

ONE YEAR OF THE
TAFT-HARTLEY LAW

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THE MILITANT

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FARRELL DOBBS

GRACE CARLSON

Labor Day Message of Dobbs - Carlson

By FARRELL DOBBS and GRACE CARLSON
Nominees for President and Vice-President

We take the occasion of this Labor Day to address ourselves to the mighty host of Organized Labor on the most crucial problem before it — political action.

Every Labor Day message of union papers and leaders stresses political action. But you will study these statements in vain for any new and vital political program that will inspire and mobilize the workers.

We read your statement, William Green, telling us in vivid detail of the reactionary crimes of the 80th Congress and sounding the keynote: "USE YOUR VOTE!" Use it for whom or what? You don't say. It seems you and the other top AFL leaders are torn between Truman, the greatest presidential strikebreaker in U.S. history, and Dewey, banner-bearer of the Republican Party of Taft-Hartleyism and Standard Oil.

A Shamefaced Endorsement

As for you of the CIO leadership — Murray, Reuther, Rieve and your colleagues — it is an open secret that you are preparing to make a belated and shamefaced endorsement of Truman — the man you said you wouldn't touch with a ten-foot pole less than two months ago. You are planning to thrust Truman and the Democratic Party down the throats of the unwilling rank and file.

On Labor Day in Cadillac Square, Detroit — which in the past has rung to the march of hundreds of thousands in militant demonstrations — the workers of the CIO and AFL have been summoned by leaders like Walter Reuther and Frank X. Martell to assemble together and pay tribute to Truman.

We say that you union leaders — CIO and AFL — befool every progressive tradition of organized labor when you dare to present "Injunction" Harry Truman to the workers of Detroit and America as a "friend of labor." But you must go through with this shameful spectacle, because you have nothing else to offer. You are bankrupts.

A Blind Alley

Your kind of politics has led labor into a blind alley. Your short-sighted and cowardly refusal to lead the workers to the building of their own party is the reason for the 80th Congress and its Taft-Hartley Law — yes, and for the 79th and 78th and 77th Congresses which laid the basis for the notorious record of their successor. You have deliberately disarmed the workers politically before their enemies.

United Combat

But you do not reflect the real sentiments of those you profess to represent. Their true feelings are embodied in the appeal of the AFL International Typographical Union convention to all the unions to convene together in Washington for a National Emergency Congress of Labor to unitedly combat the wave of injunctions and the Taft-Hartley Law.

We hail the members and leaders of the ITU who have sponsored this great, unifying program. We go further and say that such a Congress of Labor — which we have long urged — provides the necessary and sure instrument not only for united labor struggle against the Taft-Hartley Slave Law but for the launching of labor's own party.

Vote for Dobbs-Carlson

As the only presidential and vice-presidential candidates who stand for genuine independent labor political action and for the building of labor's own party, we ask the support and vote of the American workers as the best way to show your desire for a party and program free from all capitalist influence.

War-Crippled Veteran Fights Discharge in 'Loyalty' Purge

A Fighter for the Working Class

National Campaign Launched In Defense of James Kutcher

NEWARK, Aug. 25 — An enraged public opinion is gathering in support of James Kutcher, legless Newark veteran threatened with dismissal from his position with the Veteran's Administration because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Labor and veteran's organizations have announced their determination to fight this police state "loyalty" edict to the limit.

The threatened firing of Kutcher is the most outrageous incident highlighting the star-chamber witchhunting procedure instituted by President Truman and his Department of Justice. The notice to Kutcher of pending dismissal is based on Truman's Executive Order which denies federal employment to those who belong to organizations listed as "subversive" by the Attorney General.

In his answer to the loyalty board Kutcher stigmatizes the government for using the "worst practices employed by police states." He says that the SWP demanded that he be removed from the blacklist. While rejecting the demand for a hearing, the administration is resorting to "punitive and discriminatory methods against members of the Socialist Workers Party."

AFFIRMS MEMBERSHIP

Unlike many who have recently been prosecuted for their views or affiliations, Kutcher boldly and "proudly affirms membership in the Socialist Workers Party."

"I make no secret of my views or those of the Socialist Workers Party. . . I believe that Socialism is the only system that can bring humanity peace or freedom. . . whether employed by the government or not, I propose to vote for Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson next November."

In response to charges of being subversive, Kutcher declared "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."

More the accuser than the accused, Kutcher hurls a charge of political persecution against the government inquirers which will ring from one corner of the country to the other among the millions of veterans and working people.

"My draft board," he says, "did not ask me about my political views or the party to which I belonged; they drafted me. . . 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 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."

UNCONSTITUTIONAL

In concluding his statement Kutcher brands the entire procedure involved in these hearings as "illegal and unconstitutional." He insists that they be open to the press and the public because the issue "concerns the American people as a whole." He warns his persecutors that he will not restrict his defense to the "channels provided by the government."

The support being promised by leading CIO officials to the Kutcher Defense indicates a growing awareness in trade union circles that the loyalty inquisitions are not confined to government employment. Readers of The Mil-

A Biography —
"The Story of a Fighter for the Working Class"
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tant are acquainted with recent firings at the Philadelphia Westinghouse plant a month ago. Here militants were fired from private employment on orders from the U. S. Navy because it alleged they belonged to or supported organizations supposed to be "subversive." An aroused local union forced their rehiring.

At the press conference, reported on page 2 in this issue, George Novack of the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced that a nation-wide committee is now being formed to defend the civil rights of James Kutcher.

SWP Calls on Pres. Truman To Scrap Political Blacklist

The Aug. 2 Militant carried a letter of Farrell Dobbs to Attorney General Clark challenging his issuance of a "subversive" blacklist and demanding on behalf of the SWP a public hearing. We are printing here the reply of the Attorney General's office and Dobbs' letter to President Truman on this issue.

AMC:RPW:DJ

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Washington 25, D. C.

August 16, 1948

Mr. Farrell Dobbs
Socialist Workers Party
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Dobbs:

This is in reply to your letter of July 29, 1948, to the Attorney General, demanding a statement of charges and public hearing with respect to the designation of your organization as within Executive Order 9835.

In the absence of provision therefor in the Executive Order, the Department does not contemplate holding hearings in such matters, with or without specifications or charges. It will be glad, however, to receive and consider any statement or material which any designated organization desires to submit relevant to the factual or legal validity of such designation.

Respectfully,
For the Attorney General
(Signed) Alex Campbell
Assistant Attorney General

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

August 26, 1948

President Harry S. Truman
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

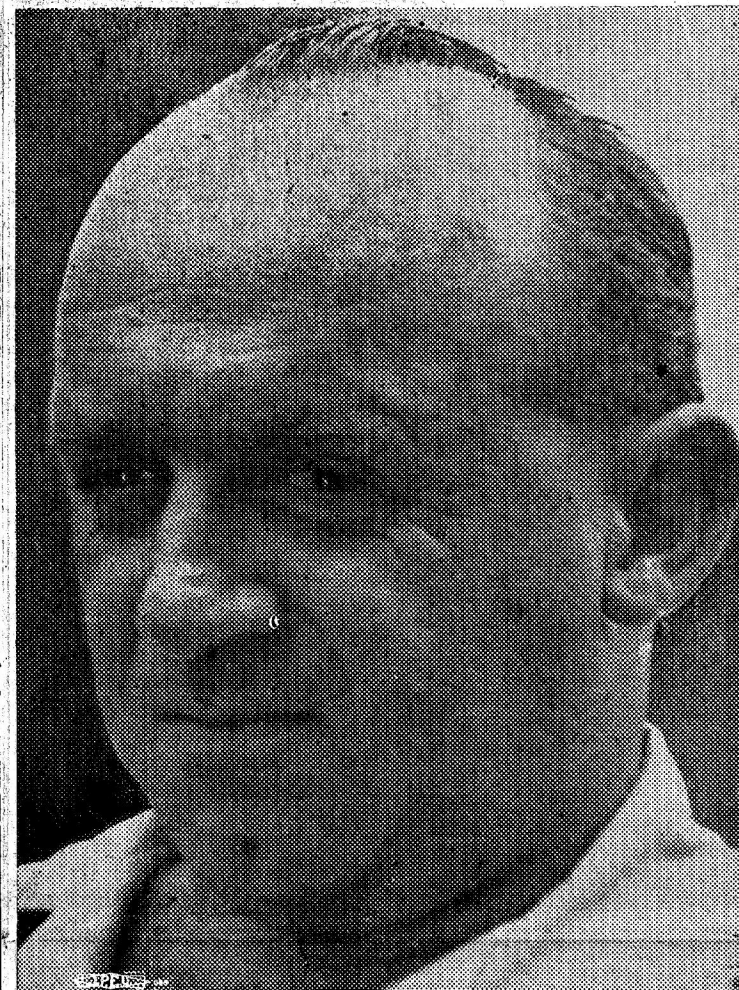
On July 28 I addressed a letter to Attorney General Tom Clark protesting the inclusion of the Socialist Workers Party on the "subversive" blacklist compiled by the Department of Justice. I demanded in that letter that the Attorney General schedule a public hearing for which we would be given a bill of particulars by the Department of Justice and at which we would be permitted to present witnesses and submit relevant evidence.

