

Vote the Socialist Workers Party Ticket -- Vote for Dobbs and Weiss

Workers of the World, Unite!

SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL SWP CANDIDATES

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THE MILITANT

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Dems, GOP Plot to Keep The Korean War Going

By Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential Candidate

A majority of the American people are opposed to the Korean war and want it ended immediately. Most political commentators agree that any major party candidate who offered to end the war at once and bring the troops home could win the election hands down.

Through most of his campaign, General Eisenhower tried to live up to the bi-partisan agreement to evade the war issue. But the sentiment of the people has proved too strong. The general has been forced to venture into

criticism of the Democratic administration's Korean policy. This criticism, to be sure is 99% demagogic and contains no suggestion for ending the war now.

Nevertheless, the criticism obliged Adlai Stevenson to defend the administration's policy in Korea. In a you're-guilty-too "fire-side" address on Oct. 16, he denies the Republican claims that they could have done differently and better. He brazenly defends Truman's whole course. He repudiates the very suggestion that the troops be pulled out of Korea.

He asserts that come what may he will not end the war.

That is Stevenson's position. You can take it or leave it. But you don't have to take his completely unfounded statement that Truman's "prompt decision" to invade Korea was "saluted by all Americans, whatever their party and whatever their station in life, and by free men everywhere."

This is not only a falsehood. It's a slander of the majority of the people here and abroad. They never "saluted" Truman's one-man decision to intervene in Korea. They never hailed the monstrous atrocities committed by the U.S. military — the high explosives and napalm dumped on millions of helpless Koreans.

MOST UNPOPULAR WAR

We were dragged into the Korean war without our consent. No doubt, the bankers and war contractors, the generals and admirals saluted Truman's action. But the majority of workers and farmers have revealed their hostility to the war in poll after poll. Can anyone honestly deny this is the most unpopular war in our entire history?

It is true that the representatives of both capitalist parties in Washington saluted Truman's "police action." Even such a foe of the administration as Senator Taft greeted Truman's unconstitutional moves with a declaration of support. And it was hailed by General MacArthur. But our party, the Socialist Workers Party, denounced and opposed this war from the first.

Abroad, hostility to the war in Korea is so great that only 16 of 60 countries in the United Nations have given even token aid in this so-called "United Nations" war. The UN has scraped up a bare 50,000 troops for Korea and these only after the greatest prodding by Washington. Right now Secretary of State Dean Acheson and his State Department crew are begging and threatening in the UN for more troops from other countries.

PEOPLE REJECTED WAR

Stevenson chides "some Republicans" who "favor extending the war to China." He says that as a result of the "Great Debate" over MacArthur's dismissal, "The Congress and the American people overwhelmingly rejected this advice to extend the war."

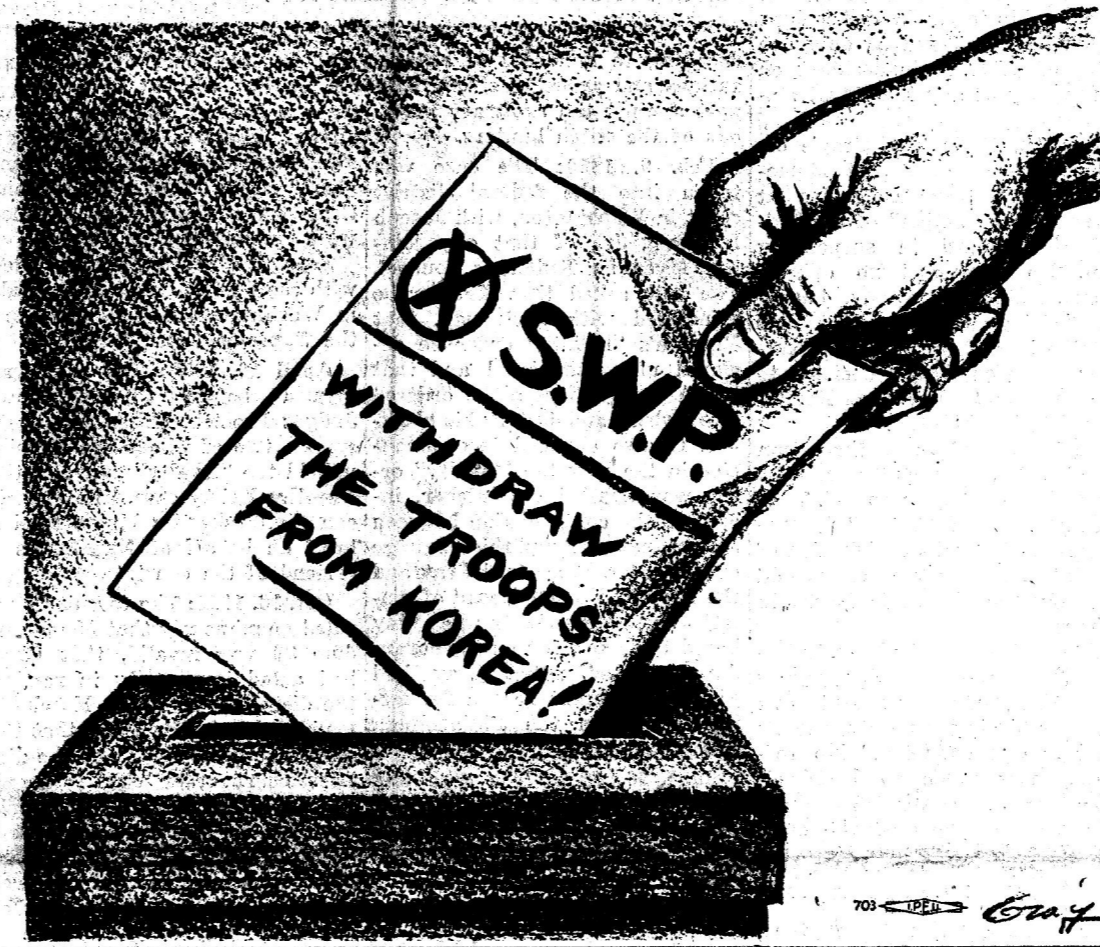
Stevenson is right. The people did reject the extension of the war to China. But the people have also rejected the war in Korea itself. Does Stevenson or Eisenhower or anyone else deny this to be true? Then let them submit the question to a democratic vote. Let the American people, who have to make the sacrifices in the Korean war, decide in a popular referendum whether or not they want the boys to stay in Korea or come home.

But that is the last thing Stevenson — or Eisenhower —

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Court Upsets 'Loyalty' Firing of Legless Vet

The Only Ballot That Won't Be Wasted



Gain for Civil Liberties In First Judicial Defeat Of the Purge Program

By George Breitman

The government witch hunters got a setback on Oct. 16 when the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit handed down its unanimous decision in

the case of James Kutcher, Newark legless veteran who was discharged from the Veterans Administration in 1948 because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. As I. F. Stone noted in his Daily Compass column, it was the "first judicial defeat" that Truman's "loyalty" program has suffered.

This rebuke to the administration was good news to the defenders of civil liberties everywhere. It was more than a legal victory — it was also a moral victory for the millions of Americans who have protested through their organizations against Kutcher's discharge, and it will undoubtedly have the effect of encouraging further resistance to the witch-hunt, inside the courts and outside.

"NEW DOUBTS"

The decision casts "new doubts . . . on the validity of the Attorney General's list as a proper means of determining the loyalty of individual Americans," the N.Y. Times wrote in an editorial on Oct. 18. And anything that casts new doubts on that unconstitutional blacklist, already condemned as arbitrary by the Supreme Court, is a healthy development for the cause of civil liberties.

The Circuit Court decision must have come as a surprise to government attorneys assigned to restricting civil liberties and persecuting political dissidents. They have got used to having everything their own way in recent years and to regarding the courts as rubber-stamps for each new assault on the Bill of Rights. It must shock them a little to find a few judges around who are still willing to tell them: "You are



JAMES KUTCHER

getting careless, and forgetting that there are certain formalities you must observe."

That happened a few weeks ago in the Smith Act trial of Communist Party leaders in New York, when Judge Dimock quashed the indictments against Simon Gerson and Isadore Begun because the prosecutors had not attempted to prove they were

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COAL MINERS FORCED OUT ON STRIKE BY NEW BLOW FROM ADMINISTRATION

The Democratic administration has again kicked the coal miners in the teeth. Truman's hand-picked Wage Stabilization Board intervened to deny the 350,000 workers in the soft coal industry the full wage increase granted by the mine operators in the latest United Mine Workers contract. Four employer and four so-called public members on the WSB joined to out-vote four labor members and cut forty cents from the \$1.90-a-day raise which John L. Lewis had negotiated.

True to their militant policy and tradition, the miners have left the pits in a virtual national strike. They face a possible grueling struggle of long duration should the government prove adamant in its decision to slash the miners' agreed-upon new wages.

The WSB, whose function is to freeze wages, dealt its blow at the miners in the name of "the fight against inflation." Last summer, however, the Truman administration handed a staggering price increase to the basic steel corporations after they had refused to accept a WSB wage

ruling and had provoked a drawn-out steel strike.

UMW President Lewis indicated he will not try to halt the strike. He charged: "Four agents of the National Association of Manufacturers, aided by a professor from the Harvard Law School (WSB Chairman Archibald Cox) and his timid trio of dilettante associates form a cabal to steal 40 cents a day from each mine worker. Naturally miners resent such thievery."

