

Capitalist Parties Equally Guilty of Killing FEPC Bill

By William E. Bohannon

On schedule and as predicted, the U. S. Senate on May 19 voted down a motion for closure that would have permitted it to take up for consideration the FEPC bill that both capitalist parties had promised in their election platforms in 1948.

This slap in the face to the majority of the American people was a vivid warning of what they can expect if they continue to put confidence in the promises of the Democrats and Republicans in this year's election. It demonstrated that capitalist politicians have neither shame nor conscience nor the slightest respect for the intelligence of the workers and Negroes to whom they make their promises on civil rights legislation.

Sixty-four votes are needed to impose closure in the Senate. The vote was 52 in favor, 32 against— or 12 short of what was necessary.

'I'm a Trumanite,' Florida Primary Victor Boasts

Union leaders, both AFL and CIO have expressed much distress at the victory of Rep. George A. Smathers over Senator Claude Pepper in the Democratic primary for Senator from Florida. Smathers' victory, they say, was really a triumph for "Republicanism" and a defeat for the Truman "Fair Deal."

In his campaign, Smathers had emulated the red-baiting and smear tactics of Senator McCarthy. He had called Pepper a "N . . . r lover" for giving lip service to some of the more innocuous planks in Truman's "civil rights" program, although Pepper himself opposed FEPC. He campaigned for retention of the Taft-Hartley Act and indulged in unbridled attacks on organized labor.

Now it appears the union leaders complained too quickly. Smathers, it turns out, is a staunch Trumanite himself. On May 22, he visited Truman in the White House, and afterward, in reply to a question on whether he is an "anti-Truman" Democrat, told reporters:

"No, I don't consider myself an anti-Truman Democrat. I campaigned as a liberal Democrat. I consider myself a pro-Truman Democrat."

Is Smathers lying? Not at all. It's the union leaders who are lying when they represent Truman and his political machine as "friends of labor," defenders of Negro fights, etc. There's nothing odd about a Smathers being a Trumanite. He represents Truman's real program.

Twelve Senators did not even bother to show up for the vote; at least half of these are professed supporters of FEPC.

Of the 52 Senators who voted in favor of closure, 19 were Democrats and 33 were Republicans. Of the 32 who voted against, 26 were Democrats and 6 were Republicans. Of the absentees, 9 were Democrats and 3 Republicans.

BLAMING EACH OTHER

On schedule and as predicted, the leaders of both parties began to blame each other the minute after closure was defeated.

The Republicans pointed out that a majority of their members had voted for closure, while a majority of the Democrats had voted against—which was true. GOP leader Taft noted that on this issue, there had not been "the slightest pressure either from President Truman or the Democratic National Committee such as that brought on various recent measures" to swing the Democrats into line—which was true too.

But the Democrats answered in turn that the fault lay with the Republicans because they had voted by an overwhelming majority last year to adopt the present "unworkable" and "impossible" rule on closure—which was also true. The Senate cannot "break this rule in 1,000 years," said Truman's floor leader Lucas.

Taft charged that a filibuster could have been broken if the FEPC bill had been called up at the beginning instead of toward the end of the present session. This is true too, although the Republicans did nothing to try to bring it up at that time.

It is also true that the Southern filibuster could still be broken if the Democratic and Republican leaders wanted to engage in a real fight against it by means of round-the-clock sessions combined with political pressure. But neither party proposes or wants that.

In other words, the whole truth is that there has been a division of labor between the two capitalist parties and that they are equally responsible for the defeat of the FEPC measure. They cannot and will not escape that responsibility no matter how many half-truths they tell about each other.

ANOTHER "ATTEMPT"

Lucas promises that he will make "another sincere and desperate" attempt to bring the bill to a vote in the present congressional session. (If he does, it will be the first attempt of that kind

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PAINTERS UNION PURGE UPHELD BY N.Y. COURT

Proclaiming the "imminent necessity for action" to "protect trade unionism" against the "dangers of international communism," N. Y. Supreme Court Justice E. L. Hammer last week upheld the expulsion of three prominent Stalinist members of the AFL Painters Union on charges of being "avowed members of the Communist Party."

The decision was handed down in rejecting a petition for reinstatement on behalf of Louis Weinstock, former secretary-treasurer of Dist. Council 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers and a former national board member of the Communist Party; Morris Gainer, president of Local Union 905, and Morris Davis, of Local Union 848.

JUDGE'S RULING

The three were charged and expelled for violating Sec. 107 of the Brotherhood constitution which places a ban on "any member who associates himself with any organization or group that expounds or promotes any doctrine or philosophy inimical to or subversive of the fundamental principles and institutions of the government of the United States or Dominion of Canada, the American Federation of Labor or of this (Painters) Brotherhood."

Justice Hammer rejected the contention of counsel for the Stalinists that this provision of the union constitution violated their political rights. The substance of the Judge's ruling was that the Communist Party had no political rights!

Ironically enough, a precedent for this reactionary decision was

established by the main target of the proceedings, Louis Weinstock. As secretary-treasurer of District Council 9, Weinstock entered into correspondence with the U. S. Department of Justice offering his aid in depriving the Socialist Workers Party of its political rights during the trial of the 18 Trotskyists in Minneapolis.

