

# "THE NAKED AND THE DEAD"

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# THE MILITANT

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## GM Workers Get First Sliding Scale Pay Boost

By Art Preis

Thanks to their sliding scale cost-of-living wage contract, some 330,000 General Motors workers will get an additional three cents an hour wage increase starting September 1.

This, added to the original 11-cent raise put into effect May 30, gives the GM workers

a total pay boost so far of 14 cents, or a cent more than the flat wage increase won by the Chrysler and Ford workers.

According to their escalator agreement, the GM workers every three months receive an automatic hourly raise of one cent for each 1.14 point rise in the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index.

For the first three-month period on which the sliding scale was calculated, from April 15 to July 15, the BLS index jumped from 169.3 to 173.7, or 4.4 points. This figures out to an average one-cent wage increase for each month.

If prices continue upward, as they have since July 15, the GM workers stand to gain another wage hike next Dec. 1, based on the Oct. 15 index.

The first test of the GM escalator clause has pretty well silenced those union leaders and elements like the Stalinists who attacked the sliding scale feature of the GM agreement.

When the GM contract was signed last May, the Stalinist Daily Worker misrepresented it as a "wage-cutting agreement." The Daily Worker last week mentioned the GM sliding scale wage

increase in a tiny, obscure item, and without comment.

### WEAK CLAUSE

It is true, as The Militant pointed out last May, that the GM escalator clause is weak in a number of respects. It permits a reduction in the wage scale of up to five cents an hour for comparable decreases in the BLS cost-of-living index. However, it places no ceiling on the possible amount of automatic wage increases.

The chief weakness of the GM wage clause is that it started at too low a base wage. Moreover, the contract allows the company to raise production quotas almost at will. Now the corporation is putting on a speed-up drive to squeeze more production out of the workers. This weakness has always been a notorious feature of recent GM contracts, however, and has nothing to do with the sliding scale clause.

Undoubtedly, many workers and unions will start to investigate closely the advantages of the sliding scale clause as a result of the benefits already gained for the GM workers. Although the GM contract by no means contains the ideal escalator clause, it has demonstrated the possibilities of such clauses in protecting real wages during an inflationary period.

### CIO POSITION

In spite of this fact, the CIO leaders, for instance, are trying to belittle the value of the sliding scale wage program. The Aug. 30 CIO News greets the GM wage increase with the headline: "GM Workers Know Cost-Of-Living Bonus 'Does Not Raise Their Living Standard'."

That's true. But it does enable their living standard to keep better pace with prices—and that's all an escalator clause is intended for. Certainly, the CIO workers who obtained only limited flat increases last Spring are having their living standards reduced daily by inflation.

The CIO News tries to counterpose to the sliding scale wage program the fight to halt inflation. But the sliding scale program is the first immediate and effective measure in that fight. If all wages were protected by escalator clauses, the corporations would hesitate to raise prices knowing it would mean an automatic and equal wage increase.

## SWP Blasts CIO Chiefs For Supporting Truman

### Also Scores Wallace Backing Of Old-Line Party Candidates

By FARRELL DOBBS and GRACE CARLSON  
SWP Candidates for President and Vice-President

After giving shame-faced and back-door support to Truman for several months, the majority of you CIO and AFL leaders have decided to brazen it out. You have finally announced open and even "enthusiastic" support for the man who has broken more strikes than any president in U. S. history.

Never will you be able to justify this political betrayal before the workers of America. We confidently predict that millions of workers will repudiate your choice either by staying home on election day or casting an unprecedented protest vote for minority party candidates.

We have used the words "brazen it out" advisedly—particularly in the case of you and your lieutenants, Philip Murray. Only those devoid of all respect for the intelligence of the workers, would dare to take the position you do on Truman after your publicly expressed attitude toward him and his political henchmen these past 3 years.

As we read the statement of your Political Action Committee on Sept. 1, saying that "the platform of the Democratic Party and the record of Harry S. Truman and Senator Alben W. Barkley are deserving of enthusiastic support," there came vividly to mind a statement you made on a different occasion, Brother Murray, nearly three years ago.

Then, in a nation-wide broadcast, you scored the Truman Administration in biting and truthful words. You assailed his demand that the GM workers call off their strike without a contract and his order setting up his notorious "fact-finding" system of compulsory arbitration.

Pointing to the union-busting arrogance of the billionaire corporations, you declared: "To all this arrogance, the Federal Administration (that is, the TRUMAN administration) yields in abject cowardice. Its rancor is confined to labor." You charged that the results of Truman's policies could only be "to weaken and ultimately to destroy labor union organizations. It can be but the first step for even more savage legislative repression."

And do you remember what you said a year later, when Truman, on Dec. 3, 1946, announced that he was sending to the new—80th Congress—"the strongest measure I know how to prepare" to "illegalize the closed shop and impose compulsory arbitration"? Do you remember what you said when Truman endorsed the infamous Case anti-labor bill and boasted he hoped to "steal the march" and "beat the Republicans to the punch."

You called the Truman administration and the Democratic-controlled 79th Congress "the dictatorship of a reactionary coalition," and "a deliberate and monstrous movement" to "destroy the labor movement." And when Truman initiated his punitive injunction and million-dollar fine against the striking miners, you said: "All the social, economic and legislative gains of the past decade are in dire danger. The recent court injunction against the United Mine Workers and the vengeful fine imposed is but the first step."

### Truman's Record on Injunctions

Has anything changed since then, to alter your judgment? Ask the AFL typographical workers. Ask the coal miners. Ask your own members in the CIO Maritime Workers Union. All of them have felt the last of Truman's strike-breaking injunctions—Taft-Hartley injunctions—within the past six months. Do you think they can back Truman "on his record" with "enthusiasm"?

Why, only two months ago you and your lieutenants were begging the Democratic Convention to nominate anybody—anybody at all—in place of Truman. Your colleague Jack Kroll, head of the CIO-PAC, complained publicly that if Truman were nominated millions of CIO members would "sit on their hands" next election day. He was right. They will. And you, Philip Murray, and the rest of the union leaders who offer them nothing but further support of the discredited capitalist candidates, are responsible.

You, and the 35 members of your CIO National Executive Board who voted to endorse Truman, bitterly attacked the Stalinist minority of the Board for backing Wallace. Who but you and the other union leaders clinging to the bankrupt "two-party system" are responsible for the growth of the Wallace movement? Wallace sees the wide-spread sentiment for a labor party which you have obstinately and blindly tried to suppress. He is trying to capitalize on this sentiment. And, naturally, hundreds of thousands of workers who are offered no way out from your political blind alley will turn in misguided hope to the demagogue Wallace.

They will be mistaken—but not for the reasons you give. Their sentiment for a break with the old-line capitalist parties is progressive and sound. But they are being lured into another capitalist party—even though labeled a "progressive third party."

That is frankly admitted in the appeal for "real working unity" between the CIO-PAC and the Wallace party, issued the day after your Board meeting by C.B. Baldwin, Wallace's campaign manager. Baldwin pointed out that "of the 56 Congressmen whom the CIO News rates as 80 per cent liberal or better, there are few whom we will oppose." That's right. You all stand for the same thing, really. The continuation of the capitalist monopoly of politics.

### Guilt of Same Crime

You and the Stalinists whom you denounce so bitterly for their foreign policy are really guilty of the same crime: You are attempting by every means of deceit and treachery to prevent the American workers from winning their political independence, from building their own CLASS party based on their own organizations, the unions.

That is a policy that our party, the Socialist Workers Party, is fighting to defeat. We are campaigning on a program of mobilizing the American working class into a party of their own that will uncompromisingly battle against the capitalist parties and for a Workers and Farmers Government.

You, the top union leaders, offer the workers only a devil's choice between corrupt, discredited political agents of Big Business. We, the Socialist Workers Party, offer the only real choice: Independent Labor Political Action through Labor's Own Party.

You American workers who realize the need for this program, can best advance it by voting for the only candidates who fight for this program in this election. Support Dobbs and Carlson! That is the way to fight for a party of your own.

## "CZAR" TOBIN UPHOLDS BECK'S SCAB-HERDING

SEATTLE, Aug. 31 — As SWP presidential candidate Farrell Dobbs flatly predicted in his recent public meeting and radio address here, AFL Teamsters "Czar" Daniel J. Tobin has now announced support for the

scabherding and strikebreaking of his West Coast "Crown Prince," David J. Beck.

At the AFL Executive Council meeting in Chicago last week, Tobin introduced and secured the passage of a resolution "to support the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in its fight to maintain its jurisdiction against a non-affiliated organization"—that is, to approve the strike-breaking by Beck against the International Association of Machinists on strike at the Boeing plant here.

Tobin himself heatedly disclaimed reports of "any friction, however infinitesimal, existing between myself and my close personal friend, Dave Beck, in whom I repose every full trust and confidence."

This substantiates Farrell Dobbs' warning to well-meaning Seattle unionists who believed that Tobin would intervene against the scandalous conduct of Beck. Speaking on the basis of his years of direct experience with Tobin inside the Teamsters, Dobbs exposed Tobin's bureaucratic and gangster role of the IAT and advised the local progressive unionists to organize their forces for a clear cut fight against the entire Teamsters bureaucracy from Tobin on down.

