

Workers of the World, Unite!

**TRADITION OF DEBS
LIVES IN OUR PARTY**

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THE MILITANT

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SWP Election News

**Campaigning
for
Socialism**

By George Clarke

The big campaign news this week is the battle of the ballot—and how we are winning it.

We are on in New York, certified by the Secretary of State and the time for legal shenanigans safely passed.

In Connecticut rough estimates from comrades on the spot show that we topped the required 8300 signatures by approximately 450 after finicky town clerks scrutinized 13,300 signatures with a spy-glass. Unfortunately, they gave the petitions for Alvin Berman, our candidate for Congressman-at-large such brusque treatment he emerged 100 short of the required amount. It is now up to the Secretary of State to review the petitions again and then do her duty by certifying Dobbs, Carlson and Morris Chertov, SWP candidate for governor, on the Connecticut ballot.

From the opposite end of the country comes the news that a lively nominating convention of the Washington State District of the Socialist Workers Party was held on Sept. 14. In addition to Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, the convention nominated Dan Roberts for Governor. It is now up to state officials to place us on the ballot.

At approximately the same time, we unfurled our banner for a Workers and Farmers Government for the first time in the farm state of Iowa. A nominating convention was held in the city of Davenport which designated our presidential candidates and electors. Minutes of the convention were filed in Des Moines, the State Capital.

Los Angeles filed 4258 signatures, or the maximum permitted by the state, to place Myra Tanner Weiss on the ballot as SWP Congresswoman in the 19th District. Myra will be the only opponent to the Bipartisans since the Wallaceites have withdrawn in favor of Democrat Chet Hollifield.

In San Francisco, we placed the name of Harry Press in nomination for State Assemblyman from the 20th District. He will be the only opponent of Thomas Maloney, Democratic boss running on both capitalist party tickets in this working-class waterfront district. 2121 signatures, or almost one third, more than the legal minimum, were filed on comrade Press' behalf.

From Minnesota we hear that in just five days of "whirlwind" campaigning, the signature total stood at 2,250 for our presidential ticket and for Vincent R. Dunne, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate against the arch labor-hater, Joe ("Foul") Ball. This was already 250 over the top, but the Minnesota comrades say they will not quit until they have obtained a total of 3,000 at the conclusion of the two week period.

Wisconsin now has more than
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SWP Candidates Blast Truman's Demagoguery; Urge Labor Congress

HALF-MILLION MICHIGAN WORKERS HEAR DOBBS

By Howard Lerner

SWP Candidate for Michigan Governor

DETROIT, Sept. 20—A specter is haunting Truman in Michigan—the specter of the Socialist Workers Party and its presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs.

The SWP nominee, treading on Truman's heels from auto town to auto town, blasted America's No. 1 Strikebreaker over four radio stations and before large, enthusiastic meetings in Flint, Pontiac, Lansing, Grand Rapids and Detroit.

An estimated half million Michigan workers heard Dobbs' devastating exposure of "Injunction" Harry and the corrupt capitalist party he heads. The keen attention and hearty applause accorded Dobbs at open-air meetings shows that the Michigan workers are not going down the line like sheep for Truman and that thousands of them are going to vote for genuine independent working-class political action by voting for Dobbs and his vice-presidential running-mate, Grace Carlson.

It was not by accident that Truman chose to open his campaign in Michigan. He recognizes that labor is the decisive sector of the population and that this state is the heart of industrial America. With the way paved by Walter Reuther of the CIO and Frank X. Martell of the AFL, Truman stomped into Michigan to make a bid for labor's votes.

At Pontiac on Sept. 15, Dobbs addressed an open-air neighborhood rally of more than 300 Negro and white workers who remained for over two hours to hear him and other SWP speakers, including Genora Dollinger, candidate for U. S. Senator, and Howard Lerner, running for Governor.

Dobbs climaxed his tour in this state with meetings in Detroit. Unlike Truman who spent his time in luxury hotels and his handsomely bedecked special railroad cars, the SWP candidate spent long hours between his scheduled meetings in visiting the working-class neighborhood and the Negro areas to study the real conditions of poverty and squalor in this major industrial city.

Everywhere Dobbs spoke, he was preceded by the SWP sound truck, which announced where and when he would speak in a neighborhood. A program of union songs was presented before and after the meetings. More than 35,000 pieces of SWP election literature were distributed in the past week—a record for the party in Michigan.

At his main meeting in Detroit, on Sept. 12, Dobbs spoke before a packed hall, two-thirds of the audience being auto workers. The enthusiasm of the meeting was shown not only by the applause and questions, but by the collection of over a hundred dollars and the signing of many interest cards after the meeting.

The SWP is on the march in Michigan and it isn't doing Truman one bit of good.

GRACE CARLSON
SWP Vice-Presidential Candidate

seeking certification by petition. The law requires a minimum of 12,500, with not less than 50 from each of 60 counties.

By winning a place on the New York ballot this November, the SWP successfully climaxes a three-year fight. In 1946, the SWP's candidate for Governor, Farrell Dobbs, was ruled off the ballot on a shady technicality, despite submission of election petition with more than 24,000 signatures.

The public scandal which the SWP raised against this conspiracy of the Democratic and Republican election officials and the fear of a recurrence of such scandal in a national election year, when Truman himself has been barred from the ballot in at least one state, forced the officials to recognize the SWP petition.

Dobbs Hits Slum Conditions



Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, is shown above talking with Mrs. Owens, with her two children, who is pointing into some of the filth and squalor in the Detroit slum areas.

Throughout the area where Mrs. Owens lives, there is a nauseating odor of burning garbage. She told Comrade Dobbs, "They used to pick up the garbage down south every other day. Up here, they pick it up every two weeks in summer. If we didn't burn it ourselves, it would soon swamp us. In winter, they don't pick it up at all. The snow just buries it until spring."

There are 90,000 homes in crowded Detroit that the Detroit Housing Commission recommended be razed to the ground. They are rat and vermin-infested and lack toilet, washing or cooking facilities.

Dobbs told Mrs. Owens that what is needed is to take the \$18 billion war budget and use the money to build millions of low-rent modern homes.

On Your Radio

SWP broadcasts in Fifteen Forums over Station WNEW

The Socialist Workers Party ran its first two broadcasts in the series of election forums sponsored by station WNEW in New York City.

This series entitled "Peoples Choice" consists of 30 broadcasts running nightly from 9:45 to 10 EST.

The next SWP broadcast will be heard on Friday, Oct. 1 and Wed., Oct. 29.

WNEW is 1130 on your dial.

for Truman in Detroit, so many thousands of workers walked away that it amounted to a virtual demonstration.

Although Dobbs had none of the press build-up Truman received, the SWP candidate's meetings were very well-attended. Moreover, the workers listened eagerly to the SWP program.

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SWP SOUND TRUCK

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**"Ya"
Elections
See Editorial
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N. J. Committee Formed To Defend Legless Vet

NEWARK, Sept. 22—The wide-spread sympathy in New Jersey for James Kutcher is beginning to take on active and organized form to help the legless veteran keep the VA clerical job from which he faces dismissal because of his political views.

Among the most important developments on the case during the last week was the formal endorsement of the Kutcher defense last Saturday by the New Jersey State CIO Council, which represents a quarter of a million workers in this state. The top CIO leaders had previously announced their individual support for the Kutcher fight. The State Council action was unanimous.

Since then, Kutcher himself has begun personal visits to various organizations, explaining the facts and issues in the case. He is appealing for support on the ground that civil rights in general, as well as his own rights, are threatened through the government "disloyalty" probes. Everywhere he is listened to with great interest and respect for his courage in meeting the challenge of the government openly and without equivocation.

The AFL Newark Teachers Union heard him last night and unanimously adopted a resolution to be sent to President Truman and the press. The resolution requested the Veterans Administration to restore Kutcher to his job and called on the President "to grant Kutcher's request for a public hearing at which his party can defend itself against the subversive charges."

The union also voted to support the Kutcher case.



Harold Russell, armless veteran and star of the motion picture, "The Best Years of Our Lives," who heads the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, is shown conferring with Chicago CIO Council official Willoughby Abner last year when both served on the famous Hickman Defense Committee.

By FARRELL DOBBS and GRACE CARLSON
SWP Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates

Nothing in this election campaign is likely to be weirder than the debate last week between Democrat Truman and Republican Taft, one of Dewey's chief backers. The immediate issue was Truman's charge that Taft personally pressured the NLRB to act against the AFL International Typographical Union. But the real issue was: Who are the best "friends of labor," the Democrats or Republicans?