FALSE CLAIM

Martin Rarback, who succeeded Weinstock as head of Painters D. C. 9, hailed the court decision as a victory for the entire American trade union movement. "This decision," he said, "first of its kind in the United States, now enables organized labor to rid itself of these Communist elements who would not hesitate to destroy it if that would serve the needs of the foreign office of the Soviet Union."

Such decisions by the capitalist courts are the greatest threat to the independence of the trade unions and serve to bolster the bureaucratic strangling of internal union democracy. Court decisions upholding "anti-communist" provisions of union constitutions feed capitalist reaction and will boomerang against the organized labor movement. Far from being a "victory" for the unions the decision of the N. Y. State Supreme Court is another dagger thrust aimed at the heart of labor.

The decision of Justice Hammer is being appealed to a higher court.

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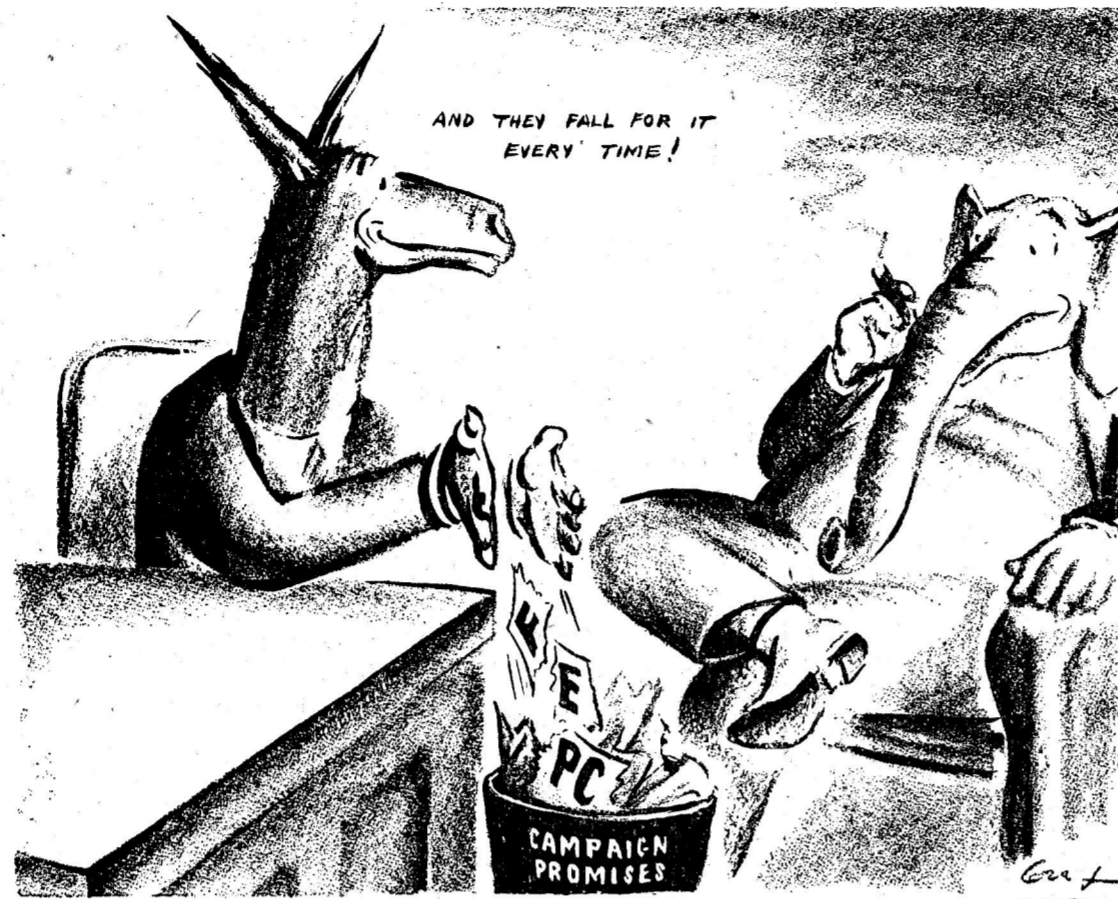
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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE



GM WORKERS SADDLED WITH 5-YEAR CONTRACT

As we go to press, it is reported from Detroit that President Walter Reuther of the CIO United Automobile Workers has signed a contract with General Motors Cor-

poration that cannot be reopened for any reason for five years.

In return for this unprecedented long-term contract, General Motors has granted a hundred-dollars-per-month pension plan, including federal social security; annual wage increases limited to four cents an hour per year; continuation of the cost-of-living escalator clause; a hospital-medical plan; an improved insurance program, and a "modified" union shop.

At first glance, these appear to be significant gains. But they must be weighed against the fact that the contract binds the workers from making any further demands until May 29, 1955. Under this condition, the company has far more to gain from the contract than the workers.

In terms of GM's profits, which last year were the largest ever raked in by any corporation in the world and are running 53% higher than that this year, the union's gains are indeed paltry. In terms of the workers' needs and demands, the settlement is far below the 31-cent an hour "package" originally asked. The estimated cost to the company, including pensions, medical and insurance programs, will be about 15 to 19 cents an hour.