This sound advice has found a

genuine and growing response in the labor movement here. The revolt against Beck's—and Tobin's—strikebreaking at Boeing Aircraft has grown to sizable proportions and is mounting from day to day. This in turn has heartened the 11,000 members of IAM Lodge 761 who are still on strike after five months and still defying the company and its ally Dave Beck.

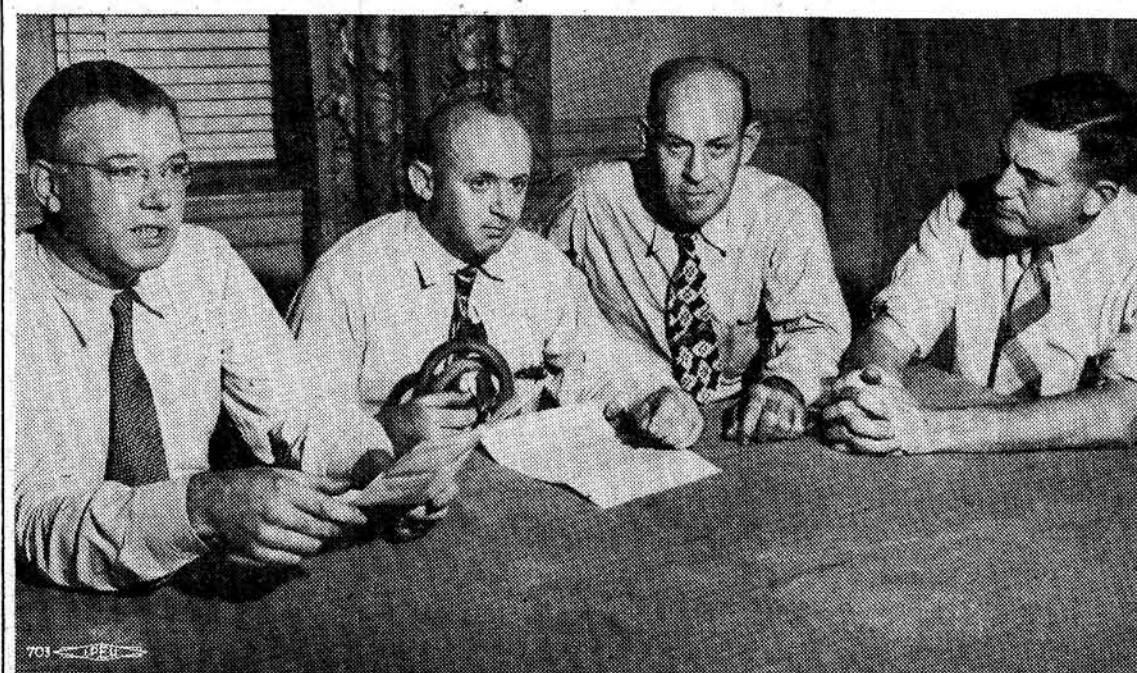
How effectively Dobbs' blast has shaken Beck is shown by the fact that the Socialist Workers Party has been made the main target of Beck's verbal attacks. The Aug. 20 Washington Teamster, Beck's personal organ, delivered a front-page editorial howl against Farrell Dobbs and charged him with taking over the leadership in the fight against Beck's scabherding. The Aug. 27 issue of Beck's sheet seeks to link Dobbs with the revolt of the AFL Retail Clerks against Beck's domination and in another article editorializes against the "Trotskyites."

### THE SCORE

Here is the score for the last two weeks in the battle waged inside and outside the Teamsters Union against Dave Beck.

1. The Puget Sound Council of the AFL Lumber and Sawmill Workers, an affiliate of the Bro-

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Joseph Kutcher, legless war veteran, (second from left) tells press conference of his determination to fight dismissal from Newark Veterans' Administration job. Members of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee backing up Kutcher's fight, are shown (left to right): George Novack, secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee and national secretary of the Kutcher defense committee; Kutcher; Carl Holderman, president of the New Jersey CIO Council; and Rev. John I. Daniel, chaplain of the Newark area council of the American Veterans' Committee.

—Photograph courtesy of the New York STAR

## Harold Russell to Head Kutcher Defense Group

Harold Russell, handless World War II veteran and star of the Academy Award motion picture, "The Best Years of Our Lives," has accepted the national chairmanship of the defense committee for James Kutcher.

legless Newark veteran who faces dismissal from his \$40-a-week Veterans Administration job because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Kutcher, who lost both legs in combat in Italy and has taught himself to walk with artificial limbs and two canes, has challenged the 30-day dismissal notice sent him on Aug. 13. He is fighting for his right to his government job despite his admitted affiliation with an organization on Truman's and Attorney General Clark's political blacklist.

Mr. Russell, whose portrayal of the disabled Navy veteran in "The Best Years of Our Lives" won him national acclaim, is a hospital buddy of Kutcher. They

occupied adjoining beds for five months in the Walter Reed Hospital. When informed of the "loyalty" purge action against his former hospital-mate, Mr. Russell immediately offered his services in Kutcher's defense.

Other nationally-famous veterans of the last war have also joined the defense committee. They include Bill Mauldin, outstanding World War II cartoonist, Pulitzer prize winner and author of the best-selling books, "Up Front" and "Back Home"; and Merle Miller, former executive editor of Yank magazine, author of the distinguished novel, "That Winter," now an editor of Harper's Magazine and a member of the National Planning Board of

the American Veterans Committee.

Among leading union spokesmen on the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee is Carl Holderman, President of the New Jersey CIO Council.

In addition to the national defense committee, a New Jersey state committee has been established, headed by Peetr Flynn, state CIO Secretary-Treasurer.

Kutcher was notified last week that he will be given a hearing on his case before the Loyalty Board of Branch No. 3 of the Veterans Administration, in Philadelphia on Sept. 10. In reply to the notice from Branch Loyalty Board Chairman Benjamin E. Hinden, Kutcher wrote that he will attend the hearing, together with his attorney and witnesses, although he considers the entire procedure "unconstitutional and undemocratic."

He repeated in his letter to Hinden his demand for a hearing open to the public and the press. However, Hinden has stated the hearing will be held behind closed doors. In a personal interview



HAROLD RUSSELL

with George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher defense committee, Hinden claimed that Truman's "loyalty" purge order allows only private hearings in order, so he said, to "protect the individual from adverse publicity." Mr. Novack replied: "This individual (Kutcher) considers his only protection is the greatest possible publicity."

## Kutcher's Answer to "Loyalty" Purgers

The following letter was sent by James Kutcher to the Veterans Administration Loyalty Board after he was informed by the board chairman that he was fired from his job as clerk because of membership in the Newark Branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

135 Seth Boyden Terrace  
Newark 5, N. J.  
August 25, 1948

Mr. Benjamin E. Hinden  
Chairman, Loyalty Board  
Veterans Administration  
Branch Office No. 3  
5000 Wissahickon Avenue  
Philadelphia 1, Penna.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter dated August 13, notifying me that I am to be removed from my job as a clerk in the Veterans Administration office in Newark on the grounds of my membership in the Socialist Workers Party, I hereby challenge your right to do so.

I have never denied my membership in the Socialist Workers Party; I do not deny it now; on the contrary, I proudly affirm it. What I do deny is the false accusation that the Socialist Workers Party is "subversive" or advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

The Socialist Workers Party has publicly demanded that it be removed from the "subversive" blacklist compiled by Attorney General Clark; it has publicly requested a hearing for that purpose. Instead of granting such a hearing, the administration has rejected this request and is proceeding to punitive and discriminatory measures against the members of the Socialist Workers Party. This procedure violates my constitutional and civil rights and smacks of the worst practices employed in police states.

I entered the armed forces in January, 1941. My draft board did not ask me about my political views or the party to which I belonged; they drafted me. I became an infantryman, serving in the 9th and 8th

Divisions and participating in the North African, Sicilian and Italian campaigns. When I was at San Pietro, Italy, in November 1943, the German mortar crew on the other side of the lines did not ask me about my political views or the party to which I belonged; they fired at me. The army surgeons did not ask me about my political views or the party to which I belonged; they amputated both my legs, one above the knee, the other just below. The Army did not ask me about my political views or the party to which I belonged when it gave me the Purple Heart.

It took me a long time to learn to use my artificial limbs, but I learned how in order to get a job because I must contribute to the support of my aged and sick parents. You can understand that it is not too easy to get a job when you have no legs. But two years ago this month I went to work for the Veterans Administration, and have filled my job satisfactorily. Now you propose to deprive me of that job, solely because of my political views and the party to which I belong. This is political persecution, and I intend to fight against it with all my vigor—because my job is at stake, because a great principle involving my own rights is affected, and because it concerns thousands of other government employees, many of them veterans, whose rights are similarly threatened by this dictatorial procedure.

I make no secret of my views or those of the Socialist Workers Party, which have been publicly expressed for many years over the radio and in the press. I believe that Socialism is the only system that can bring humanity peace and freedom, and in support of that belief I propose next November, whether employed by the government or not, to vote for the Socialist Workers Party national ticket, Farrell Dobbs for President and Dr. Grace Carlson for Vice-President. I do not advocate force and violence to achieve Socialism; the only time in my life I ever practiced force and violence was under the orders given me in the Army by the U. S. Government. I did not believe that the recent war was a war to eradicate fascism and to establish the "four freedoms," and everything that has happened

since the end of the war strengthens me in that belief. Furthermore, I am opposed to the preparations for a new war. I am opposed to restrictive legislation against labor and minority groups. I am opposed to racial discrimination in every form. I am opposed to witch hunts and attacks on civil rights. And I am in favor of political organization and action by the working people, who represent the great majority of the population, to put an end to these evils.