After almost three weeks of waiting, I received a reply from Mr. Alexander M. Campbell, Assistant Attorney General, rejecting our request for such hearings in your Executive Order 9835. The only avenue of redress which Mr. Campbell most generously offered us is the submission of a statement or material "relevant to the factual or legal validity" of designating our organization as "subversive."

Acting on the basis of the blacklisting of the Socialist Workers Party by the Department of Justice, members and friends of my party are being victimized by federal officials and departments and deprived of their employment and means of livelihood.

The latest and most outrageous case of injustice by the Federal Government is the discharge of Mr. James Kutcher of Newark, N. J., from his job with the Veterans Administration.

(Continued on page 2)



JAMES KUTCHER

CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS BACK PARDON FOR THE 18

The Civil Rights Defense Committee has issued a national appeal to the hundreds of organizations that came to the aid of the 18 Socialist Workers Party members imprisoned during the war under the Smith "Gag" Act, to support the campaign to secure a full presidential pardon and restoration of civil rights for the 18.

Among the signers of the appeal are Roger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union Director; August Scholle, president of the Michigan State CIO Council; Willard S. Townsend, president of the CIO United Transport Service Employees; Irving Abram-

son, CIO Eastern Regional Director; John Dewey, eminent philosopher and educator; and Norman Thomas, Socialist Party presidential candidate.

The letter recalls the support given the 18 SWP and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544 — CIO leaders "who served 12 to 16 months prison terms solely because of their political views and union activities" and states they "should no longer be penalized by their unjust conviction under a vicious law." It urges all labor and liberal organizations to send resolutions to Truman demanding the pardons and to contribute to the Minneapolis Case Pardon Fund of the CRDC, 19 W. 10th St., New York 11, N. Y.

ITU Calls for Congress of Labor

In an inspiring pre-Labor Day appeal to the American union movement, the embattled AFL International Typographical Union has called for a National Emergency Congress of Labor in Washington to fight government-by-injunction and the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act. Adoption of a resolution with this appeal, introduced by the delegates of the striking Chicago local, was a highlight of the ITU's 90th Convention, held in Milwaukee, Aug. 16-21.

Reflecting the fighting mood of the union which has been spearheading the struggle against the Taft-Hartley Law, the delegates gave an overwhelming vote of confidence to President Woodruff Randolph and the Executive Council for their militant policy.

They decisively defeated the resolution of a small reactionary anti-administration group that would have compelled the ITU officers to sign the Taft-Hartley "yellow dog" affidavits. They instructed the ITU leaders to continue the bitter strikes in Chicago and elsewhere in defense of the union's traditional contractual relations.

The ITU's call for a National Emergency Congress of Labor

comes as the first positive and sound proposal for unified action against the Slave Labor Law to be voiced by an influential national union. From the start of the post-war anti-union drive, The Militant has repeatedly urged the calling of such a Congress of Labor. It is gratifying that the oldest union in the country—a union which deserves the commendation of all labor for its uncompromising battle against the Taft-Hartley Act—has now taken the lead in projecting this united action program.

In its resolution, the ITU calls upon "the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers, International Association of Machinists and other independent unions to convene a National Emergency Congress in Washington for the purpose of working out joint plans to combat anti-union injunctions and all other attacks by the present NLRB, as well as a concerted campaign for the repeal of the vicious (Taft-Hartley) law itself."

This resolution is to be issued as an "open appeal" to "all trade union bodies" and the ITU delegate to the AFL convention is "instructed to introduce proposals in conformity with this resolution."

COMBINED ACTION
It is clear from this and other progressive actions taken by the ITU convention that a year of bitter battle to preserve their union has taught the printers the necessity for combined action of all labor if the Taft-Hartley Act is to be erased.

The militancy and progressive sentiment that pervaded the ITU convention is particularly significant because it is an old-line craft union, steeped in traditional conservatism.

President Randolph, who was the main target of attack of the opposition, made a powerful defense of the policy his administration had pursued and proposed to continue.

"The idea of having to have the stamp of government approval upon a group of workers before they can bargain collectively is a mistaken idea," said Randolph. "The laws of the Board itself have provided no such restrictions. In fact, you have a perfect right to strike to make the employer bargain with you whether you have been certified or not, and if you don't have enough economic strength to

strike for that reason you haven't enough to get any wages either. . .

"We do not have to beg for the right to organize and bargain collectively now, any more than we have had to beg for them for a hundred years. The same factor determines whether or not working people of this country are going to get a fair living as has determined that point in the past, and that factor is the ability to withhold your labor long enough to get a fair break.

"Eliminate that possibility and you are not engaged in collective bargaining at all; you are engaged in collective begging."

The convention voted to continue the practical sacrifices all ITU members have been making to finance the Chicago and other strikes, including a 5% defense fund assessment which provides payment of 60% of weekly wages to married strikers and 40% to single for the duration of any walkout. Through this fund, the Chicago strike and the Nassau County, N. Y., strikes have been maintained for over nine months.

A significant sign of the progressive attitude of the convention was its adoption of a strong resolution against "the wave of oppressive acts, such as the Taft-

Hartley Law, loyalty tests, government witch-hunt committees" which have caused "increased discrimination because of race, religion or political beliefs." The resolution reiterated "our determination to help preserve and extend the traditional rights of labor and of the common people, and we strongly condemn any type of discrimination based on race, religion or political beliefs."

FULL DEMOCRACY

This resolution and the freedom from red-baiting were in refreshing contrast to recent conventions of other unions. The minority—in this case reactionary —was accorded full democratic rights to state its position on all questions. A proposal to bar Reese J. Highfield, an opposition delegate from Akron who had testified for the government in an NLRB hearing against the ITU, was ruled out on the grounds that he had been duly elected by his membership to represent them. The convention, however, voted him a public censure for his conduct.

The ITU has been taught by its fight of the past year to broaden its viewpoint on organizational structure. The delegates voted down, 274 to 60, an "In-

dependent Party" resolution to limit membership to "practical printers." Instead, they voted to broaden the base of membership to include all workers in the printing industry except those, like the pressmen, under the jurisdiction of other established unions. New members will include varitypers, teletypers, proofreaders and operators of any new processes.

This is a big step in the direction of industrial organization and undoubtedly will encourage the wide-spread sentiment growing in the printing trades for one industrial union. This sentiment has been strengthened by the shameful spectacle of other union members in the printing trades continuing to work in the shops struck by the ITU. Another resolution provides, for the first time, for chain-wide collective bargaining where a group of papers in different cities are owned by a single publisher.

The convention recorded that the ITU's year-long fight has already won hundreds of new contracts in conformity with the ITU wage and union security policies. While the convention was in session, it received the cheering news that the Philadelphia newspapers had signed.

Political Action Record of CIO and AFL Leaders

By Art Preis

Murray, Green, Reuther, Whitney, Kroll and the other national trade union leaders are continuing to scold the workers for not registering to vote and blaming the rank and file for labor's weak political position. The question that the top union leaders have to answer is why, after more than a dozen years of the most intense labor political activity this country has ever known, large sections of the American workers have become so disgusted with the kind of politics and candidates offered them that they won't even bother to go to the polls.

We can dismiss as mere slander the usual explanation of the union bureaucrats that the workers are "just too dumb" to know what's good for them or "just too lazy to get down to the polls." That's a cover-up for the real reason: The deceptive and misleading political policies of the union leaders from the New Deal period to the present day.

From the very inception of the CIO, in the very midst of Roosevelt's first term, strong sentiment for independent labor political action existed in the newly-organized union ranks. Workers who understood the need for labor's independent organization and action in the economic field began to feel the equal need for labor's independence in the political field. Big grievances were being built up against the Roosevelt administration, because the workers were forced to fight pitched battles for the promised rights of collective bargaining.

LEWIS AND STALINISTS

Taking cognizance of this sentiment, John L. Lewis, then lead-

er of the CIO, and the Stalinists with whom he at that time collaborated, established Labor's Non-Partisan League. The LNPL was represented as the answer to the workers' demands. Unfortunately, the workers did not have the practical experience in the political field that they had in the economic field and were unprepared to cope with the trickery of the LNPL policy.

In actuality, the LNPL was designed to channelize the political action of the workers back into the old muddy stream of capitalist politics and support of the Democratic machine and Roosevelt.

The LNPL provided the formula and technique that the union leaders have used to this day to give the workers the impression that they are engaging in independent labor politics, while in reality they are still tied to the old capitalist political machines. The unions maintain their own electioneering organizations; but these are subverted to the support of the Democrats and Republicans.

In New York state, Lewis, Dubinsky, Hillman and the Stalinists had to carry the deception a step further. They actually had to set up a new party, the American Labor Party, in 1936. A large and influential section of the New York workers were Socialists and Communists, brought up in the tradition of opposition to the boss parties. Some of the largest unions, like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers, were traditionally on record for a Labor Party.