The irony of the situation is that this administration move to undermine the UMW wage contract came within a week after the United Mine Workers con-

vention endorsed the presidential candidacy of Democratic Adlai Stevenson. Lewis himself ended 12 years of opposition to the Democratic administration only to be confronted by this new assault.

By their fighting spirit and solidarity the miners have beaten back a whole series of attacks by the government under both Roosevelt and Truman. With the same militancy and unity, they will successfully resist the latest assault. It is the duty of the whole labor movement to rally behind the miners who once again are spearheading labor's struggle.

I'm Still Barred from My Job, James Kutcher Tells The Militant

By John F. Petrone

NEWARK, Oct. 21—"The Circuit Court decision was a victory for our fight, an important victory, but the first thing I want to say about it is that I still haven't got back my job." That was how James Kutcher, the legless veteran, began his interview with The Militant here today.

"I hope you won't misunderstand," he continued. "I know that my job isn't the most important thing in the world, that it's a tiny thing compared to the big constitutional issues involved in the witch hunt. But to me it's a symbol for those bigger issues. Maybe I sound narrow-minded, but any court decision that doesn't include the return of my job can never be satisfactory to me, even if it has some good things in it."

Jimmy admitted he had felt elated last Thursday when he heard by phone and over the radio that the Circuit Court had up-set his discharge. But after reading the text of the decision and getting all the facts, he says, "I felt let down again, even though I know we have made some progress. The least I hoped for, after hearing that they said my discharge was illegal, was that they

would put me back on the job, pending the next steps by the government."

Instead, he remains suspended. Despite his initial expression of disappointment, he remains the same Jimmy Kutcher — modest, cheerful and confident that his fight will be vindicated in the end.

WHAT NEXT?

I asked what he thought would happen next.

"If I had the answer to that, I think I'd know more than the government lawyers do," he laughed. "Almost anything is possible. The government might appeal the decision to the Supreme Court, or my lawyers might, but I don't think either is likely to take that step."

"General Gray (VA administrator) has the next move. He can decide to clear me and put me back on my job, or he can fire me again, abiding this time by the procedure the Circuit Court said he would have to follow in such a case. If he reinstates me, that's the end of the case. If he fires me, then I will be back where I was in December 1948, and I will have to start my appeals to the Loyalty Review Board and the courts all over again. My

friend, I. F. Stone, had the right name for it when he said this might set the 'merry-go-round' in motion all over again."

THE REAL "CRIME"

I reminded him that the Times had quoted E. E. Odom, solicitor of the Veterans Administration in Washington, as saying that General Gray would have to decide this time if Kutcher has committed any "disloyal acts."

"That would be a good thing — if true," Jimmy said. "They've never even accused me of 'disloyal acts' in the past, and they certainly can't show any now. My 'crime' in their eyes was that I have socialist ideas they don't like and that in accord with those ideas I belong to a party that is working to win the American people to socialism."

"Mr. Odom may be right. If so, it will be difficult for General Gray to rule against me. But according to some interpretations of the decision that I have heard, he doesn't have to decide anything about my 'acts,' all he has to do to fire me again is say that he has examined all the evidence and doesn't believe I am loyal — which is something entirely aside from my acts."

I asked him if he had seen yes-

terday's Daily Worker editorial, taking a different attitude to his case than in the past. The Stalinists created quite a scandal in the labor movement a few years ago when they denounced Kutcher and urged the unions not to help him. He hadn't seen it, so I showed it to him and waited until he read it.

"Well," he said slowly, "I think that's a good thing. I'll never forget the way they sniped at me when I was trying to mobilize support for a fight against the purge and I don't think anybody else should forget it. But I welcome this change in policy on their part even though I think they should have come right out in the open and admitted they were wrong before."

NEED UNITED DEFENSE

He thought about it some more and went on: "You know, I've spoken to hundreds and hundreds of groups all over the country about my case. And each time, even while the Stalinists were sniping at me, I always included a few remarks condemning the witch hunt against the Communist Party, and urging support for their civil liberties, despite my political differences with

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FARRELL DOBBS and MYRA TANNER WEISS, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for President and Vice President of the United States.

SWP Election News Campaigning for Socialism

By George Clarke SWP Campaign Manager

If election campaigns were conducted on the rules of truth and fair play and candidates were obliged to admit the source of their ideas, the people would see that the only party that has given the real score on the situation at home and in the world, the only party with a consistent program, is the Socialist Workers Party. Examine the following:

Item: Thomas Dewey — " . . . the only way the Democratic Party can bring about full employment is by the dead and mangled bodies of young Americans. . . ."

Item: Adlai Stevenson — The New Deal saved America from capitalism. There were one million communist and socialist votes in 1932; there would have been ten million anti-capitalist votes in 1936 if not for the New Deal.

Item: Progressive Party — Comes out in favor of popular referendum to decide Korean war.

Conclusion: None of the parties shows the origin of these ideas, and they all use them to raise a dust-storm of confusion in order to avoid the real conclusion which would lead to voting for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss. That's it — go do just that on November 4! (P.S. The Pennsylvania SWP is listed on the ballot as Militant Workers Party. And in all states where the SWP is not on the ballot write in the name Farrell Dobbs.)

FAST TOWN — FAST CAMPAIGN

Lack of space in The Militant keeps us from giving a real picture of all the local campaigns. The most intense campaigning is being done right here in New York where candidate Michael Bartley for U.S. Senate keeps on the move day after day in the closing weeks before election. In the last few days he participated in a symposium with Republicans and Democrats at New York University, debated Joe Glass of the SP at the Community Church, spoke in a panel at the Modern Trends Political Forum at the Harlem YWCA, debated a couple of Re-

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How to Fight Inflation and Price Gouging

By Myra Tanner Weiss SWP Vice-Presidential Candidate

All over the country on my national campaign tour I have heard the same grievance from wives and mothers on whom the burden of housekeeping falls: "Prices are so high I can't make ends meet any more. I don't know what I'm going to do."

The situation is desperate for millions and its getting worse all the time. The cost of the war preparations and the Korean war is responsible. The war profiteers and price gougers, of course, are adding fuel to the flames.

I don't think Stevenson or Eisenhower have anything to offer to halt the inflation, unless it's a depression. And they'll try to keep the war boom going to prevent that. Eisenhower talks about cutting government waste but he doesn't mean cutting the military forces. Stevenson is indignant about any talk of reducing war spending.

Prices aren't going to come down unless we the people — and I'm speaking to the women especially — drive them down. We have to organize and carry on our own fight economically and politically, to halt inflation.

The Socialist Workers Party has a really effective program to combat high prices. First of all, we are against any form of government wage freeze. We favor production for peace, not for war.

We'd like to see a compulsory cost-of-living clause to automatically raise wages, pensions and compensations when the cost of living goes up. And that includes taxes. The cost-of-living index should be determined by labor's own statistical services.

We advocate that committees of housewives, unionists and small merchants be formed to stop profiteering, to fix prices and rents and to control them.

What we need now is to get together. We need to coordinate our efforts and go after the profiteers. Let's spend less time listening to the false promises of capitalist politicians and more time organizing militant action.

Committee Pledges to Continue Fight to Win Complete Victory

NEW YORK, Oct. 22 — The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee today expressed its satisfaction over the "partial victory" won for James Kutcher in the Appeals Court and said it was prepared to intervene wherever necessary to aid the legless veteran in his fight to regain his job.

The committee was formed in 1948 to help Kutcher take his appeal to the federal courts and the court of public opinion. Since then it has mobilized the support of more than 700 organizations, including the following national groups:

Amalgamated Lithographers of America, CIO; Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL; American Civil Liberties Union; Americans for Democratic Action; American Veterans Committee; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL; Independent Socialist League; Industrial Union, Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO; International La-

dies Garment Workers Union, AFL; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Jewish National Workers Alliance; Jewish Socialist Verband; Mechanics Educational Society of America; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Nat'l CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination; National Lawyers Guild; National Maritime Union, CIO; Negro Labor Committee; Slovene National Benefit Society; Socialist Workers Party; Student League for Industrial Democracy; Transport Workers Union, CIO; United Auto Workers, CIO; United Hebrew Trades.

In addition, scores of newspapers and magazines have condemned his discharge and asked for his reinstatement.

Four Years of Kutcher's Fight for Justice

Main Developments in Case That Has Stirred Millions

Before the case began: James Kutcher, born in Newark, became a socialist in 1935 and a charter member of the Socialist Workers Party on Jan. 1, 1938. Three years later he was drafted and participated as an infantryman in the invasions of North Africa, Sicily and Italy. On Nov. 8, 1943, he was wounded by a German mortar shell in the battle at San Pietro and lost both legs. He spent the next two years learning how to get around on artificial limbs. In August 1946, he got a clerical job with the Veterans Administration; his work was rated satisfactory and he received two promotions during the next two years.

Aug. 16, 1948: Kutcher was notified that he was accused of "disloyalty" because of his membership in the SWP, whose name had been put on the Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist without any hearing or prior notice in November 1947. He decided to challenge his proposed discharge as a violation of his civil liberties and his right to associate with whom he pleased, as provided by the Constitution.