You have the right to disagree with my views, but not to deprive me of my job for holding them, or for belonging to a party and associating with people who share them or contributing my money to support of a newspaper that defends them. I contend that I have the same right to a government job as you or any other American, and that not a single shred of real liberty will remain for anyone in this country if I and other political opponents of the administration in Washington are to be hounded out of our jobs because of the principles we believe in. I have already been deprived of both my legs and my freedom of movement. I do not propose to have any government official deprive me of my freedom of thought and expression and my right to earn a living. The methods employed against me are those of totalitarianism and not of democracy.

Please consider this as my written reply to your charges and my written request for the administrative hearing before the Branch Loyalty Board, referred to in Paragraph 2 of your letter, although like many other people I consider the entire procedure involved in these hearings as illegal and unconstitutional. I insist, however, that this hearing be open to the public and the press, since I feel that this issue concerns the American people as a whole. For the same reason, I cannot restrict the defense of my job to these channels alone, and serve notice on you that I will take such other measures as I may find suitable.

I affirm that all the statements made above are true, to the best of my information and ability.

(signed) James Kutcher

JK:ra



# 'The Naked and the Dead'—A Review

By Paul Schapiro

THE NAKED AND THE DEAD by Norman Mailer, Rinehart and Company, 1948, (721 pp., \$4.00)

The Naked and the Dead is the story of a handful of men, the Intelligence and Reconnaissance Platoon of a U.S. Army division invading the island of Anopopei in the Pacific. Exposed to the war, with its long periods of intense boredom punctuated by shorter periods of intense terror, with its body-destroying fatigue and its nerve-corroding suppressed fear that one's number must be finally coming up, each becomes at the core of his being a quivering mass of suffering around which he attempts to throw a hard, resistant protective covering. Each one, except for the defenseless butts, the Jewish soldiers Roth and Goldstein and the slow-thinking dirt-farmer

Ridges, jeers at the others and curses endlessly; each one, except Corporal Toggio, who repeats all of the patriotic platitudes and is held in contempt as a "boy scout," grouches bitterly at the army. Their speech and action is presented so accurately and with such copious detail that not only former GI's but those who have never been in the army will recognize its complete authenticity.

The platoon, however, not only has a group physiognomy; it is composed of individuals, men who were farmers, small businessmen, petty racketeers, salesmen and drifters. There is Red Valsen, who ran away as a boy from the grinding poverty and work of a Montana mining-town and became a hobo, determined never to allow himself to become tied down; Martinez, the Mexican boy from Texas, near cracking but buttressed by his pride in being a sergeant in command of white

Protestants; Gallagher, the Boston fascist, a "revolutionary reversed," whose bitterness at the narrowness of his life finds vent against easy scapegoats. In synopsis accounts of their lives, interposed in the narrative where we are beginning to know the individual concerned, Mailer gives us a picture of the social milieu and the home environment which has made them what they are. Of diverse backgrounds each has nevertheless been in some way malformed by the society which has brought them together in the same blind, cruel manner in which it has shaped their lives.

The narrative itself, the story of the landing on Anopopei, the campaign, and the final defeat of the Japanese and the mopping-up of the island, moves slowly. Mailer is intent on showing what the campaign means for these men: it is a protracted, grueling experience, a weary treadmill of misery and shapeless horror and

unending sameness. The novel consequently is almost entirely static, but the photographic realism and the repetitive banalities and obscurities of the men's conversation and of such incidents as the charge of screaming Japanese soldiers, the dragging of heavy, refractory anti-tank guns to the point of complete exhaustion and the drunken looting of Japanese corpses, maintains the reader's interest.

Moreover, in the patrol which comes as the final tightening of the rack near the end of the book, the novel achieves a shattering climax. The patrol has its origin in General Cummings's antagonism towards his former aide, Lieutenant Hearn, whom he has put in charge of the platoon. The patrol continues because Sergeant Croft, a killer who hates everything outside of himself, feels an overwhelming urge to bring the platoon to the top of a mountain even though it entails driving the

men beyond all reason and purpose, allowing Hearn to walk into a Japanese ambush. It is meaningless from every viewpoint for Cummings's stupid operations officer, in charge in his absence, finds himself obliged by the force of unexpected circumstances to mount a blundering attack which crashes through the Japanese, more worn out than was known, and sets Cummings's clever planning at naught.

But the platoon knows nothing of this. It continues on its mission. One squad is to scale the mountain; another squad is to haul a wounded man back to the beach. The culminating irony is that both of the tasks on this utterly meaningless mission are not carried out. As the squad scaling the mountain is about to get to the top just as it has reached the utmost limit of its endurance, it is attacked by a nest of hornets, which is the final unbearable distress that routs it.

Part of the squad of stretcher-bearers succumbs to exhaustion, but Goldstein and Ridges go on, so dazed by fatigue that, after the wounded man dies, they continue to carry the body through the jungle, only to lose it in a river.

## DEFENSES BURNED AWAY

In this inferno of suffering, Goldstein and Ridges undergo a searing moment in which the sheltering defenses of a life-time are burned away and they are left naked and exposed, bereft not only of the dead body but of all which has protected and sustained them. Goldstein finds that his belief that Jews have been born to torment in order that they might act as the conscience of humanity is an illusion. Their suffering has taught mankind nothing. It is a burden whose carrying has as little value as his carrying the wounded man. Ridges, who has always believed in divine purpose, suddenly sees that all his life he has worked hard to no avail, as he has done just now, and finds God's way to be not beneficent but malicious. The blinding flash in which they see themselves naked and alone, stripped bare of all hope or purpose, is one of terrific power.

At a crucial point in the patrol, the platoon condemned itself to its agonizing experience because of its inability, as a result of lack of unity, to break the iron military discipline and rebel successfully against Croft. The failure of the incipient rebellion also meant the breaking down of Red Valsen, who has always been a lone wolf uncowed by authority, but finds that he cannot maintain his integrity in isolation from others. This breaking down of Red's spirit is an illustration of the thesis of General Cummings, the theoretician of a militarized America who delights in his power to control and manipulate men and who dreams of gaining new and greater powers outside of the army after the war. The army, he tells Hearn, is arranged as a "fear ladder" in which "you're frightened of the man above you, and contemptuous of your subordinates" in order to break the spirit of the individual soldier and cause him to lose any idea of his rights as a person.

General Cummings explains that Hitler's dream of a 1000-year era of fascism was sound but Germany was too weak to put it across. Now America was taking over the task.

The Naked and the Dead not only enables us better to understand the nature of the capitalist army; it enables us better to understand the nature of capitalist society of whose atomization of the individual the army is merely the most concentrated expression. And it enables us better to understand what life would be like in the militarized America which is the only future capitalism has to offer. "You can consider the Army as a preview of the future," says General Cummings—but he reckons without the rising mass revolt against him and his kind.

## POLITICAL VACUUM

Even our author, who when he wrote this novel was a kind of intellectual anarchist, opposed to all organized groups and parties, has now come to the conclusion that this is incorrect, and that you must work in an organized way "if you are going to accomplish anything in your own framework of time." Norman Mailer now thinks that the book suffers a little because it was written in a political vacuum. "There's a tendency among too many leftist writers," he started in an interview with the New York Star, "and I think I'm a little guilty of it in The Naked and the Dead—to avoid a lot of problems. The hero generally functions in a politically colorless framework."

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

# Campaigning With Dobbs and Carlson

By George Clarke, SWP Campaign Manager

Harry Braverman of Youngstown, Ohio, our candidate for Congress in the 19th District, is the outstanding campaigner of the week. Readers of The Militant will remember that the Youngstown Board of Elections threw out Braverman's petitions because some of the people who signed the petitions had moved from their residence where they last registered and signed their new addresses! And some of these Northern capitalist politicians pretend indignation because Negroes in the South are denied the ballot.

Well, Harry has made the welkin ring in his fight to overthrow this phony ruling. First he made things hotter than a fire-cracker for the Board of Elections. And last week he took his case to the Ohio Supreme Court. He didn't have the price of a high attorney's fee so he boned up on all the hocus-pocus of the law and submitted his brief without benefit of counsel in Columbus. The reporters were goggle-eyed, they'd never seen anything like it before and they gave good accounts of Harry's action in the Ohio papers.

If Harry wins, they may have to reprint all the ballots in the 19th District. That'll learn them not to monkey with the democratic rights of the workers—when Trotskyists are around.

MINNESOTA: Farrell Dobbs came back home last week to the town he helped write a union label on. He got a rousing welcome. It was on a small scale but still a real omen of what to expect when the tide turns. Barbara Bruce writes that there was an enthusiastic audience at Farrell's meeting at the Andrews Hotel. Almost the entire staff of Local 544—the staff the teamsters elected before Tobin and Roosevelt declared war on the union—was there. And so too were numerous drivers still in the union suffering under the rule of Tobin's gangsters. The audience showed they meant business by contributing a total of \$350. Vincent R. Dunne, candidate for U. S. Senate against Ball, the bosses' man, was in the chair.