The pension is limited to \$100 a month. The company pays only the difference between \$100 and what the retired worker gets on social security. However, if federal pension payments are raised, the GM maximum will go up to \$117.50 a month. Pensions are paid at the age of 65 after 25 years of continuous service with the company, at an average of 1,700 hours worked per year. If the worker suffers any extended period of unemployment, or goes to another company, he loses his pension benefits.

The four-cent-an-hour annual wage increase, designated as an award for increased productivity, amounts to less than 2 1/4% of the previous average wage of \$1.65 an hour. This percentage will decline each year in relation to the previous year's basic wage.

General Motors has already introduced an intensified speed-up. This alone will insure a rate of productivity increase greater than the rate of wage increases. GM can also be expected to introduce technological improvements and reduce the labor force, so that fewer workers will turn out a tremendously greater output. But GM workers will not be able to demand the benefit of such higher output for five years.

The escalator clause is an improvement over the previous one accepted by Reuther, although it still permits a reduction below the basic wage of up to three

Next Week:

THE CRISIS OF WORLD STALINISM first of a series by Michel Pablo THE GM CONTRACT an analysis from our Detroit correspondent

Executive Body Of Fourth Int'l Holds 8th Plenum

The French Trotskyist paper, La Verite, reports that the Eighth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International was held somewhere in Europe on April 26-30, with delegates from European and Far-Eastern sections participating. For the first time an observer from colonial Africa was present.

The Eighth Plenum held its deliberations under an honorary presidium among whom were the Berlin militants Oskar Hippe and Walter Haas, now prisoners of Stalin's secret police, the Greek Trotskyists incarcerated at Makronissos, and the Bolivian Trotskyists who are being hounded following the great working class battles in their country.

The Eighth Plenum heard the report of the International Secretariat on its activity and on the progress of the International and its sections since the Seventh Plenum.

The political report stressed the big revolutionary perspectives opened up by the parallel crises of imperialism and Stalinism, which under the existing conditions tend to retard the outbreak of World War III. This report included an analysis of the world economic situation, an examination of the consequences of Mao Tse-tung's victory in China and an outline of the general tasks of the revolutionary movement in taking advantage of this new and especially favorable situation.

YUGOSLAV RESOLUTION

The report on the crisis of Stalinism and the development of the Yugoslav revolution gave a picture of the crisis in the Stalinist parties throughout the world, analyzed the causes of this crisis, traced the developments of the Yugoslav experience, and outlined the tasks for the building of revolutionary parties under these conditions.

At the conclusion of the discussion, the Plenum adopted a

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Washington Puts Squeeze On Yugoslavia

Yugoslavs Need U.S. Labor's Help

An Editorial

Washington poses as the "defender" of the independence of small nations. It claims that its aid to other countries has no political strings attached. It denies that it is using economic means to pressure other countries into submission to the world political aims of American imperialism.

These are propaganda lies and the case of Yugoslavia is an outstanding proof of it. What other motive but a political one can explain the denial of a few millions in loans to Yugoslavia, when the U. S. government has not hesitated to pour out tens of billions for reactionary — and bankrupt — capitalist regimes all over the globe?

In the case of the Greek and Turkish capitalist dictatorships, Washington justified its outright gifts of \$1 1/2 billion on the ground that these regimes were resisting Kremlin encroachment. But if resistance to the Kremlin's dictates were the sole criterion for U. S. economic aid, then Yugoslavia would have first call on such aid. The whole world knows how valiantly the Yugoslav people have resisted the Kremlin's terrible threats and pressure. Nothing has shaken Stalinism so much as "Titism."

What Washington Is After

It is precisely because of this resistance, as well as the need to keep up its "democratic" pretenses, that Washington dare not apply open economic pressure on Yugoslavia to extort political concessions. It must play a more devious game that will conceal its real imperialist aims. That is why, as reported in the adjoining column, Wall Street's government must resort to devices like blocking loans on the grounds that Yugoslavia must first agree to pay the debts of the defunct monarchy.

What concessions does Washington really want? First of all, it wants the Tito regime to support the imperialist "cold war" against the Soviet Union. This the Yugoslavs staunchly refuse to do. They have clearly indicated that they will no more be the pawns of Washington than of Moscow. They are determined to maintain their true national independence.

This in itself the American imperialists find intolerable. But Yugoslavia represents something far worse in their eyes. It is demonstrating to the workers and oppressed everywhere that the choice before them, contrary to what Washington and Moscow both contend, does not lie between the two reactionary forces of imperialism and Stalinism. They have a real alternative in the socialist revolution.

Washington seeks to stem this revolutionary development in Yugoslavia. It is apparently ready to risk the possibility that this underdeveloped land of only 17 million people may become so weakened that it will be crushed under the heel of Stalinism. Certainly, American imperialism is ready to go to great lengths to prevent the Yugoslav revolution from being strengthened and serving as an inspiration to the workers of other countries. In much the same way, the Kremlin prefers to push Yugoslavia into the arms of the imperialists rather than see its revolutionary struggle thrive and spread in Eastern Europe.