Sept. 10, 1948: He got a "hearing" from the VA Branch Loyalty Board in Philadelphia. The board refused to let him or his lawyer, M. J. Myer of Chicago, enter into the question of whether or not the SWP was actually

"subversive," claiming it was barred from considering that matter. Kutcher freely testified to his own views, denying that he advocated unconstitutional means to achieve socialism. The board denied his request for a bill of particulars as to his alleged "disloyalty."

Sept. 1948: A non-partisan organization, the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, was formed to help him get justice. It included several prominent labor leaders, liberals, clergymen, veterans, educators, artists and writers. In the next four years it obtained support from over 700 national and local organizations representing many million Americans concerned about the defense of the Bill of Rights and Kutcher's plight.

Oct. 13, 1948: Kutcher was notified that the Philadelphia Board had ruled against him, declaring: "All evidence of record, including the testimony presented at your hearing, has been fully considered and reasonable grounds exist for belief that you are disloyal. . . ." This resulted in his suspension from his job. He at once appealed the decision to the

action the Department of Justice might undertake on the determination by Mr. Gray, Administrator of Veterans Affairs, whether Mr. Kutcher has committed any 'disloyal acts.'

On the same day, Kutcher was asked by a reporter on the phone in Newark if he intended to re-apply for his job with the Newark VA. Kutcher said that he certainly would if his lawyers advised him to. The Newark News reported:

"A spokesman for the local VA office said Kutcher's application, if received, would be referred without comment to the central VA office in Washington. It was explained the dismissal order originally came from Washington and that Kutcher's personnel file is there."

Mr. Odom said, however, that Mr. Kutcher would not be returned to his job in view of the fact that the Appellate Court's decision let stand the original order suspending him. He noted that reinstatement by the Veterans Administration would depend on the outcome of any further legal

action the Department of Justice might undertake on the determination by Mr. Gray, Administrator of Veterans Affairs, whether Mr. Kutcher has committed any 'disloyal acts.'

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Wishing You Luck - Typical Letter

The following letter is typical of many unsolicited communications received by James Kutcher since the Oct. 16 Circuit Court decision on his case:

Dear Mr. Kutcher: Had read of your case when it first happened. Am wishing you luck. Hope you are reinstated. This will be a tremendous victory for fair thinking. Good luck.

E. E. Brooklyn, N. Y.

VA Administrator, Gen. Carl Gray, Jr., and began visiting all organizations who would hear him to enlist their support.

Dec. 17, 1948: The "loyalty" purgers knew that the Philadelphia Board had not considered "all the evidence" and that legally they had a weak case. So on this date the Loyalty Review Board issued its Memorandum 32, making it "mandatory" to dismiss any government employee belonging to the SWP and four other organizations. (Truman's original "loyalty" order said that membership in blacklisted groups would be considered as only one piece of evidence in deciding on the loyalty of any individual employee.)

Dec. 29, 1948: Gen. Gray's office wrote Kutcher that Memorandum 32 left him "no choice but to affirm the action" of the Philadelphia Board in suspending him. He expressed no opinion about Kutcher's loyalty, basing his decision entirely on Kutcher's admitted SWP membership. Kutcher appealed Gray's decision to the national Loyalty Review Board in Washington.

March 31, 1949: A three-man panel of the Loyalty Review Board listened to the appeal. They said they were "bound" by the Attorney General's designation of the SWP, which meant they could not consider the basic issues in the case.

April 25, 1949: The Loyalty Review Board wrote Kutcher, agreeing with Gray that Kutcher's membership in the SWP made his discharge "mandatory." No reference was made to Kutcher's own loyalty. This ended the administrative phase of the case. The next step was to go into the federal courts.

June 1949 to Feb. 1950: Kutcher went on a national tour,

Defenders of Civil Liberties



James Kutcher (center) is shown above with two of his prominent defenders: George Novack, national secretary of the non-partisan Kutcher Civil Rights Committee (left), and Carl Holderman, president of the New Jersey CIO, the first of the hundreds of labor, liberal and civic organizations that have rallied to the defense of the legless veteran since 1948.

speaking to hundreds of organizations and arousing strong support against the arbitrary methods of the witch hunters.

Feb. 9, 1950: The case was taken into the federal district court in Washington, with Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., of that city joining Myer as Kutcher's counsel. The suit asked that Kutcher be reinstated with back pay, that Truman's "loyalty" order be declared unconstitutional and that the Attorney General be ordered to withdraw and destroy his blacklist. It also charged inconsistencies in the way the "loyalty" order was applied to Kutcher, including the contradiction between Memorandum 32 and the language of the order. It accused Gray and the Loyalty Review Board of violating Kutcher's rights when they based their decision on Memorandum 32, and noted Gray had given a different reason for firing him than the Philadelphia Board had used.

June 26, 1951: The case was argued before Federal District Judge Edward M. Curran. Rauh called attention to the recent Supreme Court decision in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee case, attacking the Attorney Gen-

eral for including organizations on his list without even giving them a hearing and a chance to answer charges. Judge Curran sided completely with the government, ruling that the reasons Gray gave for firing Kutcher were "immaterial."

Sept. 7, 1951: Appeal was filed with the Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington, last stage before the Supreme Court.

April 10, 1952: The case was argued before Circuit Court Judges Proctor, Miller and Pretzman, two of whom had already upheld the "loyalty" purge in the Dorothy Bailey case. The American Civil Liberties Union filed a brief on behalf of Kutcher as a "friend of the court."

Oct. 16, 1952: The Circuit Court ruled unanimously that Memorandum 32 was invalid, that Gray had acted improperly in resting the discharge solely on Kutcher's membership in the SWP, that the discharge was voided and the district court order was reversed. However, the court refused to rule the "loyalty" order and "subversive" blacklist as unconstitutional, and Kutcher's suspension was left standing, pending further action by Gray.

Extracts from U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals Decision

The following extracts cover the main points in the decision on the case of James Kutcher made by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit on Oct. 16. The unanimous decision was written by Circuit Judge James M. Proctor, with Judges Wilbur K. Miller and E. Barrett Prettyman concurring. Kutcher is the "appellant" and the officials of the Veterans Administration, Department of Justice and Loyalty Review Board are the "appellees":

"The discharge of Kutcher is attacked on several grounds, ranging from irregularity in the administrative proceedings to unconstitutionality of No. 9A of the Hatch Act and the Executive Order (9835, in which President Truman set up the 'loyalty' program — Ed.) We shall deal only with those questions essential to the disposition we are making of the case."

It is contended here, as in the District Court, that although the Executive Order required a definitive determination by the Administrator, head of the Agency, (Carl Gray, Jr., of the VA — Ed.) no such determination was made by that officer; therefore that Kutcher was deprived of the requisite review and decision by the Administrator and as a result his discharge was illegal and of no effect. The District Court rejected this contention and adopted that of the defendants. It held that . . . "The grounds for the affirmation were immaterial."

"We come then to the crucial question. Did Kutcher have the procedural benefits of Executive Order 9835? Standing accused of disloyalty as a cause for removal from employment, he was entitled to the benefit of all the safeguards provided by that Order. It was necessary for the proceedings to conform in all substance to the requirements of the Order: (The Court then reviewed the contents of the Executive Order. — Ed.)

The final decision rested with the Administrator. Upon him fell the duty to impartially determine on all the evidence whether there were reasonable grounds for belief that Kutcher was disloyal to the Government of the United States. That was the ultimate, the controlling issue. Kutcher was entitled to the Administrator's decision of that very question.

Instead, following the dictum of the Loyalty Review Board in its Memorandum No. 32, the Administrator held only that Kutcher's admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party made his removal mandatory under No. 9A of the Hatch Act, in accordance with the Attorney General's determination that the organization was one which sought to alter our form of Government by unconstitutional means. This is in substance the contention now made here by appellees. But that argument has its fatal weakness.

Neither No. 9A of the Hatch Act nor the Executive Order does in terms proscribe membership in the Socialist Workers Party by an employee, and neither Congress nor the President has seen fit to make membership in any organization designated by the Attorney General cause for removal from Government employment. On the contrary, the Executive Order, coming after the Hatch Act and designed in part to implement that Act in a fair and practicable way, makes disloyalty the test, and membership in organizations designated by the Attorney General, including those seeking to alter the form of Government by unconstitutional means, merely a factor "which may be considered in connection with the determination of disloyalty."

Although the Executive Order empowers the Loyalty Review Board to make rules not inconsistent with provisions of the Order and advise departments and agencies on problems relating to employee loyalty, we must conclude from the plain provisions of the Order that the ruling or advice of the Board in its Memorandum 32 is inconsistent with these provisions. Therefore it is without validity or force

and should be disregarded . . . We do not mean to suggest that membership in and activities connected with a designated organization may not, in the circumstances of a case, justify disbelief in the loyalty of an employee. Obviously such evidence might fairly support that conclusion, and so require an employee's removal. Yet in each instance it rests with the head of the department or agency to make the final and controlling determination. In this case, involving Kutcher's loyalty, the vital question still awaits the Administrator's decision.

One other contention must be noticed. Appellant attacks the competency as evidence of the designation by the Attorney General of the Socialist Workers Party as an organization seeking to alter our form of government by unconstitutional means. This action resulted from the Executive Order, which charts the procedure for carrying out the Loyalty Program. As we have shown, the Order requires the Department of Justice to furnish the Loyalty Review Board with the names of organizations inimical to our form of government, including those seeking to alter its form of government by unconstitutional means. It directs the Board to disseminate that information to all departments and agencies.