The Minneapolis and St. Paul papers gave Farrell a big play. John Wickland, Minneapolis Tribune writer, tells why: "Ten years ago Dobbs was a force to reckon with in Minneapolis labor circles. . . . He and the Dunne brothers and Karl Skoglund were undoubtedly the most powerful labor leaders this city has ever known."

A good meeting was held for Dobbs in St. Paul. Farrell told the story of the Kutcher case and paid tribute to the valiant fight of the packinghouse workers, many of whom are getting the same dirty treatment from the packing trust that Kutcher is getting from the biggest trust of all, the capitalist government.

WITH GRACE CARLSON IN OHIO: The comrades are still overflowing with praise at comrade Carlson's masterful performance at a "Press Club Presents" program, a variation of "Meet the Press" on Cleveland's Mutual station on Aug. 25. Two weeks before the newspapermen made a chump out of

Gus Hall, Ohio State Chairman of the Communist Party. They dragged him over the coals and back again for all the flip-flops and crimes of Stalinism.

But Grace turned the tables. She led off with a forceful analysis of the logic of the class struggle in this country and of the party's program. Then followed a long series of questions which comrade Carlson took in her stride. But when one newspaperman asked: "Why did the Attorney-General put the SWP on the subversive list?" then, Ted Selander writes, Grace stole the show.

"That's just what we want to know!" she began and then she ripped into the whole sordid deal which The Militant has written about. From then on, Ted says, all questions were asked in a respectful tone in the atmosphere of students addressing their teacher in a schoolroom.

In addition to this program, Grace was interviewed on a women's radio program. There was an informal banquet arranged by the branch and a public meeting at the Hollenden Hotel.

TOLEDO: From Cleveland Comrade Carlson went to Toledo. Here she was interviewed on two women's programs over stations WTOL and WTOD. Our vice-presidential candidate is taking the beauty parlor chit-chat out of these programs by talking about our differences with other parties, the SWP's stand on war and Stalinism. In the two days preceding the broadcast there was a small but good public meeting and a social affair in comrade Carlson's honor.

NEW YORK: All of the reports talk of the intense heat in recent days, and we in New York have our own little story to tell. It is a story of an outstanding demonstration of revolutionary devotion. 250 comrades and friends came to the Trotsky Memorial meeting, which launched the presidential campaign in New York, when the thermometer stood at 100. It was a magnificent sight and I think the audience was unanimous in agreement that it was a great meeting.

Among the features of the meeting was the premiere of the film "SWP on the March" showing scenes from the Party's nominating convention and the beginning of the campaign. It marks a grand start for our budding film producers—and we hope to have the film out in the country in the near future.

Joe Morgan gave a hard-hitting talk on Trotsky's analysis of the American Negroes as a "dynamic revolutionary segment of the American working class."

HERE AND THERE: Connecticut is getting ready to file with 13,300 signatures. The law requires 8,300 for presidential candidates. . . . Wisconsin is getting under way—now has about 6,000 signatures. . . . Mike Bartell spoke on the Hickman Case over WEVD in New York on Aug. 31 and Farrell Dobbs' CBS acceptance speech was rebroadcast over WNYC on Sept. 1. . . . The Plentywood Herald gave a big front page write-up to Farrell's meeting in that Montana city.

# How Merger Movement Swells the Monopolies

The recently released Federal Trade Commission report entitled, "THE MERGER MOVEMENT: A SUMMARY REPORT" is a highly instructive document. Every unionist should become familiar with it. It ought to be made required reading for all those, especially top labor leaders, who believe and sow the illusion that the growth of monster monopolies and their stranglehold on this nation's life can be halted or combated within the existing capitalist system.

The gist of this FTC Report is that giant trusts have virtually wiped out independent and smaller business enterprises even in those fields where they did not previously dominate; and that they have entrenched themselves still more strongly in those basic industries where they have now ruled for decades.

Since 1940, that is in recent war and postwar years, monopolies have gobbled up "more than 2,450 formerly independent manufacturing and mining companies," whose assets amounted to "some 5.2 billion dollars, or more than 5 percent of the total assets of ALL manufacturing corporations in the country."

Even more important than these staggering figures is the fact that monopolization has extended its tentacles over such mass consumer industries as "food and beverages, textiles and apparel, and chemicals (including drugs)." These three traditional fields of small and dispersed enterprises, have, the FTC admits, "accounted for over one-third of the total

number of (recent monopoly) acquisitions."

If any working family is still in doubt as to why clothing, food and even medicines are so outrageously high-priced (and shooting ever higher), let them reread the above passage. Here they have the answer—the monopolists have been digging their hands deeper and deeper into the pockets of the poor.

The compilers of the FTC report do not hesitate to admit that it is the "high corporate profits (that) have fed the merger movement." In fact, high profits—billions upon billions!—have fed the monopoly gougiers so well that today they are in a position to do as they please—in particular, with regard to prices on virtually every necessity.

Let the reader ponder well the following single sentence from the FTC report:

"At the end of June 1947, the 78 largest corporations had sufficient net working capital to buy up the assets of some 50,000 manufacturing corporations of less than 1 million dollars in assets each, representing more than 90% of all the manufacturing corporations in the United States."

A mere handful of trusts—less than four score of them!—are able at will to "buy and sell" virtually all the others! What is more, they not only can, they have actually been doing it!

## ALL PHASES

According to the FTC report, "the recent merger movement has extended to virtually all phases of manufacturing and mining. . . . This activity of the monopolists has been climbing upwards very sharply. In the final quarter of 1947, more mergers were reported than in any fourth quarter—since 1929," the report goes on to add.

The tendency toward concentration and monopolization has followed—since the first monopolies were born at the close of the Nineteenth Century—one pattern and only one—upwards. Laws and regulations passed under capitalism are of no avail. Not alone because it is the monopolists themselves who dictate the laws, to say nothing of evading them. It is also because the inherent tendency of capitalism is for monopolies to grow until they completely fuse with the state, devouring in the process their small competitors, along with the living standards of the people and all their cherished liberties and

rights.

The FTC report bewails the loopholes in the Clayton Act, which was supposed to have put teeth into the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which, in its turn, was first enforced not against the trusts but against the early labor movement under Debs. The FTC now wants these loopholes "plugged up." All this is a reactionary utopia from which only the corporations can benefit. All the publicized so-called trust-busting activities of Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt only succeeded in further building up and strengthening the trusts.

To destroy the corporations and their power, before they destroy this country, it is necessary to take the measures proposed in the Election Platform of the Socialist Workers Party:

Nationalize the basic industries, all war plants, all natural resources, and operate them in the interests of the producers and consumers by democratically elected committees of workers and technicians! Nationalize the banks! Institute a planned economy of abundance, based on production for use, not for profit!

# GRACE CARLSON AND THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN AMERICA

By Leila Rice

The entry of Grace Carlson in the vice-presidential campaign this year has a particular significance for the women of America. This is the centennial of the organized fight for women's rights. One hundred years ago, in 1848, when the old feudal laws regarding women began crumbling and New York State passed the Married Women's Property Act which cancelled the rights of the husband to control the wife's property, the first Women's Rights Convention was held, out of which grew the well-known Suffragette Movement.

The weakness of the Suffragette Movement—and thousands of men joined in that battle as well as women—was that it viewed the struggle as simply one to gain the "Right to Vote" for women; that this was the solution to all the problems facing humanity. Actually women are learning that they can win their freedom only when all humanity is freed from economic servitude. To be able to develop their personal talents in the social and economic fields, as well as in their own specific field, that of bearing children, women must be freed from the fear of insecurity and want.

Susan B. Anthony II, grandniece of the crusading Susan B. Anthony of the Suffragette Movement, wrote an article in the July 17 Saturday Evening Post which has been widely commented upon. The newspaper columnists are all trying to make the American woman satisfied with the present system which keeps her in economic servitude. These writers bewail the fact that women are not using their huge voting bloc.

## WOMEN DISILLUSIONED

Some of the facts brought out by Miss Anthony are indicative of the disillusionment of women. They feel that none of the existing organizations in the field today have a program which fights for their true interests. Miss Anthony further brings out that the number of women lawyers, doctors, educators and even those getting college degrees was on the decline even before the war,

although the actual number of working women increased, and today women outnumber men voters.

The program which Miss Anthony advances for a new women's movement does credit to her study and understanding of women's problems. They are:

1. Co-operative and universal nursery schools for pre-school children.

2. Co-operative housecleaning services.

3. Prepared-meal services that would deliver hot cooked dinners to double-earner families.

4. Professional shopping services. The average woman is just as unskilled in buying as the average man, and the work wastes her time.