If the New York workers would not vote for the Democratic or

Republican tickets, they were told to vote for the Democratic or Republican candidates on the ALP ticket!

THE PAY-OFF

By 1937 came the pay-off for this policy of coralling labor's votes for Roosevelt through the LNPL and ALP. Roosevelt stabbed the Little Steel Strike with his "plague on both your houses" declaration. Democratic governors in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Michigan sent troops out to break the steel strike. Mayor Kelly of Chicago, a loyal henchman of Roosevelt, perpetrated the Memorial Day massacre. Boss Hague of Jersey City, another ardent Rooseveltian, hounded and banned CIO meetings.

At the 1938 convention of the Mine Workers, Lewis had to state that the Roosevelt administration, elected with labor's money and votes, had not given the workers a thing in the past two years. By 1940, Lewis's break with Roosevelt was irrevocable. But tied to capitalist politics, he could only turn back to the Republicans whom labor had repudiated decisively eight years before.

From 1936 to 1942, there was a continuous decline in workers' votes and a continuous shift of lower-middle class votes to the Republicans. Offered no way out of the capitalist two-party blind alley, the voters stayed away from the polls or followed the futile course of voting for the "outs" just to get rid of the "ins."

By the time the 1942 Congressional elections were approaching, it became clear that the pro-Democratic labor lieutenants

could not deliver the labor vote directly through the discredited Democratic Party. Then the CIO leaders, with Sidney Hillman in the lead, projected the CIO Political Action Committee, which was nothing but a dressed-up version of the old LNPL.

The immediate reward of the workers for their support of the Democrats through CIO-PAC was such legislation as the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law.

79th CONGRESS

The Democratic-controlled 79th Congress, elected by PAC votes, proceeded under the Truman post-war administration to enact one reactionary law after another. It cut the heart out of rent and price control, repealed excess profits taxes. Only the action of the Republicans in the Senate prevented final passage of Truman's "draft strikers" law, passed by the House with but 13 votes opposed.

By the time the November 1946 elections rolled around, Murray was complaining bitterly that Congress — the Democratic Congress — had not passed a single piece of progressive legislation "in nine years." But still the CIO-PAC tried to mislead the workers "once more into voting for Democratic 'friends of labor.'"

The workers would not respond. Many "sat on their hands" — because they could not in good conscience vote for either the Democrats or the Republicans. The Republicans, for the first time in 14 years, secured a majority in Congress. In alliance with a large section of Democrats, they proceeded to complete the job of anti-labor legislation and hand-outs to Big Business already well started by their Democratic predecessors.

Today, the sentiment in labor's ranks for genuine independent labor political action, through the formation of labor's own party and a complete break with capitalist politics, is again running strong. This is reflected indirectly by the large support that Wallace's Progressive Party is mustering.

In this crucial hour and with the golden opportunity afforded by the decomposition of the Democratic Party, the CIO and AFL top leaders offer no way out, to the workers. They are trying to work the old skin game of using CIO-PAC, and possibly the AFL's New Labor's Educational and Political League, to rehabilitate the Democratic Party and line up the votes for Truman — Truman who has broken more strikes than any president in U.S. history.

NEW LEADERS NEEDED

In 1934 and 1935, the workers learned that they could not achieve their dream of industrial organization through leaders like Coleman Claherty and Frances Dillon, imposed on the rubber and auto workers by the AFL craft moguls. They had to kick out these leaders and finally break from the stranglehold of the AFL bureaucracy, in order to make their great historic leap forward

and build a modern industrial union movement.

Today, they are learning that their present conservative leaders, tied to the capitalist government and the old boss parties, are a brake upon the further progress of labor in its next great move

forward, the building of labor's own party. These leaders will have to be repudiated and replaced by a new, more courageous and far-seeing leadership in order to clear the way for labor's political advancement.

SWP Calls on Pres. Truman To Scrap Political Blacklist

(Continued from page 1)

tion. Mr. Kutcher is a Purple Heart veteran who served four and one-half years in the recent war. Both his legs were amputated as the result of injuries sustained in action with the U. S. Infantry on the Italian front. Mr. Kutcher's "crime," according to the Loyalty Board of the Veterans Administration, is membership in the Socialist Workers Party, a fact which he does not deny but openly admits and defends.

Mr. President, these are the methods of a police state which you have vehemently condemned as President of the United States and as candidate for that office. All of the constitutional safeguards and traditional democratic procedures which have maintained the innocence of a person until proved guilty, which deny "guilt by association," which provide for trial by a jury of one's peers, the examination of charges and the introduction of evidence, the presentation and the cross-examination of witnesses — all of these, despite manifold assurances to the contrary, are being ground to bits by your executive orders and their administration by your Department of Justice.

This tendency of your government towards the institution of thought control and the use of police state methods is clearly demonstrated in the treatment of our party. The following is the sequence of the arbitrary procedures borrowed from the practices of dictatorships and utterly alien to any system of democracy:

1. Your Department of Justice placed the Socialist Workers Party on the "subversive" blacklist without prior notification to our party, without a hearing and without any specification of the grounds for such an action.

2. While we were awaiting an answer from your Attorney General to our demand for a hearing, in which we were prepared to demonstrate the injustice of listing the Socialist Workers Party as "subversive," federal departments have been using the listing to deprive our members of their livelihood.

3. In violation of the promise made by the Attorney General to Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, to extend a hearing to any organization challenging its blacklisting, the Department of Justice has denied us such a hearing. I am enclosing all the relevant documentation.

It would obviously be fruitless for us to pursue this matter further with the Department of Justice or with any other federal department since they all claim their powers are limited by your Executive Orders. They have placed responsibility upon you as President of the United States and have indicated by implication that you remain the only court of redress in the government.

I demand, Mr. President, that you take steps to quash the Department of Justice "subversive" blacklisting as it is clearly unconstitutional and in violation of the Bill of Rights. In line with this you must issue orders to all departments and agencies of the federal government to immediately cease and desist from removing government employees on the basis of this blacklist.

As a first step in this direction I am demanding that you remove the Socialist Workers Party organization immediately from the Department of Justice "subversive" blacklist since there is apparently insufficient or inconclusive evidence which cannot be made known or tested in a public hearing or in an open trial.

If you have any doubts on this score, Mr. President, you have ample power as Chief Executive to modify your executive order to permit a public hearing, to provide us in advance with a detailed presentation of all charges against our party, and to provide for the presentation of witnesses and all necessary evidence by the defense in the hearing.

This is the least you can do, Mr. President, in the interest of upholding and protecting the civil rights you so often refer to. Anything less will prove that the principles of fascism are gaining a foothold in the highest circles of the U. S. government.

I await your early reply.

Very truly yours,

FARRELL DOBBS
Socialist Workers Party

CIO, Veterans Leaders Pledge Aid to Kutcher

NEWARK, Aug. 25 — "I am not fighting this case only for myself. Somebody has to stand up sometime and call a halt to these persecutions. If, by my stand, I can save any veteran or government employe from government persecution in the future I will consider my fight worth while."

This is how James Kutcher summed up the aims of his struggle for civil rights at a well-attended press conference held at the Robert Treat Hotel this afternoon. In addition to reporters and photographers from the Newark papers and the metropolitan New York press, the labor movement was represented by Ewald Sandler, CIO Regional Director in New Jersey and National CIO representative. Carl Holderman and Peter Flynn, respectively President and Secretary-Treasurer of the New Jersey State CIO.

In a quiet but firm manner, Jimmy told the story of his life, his record in the army and gave

some details about his employment with the Veterans Administration. He told about how he had received a "Very Good" report in the annual Efficiency Rating made by the V.A. only a month before he received his discharge notice.

Holderman has recently been given the CIO award for the best work in defense of civil rights in the past year. He vigorously denounced the witchhunting carried on by the government.

The State CIO President told the press that he did not agree with the view of the party to which James Kutcher belongs. "But," he said, "I do agree that there is a great danger to democratic rights involved in the prosecution of individuals who hold such views. Regardless of politics," he concluded, "our state CIO and I as its president will give full support to James Kutcher and to the rescinding of the Executive Order."

Holderman was fully supported by Sandler who said he was cer-

tain that the National CIO would "repudiate this vicious persecution and give full support to the defense of James Kutcher."

A high point of the conference was the testimony of Reverend John R. Daniels, a Congregational Minister from Union, New Jersey, the Chaplain of the Newark Chapter of the AVC and a member of the Disabled War Veterans. Jimmy, he said was the best liked man in the chapter, a loyal member of the AVC. He called on all veterans to rally in his defense. It is an act of courage for Jimmy to climb three flights of stairs to attend AVC meetings regularly, the Chaplain said, adding "I have never in my life met a person who was more of an idealist than Jimmy."

**Support the
Dobbs-Carlson
Fund!**

The Story of a Fighter for the Working Class

James Kutcher is a Purple Heart veteran. He was decorated after the fighting near San Pietro, Italy, where he lost both his legs. He is one of the few survivors of the famed Third Division which suffered the heaviest casualties of all American divisions in World War II. In one of the first contingents drafted in Newark, he saw active service in the North African, Sicilian and Italian campaigns, spending four years and eight months in the Army before his discharge in 1945. He is a member of the American Veterans Committee and the Disabled American Veterans.