It also provides, as heretofore indicated, that membership in or affiliation with any organization designated by the Attorney General as seeking to alter the form of government by unconstitutional means may be considered in determining the question of disloyalty. In fulfillment of these express provisions of the Executive Order the Socialist Workers Party came to be classified by the Attorney General as an organization of that character, and was so received in the Kutcher case for consideration in determining the issue of disloyalty.

In *Bailey v. Richardson*, 86 U.S. App. D.C. 248, 182 F. 2d 46 (1950), affirmed by an equally divided (Supreme) Court, 341 U.S. 918, 95 L. Ed. 1852 (1951), we held that proceedings against an applicant or employee under the Loyalty Program are purely administrative in character, in no sense criminal, and do not require the constitutional and traditional safeguards of a judicial trial. Adhering to that view, we now hold that the Attorney General's designation of the Socialist Workers Party was competent evidence in the administrative proceedings against Kutcher. Both the designation, and its considerations in these proceedings, fell directly within the scope of the Executive Order, and come fairly within the bounds of our decision in the Bailey case.

"(In a footnote at this point the Circuit Court took note of Kutcher's citation of another Circuit Court decision in the Remington case and the Supreme Court decision in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee case to support his complaint that "the Attorney General's designation is purely hearsay, and that such designation is improper if done without notice and hearing." The Court dismissed this point by saying: "Assuming such to be true, neither of these cases considered the use of such 'designation' as evidence in a removal proceeding under the President's Loyalty Program." It therefore refused to take them into account in the present case. — Ed.)

In accordance with the views expressed, the order of the District Court dismissing the complaint (by Kutcher) is reversed; the cause is remanded with directions to enter judgment setting aside the order removing Kutcher from employment, without prejudice to the (previous) order suspending Kutcher and consideration and determination by the Administrator of the ultimate issue as to whether on all the evidence reasonable grounds exist for belief that Kutcher is disloyal to the Government of the United States; and for such further action by the Administrator as may be consistent with his decision made upon that issue.

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Govt's Next Move Uncertain

The government has not indicated what steps it will take next in the Kutcher case.

The N.Y. Times (Oct. 17) reported that E. E. Odom, solicitor of the Veterans Administration, said "the VA will abide by the court's decision." It quoted him as adding: "Any further legal action, such as appeal to a higher court, will be up to the Department of Justice, which represents us in such matters." The report continued:

"Mr. Odom said, however, that Mr. Kutcher would not be returned to his job in view of the fact that the Appellate Court's decision let stand the original order suspending him. He noted that reinstatement by the Veterans Administration would depend on the outcome of any further legal

Court Upsets Firing of Legless Veteran

(Continued from page 1) guilty of anything more than belonging to the Communist Party, which is still not a crime. It happened again in the Kutcher case, when the Circuit Court found the government officials were exceeding even the extremely arbitrary powers asserted by them under the "loyalty" program.

NATURE OF DECISION
James Kutcher's attorneys went before the Circuit Court with a series of fundamental constitutional challenges to the President's "loyalty" program and the Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist. In addition, they raised a number of procedural objections to Kutcher's discharge showing it violated not only the Bill of Rights but even the provisions of the "loyalty" order. The Circuit Court had no sympathy for Kutcher's claims on the basic issues, and rested its decision primarily on the technical questions. (See extracts from decision on P. 2.)

According to Truman's "loyalty" order, membership in a blacklisted organization is only one piece of evidence to be considered in ruling on an employee's loyalty, and the decision is supposed to be based on "all the evidence." But the Loyalty Review Board, acting on the advice of the Department of Justice, cooked up a special rule (Memorandum 32) making it "mandatory" to discharge any member of the Socialist Workers Party and four other organizations on the blacklist.

Kutcher was fired by the VA, and his discharge was approved by the Loyalty Review Board and the federal district court, solely on the basis of this special rule. That meant there wasn't even the pretense of considering "all the evidence." And that was just a little too raw even for a Circuit Court that has given its sanction to the "loyalty" purge in the past.

The Court therefore ruled that Memorandum 32 is "without validity or force and should be disregarded." It reversed the decision of the federal district court. And it set aside the order removing Kutcher from employment.

AN IMPROVEMENT
So far, so good. Whatever else the Court did, these actions represent an improvement over the

previous situation because they serve warning that the government cannot justify the firing of any government employee merely by showing he belongs to an organization disliked by the Attorney General. (This strongly resembled the position taken by Judge Dimock that mere membership in the Communist Party does not automatically justify conviction for violating the Smith Act.)

But the Circuit Court did not stop by upsetting Kutcher's discharge. Kutcher had asked to be restored to his job with back pay. Instead, the Court restored him to the suspended status he had before being discharged. So he still is barred from his job, pending "consideration and determination by the (VA) Administrator of the ultimate issue as to whether on all the evidence reasonable grounds exist for belief that Kutcher is disloyal."

While this decision marks a gain in Kutcher's legal fight, and in the general struggle against the doctrine of guilt by association, the facts show that it is only a partial gain, only a limited victory. The decision also had decidedly negative and even reactionary features, and these have to be noted, especially because certain inflated claims are being made about the character of the decision as a whole. (For examples, see the editorials in the N.Y. Times and Daily Compass, quoted elsewhere on this page.)

NEGATIVE FEATURES
Such claims are disproved by the text of the Court decision. Immediately after ruling that membership in a blacklisted group could not be cited as the sole evidence for discharging an employee, the Court declared: "We do not mean to suggest that membership in and activities connected with a designated organization may not, in the circumstances of a case, justify disbelief in the loyalty of an employee. Obviously such evidence might fairly support that conclusion, and so require an employee's removal. Yet in each instance it rests with the head of the department or agency to make the final and controlling determination. In this case, involving Kutcher's loyalty, the vital question still awaits the Administrator's decision."

Consequently, it is incorrect to say as Ted O. Thackrey did in the Compass, that now "guilt may not be assumed." Gray is still free to assume anything he pleases, provided he does not SAY that he is basing discharge solely on membership.

Thackrey is also wrong when he says the decision requires that "guilt must be proved" in court or anywhere else, or that "PROOF must be by evidence." Actually, Gray does not have to prove anything; he does not have to adduce a single piece of evidence; the "loyalty" program doesn't require him to do these things, and the Court, which bases itself 100% on the "loyalty" program, doesn't require him to do them either.

NO SAFEGUARDS
The Court made this point quite explicit when it reaffirmed its ruling

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Stalinists on Kutcher Case

Among other things, the Circuit Court decision in the Kutcher case resulted in a change of position by the Communist Party press.

On Oct. 17 the Daily Worker gave a prominent place to a Washington dispatch under the head, "Court Denies Right of Government to Fire People for Membership." It was a factual report on both the positive and negative aspects of the decision, and free of the usual Stalinist slanders against the Socialist Workers Party.

On Oct. 20 this was followed by an editorial, "The Lawless 'Lists,'" part of which said:

"... The court said that James A. Kutcher could not be fired merely because he is a member of that organization which is one of the many arbitrarily listed by the Attorney General as 'subversive.' If the government wants to fire him, it will have to show that his opinions are 'disloyal,' the court opined.

"In these days of wholesale wrecking of America's democratic heritage and legal protections by witch hunters, even the pale decision has a certain meaning for the progressive forces defending the U.S. Constitution against the red baiters. At least it casts doubt on the Czarist-like decrees of the Attorney General. . . .

"These 'subversive organization' lists are sheer lawlessness. They violate everything in our Constitution and the legal system based on it. . . . The latest court decision only proves this again, even (though) the judges failed completely to uphold the Constitution in their approval of dismissals for 'disloyal' opinions.

"Wherever there is resistance to the illegal black-mailing of Americans for belonging to organizations or for having certain views, the fight for saving America's heritage goes on. . . ."

This was the first time the Worker had ever reported any of the facts in the four-year-old Kutcher case. In 1949 the West Coast Stalinist Daily People's World editorially attacked the Kutcher defense fight on the slanderous ground that SWP members are "fascists" and urged the labor and liberal movements not to support the Kutcher case because it "hasn't the remotest connection with the defense of civil rights."

For about one year the Stalinists in many unions openly opposed motions to contribute money to help Kutcher take his case to the courts. This discredited them so badly that they finally were directed not to say anything when the case came up for discussion in their unions.

The reactionary character of that policy is now underscored by the Worker's editorial, which is forced to recognize that Kutcher's fight against the "loyalty" program has positive effects on the status of all blacklisted organizations, including their own.

The Rosenberg Case

The refusal of the Supreme Court to review the conviction of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, sentenced to death for atomic espionage, marks a new stage in the witch-hunt, and it is calculated to add new fury to the anti-communist war hysteria.

This savage and unprecedented peace-time penalty stands in marked contrast to the more lenient verdicts in the Fuchs case in England, the Nunn case in Canada and the sentences handed down against Greenglass and Sobell here. It indicates the ominous underlying design of the witch-hunters. Hysteria could never have been whipped up against what is called the "menace of communism" if the "threat" had been alleged to exist merely in the activities of the Communist Party.

It took the case of Alger Hiss to throw the shadows of conspiracy over "communism" and to create an atmosphere of fear behind which the witch-hunters could operate with impunity. The aim of the Hiss trial was to undermine support for the victims of political persecution by presenting the movement of opposition to capitalism and its wars as a front for a cabal of spies penetrating the topmost positions of government to steal "secrets" for the Soviet Union.