Certainly we can recall nothing more fantastic than a debate on this issue between the Republican Senator who co-authored the most vicious anti-labor law in U. S. history and the Democratic President who established the precedents for some of this law's worst features and has enforced it with brutal vigor.

Few workers, we are sure, will doubt that multi-millionaire Taft, whose family owns one of the leading Ohio newspapers, has used all his influence on behalf of the publishers against the ITU-AFL. And fewer still will swallow his claim that the Taft-Hartley Act was designed to "help labor."

"Injunction" Harry Truman

But for prize demagoguery and hypocrisy we have to award the palm with double-cross to Truman. He's making a play for labor support by attacking Taft's intervention against the ITU — while the ITU is battling for its life against a vicious federal injunction secured by Truman's hand-picked NLRB! Truman complains about Taft "putting the heat" on the NLRB. But what does Truman have to say about the real heat on the ITU — the injunction? Dead silence.

We can confidently predict that the word "injunction" will never pass "Injunction" Harry Truman's lips in this campaign. He doesn't want the workers reminded that it was he who revived the use of federal injunctions against strikes; who tried to smash three mine strikes, two of them with injunctions; who broke two railroad strikes with Army seizures; who secured injunctions against the CIO seamen and longshoremen. In short, Truman doesn't want the workers reminded that he is the greatest government strikebreaker in U. S. history.

But what shall we say of the union leaders who, knowing Truman's record full well, now try to whitewash it and conceal it and represent this deadly foe of labor as its "best friend." Are they simply stupid or mistaken? Or are they conscious traitors?

Even the ITU leaders, it is painful to note, are silent about Truman's strikebreaking role. How can they square this with their battle against an injunction for which Truman — we repeat Truman — is chiefly responsible?

A Congress of Labor

A few weeks ago we hailed the ITU convention for advocating a National Emergency Congress of Labor, to be held in Washington, to unite all unions around a joint action program to smash the Taft-Hartley Act and government-by-injunction. That would be a real step forward for labor. We see in the Congress of Labor not only the means to consolidate labor's forces against the Slave Labor Law but to unite labor politically into its own party that will fight to see that no anti-labor laws are ever again passed.

The basic issue of this campaign is not whether Truman or Dewey is the "lesser evil" for labor, but to rid ourselves of all capitalist politicians by building our own class party. We of the Socialist Workers Party alone fight for the program of building the workers' own party and establishing a Workers and Farmers Government. That is the program labor needs. That is the program you vote for, when you vote for Dobbs and Carlson on November 2.

Kutcher Writes Truman

Harry S. Truman
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Truman:

It was with considerable interest that I read in this morning's paper about your visit yesterday, in the midst of your campaign tour, to the Army Fitzsimmons General Hospital near Denver, where you enquired with a number of amputees, and declared, as you left the hospital, "Nothing is 'too good for these men.'"

This is a fine sentiment, Mr. President, and I would like to call your attention to my own case, in the hope that you will take appropriate action.

I am a veteran myself, and an amputee as well. I lost both my legs in action in Italy. Then I spent a couple of years in Army hospitals, learning how to use the artificial limbs provided me by the government. Two years ago I got a job as a clerk in the Veterans Administration in Newark, a job I have filled satisfactorily ever since and by means of which I help to support my parents.

But last month I was handed a letter notifying me that I am to be fired from my job because I belong to the Socialist Workers Party, an organization included in the "subversive" list issued by the Attorney General last November.

Now I did not and do not deny that I am a member of this organization; as a matter of fact, I am as proud of my membership in this party as you are of yours in the Democratic Party. What I do deny, and what my party denies, is that it is "subversive" or advocates force and violence in order to achieve socialism. The only time I have ever practiced force and violence was under Army orders.

The Socialist Workers Party has protested its designation as subversive and asked the Attorney General for a public hearing to prove that it does not belong on this list. The Attorney General has

rejected this request. So this is the situation that I am in at the present time:

I belong to a party that is legal, and appears on the ballot and runs candidates for office. The Attorney General says it is subversive, but he has never attempted to prove it, and he even denies us the elementary democratic right to defend ourselves against this charge at a hearing.

I ask you, Mr. President, is that the democratic way? Would you like to be charged with a crime, and not told exactly what the crime is, or when you committed it, or where, and not permitted to face your accuser, or examine the evidence, or have a lawyer or a trial—and then be told you are guilty? What is the difference between such a procedure and the one followed behind the iron curtain?

Although I regard the entire Loyalty Board procedure as unconstitutional, I have followed this procedure and made my appeal through its channels. But at the Loyalty Board hearing in Philadelphia on September 10, my attempts to discuss the main issue—is my party subversive or not—were ruled out of order as irrelevant and immaterial, and the questioning was confined to something I had already publicly admitted—am I or am I not a member of the Socialist Workers Party. I see no reason to expect justice from such a set-up, and I ask you, Mr. President, to intervene in this case.

Specifically, I request you to halt the dismissal proceedings against me until such time as you have called a public hearing at which my party can defend itself and me against the subversive charges. Surely, this is a modest request to make of a public figure like yourself, who has endorsed the widely-publicized recommendations of your Committee on Civil Rights.

I would be glad to meet with you, Mr. President, to discuss this case further.

Sincerely,
(signed) James Kutcher

SOCIALIST WORKERS ON BALLOT IN NEW YORK

NEW YORK, Sept. 22 — The Socialist Workers Party ticket of Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President has been certified for a place on the New York state ballot in the November elections, it was announced today by the party's New York Campaign Manager, Irving Beinen. Notification of the certification has been received from Secretary of State Thomas J. Curran in Albany.

This is the first time the Trotskyist party will appear on the ballot in the country's most populous state. In order to win a place on the ballot, the SWP had to meet the tricky and rigorous legal requirements designed by the major parties to keep minority parties off the ballot. The SWP secured more than 21,000 signatures on election petitions, the largest number of any party

The Tradition of Debs Lives On In the Socialist Workers Party

By Joseph Hansen

On Sept. 14, 1917, Eugene V. Debs, four-time candidate of the Socialist Party for U. S. President, was sentenced in Cleveland, Ohio, to ten years in prison for opposing imperialism and advocating socialism as the only road to enduring peace.

Thirty years later, almost to the week, W. K. Kelsey, well-known columnist of the Detroit News, exclaimed in reference to Norman Thomas: "How the Socialist Party leadership has changed since the days of Eugene V. Debs!" The struggle of Debs against capitalism and for socialism appeared to this commentator forgotten by everyone but the historians.

A few days later, Kelsey felt obliged to publish a correction in his column. His attention had been called to a new party in the 1948 Presidential election—the Socialist Workers Party, whose candidates for President and Vice-President, Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, proclaim the principles Debs stood for and continue his fighting tradition.

The persecution of Debs for his stand against World War I found its historic repetition in the persecution of Farrell Dobbs, Grace Carlson and 16 other Trotskyists

for their stand against World War II.

On June 16, 1918, Debs opposed Wall Street and its war aims in a speech at Canton, Ohio, that resounded throughout the country.

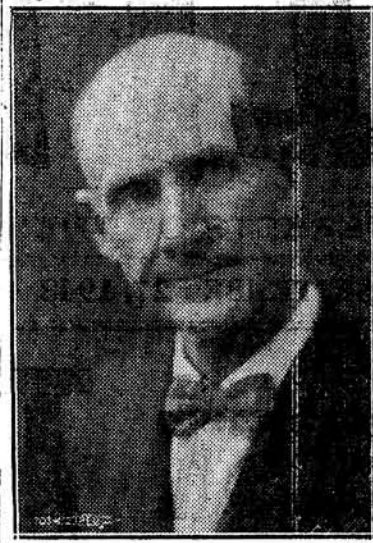
DEBS JAILED

The Woodrow Wilson Administration considered such utterances to be "treason" and placed the 63-year-old Socialist crusader on trial. But this battler did not recant. In court he told the jury: "I would not retract a word that I have uttered that I believe to be true to save myself from going to the penitentiary for the rest of my days."

Condemned to the federal penitentiary, Debs continued his battle. From behind prison bars, he ran for President in 1920 for the fifth time, polling almost a million votes.

In World War II, the Roosevelt Administration charged 18 leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party with virtually the same "crime" alleged against Debs. The real "crime" of which these Trotskyists were "guilty," like Debs, was advocacy of socialism and opposition to imperialism.

