

Vote for Working Class Candidates! Vote for Dobbs and Carlson!

LEWIS'S SOLIDARITY
WITH FRENCH MINERS

— See Page 3 —

Vol. XII — No. 44

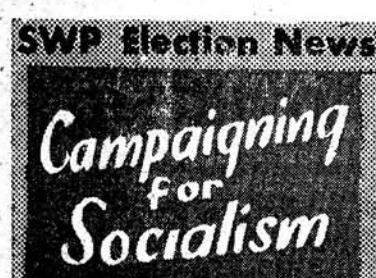
Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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

PRICE: FIVE CENTS



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 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 obsequity 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 bailiwicks.

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

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 nation-wide 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.

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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. lest 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 now 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.

In case of such fascist-like procedure on the part of Attorney-General Clark, how can either Kutcher or the party he belongs to defend themselves against the secret charges, the secret prosecuting attorney, the secret jury and the secret judge?

How widespread the anger is over the firing of Kutcher can be judged from a sample clipping received by The Militant. On Oct. 6 the Louisville, Kentucky Times published a letter from a reader protesting the failure of the paper to publish the story about Kutcher. The reader, J. E. Ballard, gives the gist of the case, telling how Kutcher lost both legs at San Pietro, Italy, and was then fired "not because of any specific act of 'disloyalty' but because of his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party."

Mr. Ballard adds: "It is sad that his 'loyalty' was not investigated before he was sent to San Pietro because now he would have the legs he lost fighting for freedom. The least our local newspapers can do is to publish the outcome of his hearing."

In 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 Kutcher innocent until proved guilty, Clark has reversed matters, leaving it up to this legless veteran to try to prove his innocence.

What happened to the traditional right of an American citizen to be considered innocent until proved guilty — this right that has ruled legal proceedings since the founding of America? Gone, apparently, with the wind of reaction and thought-control that is a component part of the bi-partisan war program.

But even under this new and dictatorial legal procedure how is Kutcher or the Socialist Workers Party to prove their innocence if they are not granted a hearing? It was Clark who listed the Socialist Workers Party as "subversive" without a hearing. It was Clark who denied the demand of the Socialist Workers Party for a hearing. It was Clark who ignored Kutcher's demand that the party he belongs to be given a hearing.

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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 history 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 realizable 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.

SNEERS 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. It 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 he 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 capitalist war.

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.

Contra la Corriente, newspaper

of the SWP, has reported that the demoralize and derail the working class movement and are thus crimes against socialism and the working class.

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—

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 "socialist." 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,

of the Revolutionary Workers League of Uruguay: "The speeches of Cannon, National Secretary,

and of the candidates of the SWP for the Presidential elections, comrades Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, broadcast

three times over the radio, calling for a Workers and Farmers Government as reply to the plans of the Wall Street war-makers, were genuine speeches of revolutionary agitation. The reaction to the radio speeches has demonstrated the great latent resentment among the American people against the capitalists of Wall Street.

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 re-

ported 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 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 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."

SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SUB

THE MILITANT

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

15

weeks

25

cents

- Special 15-week subscription 25¢
- Regular 6-month " 50¢
- Regular 1-year " \$1.00

Name
Address
City
State Zone



PITTSBURGH

Sunday Forums at 4 P. M.