5. Government insured maternity benefits, before childbirth and during nursing.

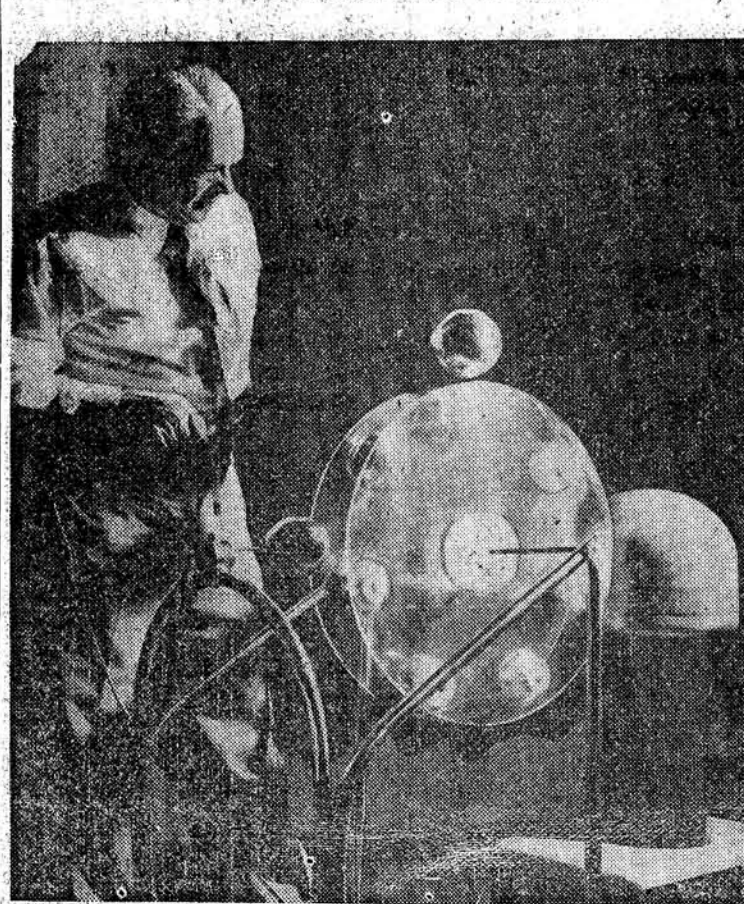
Daily we read of parents, and especially mothers, leaving children alone and uncared for while they are out seeking amusement. Newspapers pretend to be shocked at these heartless mothers. Unable to meet the social crisis crumbling family life, many women are filling our institutions for the mentally unfit as well as the penitentiaries.

## SOLUTION IN POLITICS

The solving of the problem of women's rights is similar to the problem of winning emancipation for other oppressed sections of the population. It can only be done by women organizing themselves to fight for their rights and aligning themselves with the great progressive movements in our society. Women—like the oppressed Negro people and minority groups—must certainly get into politics to win their rights. But no more than other oppressed groupings can they win these rights by supporting the parties of capitalism. Women can emerge as a political force only by working for the creation of a new political party of the working people, representing and responsive to their interests.

Grace Carlson, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party—the only woman candidate for the office—is a symbol

## Atom Power for Peace



A hint of what atomic power could do for civilization if put to peaceful, constructive use is this model of an atomic motor designed by Dr. Richard C. Hitchcock of Pittsburgh. Soon to be displayed at the atomic energy show in New York, the motor is powered by the dome-shaped miniature atom-smasher at right, packs an electrostatic wallop of 200,000 volts and turns 100 revolutions a minute.

Federated Pictures



and a banner-bearer of this struggle.

By voting for Carlson this November women voters will be voting for a candidate who symbolizes the fight for women's rights and a new mass party of the working people, and a program that proposes to abolish capitalism with its insecurity and want and build a new socialist society of plenty and equality.

## A NEW PAMPHLET—JUST OUT!

### A Letter to American Negroes

by William E. Bohannon



District in New Jersey in the November elections.

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# THE MILITANT ARMY

## More Branches Swing Into Sub Campaigns

More branches are getting into the swing of the Presidential Election Sub Drive, following the fine beginnings made by Detroit and Flint. More than 300 subs came in last week and this week starts off as promising.

Militant subscriptions are seen to be a vital part of the SWP election campaign. The house-to-house and street sales of subs have prepared for mass street meetings, which, in turn, have helped to sell more subs.

From Philadelphia, George reports: "25 of the 28 subs are from an open air meeting—13 more than from our first street meeting. This was a new experience to us here, but we are learning fast. Starting next week we will hold three street-corner meetings a week, which should step up sub-getting even further." Last week Philadelphia sent 19 subs.

Flint has reached a total of 315 subs in the campaign. Of the last 25, "16 are from Chevrolet union members and five sent in by our very cooperative friend in Hudsonville," reported Genora. "This time we have set no campaign quota but are just making sub-

getting part of our election campaign."

Ninety-two from San Francisco led last week's returns, followed by 11 more this week. Sara Ross writes: "We feel we have now launched the campaign, with a total of 142 to date. Petition work will hold us up a few weeks but after that we will make subbing part of the election campaign." Oakland branch turned in 16 subs.

Minneapolis sent 33 subs last week, same as the week before.

For Los Angeles South Side Branch, Ed Smith sent "15 subs gotten in today's mobilization at a housing project on the South Side." The week before he had sent six. A dozen others also came from Los Angeles.

Four more subs came in last week from readers who first became acquainted with The Militant after writing in for copies of radio speeches by the Socialist Workers Party candidates. Radio responses are still arriving by every mail.

Ten subs each from Milwaukee and New Britain, seven each from St. Paul and Seattle, 19 from Pittsburgh and lesser numbers from more than a score of cities helped to pile up last week's total.

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## THE MILITANT

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Vol. XII — No. 36

Monday, September 6, 1948



TROTSKY

In the past, America has known more than one stormy outburst of revolutionary or semi-revolutionary mass movements. Every time they died out quickly, because America at every time entered a new phase of economic upswing and also because the movements themselves were characterized by crass empiricism and theoretical helplessness. These two conditions belong to the past. . . American capitalism will enter an epoch of monstrous imperialism, of an uninterrupted growth of armaments, of intervention in the affairs of the entire world, of military conflicts and convulsions. . . These radical changes permit us to predict with certainty that the inevitable and relatively rapid, revolutionary transformation of the American proletariat will no more be the former, easily extinguishable "bonfire," but the beginning of a veritable revolutionary conflagration. In America, Communism can face its great future with confidence.

Leon Trotsky, "Germany: The Key to the International Situation," 1931.



LENIN

### The Kutcher Case

No political persecution and outrage against democratic tradition in recent years has aroused such spontaneous, widespread and burning indignation as the case of James Kutcher, the Newark war veteran who lost both legs in combat in Italy.

Indeed, no one with a spark of decency can fail to seethe with anger at the government's brutal action in firing this war-maimed veteran from his \$40-a-week clerical job with the Veterans Administration because of his anti-capitalist views and membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

James Kutcher has not begged for mercy. He has not equivocated. From the start, he has stated publicly and admitted with pride that he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. And he has declared furthermore that he intends to fight for his right to hold any political views he sees fit and still keep his government job.

Kutcher has determined to make his case the symbol of resistance to the Hitler-like witch-hunts, "loyalty" purges and political blacklists that make a mockery of civil rights and democratic processes in this country.

"I am not fighting this case only for myself," he told reporters last week. "Somebody has to stand up sometime and call a halt to these persecutions. If, by my stand, I can save any veteran or government employee from government persecution in the future, I will consider my fight worthwhile."

Everyone who has respect for a fighter, and a man of principle will applaud these words.

There have been hundreds of government workers fired in the "loyalty" purge because of their political views; but here is the first case where one of them has stood up and said, "Yes, I hold these views. I have a right to hold these views. And the government has no right to fire me because of them."

Thus, the defense of James Kutcher is posed clearly and openly as a defense of fundamental political liberties. As such, it involves the rights of every American citizen, of every working man and woman. It has the profoundest significance for every person who now, or in the future, may differ in political views from the regime in power.

James Kutcher didn't count noses before making his stand. He boldly elected to make his stand on principle even if he stood alone. But he won't stand alone. Already a mass defense movement is spreading throughout the country; a number of prominent labor and liberal leaders are serving on the recently formed Kutcher defense committee.

But this is not enough. The lame-duck politicians, the office commandos and bureaucrats in Washington won't be moved by mere appeals to simple decency. They will be forced to reverse their action in the Kutcher case only by a powerful, organized mass protest.

Above all, it is the duty of the entire labor movement to array itself publicly and aggressively on the side of James Kutcher, to denounce the political persecution against him and thus fight to call a halt to vicious anti-democratic practices that his case symbolizes.

# Trotsky Memorial Meeting in N. Y. Contributes \$753 to SWP Fund



"Somebody has to stand up sometime and call a halt to these persecutions. If, by my stand, I can save any veteran or government employee from government persecution in the future, I will consider my fight worth while." — James Kutcher, at the Aug. 25 Kutcher press conference, Newark, N. J.

## WORKERS FORUM

### Discusses Meaning Of Spy Scare

Editor:

The Congressional spy-scare hearings have as their primary purpose the inflaming of public opinion in order to render more easy the conviction of the Stalinist leaders so that the Smith Gag Law may be used on the morrow against all those opposed to war. The Republicans are also using these hearings to sell themselves as better agents of imperialism than the "inefficient" Democrats; but this is only rivalry within the family which is of secondary importance. With a glow of moral superiority it is being charged that Stalin maintained an espionage system in the United States at the very time that the United States and the Soviet Union were war-time allies. This is undoubtedly true, whether or not the testimony

given at the hearings is true in every detail. But so, undoubtedly, did the Wall Street government, in spite of the statements on both sides of undying friendship and eternal peace after the war.