Just as Debs had defended his principles in court, so did the Trotskyists. On the witness stand,



EUGENE V. DEBS

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and one of the defendants, explained the position of the party:

"Modern wars, in the opinion of our Party, are caused by the conflict of imperialist nations for markets, colonies, source of raw material, fields for investment and spheres of influence. . . . Fundamentally wars are caused by the efforts of all the capitalist powers to expand into other fields. . . ."

We believe that the necessary social transition from the present system of capitalism to the far more efficient order of socialism, can only be brought under a leadership of the workers."

MINNEAPOLIS CASE

James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Grace Carlson and the other defendants were given sentences ranging from a year-and-a-day to 16 months. As in the case of Debs, imprisonment did not lead them to change their views. Both Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson are today running for office on the same program they advocated before they were jailed.

Since Debs historic opposition to imperialist war, Big Business has plunged America into a Second World War and is now preparing for a third slaughter.

The growing strength of the Socialist Workers Party, however, and its appearance in this Presidential election is a hopeful sign that America can be saved from the disaster of a Third World War. The great goal Debs fought for inspires the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party, his principles live in its program. The fighting campaign of Dobbs and Carlson is proof that revolutionary socialism is once again on the march in America.

Dobbs Addresses Pontiac Audience Over Station WCAR



Dunne Scores Humphrey Aid To Fascist Smith's Meeting

Vincent R. Dunne, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for United States Senator in Minnesota released the following blast on Sept. 16:

"Mayor Hubert Humphrey is helping to clear the way for the white-supremacist Dixiecrats and their advance agents who are attempting to extend the American Congo beyond their own Jim Crow territory. In his letter, which appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of Sept. 16, Mayor Humphrey invites Gerald L. K. Smith to proceed with his plans for a public meeting in the municipal auditorium in Minneapolis.

"Doesn't Mayor Humphrey know that the Christian Nationalists, headed by Smith, are in reality only a northern spearhead for the southern despots who rule with knife, gun and noose? At the Democratic national convention, Mayor Humphrey made a great show of defending civil rights. He pretends to be a student of human affairs. He posed as a champion of organized labor in order to be elected to office. But like all other politicians of his kind, he seeks to throw sand in the eyes of the working people while he snuggles up to the bosses who can bring him some votes.

ARROGANT DEMAND

"Emboldened by the terrific blows dealt the American labor movement by the Taft-Hartley Act, and encouraged by the heavy vote for such reactionaries as Joseph Ball, one of the authors of this union-busting legislation, the would-be fascist leaders, Smith, has sent an arrogant demand to the editor of the *Minneapolis Tribune* that he be furnished a public rostrum in this city. The Cowles press obligingly o.k.'s this demand and quite accurately estimates that Mayor Humphrey is in accord with their views.

"Without hesitation, Mayor



V. R. DUNNE
SWP CANDIDATE FOR MINNESOTA GOVERNOR

SWP Candidates in Michigan



Michigan candidates of the Socialist Workers Party with Grace Carlson, the party's Vice-Presidential candidate, during her recent tour in the auto state. (Left to right) William H. Yancey of Flint, candidate for Secretary of State; Grace Carlson; Genora Dollinger of Flint, candidate for U. S. Senator; and Howard Lerner of Detroit, candidate for Governor.

Campaigning For Socialism

(Continued from page 1)

the legal minimum of over 1,000 signatures for each of 16 electors for Dobbs and Carlson. They are also shooting for a high total for the national headlines and for James Boulton, SWP candidate for Governor.

I could take up the rest of this column, if space permitted writing about these petition campaigns. It's a real story of revolutionary devotion and perseverance: hard, patient work day after day buttonholing people on street corners, climbing stairs, knocking on doors—paintstaking care to avoid all the technical booby-traps laid by the capitalist state legislatures to keep minority parties off the ballot. And then days of worry that the capitalist politicians, with the law and courts in their pockets, will start proceedings to knock you off the ballot, blow up all the hard work done and force you into a costly court fight.

I wish when you read this, you would ask yourself what you have done. I know that not everyone could take part in these petition campaigns. But everyone can help—to one extent or another—to carry our message to the people and pile up a big vote for Dobbs and Carlson. All you have to do is enclose a dollar bill, five or ten in an envelope and send it to national campaign headquarters, 116 University Place. The more of these we receive, the more radio time we can buy, the more leaflets and papers we can print. How about it?

NEW YORK CITY
The New York Local Campaigner reports that they were stepping up their election activities into high gear. In the last week eight street meetings were held in various parts of the city where 1825 people heard our

speakers and received numerous copies of our platform and other literature. At one meeting in Harlem 15 workers filled out cards indicating interest in the campaign, five of whom wanted to join the party.

The Campaigner also reports that Dobbs-Carlson Clubs have been organized in the Bedford Stuyvesant and Brownsville areas of Brooklyn, another is in the process of being launched in the Fort Greene Housing project. In other parts of the city, clubs are getting under way.

Our painters branch has mailed our 1,000 election platforms to members of the union . . . a series of leaflets are being issued on the campaign to workers on the N. Y. waterfront.

IN THE AUTO STATE

The impression our presidential candidate made in Michigan can be gleaned from the following items:

The headline over a story in the "Pontiac Daily Press": "Dobbs Expecting Sizable Vote."
The enthusiastic reception of auto workers who received 35,000 copies of SWP campaign literature during Truman's Labor Day visit, many commenting: "That's what we need—union men for office."

DOBBS-CARLSON TOUR

The following are the next dates of Dobbs' tour:
Sept. 26-27 Youngstown.
Sept. 28 en route.
Sept. 29-30 Pittsburgh.
Oct. 1 en route.
Oct. 2-4 Buffalo.

The following are the next dates of Carlson's tour:
Sept. 26 to Oct. 4 Minnesota.
Oct. 5-8 Wisconsin.

World Events

By Joseph Hansen

Civil War in Indonesia

Tan Malaka, imprisoned since 1946 by heads of the Indonesian Republic on the charge that he supports the revolutionary socialist program of Leon Trotsky, has been released, according to a Sept. 16 United Press dispatch from Batavia. Well-known as a leader among Javanese Communists when the Third International was a genuine revolutionary organization, Tan Malaka had broken with Stalinism years ago.

Premier Mohammed Hatta of the Indonesian Republic, who announced the release of Tan Malaka, said he "would call upon Mr. Malaka to help strengthen the Government's anti-Communist bloc." What this meant was not made clear in the dispatch.

In Surakarta, largest city in the territory held by the Republic, fighting was reported to "have broken out between Stalinist and Trotskyist Communists." The relative size of the two groups, their programs and the exact differences between them was not given. Likewise unclear was a Sept. 17 Associated Press dispatch that a "three-way battle among Trotskyite and Stalinist Communists and Army and Navy units in Surakarta had spread" and "paralyzed" the city.

These confused and garbled reports were followed by news that a Soviet-type government had been set up in Madiun under leadership of Musso, alleged to be a "Moscow-trained Communist leader." Musso returned to Indonesia on Aug. 20, according to the story, and within a few weeks united the Stalinists, the Socialist Party, the Labor Party and SOBSI, the Trade Union Federation. Musso's program was said to include "confiscation of all industrial enterprises by the Government, placing a military force in the hands of the people and setting up of internal security committees" as well as "Land for those who toil it."

In response to the events in Madiun, the Indonesian Provisional Parliament granted unlimited powers to President Soekarno. A decree banned "all left wing newspapers." Trade union and Communist Youth Movement headquarters were raided and hundreds of persons arrested. Martial law was proclaimed "for all workers throughout the Indonesian Republic" and Soekarno called for the "recapture of Madiun as soon as possible."

Meanwhile, the Dutch Government decreed "communist action" in Indonesia to be a "criminal offense," and rushed its colonial governor van Moek by plane to the Far East. The Dutch have sought to crush the Indonesian Republic by military force.

In Washington, the State Department declared it was "watching closely the Communist movement in Southeast Asia." Such companies as Goodyear, General Motors and Standard Oil have big holdings in this fabulously-wealthy colonial area.

The State Department has consistently backed Dutch imperialism in its war on Indonesia. Without American arms, dollars and supply lines, the Dutch colonial despots could not have successfully invaded Indonesia. Part of the Dutch forces were even trained in the United States.

While it is impossible to pierce the heavy smoke-screen of censorship and draw exact conclusions about the particular happenings in Indonesia, the general course of events is clear.