Both Camps Apply Pressure

Thus, for the same reactionary, counter-revolutionary reasons, imperialism and Stalinism are putting a brutal squeeze on Yugoslavia. They both want to snuff out its revolutionary flame and destroy its national independence.

The Yugoslav workers and peasants are enduring terrible hardships to maintain their national freedom and advance the socialist revolution. They are standing firm against the two greatest world powers and by their struggle have given new hope and courage to the peoples of the world. Their example must arouse the conscience and the international solidarity of the working class in every land.

The American workers, above all, have a prime duty to defend the heroic Yugoslav people. Break the American imperialist blockade. Demand immediate economic aid for Yugoslavia with no political strings attached. Call on Washington to immediately grant the promised loans to Yugoslavia. Mobilize all-out support to the Yugoslav people in their fight against imperialism and Stalinism.

Blocks Loans In Move for Concessions

By Art Preis

Washington is still using economic extortion and pressure on Yugoslavia in an effort to wrest political concessions from the Tito regime and force it to support Western imperialism in the "cold war," it was revealed last week. This United States economic squeeze amounts to a hidden blockade paralleling the open one imposed by the Kremlin. It has been greatly intensified since Tito declared last February that the Yugoslavs would rather "go naked" than abandon their socialist principles and support the imperialist bloc.

Loans promised to Yugoslavia by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which is controlled by financially all-powerful U. S. capitalism, are being held up on the pretext that the revolutionary government must first agree to pay the debts owed by the old monarchist regime to private international bankers.

The facts about this move instigated by the U. S. State Department were revealed by the well-informed Washington columnist, Robert S. Allen, in the May 18 N. Y. Post. Allen writes that "international bankers have thrust a disruptive hand" into the negotiations for loans desperately needed by Yugoslavia, which was the hardest hit of any country in the last war.

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

These "international bankers," says Allen, "are demanding settlements on musty deals, some dating back to early 1900, before the World Bank grants Yugoslavia a \$25,000,000 loan it is seeking in order to resist Russia."

The World Bank, Allen discloses, "has 'strongly suggested' to the Tito government that unless it comes to terms with the bankers, there will be no loan to build up Yugoslav industry, transportation and agriculture."

The American claims involve two bond issues, each of \$100 million, floated in 1922 by King Alexander. In the 1930's, Alexander's regime defaulted on \$28 million on one bond issue floated by the Chase National Bank, New York, and \$30,000,000 on the other issue raised by the City Bank Farmers Trust Co., New York.

Allen reports that the World Bank is even pressuring Yugo-

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Cold War Takes Toll in New Jersey Town

By Joseph Keller

Cold war, arms profiteering, indifference to public safety and speed-up of dock workers combined on May 19 to snuff out 29 lives, injure more than 300 and damage 3,000 homes in a munitions explosion at South Amboy, N. J.

The munitions were a million pounds of land and anti-tank mines, artillery shells, gun powder and fuse caps being loaded for shipment to Pakistan, a cold war ally of U. S. and British imperialism.

These war materials were being rushed by special authorization from the State Department. Washington's anxiety to speed the shipment was spurred by desire to aid the reactionary Pakistan government to put down internal revolts.

The two U. S. Senators from New Jersey, Robert C. Hendrickson and H. Alexander Smith, pre-

sented a joint statement to the Senate on May 22 in which they stated that the longshoremen blasted to smithereens in South Amboy were "unsung heroes" of the cold war.

But the workers who were blown up had no desire to be "heroes," sung or unsung, of the cold war, although they were certainly its victims. They were just poor workers forced to take dangerous jobs in order to make a living. They were part of the thousands in the New York-New Jersey area who through to the morning "shape-up" to get a day's work on the docks.

PROFITS BEFORE SAFETY

The company engaged in the highly profitable munitions trade that sold the war material to Pakistan—the Kilgore Manufacturing Company in Newark, Ohio, and Rutherford, Pa.—wasn't worried about the safety of the workers and townspeople in South

Amboy. Capt. William Geftman, a U. S. Marines munitions expert who investigated the disaster, revealed that some of the mines shipped by the Kilgore Co. had live detonators attached, contrary to military practice.

The Healing Litterage Company of Jersey City, which was loading the munitions from railroad cars to barges for transfer to a ship, also put profits ahead of safety.

Chief Engineman Stacy of the Coast Guard reported that he had twice requested officials of the litterage company to move two munitions-filled barges from the pier, at which two other barges were being loaded, to lesser the concentration of explosives in the area. This request was ignored. All four barges went up in the subsequent explosion.

What the company wanted was speed, since it was being paid by the town, while it paid the longshoremen by the hour. The more tons handled in an hour, the big-

ger the profits. There is no doubt that the men were being pushed for more speed and that elementary caution was abandoned.

No special equipment was used in the handling of these live explosives, which were tossed around like crates of canned beans, and it is unlikely that the dock workers were fully informed of the danger they faced.