Spying is, of course, going on in preparation for war. Recently, in reply to a demand by a Senate subcommittee that it be allowed to see the confidential visa files of UN representatives, Secretary of State Marshall replied (N. Y. Herald Tribune, Aug. 14): "Much material in the files has been obtained by our diplomatic and consular establishments abroad from confidential sources which must be protected." The reporter added, "It was learned that the State Department is concerned also with protecting sources within the United States government, and possibly, other governments." So part of the work of United States ambassadors and military attaches abroad is spying. American intelligence, as

well as Russian intelligence, uses tools in foreign governments.

Militant workers will observe with interest the revelations of instability of the Stalinist bureaucracy indicated by the flight of many of its representatives abroad and the disclosures of GPU activity against proletarian revolutionists, such as that made by Miss Bentley when she described the role of Golos played in the murder of Leon Trotsky. However, they will not allow the spy hulla-balloo to divert them from fighting the action of the government against the Communist Party, whatever its bureaucratization and the connections of its tops with the GPU. This action is merely intended to be a plunge through a soft sector of labor in order to out-flank the entire labor movement.

Paul Schapiro  
New York City

### Urges Youth To Join Fight

Editor:

I am young and at this time in my life I feel more keenly, more acutely, and perhaps more accurately than the senior members of this land and generation the stumbling barrier across which no present-day mortal may step without the fear of evoking the indignation of his fellow citizens. This mounting precipice is that of racial and religious intolerance.

We have lost for the present our heritage of freedom and equality which should be so precious to our souls; we have forgotten that which should be the inborn desire of every one of us, the wish and want for our un-realized and unvalued liberty.

Among us are millions of Americans who bear from their birth the stigma of intolerance, they have lost their well-deserved and promised chance of human decency, because we neglected the care of our government and civil laws until we no longer control but are controlled.

I write this not as a member of a down-trodden Negro family or a mocked Jewish family, but as a normal, white, protestant girl, who has been aroused into fury by the insolence, lack of common-knowledge and surplus of self-conceit of the average prosperous American. I want only to assure myself and my generation of the kind of life that may be led in the United States if more of the awakening youth of this country would join forces.

M. E.  
Kansas City, Mo.

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SWP Vice-Presidential candidate

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Tacoma	50	50	100
Milwaukee	400	379	95
St. Louis	50	44	88
Philadelphia	500	425	85
Seattle	600	500	83
West Virginia	100	70	70
Reading	150	95	60
Minnesota	2,000	1,219	60
Cleveland	400	297	59
Flint	400	216	54
New York City	7,500	4,032	54
Newark	750	400	53
Baltimore	50	25	50
Youngstown	800	385	48
Los Angeles	2,500	1,115	45
Pittsburgh	200	80	40
Detroit	1,600	610	38
Chicago	2,000	771	38
Chicago	2,000	771	38
San Francisco-Oakland	1,500	473	31
Toledo	200	57	28
San Diego	50	13	26
Buffalo	1,000	237	23
Boston-Lynn	400	83	21
Connecticut	250	17	8
Akron	400	10	3
General	1,075	82	8
Total thru Sept. 1	\$25,000	\$12,169	48

## Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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 17537, Daily 9 a. m. - 9 p. m., O. Coover St., MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, on sale.

BOSTON—20 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m., Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO—77 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEArborn 4767, Daily except Sun., 11 a. m. - 5 p. m. Library, bookstore.

CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 9:30 p. m., Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. (off Wade Park Ave.).

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-0291, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m.

FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street, Phone 2-2496, Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Pub. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAnkyle 8001.

SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.

WATTS (Mass.)—44 Canton St., Rm. 11, Sat. 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p. m.

MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone BRIdgeway 9645.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781, Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. - 8 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, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p. m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone BIGelow 3-2674, Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and Wed. 10 p. m.

NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl., Phone GR 5-8149.

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BROOKLYN—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU 9-0101.

BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 3-7433.

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OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.

PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-6820. 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.)—For information write P. O. Box 837.

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 8278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.

ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, Forum, Thurs., 7:30-10 p. m.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone GARfield 1137, Open daily, Bookstore.

TOLLEDO—Weekly meetings, every Friday night at 7:30, Kapps Hall, 413 Summit, Room 1, top fl.

YOUNGSTOWN—234 E. Federal St. Phone 3-1355, Wed., Fri., Sat., 7:30 to 4 p. m.

### Fascism in the South

The tour of Henry Wallace through the South has provided one more demonstration of the ripeness of the soil among the Dixiecrats for a fascist movement.

At successive meetings, "hecklers" pelted the presidential candidate of the Progressive Party with eggs, tomatoes, green peppers and other missiles. This "heckling" did not come from the accidental listeners in some audiences who try to interrupt a speaker with an objection. It was organized.

Bands of hoodlums, numbering from a few dozens to several hundred, filtered among the audiences in professional style to initiate the barrages and break up the meetings.

According to members of the Wallace tour, these "hecklers" followed Wallace from city to city.

At Durham, N. C., on Aug. 29, one of the members of the Wallace group, James D. Harris, a Navy veteran, was stabbed twice in the left arm and six times in the back.

The Durham police refused to arrest the knife-wielding assailant, threatening instead to jail the wounded victim.

This follows an ominous pattern. It is the pattern of fascism. Incidents such as these occurring today in the South require only changes of name, place and date to fit into the history of the rise of fascism and nazism.

In Italy and Germany small bands of hoodlums, traveling from town to town in trucks, broke up one meeting after another of working class political parties and the

trade unions. The "heckling" grew more and more violent until stabbings and murders became common incidents.

It is hopeless to appeal to the "better nature" of such hoodlums as Wallace tried to do. They interpret appeals to the American tradition of giving a man a "fair hearing" as a sign of weakness inviting greater violence. They are following a different American tradition—that of the Ku Klux Klan, the tar and feather party and the lynching bee. They understand only one answer and that is a stern and militant defense of democratic rights.

Where there is danger of such bands appearing at a meeting, it is the duty of the labor movement to rally against them. The question of one's agreement or disagreement with the political opinions of the speaker is not involved. The issue is defense of the right to free speech and defense of democracy against the fascist danger.

If the unions organize labor Defense Guards, men trained to handle missile-throwers and knife-wielders at meetings, short stop can be put to these American imitators of the Black Shirts and Brown Shirts of Europe.

The police cannot be depended upon to restrain these elements as the Durham stabbing emphatically shows. Labor must depend upon its own forces to safeguard democratic rights and prevent the easy victories on which a fascist movement feeds.

### Stalinist Emigration

Many people are wondering why the Stalin regime made such a *cause celebre* of the case of the three school teachers who refused to return to Russia; why the Stalinist officials pushed matters to such extremes as to permit the U. S. State Department to create an international scandal for the Kremlin?

Some have explained the utter brutality and cynicism of the Kremlin officials' action by the fact that a totalitarian regime does not understand the niceties and finesses of diplomacy. Something far more fundamental is involved here.

The Kremlin regime is growing increasingly concerned about the foreign emigration, of which the case of the school teachers is simply the latest spectacular example. In the past few years this trickle has grown to a sizable stream. The emigration includes not only professional people and deserting soldiers but goes all the way up to important administrators, consular officials, GPU officers and ambassadors. Stalin fears that a new potential government-in-opposition may be created abroad which at a later stage can

find support among the highly dissatisfied population of Russia.

Every tyranny has produced an emigration. But no regime in modern history has experienced the difficulties of the Kremlin in retaining the loyalty of its governmental staffs. Even the decaying Chiang Kai-shek regime of China, bereft of any popular support, has not had any desertions of its governmental staffs abroad. That is because, despite its decomposition, the Chiang regime represents a definite, stable, historical class—the capitalists and landlords.

The recurrent desertions of high government officials is one of the best demonstrations that the Stalinist bureaucracy is not a new class but a temporary and unstable parasitic formation, hating and fearing the very government of which it is the beneficiary. The frantic efforts of the Kremlin to seal every crevice leading across the borders can solve nothing. The regime lives from hand to mouth in dread of the approaching day of reckoning.

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## A Week in Ohio

By Grace Carlson

Despite the blistering heat we had very fine campaign rallies in Cleveland and Toledo last week. But the most intriguing features of the tour in those cities were the radio interviews—two in each place.

I have had some interesting talks with the interviewers who conduct such programs. Privately, they are somewhat impressed by honest people—maybe they are even a little envious. Radio announcers, who have to reel off one commercial after another all day long, are forced to be fakers. And there is always a big whip held over them! A prominent sign in Toledo's station WTOD tells its announcers "Commercials Pay Your Salary—Do Them Right."

Selling Socialism is a much more satisfying kind of work than selling Taystee Bread or Kiddies Kute Klethes.

Of course it isn't possible to sell the entire Socialist Workers Party program on one of these radio interviews but I get in as much Trotskyism as possible. Perhaps it would be interesting to the Militant readers to know what kind of questions are asked on such a program. I'll just copy the questions off the mimeographed sheet, which the director of station WTOD's "Women's Page of the Air" gave me before the broadcast yesterday. The answers were not written out and, of course, I don't have to give them because all of our readers know what the answers should be.

Announcer: 1. "We have here in the studio with

us today Dr. Grace Carlson, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Vice-President of the United States. Dr. Carlson, I might add, is the only woman running for Vice-President in this election. Have women been chosen to fill the vice-presidential berth in any other election to your knowledge, Dr. Carlson?"

2. "Do you expect to be elected?"

3. "When you're a candidate in a national election, you can vote for yourself, can't you?"

4. "Where were you born?"