This is the Newark veteran who was served official notice by the Veterans Administration last week that he is slated for "removal" within 30 days from his job as a clerk because of the way he thinks.

James Kutcher is a Socialist and proud of it. In 1936, five years before he was drafted, he became a convinced socialist. He decided that it was his duty to participate in the struggle to free America from the rule of Big Business and help build a new world order, free from poverty, fascism and war.

Nothing that Kutcher has seen or experienced since then has led him to change his mind.

Jimmy was born in Newark the day after Christmas in 1912 and has lived there all his life. His

parents were immigrants who came to this country seeking opportunity in the "land of promise." Not much was open to them, however, and they had to make their home on 18th Avenue in the slum area of Newark.

DIFFICULT DAYS

Those difficult days still remain in Kutcher's mind. He recalls the strikes waged by the International Union of Fur Workers of which his father was a member; and the unemployment that bit deeply into the family budget. Jimmy and his brother and sister lived in poverty like the other families in that neighborhood.

Jimmy went to Monmouth Street Grade School, the Central High School and the Essex County Junior College. He passed his grades without difficulty but frankly admits he was not inclined to sacrifice his free time for the sake of an impressive scholastic record.

The depression was on when James Kutcher left school. That was an event to make a person think and turn his attention to the big questions affecting every one in the country. How could unemployment and hunger exist in the midst of plenty?

The Newark Young Men's Hebrew Association held forums in the winter where such questions were sometimes discussed. Among the guest speakers were Norman Thomas and Scott Nearing. What they had to say aroused Kutcher's interest.

Jimmy began reading Socialist literature. He recalls particularly some of the books of Upton Sinclair such as *The Brass Check*, *Oil* and *The Wet Parade*.

In 1936 he joined the Young

People's Socialist League. Of the various groupings in the Socialist Party, Kutcher felt closest to the followers of Leon Trotsky. The Trotskyist program appealed to him as clear-headed, thoroughly thought-out and realistic. When the Trotskyists left the Newark Thomas party to organize the Socialist Workers Party, Kutcher went with them.

When the war broke out and the draft law was passed, Kutcher like all the other members of the Socialist Workers Party continued to oppose the butchery. Not as a conscientious objector, however, who seeks personal im-

munity, but as a revolutionary socialist who stays with his people and does what he can to convince them of the necessity for a basic change in government and the economic system.

At Fort Bragg, Kutcher was assigned to the Ninth Division and later transferred to the Third. After 17 months training in the Infantry he was sent overseas, landing in the province of Algiers, North Africa, in November 1942. "Often I didn't think I'd come out of the war," he said, "as the fighting was pretty heavy at times."

The fighting was heavy in Sicily too and heavier still in Italy. In San Pietro after a year of narrow escapes from death, he lay all day with one of his buddies under fire in a fox hole. By late afternoon, he could no longer endure the thirst. He left the fox hole to get a drink of water.

It was then that he felt a heavy blow that knocked his legs out from under him. He lay on the ground half-stunned, not feeling much pain. The mortar shell that had torn into his flesh and bone killed his buddy in the fox hole.

He called for help. An intern arrived and looked him over. "They'll cut off your legs," the intern calmly announced, "and send you back home."

The intern proved right. They amputated his legs, gave him the Purple Heart and sent him back to Newark.

POST-WAR WORLD

During the war years, Kutcher had read about the wondrous postwar world that would be his after the victory. The magazines and newspapers sent to the GI's were

full of it. It was supposed to keep up their morale. Most eloquent of all were the advertisements run by the big corporations as they piled up fabulous profits out of the war.

The postwar world did not prove as bright for the wounded veteran as the capitalist propagandists had painted it. "It was not easy to learn to walk with artificial limbs," the disabled soldier said. On top of this, his aged father was in bad health and no longer able to work. That is the usual fate of a worker in the capitalist system when he grows old. Everything socialism had pointed out about the evils of capitalism and the lies of its warmongers proved to be only too true.

But Kutcher made up his mind to overcome his physical handicap, no matter what the difficulties, live a normal life like other people, get a job to support his parents and do all in his power to prevent a Third World War.

In 1946 the Veterans Administration offered Kutcher a job as a clerk in the department handling educational and rehabilitation work for disabled veterans. The salary was not high — only a little more than \$160 a month, but enough to enable him to get by and help out his folks. The job proved interesting and Kutcher performed his tasks efficiently.

That was not enough for the Truman Administration, however. Combing through their files, hunting for "disloyalty" cases, the Washington desk generals ran across the fact that James Kutcher, a clerk in the Newark office of the Veterans Administration, believed in Socialism. That was enough for these architects of the postwar world. Kutcher

was obviously guilty of the "crime" of thinking it is possible to build a better world. They started the punitive machinery rolling, and on Aug. 13 the official form was drawn up notifying the disabled veteran of his scheduled "removal" from the job because his thoughts don't please the witch-hunters.

A FIGHTER

But Kutcher is a fighter. He is a fighter to the marrow of his bones. This was one of the qualities that brought him to Socialism. He doesn't like to be pushed around. In 1936 he felt that his right to a decent living had been violated by the decision of the capitalist class to close down the factories, thus sentencing him to unemployment. He resolved to fight for his rights by taking up the cause of Socialism.

Today he feels the same way about the violation of his right to a job. A principle is involved here, the duty to defend civil liberties and democratic rights from attack, no matter where it originates. That is why Kutcher is speaking up for his beliefs and challenging the campaign of witch-hunting and its violation of democratic rights through so-called "loyalty tests."

Our Generous Government

"The government did three things for Jimmy Kutcher: It gave him a pension. It gave him two artificial legs. And then it gave him his walking papers." — Peter Flynn, State Secretary of the New Jersey CIO at the Kutcher press conference.

Election Campaign Manager's Column

By George Clarke, SWP Campaign Manager

In this corner we will present many items culled from letters and reports throughout the country telling of the stirring campaign for Dobbs and Carlson and the local SWP candidates, of the tours of the presidential candidates and many other notes of interest. Campaign workers: Write your reports to this column.

SEATTLE: Farrell Dobbs began his nationwide tour in this working class center, famous for its great General Strike in 1919, with a series of inspiring meetings. His blistering attack on Dave Beck, Czar Number 2 of the Teamsters Union, and Beck's howling retort are reported elsewhere in this issue.

The Stalinists echoed Beck's groans when comrade Dobbs tore into their treacherous policies and into their new-found idol Henry Wallace at a meeting at the Yesler Housing Project. Although the audience of 50 was largely pro-Wallace at the outset of the meeting, the forum's sponsors and the bulk of the audience rallied to comrade Dobbs' defense when the Stalinists tried to disrupt the meeting.

A second meeting was held at the University of Washington, marking the first appearance of an SWP spokesman on that campus. The final election rally, held under party auspices on Aug. 20 at Swedish Hall, had an audience of Boeing strikers, teamsters, seamen as well as students and housewives.

Both Seattle dailies, the Times and the Post-Intelligencer carried lengthy interviews with comrade Dobbs. His remark that he had "as good a chance of being elected as Harry Truman" was relayed over Associated Press wires to papers throughout the country.

MICHIGAN: Glowing reports of Grace Carlson's speaking tour in Michigan keep coming into the Campaign office. Detroit, Flint, Pontiac and Saginaw papers featured interviews with comrade Carlson.

Genora Dollinger, our candidate for U.S. Senator from Michigan, writes us that Flint's largest radio station WFDF and station WJOK announced comrade Carlson's appearance in General Motors' city. Station WMRP in Flint interviewed comrade Carlson.

Comrade Carlson addressed a lively meeting at the Civic Center in Detroit on Aug. 17, concentrating her remarks on the preparations for World War III. William Yancey of Flint, the party's candidate for Secretary of State urged "every Negro in America to divorce himself from the Republican and Democratic parties on the grounds of adultery, cruelty and desertion" and urged them to join the SWP. Howard Lerner, candidate for Governor was chairman of the meeting. Generous contributions were made in the collection.

The following night Grace spoke to a group of 25 active militants in the Negro community. She pointed out that "the platform of the SWP on the Negro question is backed by its actions in the Hickman Case, the O'Day Short case and numerous other struggles of the colored people."

Michigan is proud of its sound truck decorated with campaign signs and slogans. They report that the street meeting in Pontiac was heard in a half-mile area.

families listening from their porches and passing motorists slowing down to catch what they could of the speeches. Nine subs and over 50 copies of the Militant were sold at the meeting. The comrades say that "the new friends made in Pontiac have become the center for building a branch in this important auto union stronghold."

CLEVELAND: Grace had a press conference on her arrival in Cleveland. The Plain Dealer and the News printed her picture and interviews.

NEW YORK: Irving Beinin, New York Campaign Manager, reports that having concluded its petition campaign to put Dobbs and Carlson on the N.Y. ballot with 24,000 signatures, twice the number required, the local is beginning an energetic political campaign. The campaign opens with a combined election rally and Trotsky Memorial meeting on Aug. 27. An all-day Active Workers Conference to plan all phases of the campaign is scheduled for Sunday, Aug. 29.