If it can be said then that the witch-hunt got its first real virulence with the lurid publicity that surrounded the trial and conviction of Hiss, it will now get a bounding impetus from the blood offering the courts are demanding of the Rosenbergs. Let the legend be created that the country is so imminently threatened as to require a death sentence in peace-time and the most far-reaching anti-democratic measures, mild by comparison, will appear to be justified.

The Rosenberg decision above all else was an act of ruling-class terror by a state that is preparing a war of world conquest, a war directed primarily against the Soviet Union.

That was the atmosphere in which the Rosenberg trial occurred. The prosecution and the judge filled in the holes of evidence, which in the worst case proved that the defendants were only "couriers," by heavy stress on their CP connections or affiliations. It was far more a political than a spy trial. There is no other way to explain why the Rosenbergs, who were charged with playing the least important role of all those involved in the atomic espionage, should alone have been given the ultimate sentence.

The Rosenbergs continue to insist upon their innocence, and they are entirely justified in demanding a new trial in view of the circumstances under which their conviction occurred. But whatever the facts, they were not convicted of the alleged crimes with which they were charged; and the death sentence was handed down not as punishment for the alleged crimes but as a terror demonstration in the "cold war," and as a go-ahead signal to the witch-hunters at home.

The demand for the commutation of the Rosenbergs' sentence is part and parcel of the struggle for democratic rights. We endorse it fully and call upon all opponents of the witch-hunt to do likewise.

Farewell, Goldie -- Valiant Fighter

The following address was delivered by James P. Cannon at the memorial services for Goldie Goldman held in Los Angeles October 15.

Comrades: In a letter to a comrade, Farrell Dobbs, it was the day after Goldie Goldman died, I wrote: "Goldie had been with us since 1930. The history of her entire conscious life is virtually a history of our movement, that part written in simple deeds by the rank and file. In many respects she was a symbolic representative of the Socialist movement. She was a living demonstration of that social revolt which is generated by oppression and discrimination. She was symbolic in another respect. She showed herself by her background and her evolution how the most backward environment of ignorance and prejudice can produce representatives of the most modern, the most progressive, and the most revolutionary ideas."

Goldie was born in St. Paul, Oct. 29, 1907, the eldest of eight children. Her parents were Joe and Rose Cooper, who immigrated to America from the Ukraine. They came from Jewish peasant stock. They arrived in Minneapolis in 1905, along with that swarm of millions of others who have sought in this country a refuge and an opportunity. Her father worked as a foundryman in St. Paul. He often worked double shifts to make ends meet for a large and growing family.

Despairing of the difficulties, he left St. Paul with his family in 1916, tying all his worldly goods and five children to a horse and wagon to seek his fortune in the countryside. They landed in Chaska, Minnesota, a village of 2,000 people, after a three-day journey. Chaska is twenty-five miles from the Twin Cities. The

Left Opposition had been formed, she was 23 years old. She was part of that generation that joined the movement under the double necessity of understanding the general struggle for socialism and the struggle against Stalinist betrayal at the same time. She was active in New York from 1930 to 1934, attended classes, participated in general activities of the Communist League, helped to form the Spartacus Youth Club.

22 Years of Socialist Struggle

From New York in 1934 she moved to Minneapolis with her husband. The major part of her political life took place in the Twin Cities. She played a key role in integrating and educating the great number of people who were attracted to our party from the mass organizations. Her house in Minneapolis at 2518 Cortland Ave. was always a party center. She took over the direction of the Federal Workers section of Local 544, the unemployed section, during the period 1939-40, when the leaders of that movement, including her husband, were imprisoned in Sandstone. She took charge of the commissary at the party headquarters

in Sandstone. She was active in the party from 1930 to 1934, attended classes, participated in general activities of the Communist League, helped to form the Spartacus Youth Club.

Her activity in our movement extended over 22 years, in four different centers: New York, Minneapolis, Chicago and Philadelphia, and included a visit to Los Angeles where she made her last fight against the fatal illness that had overtaken her.

Goldie's political biography reads about as follows: She joined the Communist League of America, the predecessor of the Socialist Workers Party, in New York in 1930. One year after the Amer-

natives of Chaska had never seen such people before, as these nomads suddenly arrived in their midst. They called them gypsies. In Chaska, the Coopers started a small store in one room of the house where they lived. And there they raised eight children, a little island of Russia and Israel in a provincial inland sea. The Cooper family was isolated in that little ignorant village, ridiculed, discriminated against by the ignorant people who didn't understand that the immigrants represented an older and in some respects a superior culture.

The Cooper children did not have to learn about discrimination from books or from agitators. They experienced it every day of their lives. Without knowing what they were doing, the ignorant Jew-baiters of Chaska, Minnesota, were plowing up the soil of Goldie Cooper's mind and preparing it for the seed of socialism.

It germinated and grew there into a luxurious plant. They fired her with a life-long hatred of every form of discrimination and injustice, of every offense against the dignity of the human personality. She grew up to fight throughout her entire adult life against the social system which engenders such outrages.

Her first revolt against the environment of provincial prejudice and ignorance, as with so many rebels in history, took the form of flight. After graduating from Chaska high school and attending three years at the University of Minnesota, Goldie decided to explore the great world on her own account. With one of her sisters she landed in Chicago in 1929, at the age of 22. It was there that she met Max Goldman and formed an association in marriage, and in common work for common ideas, which lasted for 23 years until her death in Los Angeles three days ago.

Thus, her entire conscious life — 22 years — was spent in the Trotskyist movement, in our party. In that entire life, as all who knew her would testify, she exemplified warm compassion for human life, a keen sense of social justice, staunch and stubborn will to fight for socialism, optimism and integrity. That is her story. But there is even more to be added, for her life was full and complete in all respects.

She was a family person, strongly attached to her own people, and she was the pioneer who led two of her brothers, Jake and Dave, and her sister Phyllis, into



Goldie Goldman

Born Oct. 29, 1907
 Died Oct. 12, 1952

"She was one of us. If we but knew it, we all have many selves. Goldie was simply a representative of our better selves."

during the trial of the 18 leading people of the Socialist Workers Party in 1941 and in that capacity, as has been mentioned, she was invaluable in keeping conflicting elements working harmoniously together.

She was loved and respected by hundreds of workers in the Twin Cities area, as telegrams here have testified, to whom her warm compassion for the oppressed and her great sense of social justice symbolized the socialist movement and the socialist future.

In 1941 and 1942 she was in Chicago, took part in the general activity of the party there and was the first secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which was formed to defend the 18 defendants of the SWP. When the trial took place in Minneapolis, she returned there.

In 1945, after the release of the prisoners of the SWP from Sandstone prison, including her husband, Goldie went to Philadelphia to take up with Max Goldman the task of building a political center in that area. Her greatest maturity took place here in Philadelphia. Her prior years in New York, Minneapolis and Chicago had been a preparation for her expanded role as a political worker in Philadelphia.

Lived a Full, Rounded Life

Thus, her entire conscious life — 22 years — was spent in the Trotskyist movement, in our party. In that entire life, as all who knew her would testify, she exemplified warm compassion for human life, a keen sense of social justice, staunch and stubborn will to fight for socialism, optimism and integrity. That is her story. But there is even more to be added, for her life was full and complete in all respects.

She was a family person, strongly attached to her own people, and she was the pioneer who led two of her brothers, Jake and Dave, and her sister Phyllis, into

Besides her general party activity of recruiting and educating and integrating new people, she played an outstanding role in the party's public activities — three of them in particular. She was local secretary of the European Workers Relief Committee, which made possible the collection of tons of clothing and substantial sums of money for the relief of our hard-pressed comrades in Europe in the post-war period.

She played an outstanding role in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, organized the most effective anti-police-brutality campaign in the history of Philadelphia. Her house in Philadelphia, like her home in Minneapolis, was the center for all the oppressed to call for help. She achieved outstanding recognition for attracting members to the National Association through the door-to-door activity. She was known as a leading figure in the struggle against Jim-Crow discrimination.

Third, she was local secretary of the Kutcher Defense Committee in Philadelphia. She took the Kutcher case to the Philadelphia labor movement, obtained dozens of endorsements and financial contributions for the support of the case.

She worked all her life for others, for her own family, and for all mankind; for all members of the universal, human family whom she had adopted as her own. And Goldie would have scoffed at any suggestion that her role of leading and doing, represented a sacrifice on her part. In doing for others, she

simply realized herself. That was her principle, and she lived up to her principle.

She believed, as the great Daniel DeLeon believed and once said, that the only person who makes a real sacrifice is the one who compromises his principle. Goldie left us the heritage of this wisdom, not in words only, but in simple deeds that live and shine and lighten up our memory of her, even in these moments of grief and sorrow when we have to say goodbye to her.

The Greek philosophers enjoined people that the most important subject of investigation and study was themselves. And they thought that in this investigation they could find wisdom. Man—know thyself, they said. But even today, after the lapse of more than 2,000 years, the real nature of human beings, what they really are and what they may be, remains an undiscovered country, explored only by a few. In their insatiable hunger for knowledge, in their unceasing upward striving for enlightenment and progress over the centuries,

people have learned much, but they do not yet know themselves.