The nationalist heads of the Indonesian Government betrayed the Republic and the cause of independence by giving up militant struggle against the Dutch. Consequently, the Indonesian people began seeking more militant leaders to replace them.

This leadership can be found only in the working class. There, in turn, the search for leadership brings to the fore the most dynamic and revolutionary forces.

Harry DeBoer, One of the 18, Badly Hurt in Job Accident

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Sept. 15 — Harry DeBoer, one of the 18 defendants in the famous Minneapolis Trial of 1941, was seriously injured Sept. 11 on a farm near Crookston, Minn., when his left hand and a pulley. He was rushed to the Crookston Hospital, and it is still uncertain whether his mangled hand and arm can be saved.

Harry DeBoer is well-known in the Teamsters Union and throughout the labor movement in the Northwest. In the historic Minneapolis drivers strike of July, 1934, a police bullet nearly ended this fighting union leader's career. From 1934 to 1941 he served as an organizer for Local 544 of the Teamsters Union. He was President of the Bakery Drivers Local and was elected Chairman of the Midwest Bakery Drivers Council. As Minnesota State delegate to the 12-State Over-the-Road Drivers Council, he helped win the first uniform contract for the over-the-road drivers, covering 250,000 previously unorganized workers. He was elected delegate to several state AFL conventions and to the AFL Teamsters International Convention.

He might have settled down in a comfortable post in the Teamsters Union had he cared to play ball with Czar Tobin. But he chose instead to fight for the democratic rights of the membership against the bureaucrats and goons Tobin sent into the area to smash rank and file control of Local 544 at the beginning of the war.

When Roosevelt, partly in response to Tobin's request for government help, railroaded 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party to prison for opposing imperialist war and advocating socialism, Harry DeBoer was among them. He was sentenced to a year-and-a-day in the Federal Penitentiary at Sandstone for his devotion to principle.

Upon his release from prison, he continued to be hounded by Tobin and blacklisted by the employers. DeBoer found it difficult to make a living in Minneapolis. Thus he was forced to take a job as a tractor repair expert on an industrial farm near Crookston. Part of his duties required working on the giant tractors and combines while in motion.

All his friends and comrades join in wishing Harry DeBoer speedy recovery.



TOLEDO WORKERS HEAR DOBBS TALK OVER WSPD

By Milton Genecin

TOLEDO — Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party Presidential candidate, ended a two-day stay in Toledo tonight which included a public meeting, a radio broadcast, a social affair given in his honor and a special conference with party workers.

The high point of his visit was a radio address over Station WSPD, which was transcribed in the afternoon and broadcast in the evening. For the first time in this campaign Comrade Dobbs was able to "listen to himself" on the radio in the company of a large group of party workers who gathered together for the occasion.

The inspiring radio speech calling upon the Toledo workers to select from among themselves "young and fearless leaders who know one class from another in present day class society," came like a draught of fresh air blowing through the foul odors of the capitalist parties' speeches.

"If I am elected president," he stated, "I will call upon all labor, working farmers and minority organizations to send representatives to a Congress of Labor. This Congress, I would ask to elect a broad executive committee which I would appoint to offices in my cabinet." He continued, "I would ask this Congress of Labor, which would really represent the people of this country, to adopt a program of economic expansion, housing, education, medical aid and anything else needed by the people. This program would be put into effect by my administration."

Comrade Dobbs was interviewed by a reporter from millionaire Paul Block's paper, the Toledo Blade. The reporter spent almost an hour with him, asked many questions and, as was later discovered, wrote an article. However, The Blade preaches freedom of the press but does not practice it. The article never saw the light of day.

Norman Thomas--A "Socialist" the Capitalists Like

By George Clarke

Many years ago Ben Hecht wrote a story entitled "The Champion from Far Away." In it he describes how the fight promoters took a "bum" from his job digging graves in a cemetery and started him on a spectacular career in the prize ring. Amidst great fanfare and publicity, they toured him around the country winning victory after victory against "setups." At last came the great finale where our hero is matched against the real champ. Naturally he gets "murdered" since he has neither punch nor boxing skill. The promoters, however, who had deceived the public but not themselves, put their money on the champ and made a big killing.

This build-up technique is not, we know, restricted to the crooked game of pugilism. It is well known in American politics. The current campaign gives us another demonstration of this ancient but not-so-honorable art in the job being done for Norman Thomas.

of the confused and doubletalking "socialist," representing a small and dwindling party whose better days are behind it, lifted out of obscurity, splashed over the front pages of the nation's newspapers and popular weeklies and featured without charge on a host of radio programs.

This press and radio build-up or Thomas is neither accidental nor the result of the Socialist Party emerging as a mass force in American politics. It is a highly conscious and deliberate move. The tip-off came when the New York Times last May hailed the nomination of Thomas as a "healthy" sign.

What is behind this build-up of the political "champion from far away"? Primarily the Wallace movement. The more conscious elements among our capitalist rulers had become alarmed by the millions of followers Wallace is attracting by his demagogic attacks on the bi-partisan program of war and Big Business domination of America and the world.

It was becoming obvious to them that the reactionary snarl-

ing at the Wallace movement, far from weakening let alone destroying it, was actually augmenting its size and influence. They needed a man not so besmirched, somewhat radical in appearance and language who while standing at the left of American politics would actually attack Wallace from the right. The candidate for that role was Norman Thomas.

The State Department in this case is following the same policy it pursues in Europe where it has poured money and influence into resuscitating the "Socialists" who are supporting the world ambitions of American imperialism against socialist revolution on the one hand and Stalinism on the other. In Norman Thomas they have an eager-beaver who supports his counterparts abroad and zealously aspires to that role at home.

The speech delivered by Thomas on Sept. 19, printed in full in the N. Y. Times and relayed over the press wires indicates how shrewd is the judgement of the Big Boys in showering him with publicity. Thomas succeeds in making a

speech that covers almost a full page of the paper without once attacking the bi-partisan drive towards World War III. He has no criticism to make of the policy of the State Department which props up the murderous Greek Monarchy, the reactionary and corrupt government of Chiang Kai Shek, the nest of international intrigue and reaction in the Vatican and now the would-be man-on-horseback, General de Gaulle.

To give the devil his due, it should be noted that Thomas has at times criticised the "excesses" in Greece and China, freely advising the Wall Street gang that America's pretensions to spreading democracy abroad were being injured by supporting reactionary governments.

This is the respectable advice of a loyal opposition. The capitalist rulers appreciate Thomas' criticisms because it costs them nothing and permits them to maintain the fiction of democratic rights at home. What counts for them is the fundamental class position. For or against the im-

perialist war? For or against the imperialist Marshall Plan? Thomas is in their camp on both questions—he supported the second World War, today he supports the Marshall Plan.

Genuine working class opposition to imperialism, that is socialist internationalism—utterly alien to Thomas, receives no such gentle treatment. Woodrow Wilson punished Eugene V. Debs for opposing the First World War by throwing him into jail. And Franklin Roosevelt meted out a similar penalty to Farrell-Dobbs and Grace Carlson for their opposition to the Second World War.

The practical proposals made by Thomas to stop the headlong drive towards World III should be placed on exhibit as the prize specimens of a politician who has made a career out of middle-classness, confusion and downright stupidity.

Thomas outshouts the most leather-lunged of the warmongers by his demand that the United Nations should brand Russia as an "aggressor" and then strengthen its powers to deal with the aggressor

by a "reform" that would eliminate the veto. What practical conclusions do such proposals entail? Prepare for war! Establish military bases all over the world! Arm to the teeth!

But Thomas just doesn't cotton to such simple logical reasoning. He emerges from his warlike plans with—hold your hat!—with the pacifist proposal of disarmament, a dreamy, deceptive proposal which never has and never will stop a capitalist war.

All these with the exception, naturally, of disarmament, are being taken by the State Department. If they still hesitate to abolish the veto in the U.N. and declare Russia an "aggressor" it is only because the military preparations are still incomplete and the time not yet ripe to take the diplomatic steps which will precipitate the shooting war. But they are working hard on the matter and, if not halted by a socialist revolution, will in time oblige Mr. Thomas.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Philadelphia branch continues with unusual success selling subscriptions at election campaign street meetings, for which the 25c-15-week sub is made to order. Last week 23 subs were obtained at one street corner and five at another where only a small crowd turned out.