CONNECTICUT: An underhanded campaign to make it tough for minority parties to get on the ballot has been opened by Connecticut politicians. A New Haven paper published an insidious article saying that voters have been misled into signing petitions. Mrs. Redick, the Secretary of State, publishes the names struck off the petitions. Who gave Mrs. Redick the right to publish these names? Who's behind this campaign of intimidation?

PENNSYLVANIA: The Pennsylvania campaign began with a bang-up picnic at the Torchia Farm in Reading on Aug. 15. A large bus-load of people from Philadelphia joined carfuls from Allentown, Pittsburgh and the friends from Reading to make up a large crowd. Main speech was made by the National Campaign Manager. More than \$100 was netted to apply to the first-rate sound equipment recently purchased.

The loud speaker equipment was used for the first time at a Phila. meeting on Aug. 17. People listened from open windows and doorsteps and in little groups within two blocks in all directions. 12 subs were sold and plans were advanced for the organization of a Dobbs-Carlson block committee.

HERE AND THERE: Newark had first rate picnic with a good turnout last Sunday. William Bohannon, SWP New Jersey Congressional candidate and yours truly were the speakers. There was a delicious meal, swimming, a ball game and a good collection. . . . We are getting ready to file our petitions in Utah and Colorado. We're over the top in signatures in both states. . . . Order excellent 8x10 photos of Dobbs and Carlson, 15 cents each, from national campaign headquarters, 116 University Pl., N.Y.C. 3.

YOUNGSTOWN! MILITANT LABOR FORUM presents GRACE CARLSON SWP Vice-Presidential candidate 8:00 p. m. Wednesday, Sept. 8 234 E. Federal Street

THE MILITANT ARMY

Michigan Leads N. Y. In Militant Subs

For the first time Michigan has more Militant subscribers than any other state, nearly 50% more than New York state and 80% more than California. Credit is due to Detroit and Flint branches of the Socialist Workers Party, which have turned in nearly 800 new and renewal subs in the last six weeks.

They got the jump on most other branches by launching sub mobilizations almost immediately after the SWP convention. They sent sub-getter expeditions to Pontiac and Saginaw and won a large reader list in those two General Motors towns.

Several other branches are still occupied with gathering petitions to put the party on the ballot. New York City Local, nearly through with petition work, is already mapping a sub campaign that will surely give Michigan stiff competition.

"We are enclosing a sub for the first person to come to our office because of the radio talks,"

wrote Dick Clarke of St. Louis. St. Louis gets many others by going out after them. It is, however, a sign of the times that people are now looking up the Socialist Workers Party, by mail, by phone and in person. Its program as presented over the air has inspired many thousands.

St. Paul is nearing its goal of 100 new subs. "The spirit of competition is really reaching a good high," wrote Phyllis, assistant Militant agent. "My team is way out in the lead with 45. The Trailblazers have 36. There is no doubt in anyone's mind that we will more than top the goal!"

Minneapolis sent 33 Militant subs and three for Fourth International and asked for more sub cards. "Subs are rolling in fast in both Minneapolis and St. Paul," commented Barbara Bruce.

Salt Lake City subs keep climbing, thanks mainly to the de Wolfs, who are also most active in getting petitions signed to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in Utah.

JAMES KUTCHER—1948

Subscriptions: \$1 per year; \$5 for 6 months. Foreign: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months.

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Monday, August 30, 1948



TROTSKY

In the past, America has known more than one stormy outburst of revolutionary or semi-revolutionary mass movements.

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



LENIN

Congress of Labor

The capitalist press celebrated the anniversary of the Taft-Hartley Law with scarcely concealed gloating and threats to labor that further punitive actions were on the way.

In the one year of the law's existence, the government, through Denham and the NLRB, has moved with lofty impartiality against all sectors of the labor movement.

How shortsighted and stupid were those trade union leaders who thought they could escape the punitive measures of the law by signing the "yellow dog" affidavits.

Reuther's Call for New Party

With the emergence of the Wallace party and its strong appeal to several million working class and Negro voters, and the growing disillusionment of labor's ranks with the old-line parties, it has become increasingly difficult for the AFL and CIO bureaucracy to continue its policy of tying the labor movement to the two-party system of capitalist politics.

Labor union members are more and more turning a deaf ear toward exhortations to "get out and register" in order to vote for Democratic or Republican "friends of labor."

Reuther's recent declaration for a new party represents a recognition of the untenability of the present policy on the part of the most energetic and socially conscious section of the trade union bureaucracy.

Reuther fears — and with good reason — that the attempt to keep the labor movement hogtied to the Democratic Party will not only prove increasingly difficult to accomplish.

Unfortunately, Reuther's declaration for "a new political realignment," printed in his President's Column of the August United Automobile Worker, is not a call for a Labor Party, but for the creation of a People's Front

Case of Russian School Teachers

The U. S. government is trying to make the maximum of propaganda capital out of the case of the three Russian school teachers who are refusing to return to Russia.

This is a barefaced fraud. The United States today, under the rule of the monopolists, stands for political asylum for only one class of political refugees — capitalists, fascists, unemployed monarchs and dispossessed royalty.

The ITU, the miners and the maritime workers have singly been flailing away at the law. The government and industrialists have thus been able to pick off one union at a time and bring their full weight to bear to beat down the labor movement and pave the way for its eventual destruction.

Now at last the ITU, which has been forced into a life-and-death struggle to preserve its rights and integrity, has seen the ineffectiveness of this kind of resistance and issued the call for a Congress of Labor of all unions to pool their resources in order to smash this iniquitous, tyrannical and union-destroying law.

type of New Deal party. It is clear that what Reuther has in mind is building the same type of middle class capitalist party as Wallace has concocted, with leadership in the hands of a clique of liberal politicians of the type of "Senators Aiken and Murray, Tobey and Wagner."

The difference between his proposed party and Wallace's is simply this: Whereas Wallace is in alliance with the Stalinists, the new policy will be firmly anti-Stalinist—but firmly pro-American imperialist along the lines of the Americans for Democratic Action and the New York Liberal Party.

The kind of party Reuther has in mind is not the kind of party that class conscious workers have been demanding. The Militant has advocated the formation of a broad Labor Party, based on and responsible to the union movement, and has pledged its support to such a party even though, at first, the program of this party is faulty in many respects from the point of view of class conscious socialists.

Militants in the unions will profit from Reuther's declaration, and the heightened political discussion that it is sure to evoke throughout the labor movement, to press with redoubled energy for a break with capitalist politics and the creation of—not just any kind of new party—but a genuine labor party, espousing a militant program of class action.

burial. Nor is the ink yet dry on the infamous law which bars most Jews in the Displaced Persons camps of Germany from entering this country.

The State Department propaganda would be considered a huge joke both in this country and abroad were it not for the fact that Stalinist tyranny and barbaric conduct again and again enables the imperialists to hide their own misdeeds and crimes behind a mantle of phony indignation against the atrocities of the Kremlin.

Class conscious workers will take due note of the cynical gangster behavior of the Kremlin bureaucracy as again displayed in the case of the three Russian school teachers. They will take heart from the growing instability and unpopularity of the Stalin regime revealed in this whole sorry episode.

Election Fund Nears Half of Quota; Tacoma Joins Hundred-Percenter

Our Best Issue



WORKERS FORUM

Recalls CP Role in Smith Act

I should like to make a few comments on the question of working class solidarity in connection with the arrest of the CP leaders.

I worked actively with the Civil Rights Defense Committee at the time of the Minneapolis Labor Case. Those were trying days. We had to arouse the trade unions, fraternal organizations and generally liberal-minded bodies to the danger inherent in that infamous law.

I recall especially my visit to the Painters' District Council No. 9 in New York City. Weinstock was Secretary-treasurer at the time and also a member of the Political Bureau of the CP.

The council members wanted to hear the representative of the CRDC. Weinstock made a demagogic speech opposing it. He lost and the CRDC representative did speak. The members of the council were impressed by the appeal. Weinstock recognized this and went into a tirade against the Trotskyists.

Now the Smith Gag Act is being used against Weinstock's party. Now he would undoubtedly like to arouse the whole labor movement to the dangers of the reactionary Act. His party will no doubt remind the labor world that an injury to one is an injury

to all. And this applies now as it applied then, but have the Weinstocks learned anything or will they ever?

Sylvia Bleecser New York City

Are Workers Ready for Labor Party?

We are reprinting an exchange of correspondence on the labor party issue, copies of which have been sent us, between William N. Doty, member of Lodge No. 889 of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and A. P. Whitney, president of the rail brotherhood.

Virginia, Minn. June 9, 1948

Mr. A. F. Whitney President B. of R. T. Cleveland 13, Ohio

Dear Sir and Brother: I enclose herewith a clipping from the Duluth News-Tribune May 30, 1948: "Reuther to Sponsor Third Party After 1948 Elections." Why wait until after election?