5. "Where did you get your doctorate degree and in what subjects?"

6. "When did you first become actively interested in the principles of the Socialist Workers Party?"

7. "Have you encountered any resentment towards having women in positions of prominence in your political party?"

8. "Do you receive a salary from the party?"

9. "How do you manage to make both ends meet?"

10. "In your tours around the country, I imagine you've picked up a great many cooking recipes that are particular favorites in sections. Can you tell us about some?"

And inasmuch as I'm the best cook among all of the vice-presidential candidates (maybe even the presidential candidates) I was able to give Toledo's citizens the recipe for a very good Italian dish, Liver Rocco.

## Tito-Stalin Conflict

By Joseph Hansen

The dispute between Tito and Stalin serves to popularize the fact that the Soviet Union has degenerated and that Stalinist policy represents a complete break with the Leninist tradition.

Lenin and Trotsky based their program on the international solidarity of the working class and depended upon the appeal of reason to unite the laboring people of all lands in the great task of building world Socialism. They went so far in upholding democratic rights as to insist on the right of all races or nationalities to secede from the Soviet Union if they so desired.

As Lenin himself underlined, while "trying to knit the nations closely together" the revolutionary socialist party "does not intend to bring about that consummation by the use of force, but through the free, fraternal union of the laboring masses of all nationalities."

Stalinism, on the contrary, rests on fear of the advance of Socialism and maintains power through the lie, police terror, concentration camps, the firing squad and the assassin's knife.

And like gangsters that are hard-pressed, they are discarding diplomatic pretenses and openly employing threats of murder to those who dare cross them. Thus the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party in a letter to Tito dated March 27, referred to the fate of Leon Trotsky, emphasizing for Tito's benefit: "We believe Trotsky's political career to be sufficiently instructive."

The GPU, with its customary subtlety, is calling Tito's attention to the pick-axe it had driven into Trotsky's skull in 1940.

This was not all. The clincher came on August

23 at an extraordinary Congress of the Trieste Communist Party when Vittorio Vidali, the local Moscow representative, called on "every Communist to contribute to the fight against the Yugoslav leaders." Another Stalinist official in Trieste "clarified" this directive: "Putting it bluntly this means that anyone among us, if he has the chance, should remove Tito."

In rebuttal, Tito has demonstrated his ability to meet the Kremlin debaters on their own ground. Adherents of the Moscow faction in Yugoslavia have been removed from office and also from public view. One general who found the discussion too sharp for comfort in Yugoslavia was brought up short at the border by the strongest argument in the arsenal of Stalinism—a rifle bullet. Tito has done his best to demonstrate his Stalinist orthodoxy.

Nevertheless, the rift between Stalin and Tito is of profound significance to the working class. It shows in the most emphatic way how little freedom Stalinism dares allow those under its domination. It throws a strong light on the instability of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its internal weakness. It can mark the beginning of a new upsurge of the peoples freed from Stalinist influence.

In other words far more is involved than the fight between a big dictator and a little dictator. The struggle initiated by Tito, involving the question of national sovereignty of Yugoslavia, may well become the starting point for new, large-scale regroupments and developments in the international working class movement.

## Stalinist Biology

By Louis T. Gordon

After "correcting" the "errors" made by Soviet writers and musicians, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has stepped into a new field, biology. Many will doubt the qualifications of a Stalin, a Zhdanov or a Molotov to even give opinions on such matters. But no one doubts their ability and readiness to jail biologists who disagree with the Kremlin dispensations.

This time the ukase was on the problem of the relative importance of chromosomes and the rest of the cell in heredity, and the question of heredity of acquired characteristics. For many years this has been the subject of a lively discussion in the USSR. Whereas a number of agronomists hold the theory that the main factors in heredity are the chromosomes, Lysenko, a distinguished plant-breeder, asserts that from the point of view of heredity, there is no difference between the chromosomes and the rest of the cell, and that acquired characteristics can be inherited.

This is a complicated question in biology and the subject of considerable experimentation by scientists throughout the world. It is a problem to be freely decided by scientific workers if science is to advance.

But this is not the procedure in Stalinist Russia. According to Pravda's reports published in the American press, at a conference of the All Union Academy of Agricultural Science which took place in Moscow from July 31 to Aug. 7, Lysenko defeated his opponents and imposed his views.

The conference adopted a resolution calling for the elimination of all traces of the geneticists' theories from Soviet laboratories, universities and schools and the rewriting of all text books to put them in accordance with the Lysenko-Micurin ideas. The pleas of a certain S. I. Alikhanyan that scientists be allowed to proceed in all directions instead of being limited to one school were unavailing.

According to the reports, most participants in the conference backed Lysenko although a small group opposed him vigorously until he announced that his address had been read and approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Then the opposition collapsed.

After the party line was set, two Soviet biologists were fired. Professor Zhebrak, who was a scientific member of the USSR delegation at the UN conference at San Francisco in 1945, sent to Pravda a letter of repentance. "I, as a party member," he wrote, "do not consider it possible for me to retain the views which have been recognized as erroneous by the Central Committee of our party."

As we see, the problem has been "solved" according to the best traditions of Stalinism. Following suit, the Academy of Sciences sent a letter to Stalin in which it promised to "correct its mistakes" and added that the Academy "turns to you, our beloved leader and teacher, with heartfelt Bolshevik greetings and gratitude for the attention and assistance which you, every day, are giving to Soviet scientists. Soviet science is obliged to you for its best attainments."

This sycophancy may please Stalin's inflated ego, but it will not help Soviet science to advance one inch in the right direction. Just as German science suffered because of Nazi interference and totalitarian prejudice, so Soviet science will not fail to suffer because of the monstrous control of the Stalinist dictatorial machine.

## Notes from the News

**HARVESTER STRIKE** — A strike of 24,000 workers belonging to the CIO auto union kept six plants of the International Harvester Co. closed this week. The workers walked out on Aug. 17 after negotiations broke down over the signing of a new contract.

**EXPERTS NOT ALARMED** — AP dispatch from Boston — "Outbacks to a four-day week in New England textile mills are affecting thousands of workers — but experts are not alarmed."

**PROFITS UP** — Net income after taxes of U. S. manufacturing concerns was 2 billion 900 million dollars in the first quarter of 1948, or almost 8% higher than the first quarter of 1947, and 12½% higher than the last quarter of 1947.

**MADAGASCAR MASSACRE** — According to the special correspondent of the De Gaulle paper Carrefour, 90,000 Madagascans have been killed by French colonial troops in an effort to stamp out the rebellion.

**INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM** — The CIO Shipbuilders Union, which already includes smelter workers and railroad shopcrafts has chartered

employees of the YWCA into a new section called United Social Agency Employees.

**PICKETING ILLEGAL** — The Taft-Hartley NLRB refused to reinstate Mary Anderson, a worker fired during a strike against the Dearborn Glass Co. in Chicago, because the board stated she was one of the leaders of 75 to 100 pickets massed at the plant entrance who "intimidated and deterred" employees from entering the plant.

**PICKET DRAFT BOARDS** — Members of the Campaign to Resist Military Segregation, Fellowship of Reconciliation and a number of religious pacifist groups picketed draft boards protesting against peacetime conscription in New York, Boston and Columbus, Ohio. Some of the picket banners read: "Don't Register, Don't Join the Black and White Armies," "The Draft is a Hitler and Stalin Way, Refuse to Register."

**MARRIAGE RUSH** — The marriage business was booming in Brooklyn, N. Y. and an extra police detail had to be rushed to the Municipal Building. Several bridegrooms stated that they had decided to speed up their marriage plans because of Truman's announcement that married men would be deferred from the draft.

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# THE MILITANT

## UAW Progressives Launch New Grouping at Conference



Grace Carlson, candidate for Vice-President of the United States, is shown in Flint with the Michigan candidates of the Socialist Workers Party (left to right): William H. Yancey, candidate for Secretary of State; Grace Carlson; Genora Dollinger, candidate for State Senator and Howard Lerner, candidate for Governor.

## MARITIME UNION EXPELS 3 STALINIST LEADERS

By C. Thomas

NEW YORK, Aug. 31 — Three prominent Stalinist leaders were expelled last night by a general membership meeting of the CIO National Maritime Union on charges of mishandling union funds and misconduct while in office.

The charges, preferred by President Joseph Curran and Treasurer Hedley Stone against ex-Secretary Ferdinand Smith, ex-Vice-President Howard McKenzie and ex-Port Agent Paul Palazzi, were upheld by a trial committee which brought in a recommendation for expulsion. The recommendation was ratified at the membership meeting by a vote of 1,462 to 523.

The charges were based on violations of the NMU Constitution committed by the three top Stalinist officials, particularly in the period preceding the recent general election in which the Communist Party machine was swept from office.

It was in the pre-election period that the internal struggle for control of the union assumed its most violent form. The Stalinists, then in control of the union apparatus, utilized their position to smear the Curran group and advance their own factional interests. In their reckless and untrained bid to retain control they committed flagrant excesses which formed the basis of the charges, trial and expulsion.

**MISHANDLING FUNDS**  
For example, the charge of mishandling funds arose out of a conflict over the use of union funds to finance Stalinist factional activity. On several occasions, when Curran and Stone refused to authorize the disbursement of union funds for what they considered factional purposes, the Stalinist officials diverted dues money collected by the Port Agent and authorized the expenditures. This was a violation of the constitutional provision governing the handling of union funds.