We see people as they appear before our eyes, in a given moment of human evolution, reacting to the pressures and compulsions of contemporary society, and think that what we see about these people is fixed and final. That is the greatest error we could possibly make, for nothing is fixed and final. Everything flows, said the Greek philosopher, Heraclitus. History teaches us that this is true of human society and it is true of human nature too. Human nature, like everything else in the universe, is subject to change, and is constantly changing.

Our study of history, illuminated by the science of Marxism, gives us the unshakable conviction that people can and will conquer and control their own social organization — which up to now has controlled them — and change it for the better. And by doing this, and even in the process of doing it, they will also learn to know themselves, and to change themselves for the better.

She Represented the Future

When it is given to us to know such a selfless person as Goldie Goldman, we tend to think of her as altogether exceptional, as a deviation from the human norm, as one unaffected by the laws and compulsions which shape human nature in general. Yet it is a striking anomaly that such people — and there are more of them than we think — command almost universal admiration from others who think they are strange. Those who have the grace and the fortune to come into contact with such a personality as Goldie Goldman, and to warm their hands by her fire, always remember with love and gratitude.

But in our blindness, in our ignorance of ourselves, we think of her as different from us, as one of another race. That is not really so. She was one of us. If we but knew it, we all have many selves. Goldie was simply a representative of our better selves. We think of her as a child of heaven, as indeed she was, but she was a daughter of earth too. She was a striver and a fighter in the dust and heat of the day, as all are and must be in the struggle called life.

But the difference consisted in this, that she did not waste her life in the vain pursuit of trifles. She concerned herself with the large affairs and great goals which are in themselves ennobling. That is the significance of her beautiful and heroic life. Her life, thus inspired by ennobling ideals, was full and satisfying because she knew that she was contributing to a movement that would survive her and carry on her work.

If we memorialize her in this sense, I think we will do her the most justice. We mourn for her, for we loved her deeply, but we celebrate her too. Her life, her associations with us, her contributions to our cause, were one of our victories, and not a small victory either. The movement which can attract the Goldie Goldmans and call out their full devotion already has the pledge of its future victory, for such people as she really represent the future.

We offer here, at this meeting, our sympathy and condolence to Goldie's family in their great loss, to the grieving husband and children, to her mother, and her brothers and sisters. But they, like we, must surely be sustained by all that she left behind as a heritage. By her example, she helped to give us something to believe that has value beyond computation. By her example she not only strengthened our faith in the future, but also our faith that people in the present can be worthy of the future they are fighting for.

Is it possible, one might ask, is it possible to take part in a savage struggle against injustice and pettiness and not become tainted by injustice and pettiness ourselves? Is it possible to know what the world is, to know what people really are in a class society — which makes so many of them betray their better selves — and still remain pure in heart, still believe in people and their socialist future? Goldie Goldman could, and did. Her whole life was a testimony to that faith in people and in their socialist future. And that is her most important bequest to us.

CAMPAGNING FOR SOCIALISM

(Continued from page 1)

publicists at a school-sponsored rally at the Borough Hall Academy. He has also appeared on a WJZ-TV panel in a 20 minute program, was interviewed for a half hour by five college papers for radio station WNYC and he's going on the Barry Gray show Monday night. There are in addition at least a dozen other forums, symposiums and debates coming up before election day.

We almost forget the highly successful N. Y. SWP forums on election issues that have had a full house five times in a row. We repeat again that we are the only party on the left that is running in opposition to McCarthy. Neither the Progressive Party, the SP or the SLP has a candidate for the position of Wisconsin Senator. So if you really want to vote against McCarthyism in Wisconsin and not for the sham Democratic Party that spawned the witch-hunter by its own official witch-hunt and by the war in Korea — vote for James Boulton, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.

Boulton has addressed several union locals. He has spoken over a state radio network twice and has appeared on a TV forum. . . . The SP had a sorry turn-out for its VP candidate in this city with a "Socialist" mayor. Some 14 miserable people just turned out for old times' sake. . . . There was pandemonium in an SLP rally when some of our campaigners demanded they support Boulton or say why not; the fossils of the left just couldn't figure out how this fitted in with the "unconditional surrender of capitalism to the socialist industrial union, etc."

Boulton is also scheduled to appear on a WTMJ-TV Senatorial Forum which will occur just before we go to press. McCarthy and Fairchild were scheduled to be on but to date they haven't accepted the engagement. Militants and

campaign literature are being widely sold and distributed at rallies, before union locals and shoppages with good response from the workers.

DOBBS AND WEISS TOURS

We'll have a full account of all the wind-up activities of the two candidates in the next Militant. Just a few notes now. Farrell Dobbs appeared on WCCO-TV last Thursday, debating a professor at the University of Minnesota campus and addressing an SWP rally in Minneapolis. The St. Paul Pioneer Press wrote a few paragraphs about Dobbs in news stories and said in an editorial that The Militant is supporting "the Communists" in the Korean war. OK. If the 29 million Koreans are "communists," we're for them, and against the imperialist armies trying to subjugate them. . . . Myra Weiss was interviewed on a couple of radio programs, appeared on the Steve Allison show in Phila. and on a radio program in Allentown. She had good meetings in Boston, Allentown and Newark, where Geo. Breitman also gave an analysis of the Kutcher decision and the audience gave Jimmy, who was present, a big hand. There was good newspaper publicity in the Newark papers before and after the meeting. . . . George Breitman has been on the radio in New Brunswick, Atlantic City and Bridgeton, New Jersey. He has two other broadcasts scheduled for Camden, N. J.

Stevenson offers no answer and no hope on Korea. He even says that if the war in Korea were to end we would still be faced with "the Communist monsters of Russia" seeking "mastery of the world." That means he has no prospect but war. Nevertheless, Stevenson winds up with this crowning lie: ". . . we are today moving faster towards peace than mankind has ever moved before."

The truth is we are moving faster toward war. We are at war already in Korea. If U.S. troops are not withdrawn, there is grave danger that the Korean war will spread.

There is only one way to avoid the terrible fate of a Third World War — and that is to take the war-making powers out of the hands of Big Business and the Big Brass. Let the people vote on war or peace!

The Socialist Workers Party urges you to demand that American troops be withdrawn from Korea at once. We urge you to demand that the issue of war and peace be decided by a referendum vote of the people.

To vote against capitalist war and for socialist peace, vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

They Both Want to Keep the Korea War Going

(Continued from page 1)

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Americans." He claims "the attack was aimed at America" and "today we are defending America in Korea."

THE TRUTH

No. Today, American imperialism, seeking the very world domination it charges to the Soviet Union is trying to beat down and crush the vast uprisings of the Asian masses against colonialism, imperialism, landlordism and capitalist exploitation. That is the truth of the matter. To get support for its counter-revolutionary wars upon hundreds of millions of workers and peasants of the colonial countries, Washington falsely labels their struggles "Soviet-directed."

But where is the vast navy the Soviet Union would need if it were out for world conquest? Not even the U.S. admirals and generals are worried about this kind of Russian military might but they do boast of their own world-wide offensive powers. The truth is that there are no Russian military bases ringing the U.S. but there are American bomber-plane bases in 16 countries within striking distance of Soviet cities and American military missions in 55 countries.

ECONOMIC FORCES

Furthermore powerful economic forces drive the Wall Street rulers on this path of world conquest. They want outlets for more than \$80 billion of privately owned idle capital which cannot be profitably invested at home. Wall Street's very existence is at stake in this struggle for markets. Capitalist America with its profit system seeks economic survival by swallowing the rest of the world.

These are the reasons why we are being dragged headlong into a Third World War. That is why

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Newark Fri. Night

Socialist Forum

presents a talk on
 Stalin's New Turn

Speaker:
 John G. Wright
 Fri., Oct. 31, 8:30 P.M.
 at 52 Market St.

Farrell Dobbs Tour Schedule

Oct. 26 St. Louis
 Oct. 28-Nov. 2 Detroit-Flint-Toledo

Myra T. Weiss Tour Schedule

Oct. 23-26 New York
 New York Banquet & Dance
 Sat., Oct. 25, 8 P.M.
 116 University Pl. (Nr. Union Sq.)
 Reservations necessary
 for banquet
 Oct. 27 New Haven
 Oct. 29-31 San Francisco-Oakland
 Nov. 1-2 Los Angeles
 Los Angeles Public Meeting
 Sat., Nov. 1, 8 P.M.
 1702 E. 4th Street

CHICAGO

SWP LOCAL

Presents

Election Cabaret

Sat., Nov. 1, 9 P.M.
 134 So. Wabash Avenue
 Entertainment - Food
 Dancing
 Donation 35 cents

New York
 SWP on the Air
 WNEW (1130 on dial)
 Programs for Farrell Dobbs,
 Sun., Oct. 26; Wed., Oct. 29;
 Fri., Oct. 31
 All at 9 P.M.

You're in Politics

By Joyce Cowley

Frequently, when I go out to sell *The Militant*, a kind of tired-looking housewife answers the door. She calls to the kids to be quiet and I can see the mop and pail she has just set down. I start to tell her about our program and our paper and I get this response:

"Look, I'm not interested in politics. I'm busy and I've got enough to worry about."

I don't give up. I know how she feels. I know, because I have the same problems. So I start talking with just ideas like these in my mind:

I know that if you cook and keep house and raise children, you have plenty on your mind. Your first worry is how to feed the family, and that's a tough problem these days. With food prices two to three times what they were ten years ago, how can you pay for the meat and milk and eggs and fruit that your family needs?