ORDER IGNORED

But the worst feature of the whole disaster was the fact that huge piles of explosives were permitted on docks situated only 600 feet away from the heart of a closely populated community. The Coast Guard, which is supposed to regulate the handling of explosives in port areas, was fully aware of the danger, since it had issued orders ten days previously that no more than 500 pounds of explosives could be handled at any one time at the South Amboy docks.

Yet this order was shunted aside and more than 500 TONS of munitions were allowed for the fatal loading by special permission of the Coast Guard.

One of the significant aspects of the explosion was the immediate reaction of the people in South Amboy and adjacent towns that felt the terrible shock. They showed the intense war fear that has been generated. "At first," reported the N. Y. Times, "the intensity of the explosion caused many horrified residents. . . to wonder if an atom bomb had burst. . . Shouts of 'War!' and 'Run for your lives!' went up. . ."

But this was not war; it was just the slightest taste of what war will bring. An actual atomic bomb explosion would not have left a single soul alive in South Amboy, and could actually wipe out a city 100 times as large. And Truman's projected new H-Bomb will be a hundred to a thousand times as deadly as any A-Bomb.

European Notebook

Scientific and Artistic Liberty in Yugoslavia

By Ernest Germain

One of the most lamentable features of the Stalinist dictatorship in the Soviet Union and in the countries of the "People's Democracy" is the tyrannical stifling of all independent scientific and artistic thought. Byzantinism is the abject spirit that prevails there in all spheres; artists and men of learning are called upon to acclaim and "prove" the bureaucracy's "theories" which are inspired by sordid considerations, serving the caste interests. But even men of learning sincerely devoted to the Stalinist regime fall victims of this talent-devouring machine.

A new instance of this is the case of George Lukacz, Hungarian Marxist philosopher and historian of art. Lukacz who, previously wrote several outstanding Marxist books in his field (notably his remarkable *History and Class Consciousness*) has been for a decade a sort of official philosopher for the bureaucracy. On his recent visit to France and Italy, everyone was struck by the eyes by his ideological decay. His capacity for generalizations and abstract thought has been replaced by vulgar pragmatism.

To all the bitter criticisms of the Stalinist regime that confronted him, he found no other reply except to repeat that there was "concrete socialism" in the USSR and that concrete reality is always right as against theory! Despite all his exertions as apologist for the bureaucracy, Lukacz in his turn has been attacked and faces discard. Rudas, a subaltern Stalinist scribbler in Budapest, has charged him with "under-estimating Russian literature and devoting himself to exclusively to Shakespeare, Goethe and Balzac"! This is a mortal sin which must fatally lead to Lukacz's disgrace.

YUGOSLAV OPEN NEW ERA
In the face of these spectacles of degradation of thought, how remarkable is the conscious effort of the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party to break with the whole Stalinist practice and to return to Leninist principles in their treatment of artistic and scientific questions. Truly, one cannot but admire the rapidity with which the Yugoslav Communist leaders have drawn the lessons from their own experiences in this field and have opened up a new era in their "cultural policy."

Toward the end of 1949 came the first signs of a radical turn in the attitude of the Yugoslav Communists toward the artists. At the Congress of Yugoslav Artists, held in Zagreb in the last week of December 1949, the writer Oscar Davitcho made the following declaration which speaks for itself:
"Since Fadeyev [a well-known Soviet author and principal Stalinist mouthpiece among the

Soviet artists, paraphrasing Zhdanov, has tried to propagate 'winged realism,' it is necessary to ask the question why should anyone give realism the wings of an angel? Is it in order not to tell the whole truth? Is it in order to go a step further toward the falsifications and lies employed by the politicians in the Soviet Union? . . . Is it to hide the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been converted from one of the most humane forms of the democratic power by the masses, as Lenin defined it, into the violent and rude power of an apparatus which is isolated and which keeps a malevolent eye on every sign of initiative from below?"

TRUTH AND THE WRITER

"There is truth; it is the reality; it is the field of the writer. Art does not deceive, it tells the truth. A man lacking in courage and proletarian passion will not be able to utter the truth. Writers can no longer tell the truth when their socialist government, through moral and administrative measures, debases their dignity, shackles their courage, obstructs their vision, and demands of them public and humiliating admission of 'faults' and 'formalistic mistakes' and, in a word, converts them into the most docile subjects. . . ."

"Our party is doing everything in its power to reanimate the audacity of the writer, who is an explorer in the domain of man, to encourage him, to free him of needless worries and create all the favorable conditions for his work and his creative imagination." (Tanjug Bulletin, Paris, Dec. 31, 1949.)

CC RESOLUTION

Several days later, the third plenary session of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav CP, held on Dec. 29-30, 1949, devoted a special discussion to the problems of education and cultural policy. The resolution, adopted by the Central Committee, notably declared the following:

It is necessary "to fight stubbornly against bureaucratic methods of instruction and national education; it is necessary to fight for a free ideological development on the basis of socialist democracy and for an audacious growth of initiative. We shall achieve this by giving more scope to the struggle of opinions, by promoting initiative in all fields, by a free exchange of practical experiences and views along the line of the socialist construction of our country." (Same, Jan. 4, 1950.)