Similarly, the charge of "misconduct" arose out of the factional use made by the Stalinists of the official union paper, NMU Pilot. The most flagrant example was the publication of an unauthorized four page supplement calling for a strike against a court injunction after the recommendation of the National Officers to abide by the temporary restraining order.

The defendants contended the charges were purely "technical" and intended to cloak a campaign of political persecution of members of the Communist Party as a prelude to the intimidation and suppression of all opponents of the present Curran administration. Curran denied, in his rebuttal, any intention of conducting a purge of CP members. He charged the Stalinist cry of "political persecution" was always used to exact special privileges and considerations not granted other members of the union.

**PUBLIC DENIAL**  
Curran has made frequent public denial of any intention to "purge" any member of the union for his political beliefs or affiliations. This constant reiteration is itself an indication of strong opposition in the ranks to any such campaign.

Because of their experience with Stalinist repression, because of the red-baiting pressure upon

FLINT, Mich., Aug. 29—One of the most significant developments in years within the CIO United Auto Workers is signaled by the statewide conference here today of 350 leading UAW members, organized as the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW.

This conference, convened at the call of Richard T. Leonard, former UAW vice-president and now president of Detroit DeSoto Local 227, laid the foundation for a regroupment of the auto militants on a fighting, progressive program.

In its size, composition and program, the conference demonstrated the strong and speedy come-back the progressive forces are making in the UAW since their defeat by the Reutherite-ACTU machine at the UAW convention last fall.

What is especially important is that the new grouping is solidly cemented by a sound program. The conference discussed at length the many problems of the auto workers and developed a militant program of action for union security, against the high cost of living and speed-up, for independent labor political action and for union militancy and democracy.

**NATIONAL CONFERENCE**

A highlight of the program is the call for a nation-wide conference of all trade unions to work out a co-ordinated program of action in defense of the rights and living standards of all labor.

In a forthright stand on labor political action, the Statement of Policy adopted by the conference declares: "We believe that the time is more than ripe for the organized labor movement to establish its own political party based upon the more than 15,000,000 organized workers, which will represent and defend their interests in the state and federal legislatures."

The keynote of the program was the need to revive the militant spirit of '36 and '37 in order to halt the present retreat and enable the labor movement to go forward. Contrasting the advances of the union ten years ago

with the present "far different picture," the Statement of Policy says:

"Many of the gains we had won through great sacrifice and struggle in the last ten years have been wiped out. The improvement in our living standards has gone by the board. The voice of the worker in the shop on matters of production standards and working conditions has been reduced to a whisper."

"The leaders no longer represent themselves as the best fighters in the ranks of the union, but lay claim to the title of labor statesmen. Instead of fighters to improve the lot of the members of our union, they have for the most part become apologists for the bad conditions that exist. Gone is the militant spirit and boldness in the fight against management."

**LABOR STATESMEN**

"The only fire which now burns is directed in jurisdictional raids or in factional maneuvers to further increase the strength of the leadership and to reject the demands of the rank and file. Self-styled labor statesmen such as Walter Reuther and Emil Mazey have two platforms—one is written in militant language designed to get votes at election time. This is quickly forgotten after the elections are over in favor of a slick, safe program of peace at any price with the corporations. This so-called leadership, which has not been able to hold on to our previous gains, cannot lead us to new victories."

The statement severely condemns the UAW top leaders for "picking up and using the red-baiting poison of the employers to smear all union opponents or workers in the ranks who utter expressions of discontent or criticism." The conference pledged to "give our wholehearted sup-

port to defend the democratic rights of individuals, inside or outside the labor movement to adopt any philosophy they believe in."

At the same time the conference called for a clean break with the policies of Stalinism, stating: "However, we do not support and have no sympathy with the policies of the Communist Party. The history of the Communist Party in the UAW shows that its leading figures have repeatedly flaunted those decisions made by our union, because of the ever-changing Communist Party line."

**MANY LOCALS**

Among the many locals represented at the conference were such powerful local unions as Ford Local 600, Dodge 3, Hudson 154, Briggs 212, Budd 306, Tool & Die 155 and 157, all of Detroit; Buick 599 and Chevrolet 659 in Flint; as well as leading locals in Ohio and Canada.

The conference was ably chaired by Leonard, chairman of the newly formed group, and the sessions were permeated with enthusiasm and optimism. Plans were made to carry the fight for the program back into the shops.

## DOBBS-CARLSON TOURS

The following are the next dates of Dobbs' tour:

Sept. 6-8, Chicago  
Sept. 9, en route  
Sept. 10-15, Michigan  
Sept. 16, en route  
Sept. 17-18, Toledo

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

Sept. 5-7, Youngstown  
Sept. 8, en route  
Sept. 9-13, Pittsburgh  
Sept. 14-15, en route  
Sept. 16-20, Buffalo

## SWP Presidential Tour

### Building the Party in Montana

By Farrell Dobbs

PLENTYWOOD, Mont., Aug. 24 — Like coffee in Brazil, there's an awful lot of wheat here in eastern Montana. Harvest time has come, drawing most every able-bodied man into the fields. But not nearly so many men as there used to be.

Horse-drawn binders, bundle racks, shocking crews, spike pitchers, and the old-fashioned separator are almost extinct. They have given way to the combine, tractor, truck and jeep.

Technological development in agriculture, as in industry, has sharply reduced the need for labor power and speeded the growth of monopoly control over the land.

Herein lies the primary cause of the large population shift from the farm to the city reflected in the latest reports of the government census bureau.

Statistics can reveal trends well enough, but they cannot convey an understanding of the human side of things. To get that picture you must travel across hundreds of miles of wheat country as I have just done.

**ABANDONED HOMES**

You will see a host of abandoned homesteads, each telling a mute tale of pioneering courage, grim struggle for existence and final defeat at the hands of predatory monopoly capitalism.

Although homesteads are abandoned, the land is not. Amber fields of grain reach right up to the threshold of what was once the home of a toiling farmer, who dreamed of making a good life for his family.

The homesteader is gone now, and the grain is no longer his. It belongs instead to a bank, insurance company or monopoly farm corporation. It is in the hands of absentee owners who cruise through cool waters in luxurious yachts while underpaid laborers glean the harvest under the hot Montana sun.

What about the small farmers who have managed to hang on? The yield of grain is quite good this year. They appear on the surface to be enjoying a bit of prosperity. But let us look beneath the surface.

The small farmers still owe the banks for old seed loans they were unable to pay off in bad years. They must mechanize their farms if they hope to compete with the invading monopoly farm corporations.

The farmers must pay robber prices to the profiteering capitalist middlemen for goods and machinery produced by the workers, just as the workers must pay exorbitant prices to the profiteering capitalist middlemen for food produced by the farmers.

Neither the farmers nor the workers have much left after the capitalist parasites have taken their cut.

**DEPRESSION DAYS**

Deep-going apprehension of a devastating economic depression is widespread among the farmers. They are uneasy about the danger of a re-

turn to those irrational times under capitalism when a farmer can't buy a sack of milled flour although he lives in the midst of a sea of wheat. They still carry the memories and bear the scars of the starchy, low-calorie diet of the 1930's.

Yet another fear is gnawing at the hearts of the farmers. Next week their sons must register for the conscript army of World War III. Like the mothers and fathers in the cities, they don't want another slaughter of humanity. They want to live at peace with the world.

These are the people among whom the Party has sent Henry Schultz to work as the SWP campaign director for the Rocky Mountain region.

Comrade Schultz has traveled by auto through more than 8,000 miles of great plains and mountain country, inspiring the comrades to action, winning support from sympathizers in the campaign to put the SWP on the ballot.

He is with me here in Plentywood, having just come from Utah and Colorado where the petition work has been completed and final steps for filing are now being taken.

We have met with the Plentywood comrades to plan a September state convention to put the Party on the ballot in Montana. It is fitting that the action should be initiated here in Sheridan County.

**SOCIALIST SHERIFF**

Sheridan County was known 20 years ago as the "red county of America." Its fame is the fame of Rodney Salisbury who fell before the grim reaper in 1938.

Comrade Salisbury was to my knowledge the only revolutionary sheriff ever to hold office in America. What a sheriff he was!

On the wall of his office hung enlarged portraits of Lenin and Trotsky. He kept the jailhouse door standing wide open. Inside was a huge poster which read, "Free Tom Mooney." The jail served as a hotel for workers who needed a bed for the night.

When Comrade Salisbury ran for re-election, itinerant workers chanted the slogan, "Salisbury for Sheriff," on box cars and railroad water tanks from Fargo to Seattle.

Rodney Salisbury homesteaded in Montana during the hard days. He knew from experience the life of an industrial worker. He was equally at home and equally well known among Butte copper miners and Plentywood wheat farmers. His name is today legendary among the old revolutionary militants of the West.

**SEASONED FIGHTERS**

Here in Plentywood we have a group of seasoned working class fighters who received their training under Rodney Salisbury's leadership.

They will take the initiative in the campaign to put the SWP ticket on the ballot so the wheat farmers of eastern Montana and the copper miners of western Montana can have a chance to vote for Socialism.

I confidently predict that the election campaign will make the Socialist Workers Party widely known and will win us many more members and sympathizers throughout the entire Rocky Mountain region.