I am in favor of building a real Labor Party now and will pledge at least one hundred dollars (\$100) toward the expense of same and to show you exactly what I mean by a real Labor Party I enclose a booklet by Mr. George Clarke entitled "Build a Labor Party Now."

There are 15 million organized workers and about an equal amount of organized farmers and together with their wives we should muster at least 50 million votes and thereby take control of the federal and state governments and leave the forces of evil or as you say, "the Wall Street gangsters" completely out of the political picture.

We must get rid of them before they strangle us to death like they did the German workers recently.

I am, and remain Yours for a real workers and farmers party, now. Wm. N. Doty Lodge No. 889

Mr. William N. Doty Virginia, Minnesota

Dear Sir and Brother: This will acknowledge your letter of June 9, with which was enclosed a booklet entitled "Build a Labor Party Now" by George Clarke, and a clipping from the Duluth News-Tribune, May 30, captioned "Reuther to Sponsor Third Party After 1948 Elections" by Max Hall.

There is a great deal of current discussion and has been a great deal through many years on the subject of labor sponsoring its own political party. It is extremely doubtful that workers could be brought into a single political party such as is proposed by Clarke.

I doubt the advisability of attempting to organize the workers into a political party directed by the Socialists. People with Socialist tendencies are like those in labor unions, having varying ideas as to how to reach a designated goal.

Until such time as the workers and the farmers are thoroughly educated as to their economic and political possibilities, I believe it advisable to work somewhere within the framework of the two major political parties in attempting to secure the nomination and election of public servants who will serve in the interest of all of the people.

Fraternally yours, A. F. Whitney, President

Copy to: Mr. A. N. Swain, Sec., No. 889.

This week the chief honors go to the West Coast branches for their collections on the \$25,000 SWP Election Campaign and Party Building Fund.

Tacoma went over the top to join Allentown and Rochester in the One Hundred Percenters Club. Thanks to the impetus given by Farrell Dobbs' fighting speeches during his visit, Seattle added \$450 to its total and leaped from a low place to seventh on the national list.

Los Angeles launched its election campaign with a successful Trotsky Memorial meeting on August 20 where \$619.54 was collected for the fund.

We want to apologize to San Francisco-Oakland for omitting them from last week's scoreboard. However, we haven't received any further funds from there for the past couple of weeks.

Last week's contributions amounted to \$1,771. This was a better showing by about \$300 than the week preceding. With a little extra effort by the branches, the \$25,000 Fund could be lifted to the half-way mark on the next scoreboard. Here's a challenge to meet!

Milwaukee sent in \$125 to reach 95 percent of its \$400 goal and promises in addition to over-subscribe its quota. Minnesota reports that the St. Paul and Minneapolis branches are starting to visit friends and contacts and expect to mail in another good chunk of money next week after Dobbs makes his appearance in the Twin Cities.

The New York Youth Group has raised 87 per cent of its pledge. The New York Local expects that the collections to be made at their Trotsky Memorial meeting this week will add several more hundred dollars to its fund.

Toledo reports plans to continue visits to Militant subscribers from whom they have already collected \$5 and sold several subs. The first doorbells of Militant subscribers rung by the Cleveland comrades netted additional dollars for the fund. Frances collected \$3 from the first 3 subscribers visited and Sally gathered \$1.15. Collections should be spurred

by the letter going to all Militant subscribers and to all who wrote in response to the radio broadcasts asking for aid to the Dobbs-Carlson Fund. Join the Campaigners for Socialism by sending your donation today to 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Dobbs Denounces Strikebreaking Of "Czar" Beck

SEATTLE, Oct. 20 — Farrell Dobbs' appearance in Seattle provoked screams of rage from Dave Beck, Washington Czar of the Teamsters and second in command to Daniel Tobin.

The headline over a front page editorial of The Washington Teamster, Beck's personal organ says, "Comrades at it again! Farrell Dobbs in Seattle to Foment Labor Trouble."

Full of bile, Beck takes full credit "for heading the movement which ousted the Dobbs and the Dunns and started them on the trail to the federal penitentiary."

But Beck reveals what he is really frightened over when he says that Dobbs is taking the lead in the fight against the strikebreaking jurisdictional raiding of the Boeing union which Beck falsely claims was decreed by the AFL.

The same afternoon, Dobbs spoke over the radio and related the entire strikebreaking record of Beck and Tobin from the Minneapolis struggle to the Boeing strike. He told how the Washington State AFL had condemned Beck, how unions and students had demanded Beck's removal from the Board of Regents at the University of Washington and how a revolt was stirring among the rank and file of the teamsters union against Beck.

SCOREBOARD FOR \$25,000 SWP ELECTION FUND

Table with columns: Branch, Quota, Paid, Percent. Lists various branches like Allentown, Rochester, Tacoma, etc., and their respective contributions.

Total thru Aug. 25 \$25,000 \$16,810 67

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

- List of activities for various cities: AKRON, BALTIMORE, BOSTON, BUFFALO, CHICAGO, CLEVELAND, DETROIT, LOS ANGELES, MILWAUKEE, MINNEAPOLIS, NEW BRITAIN, NEW HAVEN, NEW YORK CITY, PHILADELPHIA, PITTSBURGH, RICHMOND, ST. LOUIS, ST. PAUL, TOLEDO, WASHINGTON.

PITTSBURGH!

Tentative Schedule for GRACE CARLSON Visit FRIDAY, SEPT. 10 Radio Broadcast WLOA-6:00-6:30 p. m. Meeting-"Ivory's Garden" 5434 2nd Ave., 8 p. m. SATURDAY, SEPT. 11 Radio Interview WLOA-9:15-9:30 a. m. SUNDAY, SEPT. 12 Meeting: Militant Labor Forum 1418 Fifth Ave., 3:30 p. m. For additional information on GRACE CARLSON's visit call CO-6060.

CHICAGO!

A Workers Candidate for President of the U. S. A. FARRELL DOBBS speaks for "A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT" 8:00 p. m. Wednesday, Sept. 8 777 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill.

Campaigning in Michigan

By Grace Carlson

The most interesting parts of any tour are the "firsts." And we've had a lot of "firsts" on this campaign tour—starting out with the "first" Socialist Workers Party meetings in Salt Lake City, Denver and Boulder; going on to the "first" local SWP broadcast in Indiana over Hammond's station WJOB, and continuing here in Michigan with a record number of "firsts."

My appearance before the membership of the motor building unit of Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO in Detroit on Aug. 15 was my "first" union meeting on this tour. In fact, it was the "first" time that an SWP candidate had ever appeared before the membership of the world's largest union. The friendly reception and the generous applause were features of the meeting which will not quickly be forgotten.

Pontiac, an auto center about 30 miles from Detroit, was the scene of a few other "firsts." We had the "first" SWP meeting in Pontiac and the "first" open-air meeting on this tour. The numbers of Pontiac workers who stayed for the whole meeting, their very obvious enthusiasm, the interest in *The Militant* and other party literature

combined to make this Pontiac "first" a highly successful venture.

On the following night, the "first" Trotskyist meeting was held in Saginaw, a General Motors town north of Flint. The interest cards signed and the literature sold marked this Saginaw meeting as a successful "first" also. A Saginaw News reporter and a photographer had their "first" experience in covering an SWP meeting—and it was a pretty educational experience all around.

Early Saturday morning, Aug. 21, we had a very unusual "first"—a radio interview over Station WMRP at Flint's Municipal Market. Genora Dollinger, Flint Organizer and SWP candidate for U. S. Senator had made the arrangements for the interview beforehand. The interviewer asked many questions about the party program and I was very gratifying to be able to tell this radio audience of Michigan workers and farmers that we propose taking control away from Wall Street and building a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States.

Of course we had fine, inspiring campaign meetings in established party centers here in Michigan. The "firsts" are especially interesting, because they mean that the Socialist Workers Party is on the march in this 1948 campaign!

Randolph's Betrayal

By F. Forest

On Aug. 18 a blow was dealt the movement against military Jimcrow. This blow was delivered not by the bigoted proponents of Jimcrow, but by the founders of the civil disobedience movement, A. Phillip Randolph and Grant Reynolds, who unceremoniously announced that they were cancelling their civil disobedience campaign against Jimcrow in the armed forces. Messrs. Randolph and Reynolds offered no greater pretext for their shameful abandonment of the movement they had launched than the "President's announced plan to end segregation in the armed forces."

Just a few weeks ago the same Randolph made the following unequivocal characterization of the very same executive order: "A misleading move, made for political purposes and deliberately calculated to obscure the issue of segregation."

Randolph now has the temerity to issue a statement which declares: "Through Sen. J. Howard McGrath, chief spokesman for the President, we have been given assurance that segregation in armed services is unequivocally (1) banned under the executive order of July 26."

So "unequivocally" was segregation in the armed services banned that the Chief of Staff, General Bradley, could declare: "The Army is not out to make any social reforms. . . The Army will put men of different races in different companies. It will change that policy when the nation as a whole changes it."

