the decision of the railroad police to cross the picket line. Brother Bush was knocked down and dragged under the cow-catcher of the locomotive. One hundred and fifty pickets then smashed the police lines and stopped the train. The Martinez Chief of Police called for more cops and the pickets sent for reinforcements. The officials of the Southern Pacific railroad then made one more attempt to get the tank cars into the shell plant. The railroad workers climbed out of the engine and walked off but the officials tried to drive the engine. Again

the strikers stopped the train. The train did not get through.

Incidents like this occur every day. The strikers stand firm, they stop trucks, oil barges and trains with every means at their disposal.

KNIGHT STATEMENT

O. A. Knight, International President of the CIO oil workers union has issued a statement accusing the oil industry of deliberately refusing to settle the strike despite the union's offer to accept less than its original demands. He said:

"In spite of the company's well advertised statement that they are willing to agree to a fair settlement, their action in rejecting every one of our reasonable of-

fers proves conclusively that they do not mean what they say.

"We are, therefore, compelled to announce that we are determined to prosecute our strike by every legitimate method and for as long a period as necessary to convince the oil companies we are determined they cannot succeed in their program which is nothing more or less than an all-out attempt to break our union.

"We call upon every fair-minded citizen, particularly members of all unions, to support us in this strike as we are convinced the entire nation will suffer if the monopolistic oil industry is able to blaze a union-breaking trail for all industry."

How Labor Can Smash The Taft-Hartley Act

(Continued from page 1)

phical Union adopted at its recent convention.

LABOR CONGRESS

The ITU, engaged in a militant, single-handed fight against the Taft-Hartley Act, appealed to all unions to join forces in a National Emergency Congress of Labor to be held in Washington, D.C. It proposed that this Congress of Labor map out a plan of nationwide united labor action to smash the Slave Labor Law.

There is no other effective program but this — and none of the other union leaders have offered any. Yet not a single other international union leadership has responded as yet to the call of the ITU. Not even the United Mine Workers, which within its own industry has fought so valiantly against the Taft-Hartley Act. The UMW Journal hailed the ITU for its fight — but did not even mention the most significant action of the ITU convention, the appeal for a Congress of Labor.

LOCAL ACTION

The workers cannot wait for the timid, narrow-minded, selfishly-engrossed union bureaucrats to act. The workers feel the lash of the Taft-Hartley Act every day, in the speed-up, in the worsening of working conditions, in the intolerable provocations and arrogance of the bosses, in the weakening of their locals and grievance committees, in strike-breaking violence and the smashing of strikes. They can see the terrible shadow of the old open-shop days creeping over the land.

If the union members depend on the top bureaucrats to act, they will suffer cruel consequences. These leaders have never taken one major step forward until pushed and prodded and shoved by the ranks. The pres-

sure, the demand, the initiative must come from below.

The rank and file must put the heat on the leadership as never before. All local unions and central labor bodies should pass strong resolutions demanding that their national leaders join in summoning a National Emergency Congress of Labor. Start the bandwagon rolling in the local communities by organizing united conferences of all local unions. Once the bandwagon gathers speed, the "labor statesmen" will either have to jump on or be left in the lurch.

German Trotskyists Hold Conference

A national conference of the IKD (International Communists of Germany) was held recently. For two days, delegates discussed the problems of the German section of the Fourth International. Successes in recruitment and the formation of new groups was reported.

The conference marked another important step in the growth of the Fourth International in Germany and in the struggle of the German working class against the occupation.

The German Trotskyists now have three publications: the magazine Die Internationale, printed abroad; and two mimeographed papers, Unser Weg and Der Marxist appearing in Germany.

RUBBER UNION — N. H. Eagle, Organizational Director and main Stalinist figure in the CIO Rubber Union was ousted by Pres. Backmaster with the approval of the Bass-dominated executive board. The board ratified the appointment of Fleet Perrine, a member of Goodrich local 5 of Akron, to the post.

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 24—The fifty-two day old Pacific coast maritime strike was strengthened last week by the full backing of the national CIO.

The ship operators, on their side, called in a House Labor subcommittee headed by Representative Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin to smear the strike as "red."

President Phillip Murray, in a strongly worded letter to all CIO affiliates throughout the country, urged "every possible moral and financial aid to the west coast maritime unions."

"The unions involved, the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association of the CIO, and the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers, independent, can win their just demands with the aid of their brother trade unionists throughout the country," Murray's letter said.

Murray had been appraised of the seriousness of the situation here by CIO Director of Organization, Allan Haywood, who attempted unsuccessfully to resume negotiations with the operators 2 weeks ago. Since the beginning of the strike last Sept. 2, the ship operators have refused to negotiate with the present leaders of the striking unions on the grounds that they "follow Communist Party line" and are "irresponsible."