If you have young children, you worry about the old buildings, the overcrowded fire-traps in which your children go to school, frequently sitting two at a desk and getting only half a day at school because there are double shifts.

If your children are older, you've been reading about teen-age drug addicts, about young thugs

who rob and murder to get money for dope, and the thrill-crazy kids on the highway who kill themselves in stunt driving. When the youngsters are out a little later than usual, you wonder —

You worry about your sons or your husband in Korea. If they haven't gone yet, you lie awake thinking — how long will it be?

You said you had not time for politics! But what are these things — inflation and high prices, the miserable conditions of the schools, the demoralization of the nation's youth, above all the Korean war — but the results of capitalist politics, of a political policy that drives the nation toward war while it sacrifices the living standard and lives of the workers?

There's another kind of politics. When the workers get together and build their own party, a labor party, we can fight against inflation and war, fight for a decent future for our children. We can tax the Wall Street bankers and war profiteers for the money to build housing projects, schools, playgrounds and parks. We can create an economy that will produce goods, not for profit, but to satisfy the needs of the people.

Interested?

"They Looked for Me"

By Harry Ring

One of my favorite pictures is *The Asphalt Jungle*. This film, unlike any other I can recall coming out of Hollywood, portrayed a gang of professional safe crackers, from the mastermind down to the strong-arm hoodlum, as human beings, with the feelings, the problems, and even the dreams of most human beings. At the same time it gave a scathing portrait of an utterly corrupt and brutalized police lieutenant.

I liked the picture so much that I saw it twice. Each time, as much as the film itself, I enjoyed the reaction of the audience to the scene where the police commissioner asserts that one cop in a hundred may be crooked but all the rest are honest. Both times, the audience greeted his contention with a roar of derisive laughter.

For some time now I've been feeling the same kind of sympathetic reaction to a real-life law breaker as I had towards most of the members of *The Asphalt Jungle* gang. I've been following the case of Harry Gross, convicted Brooklyn bookmaker, and now principal witness in the departmental trial of 30 plain-clothes cops accused of taking bribes from him.

Gross is reputed to have been the head of the biggest bookmaking syndicate in the city. Its yearly take has been estimated at \$20,000,000. He has testified that it wasn't a very difficult business to build.

All he did, he claims, was to pay off about \$1,000,000 a year to just about everybody on the force, from the cop on the beat to the highest ranking officials. He contends that this not only brought him protection for his illegal operations, but in fact turned it into a virtual monopoly; since, he says, the payoff brought not only immunity from arrest, but also a guarantee of non-

interference from competitors in his territory. In addition, he has testified to a \$5,000 contribution to ex-Mayor O'Dwyer's 1945 campaign fund, and in 1949, he says, the ante was up to \$15,000.

Yesterday Harry Gross blew his top on the witness stand and made me feel that I had a good reason for feeling sympathetic towards him. He really spoke a mouthful of truth. It all started when James Murray, one of the counsels for the defendants, most of whom have recently applied for retirement pensions with unseemly haste, launched into an attack on Gross' "moral sense."

Shaking his finger at his interrogator, Gross shouted, "Don't you tell me about my morals... I couldn't have been a bookmaker for five minutes without paying all these men. They're all guilty. No man throws in his papers and runs like a rat if he's innocent. He stands up and tries to clear himself. Where do you think they're getting the money to pay you all these months?"

Abruptly changing the subject, Murray went into a hearts and flowers oration about a man who would accept bets from the poor. Answered Gross, "The race tracks are doing it every day." Citing Gross' admission that he had bribed policemen "thousands" of times, Murray demanded to know if he considered these acts "morally all right." "Why, Mr. Murray," Gross shot back, "I didn't corrupt them. They corrupted me. They looked for me. I didn't look for them. You make me out to be a murderer. It was the system!"

I suppose that Harry Gross, as a self-admitted law breaker, doesn't deserve any special sympathy. But when I read that testimony I couldn't help but feel that if I had been in the courtroom I would have stood up and hollered, "Atta boy, Harry, tell those crooked shysters!"

The One Sour Note

By Jack Bustelo

The following were reactions, as reported in the *Cominform* weekly (Oct. 17), of the delegates at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the close of various speeches and greetings:

Stalin's speech — (All rise. Tumultuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation. Cries: "Long live Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!" "Long live Comrade Stalin, great leader of the working people of the world!" "Hurrah for the great Stalin!" "Long live peace among the nations!" Cries: "Hurrah!")

Voroshilov's speech — (Tumultuous applause. All rise. Cries of "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!" "Glory to the great Stalin!" Delegates and guests sing with great enthusiasm the Party anthem, the "Internationale." Tumultuous applause in honor of the great Stalin again resounds. From all corners of the hall in many languages cheers ring out for the beloved leader and teacher, the great Stalin.)

Beria's speech — (Tumultuous applause. All rise.)

Bulgarian's speech — (Tumultuous, prolonged applause. All rise. Exclamations: "Hurrah for the great Stalin!")

From the Polish United Workers Party, greetings — (Tumultuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation. All rise.)

Chinese CP, greetings — (Tumultuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation. All rise.)

German Socialist Unity Party, greetings — (Tumultuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation. All rise.)

Czechoslovakian CP, greetings — (Tempestuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation. All rise.)

Italian CP, greetings — (Tumultuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation. All rise.)

Japanese CP, greetings — (Tempestuous, prolonged applause.)

Hungarian Working People's Party, greetings — (Tempestuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation. All rise.)

British CP, greetings — (Tempestuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation. All rise.)

Korean Party of Labour, greetings — (Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Pak Den Ai presents the banner to the Presidium of the Congress. Comrade Patolichev, Chairman, accepts the banner. General ovation.)

Bulgarian CP, greetings — (All rise, tumultuous applause growing into ovation.)

Rumanian Workers Party, greetings — (Tumultuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation. All rise.)

Finnish CP, greetings — (Tumultuous, prolonged applause. All rise.)

Indian CP, greetings — (Tumultuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation. All rise.)

People's Party of Viet Nam, greetings — (Prolonged applause growing into ovation. All rise.)

Albanian Party of Labour, greetings — (Tumultuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation. All rise. Cries: "Hurrah!")

Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, greetings — (Tumultuous, prolonged applause. All rise. D. Damba presents the letter and banner to the Presidium of the Congress. The chairman receives the banner. General ovation.)

How come the Japanese CP got only "tempestuous, prolonged applause?" We can understand not getting a "growing into ovation" — even Beria suffered that slight. But not even an "all rise?" Stalin is worth it seems with his Japanese candle-lighters for losing all CP seats in parliament right while boasts were being prepared for the 19th Congress. No seats, no rise.

Notes from the News

FOR RICH PARENTS who prefer educational toys for their kids, a doll with a milk coat is now available. Adds a touch of capitalist politics to the new sets of atomic war games. Cost: \$314.95 plus tax.

FAILURE is the only word for the million-dollar Defense Fund of the CIO Electrical Workers Union. The Fund, started last July and due to end October 31, has raised only \$17,005 as of September 30. This amount does not even pay the promotion cost of the fund raising.

DAVE BECK, considered among union men to be the biggest strikebreaker on the West Coast, is now president of the AFL Teamsters Union. He succeeds 85-year-old Daniel J. Tobin who ruled the union for 45 years. Tobin will receive \$50,000 a year as "president emeritus." Commenting on the newly increased pay of \$50,000 a year for his new post, President Beck said: "I don't need the money. I've been very successful in business and investments."

THE YUGOSLAV PRESS predicts that Stalin will quietly disband the *Cominform* in the near future.

THE APPEAL OF THE TRENTON TWO will be ruled on within a month by the New Jersey Supreme Court. Ralph Cooper and Collis English,

last remaining victims of the Jim-Crow frame-up of the Trenton Six, have now been in prison for four years and eight months. By the jury's compromise verdict in the third trial of the holdup and murder case, four defendants, including those the prosecution claimed did the killing, were acquitted. This leaves the prosecution in the illogical position of demanding the "accomplices" be kept in prison though the alleged principals have been found innocent.

"MONTHLY REVIEW" EDITORS DISAGREE. In the November issue of that periodical, editor Paul Sweezy, an elector in New Hampshire for the Progressive Party, came out for Stevenson. The other editor, Leo Huberman, backed Hallinan and Bass but urged that the PP adopt a socialist program. A statement by George Clarke, campaign manager for Dobbs and Weiss, in the same issue of the magazine calls for support of the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

ARMY JIM-CROW schools for Negro children were protested by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a letter to Secretary of Defense Lovett. Schools for Negro children at Fort Bliss, Sam Houston, Sill and Belvoir are inferior to those for white children, the NAACP points out. At Fort Sill, Oklahoma, transportation is provided for white children but not for colored.

VOLUME XVI

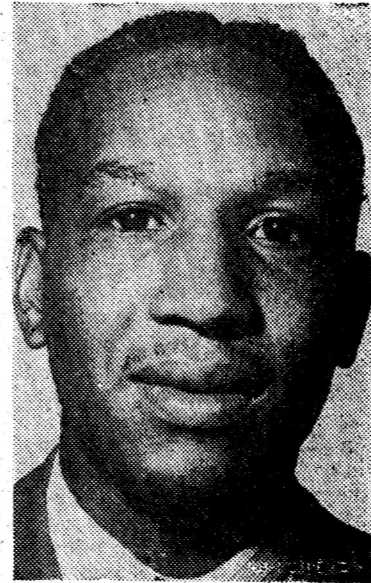
MONDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1952

NUMBER 43

THE MILITANT

Support the SWP Candidates

WHITE WORKERS URGED TO COMBAT JIM CROW



GEORGE BREITMAN (L) and WILLIAM E. BOHANNAN, SWP candidates in New Jersey.