Chicago sold 158 "Voice of Socialism" pamphlets at a Wallace meeting. This is a compilation of eight radio speeches, seven by the Socialist Workers Party candidates, Farrell Dobbs for president and Grace Carlson for vice president, and the SWP convention keynote address by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the party. The price is 10c.

Detroit's subscription campaign reached a total of 573 subs last week. Of the last 65, Bea Allen reported, Fred had obtained seven in his shop and Morgan had gotten 19 on house-to-house work and by visiting friends.

One subscriber "renewed" for two years because once before he forgot to renew on time and

missed a lot of issues."

"Our campaign is really going very well Bea added. "We are visiting Militant readers to sell tickets for meetings, and thereby establishing closer contacts. Lots of literature is being sold at all our meetings, so we are gaining in every respect from the election campaign."

W. H. T. of Buffalo assured himself of uninterrupted arrival of The Militant for a long time to come. He renewed for five years.

Newark kept up its weekly average with 34 subs this week from Newark and East Orange.

New York turned in 82 subs to lead all branches.

From Privas, France: "At what rate could you send me every week your newspaper The Militant? I don't know how to send a subscription with French money. Please answer as quickly as possible to a French comrade of your SWP."

Subscriptions: \$1 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months.

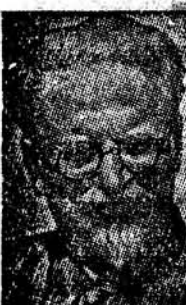
THE MILITANT

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Monday, September 27, 1948



The experience of my life, in which there has been no lack either of successes or of failures, has not only not destroyed my faith in the clear, bright future of mankind, but, on the contrary, has given it an indestructible temper.

—Leon Trotsky, Address before Dewey Commission, Mexico City, 1937.



LENIN

Stalinist Silence on Kutcher Case

Almost every leading newspaper has reported on the Kutcher case. Several columnists have commented on it. Union papers like the CIO News have carried items about it.

time imprisonment of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544 under the Smith "Gag" Act—the very case which set the precedent for the present indictment of the 12 CP leaders.

But there is one newspaper for which the Kutcher case does not appear to exist—a publication incidentally, whose columns for months have been complaining about the government's witch-hunt and "loyalty" purge of political dissidents.

Blinded by factional frenzy, stupefied by their own lies, the Stalinists violate the most elementary principles of working-class solidarity in the defense of civil rights.

"Ya" Elections

The 1948 Presidential election reveals how gravely the two-party system has undermined democratic rights in America.

To preserve the Democratic and Republican monopoly of the ballot, arbitrary election laws, written in the spirit of authoritarianism, bar minority parties.

announcing the ruling. When forced to hold a hearing, the Board alleged that the "similarity" between the name of the Workers Party and the "United Laborite Party" would give rise to confusion.

Thus, a powerful new grouping like the Wallace movement was ruled off the ballot in Illinois. In Youngstown, Ohio, and Boston, Massachusetts, the Socialist Workers Party was similarly barred from the ballot after meeting all the arbitrary rules and regulations drawn up by the Democrats and Republicans.

This is an ominous trend. Every effort must be bent to eliminate the dictatorial election laws. It is up to the trade union heads who declaim about labor political action to begin clearing the ground right now for labor's march to office by organizing a nation-wide campaign for free elections in America.

The latest instance occurred in the very political center of America, New York City, where the Workers Party was ruled off the ballot in the 19th Congressional District.

At first the Board gave no excuse, simply

Truman "Trust-Busting"

On September 15—less than eight weeks before election day—the Truman administration with much fanfare began an anti-trust suit against the "Big Four" meat packers—Armour, Swift, Cudahy and Wilson.

meat Harry—as Truman came to be called—before the meat barons, he exhibited a cold-blooded savagery against the packinghouse workers.

Only a Rip Van Winkle waking up on September 15, would be taken in by this last minute pretense of trust-busting. And even Rip would see through this phony election eve maneuver if he went to the library and read the back issues of the newspapers.

With this black record the administration now has the audacity to come forward posing as an enemy of monopoly in the packinghouse industry. It is a safe prediction that nothing will come of this anti-trust suit—even if the Democratic Party were to win the elections.

Let's look at the record.

In July 1946 the Democrats passed the price decontrol bill, giving the President power to take food and other items off the OPA control list.

Because capitalist politicians will do nothing to end monopolist control. They are not enemies of the profit-swollen monopolists, but their agents and timeservers.

\$2,000 Weekly to Election Day Needed to Meet SWP Fund Quota

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

November 2—Election Day—is creeping up on us fast. We have just five weeks left to take advantage of the wonderful opportunities that have opened up for the Socialist Workers Party in the Dobbs-Carlson election campaign.

The branches and sympathizers of the SWP have done yeoman work, day and night, to put the SWP on the map in this campaign. But in the five-week stretch ahead we've got to go into the sprint.

A very great deal depends on the finances available. You can see by the scoreboard that we have not yet reached 60% of the \$25,000 national quota for our Election Campaign and Party Building Fund.

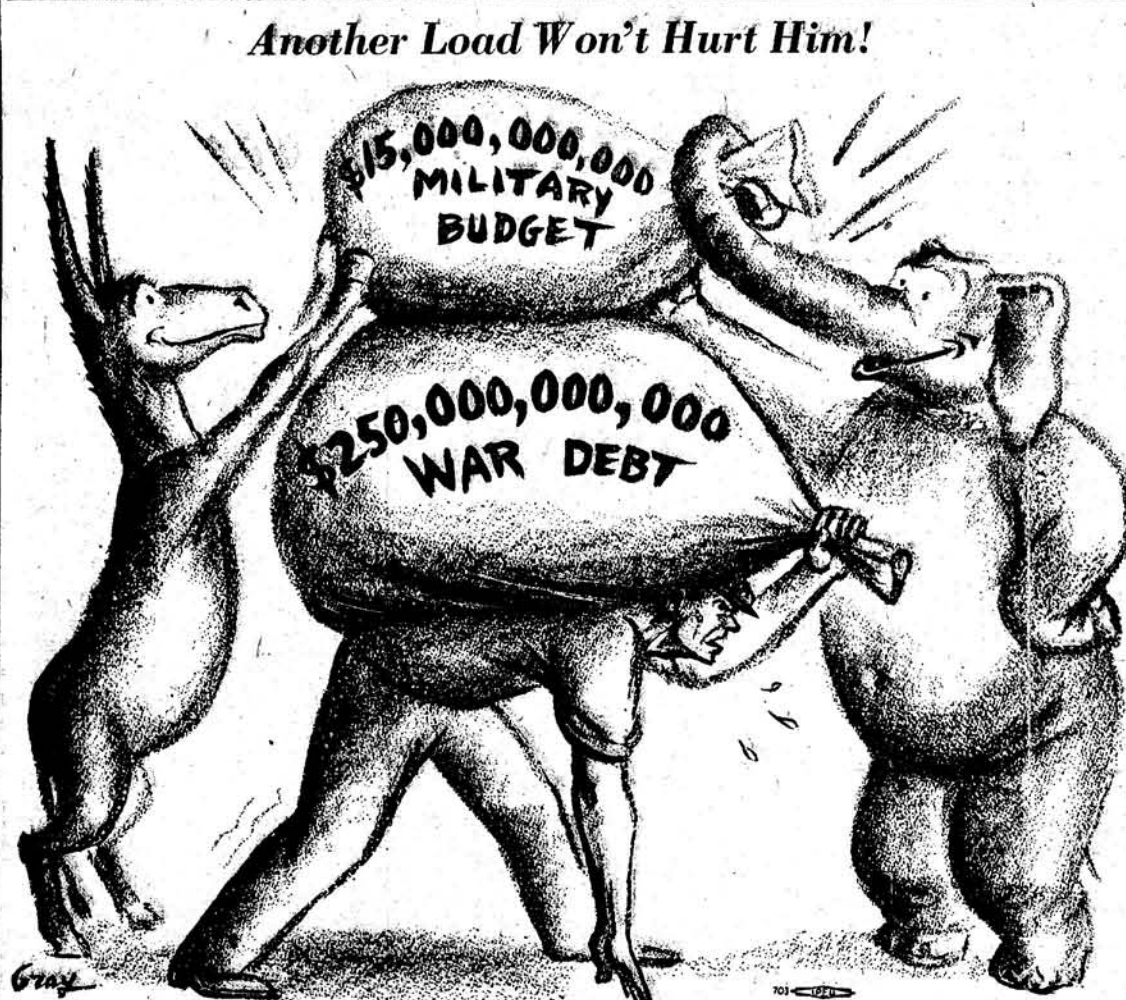
This past week's contributions, while up from the previous week's were \$972.50, or less than half of the amount that will be needed each week to the wind-up.