Now Randolph and Reynolds are well aware of this declaration of Jimcrow policy of General Bradley. They have, furthermore, their own analysis of the President's executive order as a sham. How, then, can they explain their sudden faith in the "assurances" of Senator J. Howard McGrath? They do not even try to.

From the beginning, when Messrs. Randolph and Reynolds first announced their defiant stand against a Jimcrow Army with their statement that they preferred going to jail to giving support to "Herr Jimcrow," the *Militant* warned that the Committee Against Jimcrow in Military Service and Training would mean little unless it became a powerful mass organization democratically controlled. We pointed out that while their defiant stand did Randolph and Reynolds credit, defiant protest and even going to jail on the part of individuals was not the solution. We nevertheless supported the progressive fight the movement was undertaking and defended it against its "Uncle Tom" detractors. We wrote: "The power of the protest is in the mass action and mass activity which it unleashes. It is precisely this fear of mass action which has characterized the Negro leaders, as it has characterized the labor leaders."

Randolph and Reynolds must now be included among the leaders who fear mass action, even as the government fears it. From the first Randolph and Reynolds refused to form an organ-

ization to which they would have to submit, and which would be democratically controlled by the rank and file. It is true that at first they withstood the attack both from the government and the Negro leaders. When C. B. Powell, editor of the *Amsterdam News*, counseled the Negro to accept "his full responsibilities as a citizen in the defense of his country," and when W. R. Hearst, Jr., of the *New York Journal American*, Robert S. Shanc of the *New York Daily News*, Mayor William O'Dwyer and Senator Irving M. Ives all rushed to praise Powell's statement, Randolph replied to Powell as follows on Aug. 2: "For more than 25 years Negro leaders like yourself, white liberals and trade-unionists have waged a campaign to wipe out military Jimcrow. Today, as in the past, we are faced with promises which continually go unkept. . . Then he came to the crux of the matter: ". . . the civil disobedience movement springs not from my call but from the deep humiliation and resentment that Negro and white youth feel at being forced to serve in a segregated army."

What has happened between August 2 and August 18 to turn Mr. Randolph from a champion of the Negro masses to their betrayer?

Randolph emphasized, when he first launched the movement, that he looked for support not from the top Negro leaders, but from the "so-called average man on the street." But it is a fact that he failed to organize this "so-called average man on the street" and failed to convert his hand-picked Committee into an organization that would be democratically controlled by the rank and file. Instead, he kept championing individual action.

This is not the first time Randolph refused to submit to the control of the rank and file. It is not the first time that he has left the Negro masses in the lurch. In 1941 he betrayed the March-On-Washington movement which he himself had organized. Just when it enlisted tens of thousands of Negroes in its fight against discrimination in employment, Mr. Randolph, also without consulting the rank and file, called off on his own the scheduled march. For his capitulation to President Roosevelt at that time, at least, he was granted the concession of the FEPC. Now he has given up the struggle against Jimcrow in the armed forces in return for a piece of paper!

Neither Negro nor white labor will forget this latest betrayal of Randolph. The important thing, however, is that just as the movement did not spring from Mr. Randolph's call, "but from the deep humiliation and resentment that the Negro and white youth feel," so this movement will not disappear with the betrayal of its once-defiant leader. The movement will merely throw off the shackles of Gandhism and expand into a genuine mass organization, democratically controlled by the rank and file. For the masses are learning that the only way to wipe out Jimcrow is through mass action.

"Unity" at Last!

By Joseph Keller

We have just read the news that leading representatives of the American unions have recently met and approved "a common proposal. . . in the name of united American labor." But don't cheer yet.

This announcement appears in the *AFL International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union* paper, *Justice*, of August 15, in an article by Jay Lovestone, renegade from communism and chore-boy for David Dubinsky.

The "common proposal" he speaks of has nothing to do with joint labor action in America to fight the Taft-Hartley Act, halt the current jurisdictional civil war in the unions or build a Labor Party.

His "united American labor" refers to the delegation of U. S. union big-shots sent over to Western Europe and England as unofficial agents of the U. S. State Department to help sell the imperialist Marshall Plan.

"Breakfast in Rome—afternoon tea in London" keeps the U. S. delegation at a "driving pace" writes Lovestone. These harassed U. S. union officials—including Dubinsky of the AFL, George Harrison of the Railway Labor Clerks, Victor Reuther of the CIO auto workers, David MacDonald and Elmer Cope of the CIO Steelworkers, and a spokesman of the United Mine Workers—hardly had time to "unpack" before they went into "caucuses" and "hammered out an agreement on fundamental policy."

Unity at last! But on how to force the British Trade Union Congress executives, then in session, to agree to "the proposal made by Paul G. Hoffman, Economic Cooperation Administrator, for setting up consultative Anglo-American Committees to stimulate and lift production in Britain."

It seems the British labor leaders were balking. The British workers consider Hoffman's proposal as nothing but a Marshall Plan export of American-style speed-up. The U. S. union bosses were over there to "put on the heat." They made "off-the-record" statements in the British capitalist press that "American labor" is demanding "action" from the English workers; that British union leaders are "too slow and timid" in implementing "European recovery"; that "all barriers to increased production" must be broken; and, above all, that the "restrictive practices" of the British unions—that is, the union rules safeguarding working conditions—must be abolished.

How little the British workers welcome this Marshall Plan "aid"—the speed-up demanded by the Dubinskys, Lovestones, Reuthers, etc.—is shown by the strike last week of 17,000 Austin auto workers in Birmingham, England, against what they called "American mass production methods"—the attempt of the company to get a gear-box cutter to finish 360 boxes instead of 280 a day.

Lovestone glowingly reports that in putting the heat on the British union officials, "Averell Harriman, chief of the OEEC, pointed out that it was the tradition of international labor to go across national lines."

American labor, like the General Motors workers who have been striking against speed-up, will certainly be delighted to learn that American union officials like Walter Reuther's brother Victor are trying to get workers in other countries to accept the speed-up "in the name of united American labor" and "international labor solidarity."

U. S. POPULATION — The U. S. Census Bureau estimated that the nation's population, aided by a 41% increase on the Pacific coast, jumped about 9% between 1940 and 1947. It now totals approximately 143,414,000.

THE MILITANT

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One Year of Taft-Hartley Act—Its Effect on Trade Unions

By C. Thomas

The first "anniversary" of the infamous Taft-Hartley Law provided the capitalist press with the occasion for editorial sermons directed toward refuting the contention that the Act was designed to undermine, weaken and emasculate the trade unions of this country.

The editorials sneered at labor's characterization of the Act as a slave labor law. They scorned the prediction that it was intended as a union-busting measure. As evidence they offered the fact that the unions were still in existence. Further, that wage concessions had been gained without recourse to widespread strike action. In essence, the editorial sermons preached that one year of the Taft-Hartley Law had demonstrated that it was a good thing for all concerned.

The question arises: Has labor exaggerated the intent of the Act or is the Taft-Hartley gang proceeding according to schedule in carrying forward their union-busting program. The answer to this question can be found in an examination of the origin of the Act and its subsequent effect on labor-management relations.

OMNIBUS MEASURE

The Taft-Hartley Act was admittedly inspired by the most rabid union-hating employers group in the country, the National Association of Manufacturers. It is an omnibus measure combining most of the separate anti-union devices advocated for years by the NAM and other such outfits. At one stroke it nullified progressive labor legislation won only after years of struggle.

An even cursory examination of the provisions is enough to establish the intent of the Act to destroy the independence of the unions and reestablish the humiliating worker-employer relationship under which the unrestricted right to hire and fire, dispense favors or administer punishment, is exercised without restraint by the boss. It is this relationship of master and slave inherent in the Act, that fully justifies its characterization as a slave-labor law.

But those who framed and enacted the law, and those assigned to administer it, were shrewd enough to know that an attempt to impose its provisions at once would lead to civil war. The organized labor movement was too strong and too confident of its strength to tolerate such an attempt. The bosses had tried the method of head-on assault in 1946 and were soundly whipped.