"NO MORE DIRECTIVES"

[And Devay, Belgrade correspondent of the French daily "Combat," reported that in February of this year Milovan Djilas, Secretary of the Yugoslav CP, called together all the intellectuals of Belgrade and told them: I have

called you together to give you one final directive. There will be no more government directives in the future.

It is interesting to note how profound is the understanding of the significance and necessity of this turn among the Yugoslav CP leaders. In a highly theoretical speech delivered by Edward Kardelj, Foreign Minister of the Federated People's Republic of Yugoslavia, before the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, he said: "Today (the social science of historical materialism) . . . finds itself in a state of stagnation in which all sorts of anti-dialectical and anti-scientific tendencies are being generated. Among them there is one which is particularly dangerous and this consists in a pragmatic conception and the application of construed dogmas for everyday tactical-political needs. . . . Naturally, in such conditions, theory that is science, is no longer a tool which aids practice in discovering the real path and which is at the same time rectified and supplemented by the results of this practice, but is becoming the unprincipled lackey of a practising bureaucracy."

"The authors of (this) pragmatist conception of science proclaim as truth everything which, in their narrowmindedness, they consider to be useful to definite political tactics and social-economic practices, wherein they have substituted their own desires and needs for objective truth. . . ."

BINDING ON SCIENCE

"According to such conceptions the positions of Soviet political leaders are automatically not only correct but also, without discussion, binding upon world science. Closely allied to this is a sort of practice of making a fetish of the state which, with its leading apparatus, is the infallible interpreter of absolute truth. Such theories are, of course, capable of concealing all manner of anti-democratic tendencies inside the existing socialist system, which have their origins in vestiges of the class system, as well as in existing class differences, and, in the first place, in the very existence of the state as a constant tendency to perpetuate bureaucracy."

"But this is not all, such theories represent a very powerful obstacle to the development of the social sciences, because they revert from the objective investigation of the world to scholastic methods of proclaiming eternal truths on the basis of quotations and construed dogmas, which in fact means passing from dialectical materialism to metaphysics."

GRAVE DANGER

"All these and other similar revisionist theories constitute a grave danger to the further advancement of socialist thought, and Yugoslav science must perceive this danger clearly. Science in Yugoslavia must serve the people and its social, economic and cultural advancement, and in a people's socialist state genuine science is a strong support of that state. We hold that our men of science must be free to create, for without scientific discussion, criticism, and the testing of theoretical postulates in practice, there can be neither progress in science nor a successful struggle against reactionary conceptions and dogmatism in science." (Yugoslav Bulletin, London, Dec. 22, 1949, my emphasis.)

Do not these passages demonstrate clearly that progress the Yugoslav leaders have already made on the road toward Leninism?

8th Plenum Held By Fourth Int'l

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resolution to the effect that following the victory of the proletarian revolution there exists in Yugoslavia a workers' state and a regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat in which the Yugoslav Communists are engaged in a struggle against bureaucratic deformations.

The report on colonial revolutions in Asia underscored the necessity for the International to reevaluate the significance of Mao Tse-tung's victory as the product of a powerful revolutionary movement of the peasant masses; and to understand the revolutionary perspectives which this victory opens up in the whole of Southeast Asia. In the light of this analysis the new tasks of the Fourth International in the Far East were defined.

The Plenum also adopted a resolution of solidarity with the Algerian people, victims of imperialist repressions,

U. S. Squeeze on Yugoslavia

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slavia in the interest of French bankers, who are demanding payment on defaulted debts of the old pre-World War I Ottoman (Turkish) Empire, which once ruled the territory of present Yugoslavia. These debts were imposed on Yugoslavia by the 1924 imperialist Treaty of Lausanne.

"THE STRANGE THING"

Although Allen does not state that political considerations have resurrected these debts of the late unlamented exploiters of the Yugoslav people, he does note that "the strange thing about the (World) Bank's stand is that last Oct. it granted a \$2,700,000 loan to Yugoslavia. . . . Nothing was said then about paying debts incurred by long-dead kings and empires."

He likewise reports that the Yugoslavs, who are asked to assume debts nearly triple the loan they would receive in return, have "pointed out that France has wiped out a large part of its indebtedness by repeated devaluations; also, that France has and is receiving billions in aid from the U.S."

It would indeed be a "strange thing" for Washington to balk at a pittance loan of \$25 million



TITO

solely on the issue of the old Yugoslav monarchist debts, when foreign governments that have defaulted on billions are being handed more tens of billions through the Marshall Plan, the World Bank and the United States Export-Import Bank. The Truman administration and Congress did not hesitate to pour nearly three billion dollars down the rat-hole of the Chiang Kai-shek regime in China and nearly a billion into the lap of the military dictatorship of King Paul in Greece.

DEMAND CONCESSIONS

Obviously, the "debts of long-dead kings" to the "international bankers" provide a convenient cover for the political reasons behind Washington's denial of the most paltry economic aid to Yugoslavia. What the Wall Street government in Washington wants is far-reaching political concessions—first of all, in the direction of support to its "cold war" against the Soviet Union.

That Washington has been demanding such concessions in return for a loan to the hard-pressed people of Yugoslavia was strongly indicated last Feb. 18th when Tito, in the midst of loan negotiations, made a major policy speech declaring that his government would not go "begging" to the United States and would not "sell its principles at any price."