As National Fund Director, it is my duty to suggest to the party branches that they proceed in this next week to sit down and study this Fund question and organize the most systematic and concentrated effort to fulfill the Fund quota in real Trotskyist style.

We know that the spirit and the will is there. Genora Dollinger, Fund director for the Flint branch—and candidate for U.S. Senator, writes: "Now that the two biggest attractions of our election campaign has been held (Dobbs-Carlson meetings) we can settle down to raising the rest of our pledge."

The Lynn, Mass., branch writes: "We have been rather tardy. This is all due to unemployment especially in the shoe and leather industries. We are almost sure that before the campaign ends Lynn will fulfill its pledge." Attached is a \$25 check. Obstacles aplenty exist, as these letters show. But they also show the determination that exists in our party ranks. We are confident they will do all in their power to complete the Fund in record fashion.

CORRECTION: The Fund Scoreboard last week reported incorrectly the totals for Rochester and General contributions. This week's totals are correct.



Another Load Won't Hurt Him!

WORKERS FORUM

Demands Abolition Of Monarchy

While you are busy trying to elect the next President of U.S.A. I would call your attention to the importance of immediate liquidation of the British monarchy as a step toward Socialism and democracy.

Movie Review

This is a picture that palliates much of the trash that is issued by Hollywood. It simply but intelligently tells of the trials of a Czech mother in search for her displaced six-year-old son.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc. required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912 as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 of The Militant, published weekly at New York, N.Y., for October 1, 1948.

State of New York, County of New York. Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Jeff Thorne, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The Militant and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and, if a daily, weekly, semi-weekly or tri-weekly newspaper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the year shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Regulations 637, Postal Laws and Regulations), printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Militant Publishing Assn., 116 University Place, New York 3; Editor, Farrell Dobbs, 116 University Place, New York 3; Managing Editor, Farrell Dobbs, 116 University Place, New York 3; Business Manager, Jeff Thorne, 116 University Place, New York 3.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address, together with the names and addresses of all stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock, or, if not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given.) If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The Militant Publishing Assn., 116 University Place, New York 3; Farrell Dobbs, 116 University Place, New York 3; Jeff Thorne, 116 University Place, New York 3.

SCOREBOARD FOR \$25,000 SWP ELECTION FUND

Table with columns: Branch, Quota, Paid, Percent. Lists various cities and their contribution progress towards a \$25,000 goal.

Bucks Carlson For Vice President

We are very glad to see a woman running for vice president. Hope and wish she will be elected. Will the Socialist Workers Party be on the ballot in Florida? Florida has one party, Democrats.

Last night I heard on WNYC a rebroadcast of Dobbs Farrell's acceptance speech in which he shows up Wallace for what he is. Please send me 20 copies of it. I want to give it to my "Wallace" friends. Too bad you are not SLP members. You should be.

Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. Dobbs-Carlson campaign material, The Militant, Fourth International, books and pamphlets on Socialism available.

- List of local party headquarters across various cities including Akron, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Flint, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Newark, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Toledo, and Youngstown.

Pittsburgh Readers Attention FARRELL DOBBS Socialist Workers Party Presidential Candidate will speak Thursday, Sept. 30, 8:00 P. M. 1418 5th Ave., 2nd floor Pittsburgh, Pa. Auspices Socialist Workers Party

SAN FRANCISCO Hear the Candidates of the Socialist Workers Party FARRELL DOBBS Harry Press Chairman: James P. Cannon Friday, Oct. 8, 8:00 P. M. 1739 Fillmore St., 3rd floor Auspices Socialist Workers Party NEWARK SOCIAL Featuring short talks by SWP candidates George Breitman and William E. Bohannan SAT., OCT. 2, at 9 P. M. 423 Springfield Ave., Newark

On Truman's Trail

By Farrell Dobbs, Presidential Candidate

Toledo, Sept. 19 — For the past ten days I have been hard on the trail of strikebreaker Truman through the great auto centers of Michigan and Northern Ohio.



Truman's speeches were carried as a "public service" by the major radio stations in each city, except Detroit, where the Democrats paid for radio time. Our comrades fought for and won equal free time — second for second — for me to answer Truman.

Here is the scorecard on my radio time: Flint, 17 minutes; Pontiac, 11 minutes, 8 seconds; Grand Rapids, 13 minutes, 18 seconds; Lansing, 4 minutes, 54 seconds; Toledo, 14 minutes, 10 seconds.

Through these broadcasts we reached tens of thousands of auto workers. Reports from the factories reveal that my radio talks have been an important topic of conversation among them.

I welcomed the opportunity to rip into the top union officials for their cynical policy of supporting Truman, who is a political tool of the monopoly corporations and the big banks.

I got right down to brass tacks and talked about the reality of the war between capital and labor; the need for the workers to create a new policy and a new leadership corresponding to this reality; and the compelling reasons why the workers must combine the economic struggles on the picket line with independent labor political action.

In Detroit and Pontiac I addressed street meet-

ings of several hundred workers, mostly Negroes. Here I described how the Workers and Farmers government will be built and how it will transform the capitalist economy of artificial scarcity into a socialist economy of abundance.

The workers listened closely to my explanations of these fundamental questions and applauded at several points during the talk.

After the speaking program ended a number of workers remained to discuss issues, ask questions, purchase literature and sign interest cards to secure more information about the SWP.

Our Michigan comrades, who have had little past experience with street meetings, are already conducting themselves like seasoned street campaigners.

The SWP presidential campaign coincides with a serious new trend of thought about basic program and independent labor political action among important sections of the auto workers.

These significant twin events will speed the growth of a strong left wing in the auto union under the impact of coming developments on the American political scene.

I am now moving through Ohio toward Canton where I plan to reaffirm the socialist anti-war program of Eugene V. Debs set forth in his historic Canton speech 30 years ago. And I shall defend this sterling revolutionary against detractors like Norman Thomas who seek, in Debs' name, to betray the working people into support of the capitalist ruling class in a Third World War.

SWP Election Tour

Barnstorming in Buffalo

By Grace Carlson, Vice-Presidential Candidate

"The City of Good Neighbors" is the title given to their home town by civic-minded Buffalonians. And while "good-neighborliness" is scarcely noticeable in such Buffalo business enterprises as Westinghouse Corporation, Bell Aircraft, General Motors and Bethlehem Steel, it is a very real factor in the Socialist Workers Party Branch here.



I have been taken care of very well and very generously in every city that I visited on this tour. But I think that the Buffalo Branch crowded more home-cooked dinners, parties and socials of all kinds into the schedule than any other place—for all of which I am very grateful to the Trotskyist "good neighbors" of Buffalo.

But on a more "un-neighborly note"—I heard the story of police brutality toward Buffalo's Negro citizens at one NAACP protest meeting here last Friday night. Like every other believer in freedom and equality in the audience, I applauded the decision to raise funds for the defense of the two Negro women, who were the latest victims of police brutality. I was grateful to read in the paper the next day that these two women, who had been charged with "assaulting an officer," "resisting arrest" etc., would be granted a new trial and permitted to turn the charges against the Jim Crow-minded police.

My trip to Buffalo coincided with visits of the so-called Progressive, Henry Wallace, and the so-called Socialist, Norman Thomas. Our offer to debate Norman Thomas on "foreign policy"

received some publicity in the Buffalo press but the challenge was turned down because Thomas was "too busy." However, our Buffalo people will continue to pressure the S.P. for a debate between Norman Thomas and Farrell Dobbs next month.

Our reply to Henry Wallace's anti-war demagoguery also received some publicity in the Buffalo papers. Here is the story as it appeared in the Sept. 19 edition of the Buffalo Courier-Express:

"Dr. Grace Carlson, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, last night characterized the speech made by Henry A. Wallace Thursday evening at Kleinbors Music Hall as 'confused, demagogic and opportunistic.'"

"All that Wallace is doing is trading on the anti-war sentiments of the people," she told a small audience at the party's Buffalo headquarters, 629 Main St. (This isn't true! There were close to 100 workers present and that's not a small audience in our language.) Wallace has no real program for fighting war and, in fact, already has announced his intention of withdrawing from the race if the United States goes to war."