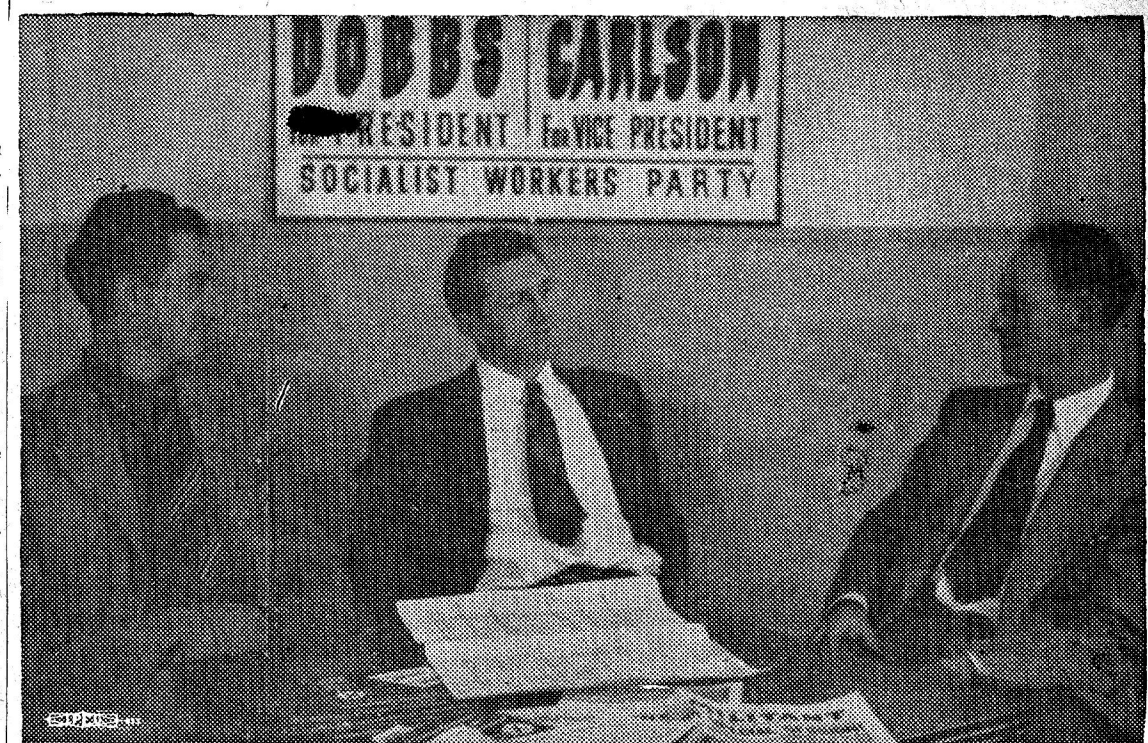
PIECE-MEAL STRATEGY

Therefore, the Taft-Hartley gang devised the strategy of putting over the Act piece-meal. The labor leaders aided and abetted this strategy. Their opposition was confined to the ground staked out by the Taft-Hartley gang. On the day following the enactment of the Law, June 24, 1947, the reactionary N.Y. Daily News called on the labor leaders to: "Take It Like Sports." The "proper procedure," advised *The News*, was to abandon all talk of a general strike and "to work on Congress to revise the law." A N.Y. Times editorial, the same day, expressed the "hope" that the labor leaders would cooperate with the law while exercising their "right to seek the repeal of this legislation through the election of new members of Congress."

The National Association of Manufacturers, sparkplug of the drive to smash the unions, prescribed the following remedy: "If they (union leaders) deem any provision of this bill to be unconstitutional, it is their privilege—their obligation—to contest it in the courts. But only the courts should be used for this purpose."

The course of action prescribed by the avowed advocates of the Taft-Hartley Act was followed, almost to the letter, by the labor leaders. Abandoned were the thundering threats of independent mass action made prior to the adoption of the law. Instead, they threatened political reprisals against the politicians in Washington, even vaguely at the possible organization of a "third" political party—some time in the not-too-immediate future.

Spokesmen for the AFL declared they would call a one-day holiday, come next election day, so the workers could vote out of office those who enacted the law. Not a one-day general strike preceding or immediately following the adoption of the Act to demonstrate labor's determination to defend its existence—that wouldn't be at all "sporting"—



Candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in San Francisco, left to right: Harry Press, candidate for Assemblyman, 20th A.D.; Frank Barbaria, candidate for Congress from the 4th Congressional district; Bob Chester, candidate for Assemblyman, 22nd A.D.

James P. Cannon Speaks At California Rallies

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 20—"Deal with the social reality and tell the truth about it. That is the burning need of the day and the essence of Trotskyism today," James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, told an audience of 200 here tonight.

Cannon addressed the Trotsky memorial meeting launching the local campaign for Farrell Dobbs for President, Grace Carlson for Vice-President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Congress from the 19th district on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Comrade Cannon spoke on "The Presidential Campaign—the Issues, the Parties, the Men." He contrasted the lies of the capitalist parties and their candidates with the issues as dealt with by the Socialist Workers Party in this campaign.

"The social lie began with the beginning of class society, in order to cover up and justify the exploitation of one class by another," he pointed out. But this epoch is the "epoch of the lie. Lying is the every day business of the capitalist parties," he said, "but election time is the rush season. They lie when they promise peace and prosperity, when they talk about solving the housing crisis, when they talk about doing something about the high cost of living, when they promise to maintain the civil rights minority groups in this country are deprived of."

"The only time they tell the truth, and I must admit they do once in a while," he said, "is when they talk about each other." "The Socialist Workers Party, the only genuine socialist party, is the only one that can tell the truth because we have no interests in the status quo to defend."

Those who have become cynical betray a lack of understanding and a lack of confidence in the human race, he said. "We believe the people of the world aspire to a better fate than starving in peace and dying in war." The so-called civilized man of today is unconscious of the system which dominates him. Hence he is subordinated and subjugated to it. The next task is to understand and free ourselves from this subjugation.

Collected for the election campaign fund at the meeting was \$619.54. The audience, a cross-section of the Los Angeles working class, had a good representation from minority groups including Mexican, Filipino, Negro, Japanese, Indian and Jewish workers.

Comrade Steve Roberts, chairman, introduced Myra Tanner Weiss, candidate of the party for Congress from the 19th district, who discussed the party's "audacious move in entering the national and local election campaign." She pointed out that California's restrictions will keep the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates off the ballot in this state, and make a write-in vote for them necessary. In the 19th district, however, the Los Angeles Local has decided on the ambitious undertaking of getting its candidate on the ballot by a drive for 3,000 signatures on nominating petitions.

The campaign starts Aug. 30 and all *Militant* readers and friends who wish to sign the petitions and help in the drive are urged to contact the SWP by calling Vandike 8061 or writing or visiting Room 201, 124 West 6th street, Los Angeles 14.

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 22 — Comrade Cannon repeated his address on the Presidential Campaign at a meeting of 120 people marking the eighth anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky. The meeting also opened the SWP national election campaign here and initiated the petition drive to get the local candidates on the ballot.

The Party's candidate for Assemblyman from the 22nd Assembly District in San Francisco, Bob Chester, Organizer of San Francisco-Bay Area Local, was introduced and spoke of the heritage of Leon Trotsky. The candidates for Congress from the 4th Congressional District of California, Frank Barbaria, and for Assemblyman from the 20th Assembly District of San Francisco, Harry Press, spoke of the need for genuine working class representation in the government.

The chairman of the meeting, Comrade Della, in welcoming Comrade Cannon to the speaker's stand, reminded the audience that the speaker was no stranger to San Francisco. He had in 1937-38 been the editor of the first Trotskyist newspaper on the Pacific Coast.

SWP Presidential Tour

My Visit in Seattle

By Farrell Dobbs

SEATTLE, Aug. 21 — I arrived here by plane just after sunrise.

As I saw the beautiful modern city of Seattle rising out of a wilderness of timberland, mountain ranges and large bodies of water, I thought, "What a symbol of man's great future under Socialism!"

"What a firm guarantee that man will establish a socialist society so he can have a future!" I concluded, after I had spent a busy week talking to the workers.

The Seattle Branch of the Socialist Workers Party did an excellent job in preparing for my visit, and their publicity work quickly bore fruit.

First to respond were workers who have migrated to Seattle from Minnesota. Many among them were once officers of local unions, job stewards, militant fighters in the great Minnesota strike struggles of 1934 and later.

They remembered me from those days and came to talk to me about their problems in fighting both the employers and Dave Beck, local czar of the Teamsters Union. Native Seattle workers came with them.

I talked to a former Minneapolis coaltruck driver after a meeting where I had described the Workers and Farmers Government. He reminded me that he had been present when I made my first speech at a union meeting. It was a mass rally at the old Shubert Theater in Minneapolis in 1934.

"You have learned a lot since then," he said. "We need your help here and I'm glad you came."

A Boeing striker telephoned the party headquarters a few minutes after I spoke over the radio. We had worked together in Minneapolis 20 years ago. He came down to our social that evening. We had a fine talk and he made a \$20 contribution to the campaign fund.

Another Boeing striker came with his two sons to meet the SWP presidential candidate and get a copy of my Seattle radio speech.

The speeches broadcast from our national convention have also left their mark here.

A free-lance writer who was passing through the city came to a meeting. He had once been a sympathizer of the SWP, but he dropped away during the 1939-40 faction fight. His interest is

again aroused by our presidential campaign. Among those at the University of Washington meeting was a young science student. He is shifting his studies toward history and politics because he believes titanic social upheavals are coming soon. He wants to be prepared.

Most of my time was spent talking to union militants. They honor the Socialist Workers Party for our proud record in defending workers' democracy against dictators like Dave Beck.

LEFT WING GROWING

From my talks with these workers, I became convinced that there is a tremendous potential here for the building of a powerful left wing movement.

Equally important is the fact that the Stalinist misleaders are rapidly losing ground just when a new current of militancy is edging through the local labor movement.

We helped discredit the CP hacks further when we defeated their attempt to disrupt our meeting at the Yesler Child Care Center.

Our Seattle comrades have every right to be confident of the future.