TITO'S STATEMENT

"We are a socialist country. We are Communists," said Tito. "We are not going to make any concessions with regard to our foreign policy. . . . The questions of foreign policy are not short-term matters with us. They involve historical problems because they concern a socialist country which is in the full revolutionary swing of its creation. The leaders of such a country cannot sell their principles for any machines or for any price."
"Anyone who does not wish to trade with us on such a basis,

anyone who would seek to separate our foreign policy from our socialist principles, should not trade with us, because we should prefer to go naked as long as we cannot create what we need with our own strength."

He added: "This should be known to people abroad and to all those who may think that perhaps our difficulties may defeat us and force us to join their bloc some day. We are telling them now and we have been saying this since the quarrel with the Cominform, that we do not intend to join any other bloc. We are not in anybody's bloc or camp."

These remarks were undoubtedly directed at the United States, whose new ambassador to Yugoslavia, George V. Allen, had been in consultation with the Yugo-

slav leaders on the matter of loans. M. S. Handler, the N. Y. Times correspondent in Belgrade, observed that Tito's speech reflected the "suspicions" aroused "by certain inadvertent remarks by Westerners . . . concerning the intentions of Western Governments in extending financial and economic assistance."

SHODDY DENIALS

These "innocent remarks," said Handler, plus the delay in granting the promised loans, "have apparently convinced Yugoslav leaders that a movement is on foot in Western capitals to force them to grant political concessions as a quid pro quo for financial assistance."

Ambassador Allen, the day after Tito's speech, hastened to

deny that Washington is trying to dictate political terms to Yugoslavia and correspondent Handler again claimed that it was "certain gratuitous remarks. . . . made to Yugoslavs" by a nameless "Western European diplomat" that "had the effect" of making the Yugoslavs believe "they represented the considered views" of Washington.

Now, by a strange "coincidence," the loan promised Yugoslavia is being withheld on a patently shoddy pretext. It is clear that the anonymous "Western European diplomat" was feeling out the Yugoslavs on their willingness to yield to Washington's terms for its high-interest loans.

Branches Step Up Their Militant Fund Collections

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager
The Campaign of The Militant for a \$10,000 fund began to pick up speed during the past week. Receipts of \$785 brought the national total received through May 23 up to \$2,769. This is 28% of the goal to be reached by July 15—three percentage points better than last week's report, but still ten points behind schedule. Nine Socialist Workers Party

branches have paced their local campaigns at a good clip. Flint Branch is nearing the finish line with 81% of its \$175 goal. West Virginia, Newark and Pittsburgh are running neck and neck. New York Local gained considerable ground with a payment of \$344 this week, jumping their total paid to \$1,144. Connecticut, the Twin Cities

and Toledo branches are loping along ahead of schedule. Grace Carlson, Organizer for the Minneapolis Branch says: "Twenty dollars was collected from Minnesota comrades who want to honor Oscar Coover by carrying on the work of the party press. Everyone who knew Oscar would know how much more he would have appreciated such a use of money than five times as much spent on flowers! Another \$5 was contributed by our pioneer Trotskyist, Martin Soderberg. As I have told you so many times in so many other fund-raising campaigns, this 83-year old pensioner always makes a generous contribution out of his meager county allowance."

Even though many of the branches have been slow in getting started in their local drives, they assure us that they will be 100% at the finish.

Comrade Alma explains for the Philadelphia comrades: "We have gotten off to a slow start on the Militant Fund Campaign but hope to catch up now that our local campaign for funds to help put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in Pennsylvania has been paid up."

"We are stepping up our campaign," writes Comrade Elaine for Los Angeles Local, "and you can be assured that we will be IN FULL AND ON TIME."

The Detroit comrades who have just returned to work after a strike of more than three months can be counted on, as usual, to be at the goal on July 15.

A \$5 contribution was made by Sam Kaye of New York. This long-time friend of The Militant never fails us. He read about the campaign in the paper and came into The Militant office one night, placing his contribution on the desk. "I want to help The Militant," he said quietly.

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint	\$ 175	\$ 142	81
West Virginia	25	13	52
Newark	350	175	50
Pittsburgh	150	75	50
New York	2,500	1,144	46
Connecticut	35	15	43
St. Paul-Minneapolis	750	304	41
Toledo	50	20	40
Chicago	350	125	36
Buffalo	400	102	26
Boston	175	43	25
Oakland	100	25	25
Philadelphia	300	70	23
Milwaukee	150	29	19
Los Angeles	1,300	293	18
Worcester	30	5	17
Akron	75	10	13
Allentown	40	5	13
San Francisco	700	69	10
Detroit	800	50	6
Youngstown	350	20	6
Cleveland	250	0	0
Lynn	50	0	0
St. Louis	50	0	0
Seattle	150	0	0
General	695	95	14
Total through May 23	\$10,000	\$2,769	28

Letters from Our Readers

Analysis of Ford Local 600 Election

Editor:

The recent elections for Ford Local 600, the largest local union in the world, reflected the general trend taking place throughout the UAW. The rank and file workers rejected the weak-kneed, class-collaborationist policies of the Reutherites by electing unit officers in 13 out of 17 units in the Ford Rouge plant who are opposed to Walter Reuther and the conservative policies that he represents.