NEWARK, Oct. 23 — "Our party stands for full social, economic and political equality for the Negro people. We stand for this not only during election campaigns,

but in all spheres of American life," George Breitman, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator said today.

Breitman and his running mate, William E. Bohannon, SWP candidate for Congress in the 11th District, have a long, consistent and enviable record of struggle against Jim Crow as well as other evils of capitalism.

Unlike the capitalist politicians, who speak against race bias and segregation only in the presence of Negroes, Breitman and Bohannon on the contrary have been placing their main stress on the need for white workers to join

the fight and urging them to actively combat Jim-Crow practices and its institutions wherever they find them.

Bohannon reports that he always gets a good reception when he warns Negroes that "Jim Crow won't be ended by Democrats in league with Southern white supremacists or by Republicans who only want to take the place of these Democrats in the affections of the Dixiecrats." He says he has found much favorable sentiment for a labor party even among white and Negro workers who say they are going to vote Democrat again, and believes this sentiment will grow stronger after the elections, no matter who is elected.

Bartell Defends Civil Liberties in Debate at N.Y.U.

NEW YORK, Oct. 17 — Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senator from New York state, took the measure of representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties in a three-cornered debate yesterday afternoon on New York University campus.

The originally scheduled subject, "Is America Headed for Socialism," was changed to "The Pertinent Issues of the 1952 Election Campaign" on the insistence of Payton Moss, Democratic candidate for state assemblyman. He complained the subject implied that the present administration was introducing "creeping socialism," a Republican lie. Bartell added this was the only point on which he fully agreed with the Democrats — "they certainly are not heading for socialism."

While the two spokesmen of the capitalist parties argued as to which would carry out the harshest "loyalty" purge, Bartell scored the whole attack on freedom of thought and expression. He defended Dr. Edwin Burgum, long-time NYU professor, who was fired three days before for refusing to tell a Senate witch-hunting committee whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party.

After the meeting, which was attended by 175 students and faculty members, Bartell was asked many questions about socialism and Marxism by students who gathered on the speakers' platform and displayed keen interest in Bartell's ideas.

BACKS MINE STRIKERS IN MICHIGAN CAMPAIGN

DETROIT, Oct. 19 — Addressing a unit of the CIO United Auto Workers Local 174, Howard Lerner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of Michigan, called

for support of the mine workers' struggle against the 40-cent wage-cut ruling of the Wage Stabilization Board.

Lerner, a veteran of the early organizing days of the UAW, recalled the solidarity the mine workers union had extended to the young auto union in the days of the sitdowns. The SWP candidate said: "This unjust act of the government (against the miners) under the present Democratic administration is especially hateful to working people in this city, who have recently witnessed the favoritism this same administration has shown the landlords by releasing all rent controls here."

Genora Dollinger of Flint, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator, denounced her Democratic opponent, Blair Moody, the Negro friend of labor and the professed foe for signing a restrictive covenant against Negroes, Jews and other minorities. She declared: "Like any Democratic or Republican politician, he made a grandstand play

in order to get a liberal reputation and cash it in for votes. He can be depended on only to desert labor when the chips are down, as he did when he signed a restrictive covenant against Negroes in Washington, D.C."

The Michigan SWP is urging voters to vote "YES" on re-apportionment proposal No. 2, and "No" on proposal No. 3. Proposal No. 2, which is supported by the CIO but not by the Democratic Party, calls for equal representation in the state legislature. Though it has shortcomings, it would help redress such inequalities whereby districts with one-tenth the population of Detroit districts have the same representation in the State Senate. In the House, discrimination against working-class districts runs as high as six to one. Proposal No. 3, introduced by Big Business representatives, to confuse the voters, would make a fake re-apportionment and then forever freeze the present inequitable distribution.



GENORA DOLLINGER and HOWARD LERNER, SWP candidates in Michigan.

LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY, SAYS V. R. DUNNE

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 23 — "Never has American labor needed its own party more than now," said Vincent R. Dunne, candidate for U.S. Senate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, in a statement issued here today.

"I have participated in the struggles of American workers for more than four decades and I am more convinced than ever that labor will make no real advances in this period unless it builds its own party and fights as a class politically as well as economically," said the famed former truck-drivers organizer and strike leader.

Dunne was one of the outstanding leaders of Minneapolis Truck Drivers Local 544 whose strikes in 1934 sparked a wave of union battles across the nation. His record as an active fighter for labor goes back before the first World War when he fought in the ranks of the IWW and Socialist Party for the same principles of working-class emancipation.

He was one of the chief targets of the government witch-hunt against opponents of war during the Roosevelt's regime. One of the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders convicted as the first victims under the Smith "Gag" Act, he was imprisoned on a 16-month sentence in 1944 for his socialist views against imperialist war.



VINCENT R. DUNNE

"None of the problems that capitalism confronts us with — war, inflation, depression — can be overcome so long as the capitalist class holds the monopoly of politics through its two-party system," said Dunne. "We'll be going around and around in a squirrel cage until labor breaks out of capitalist politics and fights to set up a Workers and Farmers Government."

Boulton Presents Program to Meet McCarthy Menace

Wisconsin voters have an opportunity to cast a vote that will really count against McCarthyism on election day by marking their ballots for James E. Boulton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator.

As Boulton has pointed out, the campaign between Republican Joseph McCarthy and Democrat Thomas Fairchild has become a contest of who is the better witch-hunter. In this unequal contest Fairchild claims that he can do a "responsible" job instead of the "irresponsible" job of the incumbent Senator McCarthy is doing.

The Wisconsin SWP candidate also reminds union members, whose leaders are urging them to vote for Fairchild, that this Fairchild broke four strikes of the utility workers while he was state attorney general.

To vote against McCarthyism, to vote for labor, vote for James E. Boulton on the Socialist Workers Party line in Wisconsin.

NIXON AND SPARKMAN SCORED BY SNIPPER

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 23 — "The hypocrisy of the two Big Business parties on the civil rights issue is symbolized by their vice-presidential candidates," Milton Snipper, SWP candidate for Congress from the 19th Congressional District, declared today.

"White supremacist John Sparkman and the subsidized West Coast reactionary, Richard Nixon, both signed restrictive covenants against minority peoples when buying their homes in Washington, D.C. Sparkman didn't need any restrictive covenant for his other home in Alabama. It's covered by the Ku Klux laws and terror of the 'master race' of that state. Senator Nixon's home in Whittier, Calif., however, is covered by a restrictive covenant against Negroes unless they're servants."

Snipper said that Nixon and Sparkman are typical examples of the corrupt, reactionary political machines of Big Business.

Ann Chester Raps War and Taxes in Penna. Campaign

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 23 — "Workers' pay envelopes are being plundered by taxes and shrunk by inflation," declared Ann Chester, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania, "and in return the armaments budget gets bigger, causing more inflation, and the danger of war gets closer."

"We, the SWP, say no taxes on incomes under \$7,500 a year, and no sales tax! Put a 100% tax on all profits from making munitions and other instruments of war."

"Tax money should be used to raise the living standards and security of the American people, not to lower them as is now the case. Instead of spending for war to capture the world for U.S. Big Business, we call for the establishment of real security for the American people. This can be begun by (1) building 20,000-000 low-cost housing units (2) establishing adequate pensions and a free national medical care plan; (3) a federal educational plan opening the colleges and universities to all youth regardless of economic status."

"It is the rule of these two stooge parties of Wall Street that must be fought. We must fight from the presidential right down to the city level. That's why our party calls for and works for the organization of a party of labor, the farmers and the minority peoples — an independent labor party."



MILTON SNIPPER

Toll: 122,117

Another 963 U.S. casualties were added to the toll of American imperialist intervention in Korea during the week ending Oct. 17. This brings total losses to 122,117.

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Washington SWP Hits Witchhunters

SEATTLE, Oct. 23 — "If you want to vote against the attack on civil liberties nationally and against the 'loyalty' oaths here, mark your ballots for Dobbs and Weiss, the Socialist Workers Party candidates," Dan Roberts, Washington SWP chairman, declared today.

"Workers know that both the Democrats and Republicans are corrupt. Countless scandals in Washington, D.C. and in every city have proved this as has the Nixon Fund and other pay-offs to the kept politicians of Big Business. Wall Street is the Edgar Bergen and it's only a joke when one of the dummies talks back. Dobbs and Weiss are not like the capitalist politicians. They are incorruptible socialists fighting the very system that breeds corruption."

FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM, BEININ TELLS YOUTH

CHICAGO, Oct. 22 — Irving Beinin, SWP candidate for Congress for the Second Congressional district, today urged Illinois voters to write in the name of Farrell Dobbs,

foreign battlefields to preserve and extend their profit system. The socialist movement offers you the opportunity to help build a new world — a world of enduring peace, of abundance, of boundless progress in a scientifically planned society. Make this election year a crucial turning point in your life by taking your place in the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party.

"The career of a socialist fighter is the only career worthy of a youth able to see and feel and think in a world that stands in the shadow of the atomic bomb."