"Dr. Carlson dismissed President Truman and Governor Dewey, Democratic and Republican Presidential aspirants as the open exponents of Wall Street's plans for dominating the world through another global war. She branded Norman Thomas, Socialist Party presidential candidate as a traitor to the ideas of international socialism for his recent proposal for a meeting of Truman, Dewey, Wallace and himself to form a united quatro-partisan, anti-Communist foreign policy."

Book Review

Voice of Socialism

By George Lavan

THE VOICE OF SOCIALISM, Pioneer Publishers, 1948, 31 pages, 10c.

The radio speeches of Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, the SWP candidates for President and Vice-President, are now available in this attractive and inexpensive pamphlet.

Workers whose ears are ringing from the barrage of hypocritical and evasive campaign oratory of the capitalist candidates will find in this little pamphlet a clear and succinct exposition of the true issues of the 1948 elections. It is truly the voice of Socialism addressing the American people.

Of the eight speeches presented five are by Farrell Dobbs, two by Grace Carlson and one by James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary. All were broadcast over nationwide networks, five of them from the SWP's Thirteenth National Convention. Even those who heard all of these speeches over the radio will find it well worth while to read the speeches as a guide to the issues of the election.

For here is a concise but comprehensive statement of the program of American Trotskyism. A glance at the table of contents indicates the ground covered. In his opening speech Dobbs describes the overriding threat facing the American people — the danger of military dictatorship. This danger already manifested in the war

plans and preparations of Big Business finds its supplement in the attacks on the unions and on traditional democratic rights.

James P. Cannon's keynote speech of the Thirteenth National SWP Convention, entitled The Two Americas, depicts the place of the SWP in the pattern of American history. The SWP represents the America of the workers and farmers. It is in the tradition of all those who fought in the past against reaction and tyranny.

Grace Carlson has two moving speeches in this collection. The first is her acceptance of the Vice-Presidential nomination, in which she pledges a campaign unsparing in defense of civil rights, especially for the Negro people and all other oppressed minorities. In her second speech she traces the successive betrayals of the American people into war, beginning with Wilson's deceiving campaign of "He Kept Us Out of War" through Roosevelt's equally mendacious promises, down to the present protestations of the capitalist candidates, including Wallace.

Single copies of this pamphlet may be purchased for 10c; the price for orders of ten pamphlets or more is 8c per pamphlet. These prices also apply to purchases of A Letter to American Negroes by William E. Bohannon, recently reviewed in the Militant.

Read the SWP Campaign Literature!

Send for your copies of these new pamphlets

The Voice of Socialism



Containing the full text of the recent nationwide broadcasts by the SWP candidates, Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice-President.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

Get your FREE copy of the

1948 ELECTION PLATFORM

Socialist Workers Party

SWP Presidential Campaign Committee

A Letter to American Negroes



by WILLIAM E. BOHANNAN

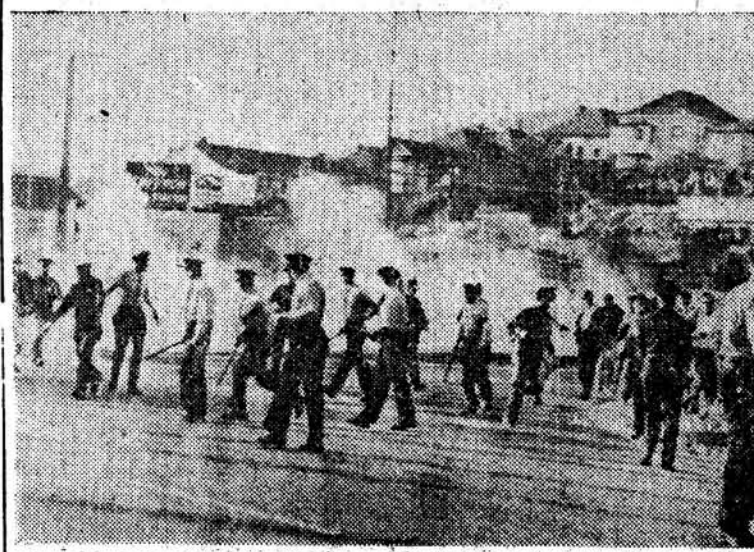
SWP candidate for Congressman from the 11th District in New Jersey in the November election.

116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT

Striking Oil Workers Resist Tear-Gas Attack, Halt Scabs

By Robin Wolf



Richmond, Calif., police hurl tear gas bombs at striking members of the CIO Oil Workers Union picketing the Standard Oil refinery, injuring 12 and felling hundreds. Police attempted to blast a path for scabs after several thousand pickets turned out in defiance of an injunction limiting picketing to four men.

RICHMOND, Calif., Sept. 15—In a pitched battle against tear gas-hurling police and in defiance of a court injunction, some 3,000 massed pickets and sympathizers of the CIO Oil

Workers Union yesterday called a halt to fink-herding and picket line-crashing in this oil workers' town just across the bay from San Francisco.

They turned back a motor caravan of finks that tried to enter the Standard Oil Refinery here under escort of 150 steel-helmeted police. For more than an hour, the striking workers and their supporters, led by experienced war veterans and battling from behind barricades, fought off the tear-gas assaults of the heavily armed cops.

Events of the day before provoked yesterday's staunch defense of their picket lines by the CIO oilworkers.

Under direction of Homer Patton, International representative of the AFL Boilermakers Union, who claimed to speak for a hastily improvised "AFL Joint Committee," 300 workers were hustled into cars at the independent Machinist's union hall, Monday morning, Sept. 13. Covered by police escort the caravan of misled workers rolled through the CIO picket line. Patton claimed that the back-to-work movement was endorsed by the AFL Boilermakers, Electricians, Sailors, Steamfitters and Plumbers, Sheet-metal Workers, Carpenters, and

Bricklayers—and one independent union, the International Association of Machinists.

The CIO strikers then mobilized their ranks for a counter-offensive.

Tense and determined pickets were ready for action at six o'clock Tuesday morning when they gathered at the Oil Workers Hall just outside the main gate of the huge Standard Oil refinery here.

About 7 A.M. two large vans and several passenger cars loaded with scabs raced along Standard Avenue, running down a picket, and streaked onto the Standard Oil property to the accompaniment of jeers from the long lines of enraged pickets and their sympathizers.

BARRICADE ERECTED

A barricade of scrap metal and lumber was then quickly thrown across Standard Avenue by the pickets in spite of a hail of tear gas projectiles from the city and county police. Defending themselves with rocks, boards and bottles, the pickets retreated uphill from the barricade area. "Don't rub your eyes! Face into the wind!", war veterans called advice to the others.

When the tear gas cleared away

the workers returned to seize a carload of scabs which had been stopped at the barricade. The steel-helmeted police attacked again with the tear gas and drove away the strikers before they could do more than pull one scab from the car and before they could turn it over.

For an hour and ten minutes the pickets maintained the barricade, retreating in the face of repeated attacks by gas guns whose pellets cannot be thrown back, but returning as soon as the gas cleared. Whenever the police used the grenade-type bombs, however, the pickets returned them with a vengeance.

At times, when the police made an attempt to remove the barricade, furious strikers charged upon them with whatever ammunition happened to be at hand, until finally repelled by the gas guns.

One hour and ten minutes after its erection, its purpose fulfilled, the pickets allowed the barrier to be torn down and held a victory meeting on the spot, right outside their union hall.

STRIKERS DEMONSTRATE

At this meeting, James Stanley, president of the Richmond local of the striking Oilworkers, told the pickets that the strike breaking attempts did not have the official sanction of the AFL, that the majority of AFL unions would support the strike, and that the sympathy of the entire labor movement was with the oilworkers in their fight for 21 cents an hour wage increase.

At the instructions of their officials, about 700 pickets then went downtown to the machinist's hall—headquarters of the strike-breakers—to protest the action of the IAM officials. The pickets peacefully lined up across the street from the IAM building, faced by a line of 19 cops, and sent a delegation inside. The delegation soon returned and reported that the IAM officials were so terrified at the "mob" outside that it was impossible to get a coherent statement from them.

The actions of the IAM officials in condoning and becoming part of an attempted back-to-work movement, obviously inspired by the Standard Oil officials, is particularly reprehensible in light of the recent identical move made by Dave Beck of the AFL Teamsters Union, in Seattle against striking IAM workers at Boeing Aircraft.

At the first meeting where the bureaucrats' proposals were presented, a rank and file revolt occurred.