Nov. 7: Analysis of

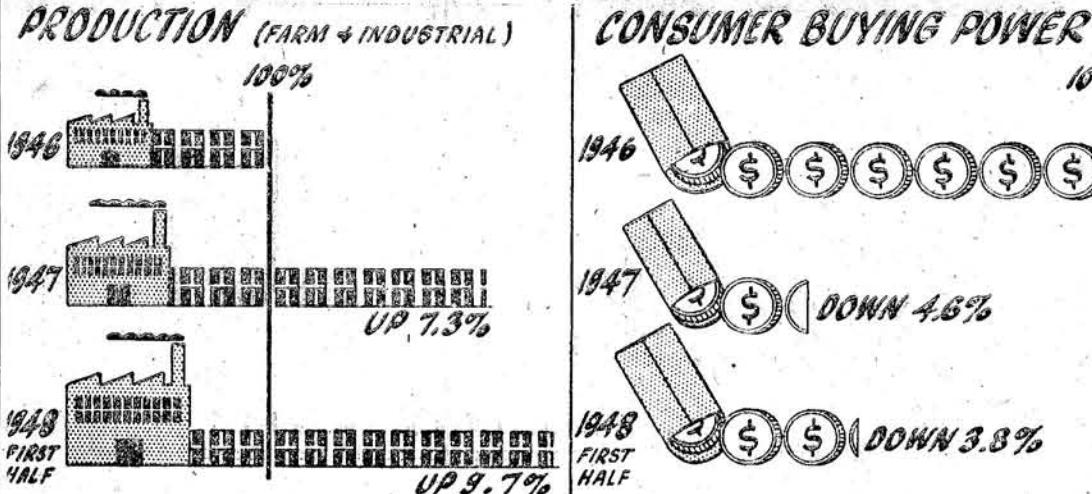
Presidential Elections

Speaker:

Frank Roberts

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

1418 Fifth Avenue, 2nd floor



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

Our Fight for Socialism Will Go On, Says Dobbs

(Continued from page 1)

quered the fortresses of monopoly capitalism, planting the banner of industrial unionism inside the factory gates.

The Socialist Workers Party—the Party of American Trotskyism—is built on the lines of this heroic tradition. We represent the present interest and the future hope of the American working class. Our program alone can give guidance to the struggle against Big Business dictatorship, war and poverty.

The Socialist Workers Party scorns the plan of union leaders to reform the Democratic Party. Like a company union, it cannot be reformed. Nor can there be a new progressive capitalist party any more than there can be a progressive company union. We will not compromise on the principle of working class political independence.

The Socialist Workers Party denounces the leaders of the Communist Party for betraying the interests of the working people to protect the privileges of the Stalinist rulers in the Kremlin. Changing with every wind from Moscow, Stalinism has forfeited leadership of the struggle for the emancipation of labor. We have no interests separate and apart from the working people. We have never faltered nor deviated from our aim to establish a Workers and Farmers Government as the transition to socialism in America and throughout the world.

The Socialist Workers Party 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 is too capitalist a party—the same old corruption disguised by brave words and radical promises.

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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 dictatorships. 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

TROTSKY

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

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.

ALLENTEW HITS 122%

Allentown, 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 promises 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 crossed

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	64	128
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
Seattle	600	500	83
San Diego	50	41	82
Youngstown	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



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 Kutcher Civil Rights Committee; Legislative Director of CIO Teachers Union Rose V. Russell and Dr. Harlow Shapley, Director of the Harvard Observatory.

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 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 having once contributed \$6 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.

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.

Here were real Marxist arguments from a couple of American working stiffs in unequivocal answer to the opportunism of a Stalinist dupe.

You can't fool the seamen on such questions.

E. S.
New York

Text of Lewis Letter Asking Support for French Miners

The following is the text of the Oct. 27 letter of John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers, to AFL President William Green in support of the striking French miners:

You are supporting Truman. I assume you have his ear. Just as one miner to another, why do you not have him stop the shooting of French coal miners who are hungry?

Truman controls the money bags of the Marshall Plan, upon which the tottering French Government subsists.

You and I are anti-Communistic. As Americans we each abhor the cast-iron and oriental philosophy of communism. Each of us knows that oppression and hunger beget communism. Each of us knows that freedom and fair treatment are the only antidote to communism.

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.

To a normal, thinking individual, it is nauseous to witness the shooting of coal miners because they are hungry. Truman could aid humanity and perhaps do himself a good turn by using some of the vast power in his hands in the control of the Marshall Fund by requiring the French Government to abandon its police-state methods and cease making war on its own citizens who are coal miners, at the expense of the American tax payers.

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

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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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BOSTON—Workers Center, 30 St. Street, Mon. 5:30-9:30 p. m. Wed. 7-10 p. m.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 62 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3860. Every afternoon except Sun.

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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 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—very young—draftee, 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 draftees 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

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. In 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

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 begrimed 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' annual 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, Murrays 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 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 mislead 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 Lilienthal 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.

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.

Federated Pictures

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 strike's 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.

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

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

the workers 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."

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. Foiste, 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 Foiste answered, "In no wise." He was then encouraged to use the "hearings" as a rostrum to denounce the strike. Foiste 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."

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.

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 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 apprised 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 shipowners 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."

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 "Aycoc."

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 warns 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

Vote for

DOBBS and CARLSON

On ballot as Militant Workers Party

FIFTH ROW ON BALLOT