DIRECT CHALLENGE

Murray reminded all CIO unions that "the direct challenge by these employers of the right of the workers to select negotiating committees of their own choosing is a threat to every labor union in the country; it represents an attempt to establish a new pattern of company unionism."

In one of the strongest appeals ever made by the national CIO for financial support, Murray's letter continued: "The striking unions are already sorely pressed for funds. This fight is a crucial one to organized labor. The ship-owners have made it clear that they hope to starve out the unions. I am therefore urging that you give whatever financial help you possibly can to these striking unions."

Reporting his own efforts to resume negotiations, Murray said, "I have urged the U.S. Maritime Commission and other appropriate agencies of the government to lend their good offices in order to bring about the resumption of negotiations. You and your local unions may likewise desire to petition the U.S. Maritime Commission and the Director of the U.S. Conciliation Service to take similar action."

While Murray was relying on these government agencies to intervene on behalf of the strikers, the House Labor subcommittee was convened here by Representative Kersten and gave an exhibition of how the government intervenes and on whose behalf.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

Conducting public hearings in the Post Office building, the committee had subpoenaed a number of witnesses, among them Frank P. Foiese, president of the Waterfront Employers' Association, Hugh Bryson, president of the CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards and David Jenkins of the California Labor School.

Completely disregarding the issues in the strike, Representative Kersten was interested in only one question: "Are you now or have you ever been a Communist?" To this Foiese answered, "In no wise." He was then encouraged to use the "hearings" as a rostrum to denounce the strike. Foiese charged that the strike follows the Communist party line, is aimed against the Marshall plan, and seeks to destroy the American merchant marine.

In contrast to this treatment accorded the employers' spokesman, Hugh Bryson, the only union representative to appear was grilled for more than half an hour in an attempt to make him give a yes or no answer to the question of his political affiliations. At one point in the probe, while Bryson was speaking, Kersten rapped his gavel in time with Bryson's words, drowning out the remarks and shouting at the witness, "Answer the question."

David Jenkins of the California Labor School, who in no way represents the striking maritime workers, was similarly quizzed.

Two attorneys who attempted to represent and advise Jenkins, were physically ejected from the hearing chambers. Jenkins a leading Stalinist spokesman on this coast, was asked what subjects were taught at the California Labor School, if Marxism was among them, and if he believed in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"Asking that is like asking me do I believe in rain. I didn't invent the dictatorship of the proletariat. I never lived under it. I don't believe in it for America, if that's what you mean. I don't believe in dictatorship by Big Business either."

Dictatorial Methods

The hearings were picketed by members of the striking unions, and longshoremen and seamen jammed the small Federal court room and all corridors leading to it. At the outset Kersten threatened to clear the court and hold private hearings when the audience demonstrated against the dictatorial methods of the committee chairman and in sympathy with remarks of the witnesses. Before leaving town, Kersten announced that he would seek citations for contempt against Bryson and Jenkins.

On the picket lines the strike began to tighten up. During the week protests against cargo and ship movements were registered by the strikers in San Pedro and Portland. These protests were provoked by the following facts which are now coming to the general attention of the strikers:

1) The El Dorado Oil Works where the Swedish Motor Vessel "Kookaburra" was allowed to discharge a load of copra two weeks ago was found to have financial ties with the Matson empire.

2) The SS "American Oriole," operated by the General Steamship Corp. with crew members of the CIO National Maritime Union, was cleared to load grain and to sail from here. She is being loaded by longshoremen at pre-strike wages and conditions.

3) The SS "Charles Brantley Aycock," also operated by General Steamship, left a Bay area shipyard and sailed for Seattle where she has now been declared "hot."

Since knowledge of ship movements has become widespread, pressure from the strikers has forced most of the vessels to be declared "hot," as in the case of the "Aycock." The same is true of the "Perkins." Now tied up in Longview. The independent Marine Firemen's Union has gone on record against working any foreign vessels during the strike.

STRIKE TIGHTENS
As the strike tightens up, its grip is being felt by the big wheat growers in the Pacific Northwest. A report from the Oregon Wheat Commission walls that wheat producers are faced with "loss of markets." The report says that "all indications are that the demand for wheat abroad will soon be filled, which will leave us with a tremendous surplus in the Pacific Northwest."

The report claims that 100 million bushels of wheat or flour must move out of the northwest to make room for the 1949 crop. Delay in moving present supplies "makes it certain," according to the growers, that much wheat will still be in warehouses when 1949 harvesting begins.

These growers are still enthusiastic supporters of the ship operators, but if they are anxious to get their wheat moved they will have to ask the operators to change their attitude and recognize the unions of the striking maritime workers.

NEWARK FORUM

An Analysis of the Election Returns

Speaker:

George Breitman

Friday, Nov. 5 at 8:45 P. M.

423 Springfield Avenue

In Pennsylvania

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On ballot as Militant Workers Party

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