A standing vote on a motion to reject the proposal passed, after which a vote by secret ballot on the proposal itself got under way. No sooner did it start than H. J. Gibson, President of the union, appalled by the turn of events, announced that the ballot boxes were being stuffed by "Communists," invalidated the voting, and called another meeting in three days.

In the intervening period, the membership was harangued and red-baited. All those who called for mass picketing were denounced by the officers as Trotskyites, drunks, criminals or company stooges. At the second mass meeting, a disgusted and confused membership was finally pressured to vote a return to work.

That is as far as he got. He was drowned out by boos and cries from the strikers, "Who used the tear gas? What about your trigger-happy cops!"

The Mayor was forced to call a special meeting of the City Council to listen to the striker's grievances. He disclaimed all responsibility for the police assault and promised that he would "look into the charges of police brutality."

The solid defense of their strike by the CIO Oilworkers got immediate results on all sides. The Contra Costa County Central AFL Building Trades Council met right after the picket line battle and adopted a strong resolution stating it would "do nothing to injure the cause of the CIO Oilworkers," and that "it is not a part of the strike, nor is it attempting to break the strike." It condemned "certain individuals who have no authority to speak for AFL unions, but who attempt to speak for the entire AFL."

Present indications are that the oil industry will now return to its original strategy of trying to starve the strikers back to work. The six companies with which the union is in separate negotiations are: Standard Oil of California; Tidewater Associated; Shell Oil; Richfield Oil Corporation; Union Oil of California; The Texas Company. None have yet retreated from their original miserly offer of a 12 1/2 cent raise, against the union's demand for 21 cents.

Of these six companies only Standard in this area has attempted to operate.

BOEING STRIKE BROKEN AFTER 144-DAY BATTLE

By C. Kaye

SEATTLE, Sept. 20 — The 144-day strike against the Boeing Airplane Company has come to an end. The membership of Aero Mechanics Union, Lodge 751, International Association of Machinists, unable to force the

bureaucracy to permit a militant fight, voted to return to work.

Under guise of accepting paragraph 2-b of the NLRB trial examiner's report on reinstatement, the union leadership engineered a back-to-work vote. The report recommended two months ago that the Company reinstate all strikers under conditions prevailing at the time of the April 22 walk-out, without prejudice to their seniority or other privileges. But the company never indicated its willingness to comply with these terms.

Thus far only 2,000 out of 10,000 workers have been reinstated in their jobs.

RANKS REVOLT

At the first meeting where the bureaucrats' proposals were presented, a rank and file revolt occurred.

A standing vote on a motion to reject the proposal passed, after which a vote by secret ballot on the proposal itself got under way. No sooner did it start than H. J. Gibson, President of the union, appalled by the turn of events, announced that the ballot boxes were being stuffed by "Communists," invalidated the voting, and called another meeting in three days.

In the intervening period, the membership was harangued and red-baited. All those who called for mass picketing were denounced by the officers as Trotskyites, drunks, criminals or company stooges. At the second mass meeting, a disgusted and confused membership was finally pressured to vote a return to work.

PLANT DEMONSTRATION

Company newspapers and radio ads instructed the ex-strikers to stay home until they were recalled to work. But by 6 a. m. on Monday morning, Sept. 13, thousands of returning strikers were massed around the plant gates. The Seattle Police Department reinforced by a motorcycle regiment, was on hand to clear a path for the scabs. Only a small percentage of these found the courage to leave their autos and enter the plant, and they were loudly booed as they scurried inside. Company loudspeakers blared at the strikers to go home, but they remained to register for reinstatement in the huge company cafeteria before being instructed to leave by union officials.

Within the shops, returned strikers were hopelessly outnumbered by the scabs and consistently pressured to join Dave Beck's new outfit, conceived in scabbery and dedicated to strike-breaking—the Aeronautical Workers, Helpers, and Warehousemen.

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STALINIST POLICIES WEAKEN WEST COAST MARITIME STRIKE

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 19—Leading spokesmen for all striking maritime unions concurred today in a deal arranged by International officials of the CIO longshore union, high-up Army Brass, and an independent stevedoring firm which will send longshoremen back to the docks to load Army cargo under old conditions and at the pre-strike wage scale paid on Sept. 1.

The Army released the news that it had contracted with Mutual Stevedoring Company of San Francisco to load cargo on Army ships in the ports of San Francisco, Stockton and Los Angeles. The contract was reported to be on a cost-plus-fixed-fee basis. However, the Army insisted that wages must not exceed the pre-strike scale of \$1.67 per hour.

A similar arrangement had previously been worked out for the port of Seattle. The Army has intervened continuously as a strike-breaking agency since longshoremen walked off the job in all Pacific coast ports 18 days ago. Last week an attempt was made to recruit scabs. An employment center was opened at Fort Mason and an Army sound truck toured working-class neighborhoods in San Francisco announcing that longshoremen were needed.

The CIO longshore union massed pickets at Fort Mason and turned back applicants. A joint statement of all striking unions was issued, branding "the program of the army as strike-breaking, and an attempt to achieve the shipowners' desire to destroy the longshore and seamen's hiring halls." A call for support went out to the entire labor movement.

In attempting to recruit finks the Army tried to pit race against race, and sent its sound truck into the Fillmore district of this city in a special appeal to the Negro people. This insult to the Negroes was denounced by Dr. Carlton Goodlett of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People who contrasted the fine record of the CIO longshore union against discrimination with the Army policy of segregation.

This policy is typical of the Stalinist opportunists. They are always willing to sacrifice the

soon forced to advance the more moderate policy of weakening the strike by insisting that union men working Army cargo could not be paid above the pre-strike scale.

Forced to declare the contracts held by stevedoring firms of the Waterfront Employers Association now forfeit because these firms refuse to recognize the union even on the pre-strike basis, the Army called for bids to do the work. Mutual, not part of the WEA, placed a bid and snatched up the contracts.

This is being hailed as a great strategic victory by the Stalinist leaders of the Longshore union. Army cargo will now begin to move on the strike-bound Pacific coast. This cargo will be loaded in five Army transports manned by the Army Transportation Service which does not recognize the seamen's unions. Next month the Army plans to ship 250,000 tons to the Far East. Ordinarily about 80 per cent of this would go in commercial vessels. The Army has not yet revealed whether it plans to expand its own cargo fleet and try to sail ships with non-union crews, or to accept bids from shipping companies who are willing to recognize the striking seamen's unions.

All striking unions have declared that they will work only those Army transports in commission June 15 this year, and that if the Army attempts to expand its fleet to avoid hiring union seamen, all ships added will be declared "hot," and longshoremen will refuse to load them.

The real danger the strike now faces is that Army and Marshall Plan cargo will begin to move in commercial bottoms under pre-strike conditions and that a gradual back-to-work movement will gain ground until nearly half the so-called "normal" shipping will be resumed on this coast—with no gains having been won by the striking unions.

If the policy of the Stalinists prevails, strikers who have been walking the picket lines for 18 days would find themselves back on the job at part-time work under the same conditions that they struck against.

The Army, unable to find many applicants for scab work, was

basic demands of the union in order to make a deal with some "liberal" section of the employers. In this case they have sought to use the Army and the election-plagued Truman Administration against the waterfront employers. Their strategy is determined in part by the vicious red-baiting campaign of the employers who have declared that they will not deal with any of the unions until the "Communist leaders" are removed.

The employers have attempted to make this the main issue of the strike. The Stalinists, trying to avoid a policy of militant action, are desperately maneuvering to settle the strike, even at the expense of some of the key demands for which the strike was called. Thus they have readily given up all demands for wages and conditions in their negotiations with the Army in order to find some section of the employers with whom they can negotiate and come to an agreement.

This tactic is in no way justified by the attitude of the men on strike or by the position adopted by the various unions involved. The whole anti-red campaign of the employers has been contemptuously shrugged aside by the rank and file. Every attempt to drive a wedge between the unions with this issue has been scorned.

J. B. Bryan, President of PASA, last week sent a letter to the independent Marine Firemen's Union, proposing that negotiations be re-opened on the following basis: "1. That you are prepared to execute an agreement upon arriving at mutually satisfactory terms regardless of the status of our relationships with other unions. 2. That upon execution of an agreement, your union and its members will perform thereunder and will resume work whether or not agreements have been reached with other unions."

The MFOU announced that "the letter was filed in the garbage pail where it belongs."

With such solidarity among the unions and with the entire labor movement supporting the strike, seamen and longshoremen have a power that the employers cannot defeat.