In the Motor Unit, where the right wing ran a typical red-baiting campaign, the Left Wing-Mugwump coalition took all seven unit officers from the presidency on down. Paul Boatin, a known Stalinist, swept into office over the right wing incumbent, O'Rourke, by a vote of 3,030 to 1,979. The O'Rourke slate conducted one of the most vicious red-baiting campaigns ever witnessed—going so far as printing stickers of a postcard received by Boatin from an Italian Communist Party member addressed to Boatin as "Dear Comrade." The card sends greetings from a CP national congress and had a red flag on it.

Every leaflet put out by O'Rourke contained the same theme—attacking communism as "un-American" and Boatin as a red. Boatin on the other hand stuck to the line that he'll fight the speed-up and the run-away shop which were the issues facing the workers for the longest time under the O'Rourke administration. The ranks of the union being fed up with O'Rourke's do-nothing policy elected the Boatin slate decisively.

The other large units, besides the Motor Unit, such as Press Steel, elected Archie Aciaccia president; he was one of the leaders who opposed the bad contract Reuther imposed on the Ford workers last summer. In the Ford dry a militant left-wing Negro, Bill Johnson, beat his incumbent opponent, "Old Man" Johnson and his do-nothing administration. In the Tool and Die Unit, the leading ACTU man at the Rouge plant, Fitzpatrick, was kicked out of the presidency of the unit. The rest

of the smaller units tell the same story.

Tommy Thompson, who in practice represented Reuther's policies, although he recently broke with Reuther, was defeated by Carl Stellato, a Reutherite, by a narrow margin of 15,317 to 14,758 in his bid for a fifth term as president of Local 600. Thompson's stand in relation to the speed-up strike of last year, in which he admitted that it was a bad settlement but urged the rank and file to accept it anyway, and his position of telling the workers that the pension contract agreement was good, last summer, were the elements that made up his defeat.

Typical of the rank and file voting was the Motor Unit. They swept out the Reutherites in their own unit but gave Stellato a majority over Thompson. Pat Rice, an opportunist left winger who ran with Stellato, beat the incumbent vice-president, Lee Romano, a former Stalinist. Romano is so universally hated by the militants and Stalinists that most of them supported Pat Rice against him.

Bill Hood, a Negro Thompson supporter, was reelected. Recording Secretary, W. G. Grant, a left wing militant, was elected Financial Secretary over the incumbent Reutherite, Andy Dewar, a militant Thompson supporter, was reelected "Sergeant-at-Arms." Joe Rivers, the only other Reutherite to retain office, was reelected Guide. Lamarque, a Negro Thompson supporter, was elected Trustee.

In spite of the attempts by the Detroit capitalist press to picture Thompson's defeat at the Rouge plant as a big victory for Walter Reuther, the reverse is true. The rank and file rejected the Reutherites and those officers representing Reuther's principles, like Thompson. Stellato, although a Reuther supporter, ran on a program of fighting the speed-up, runaway shop and what he called, "Thompsonism." He avoided the red-baiting issue.

Now that the election is over the rank and file are patiently watching and waiting to see what their new officers are going to do about the main issues facing them. The new officers are on the spot. They'll either have to bring home the bacon or face the same fate as their predecessors.

A Reader,
Detroit, Mich.

From Oscar Coover's Family

Editor:

Your sympathetic understanding brought much consolation and you will never know how much it is appreciated at this sad time.

Oscar Coover's Family

THE MILITANT ARMY

Last week we reported the success of the St. Paul Branch in selling The Militant to students. New York has also chalked up encouraging results, not only at colleges but at high schools as well.

The large student demonstrations in New York prompted Literature Agent E. Peterson of the New York Youth Branch of the Socialist Workers Party to organize sales at several high schools. The youth comrades took out the May 8 issue of The Militant which contains some excellent articles on the student strike.

"Abby and Tom went to Stuyvesant," Ethel reports. "More than two thousand students from this school participated actively in the strike. In a matter of minutes the comrades sold the seven copies of the paper they had with them. The interest in The Militant was so great that Abby and Tom are going to make this high school a regular weekly sales point."

"Lincoln is a high school in Brooklyn which also had a large number of strikers, one of the most militant groups in the city, as a matter of fact, Johnny R. was at this school one morning as the students were going in (the strike had been over for several days) and sold four copies of the paper."

"Washington Irving High School is one of the few schools that did not participate in the strike. Nevertheless Janice Martin and Arthur Kent sold six Militants at this school. One girl came up and asked who published The Militant. She was quite belligerent. But when Janice explained that it was a socialist paper the girl said, 'Well, as long as it's socialist I'll buy one.' "Most of the students at Washington Irving were not so friendly,

Several had to be convinced that they should read the paper before passing judgment. Twice, a group of students had to pool their pennies in order to buy a copy.

"In addition to the above sales, Beazie and Donald sold one copy at Benjamin Franklin; Dotty, Beazie and Pete sold two at New York University; Myron sold one at Brooklyn Technical and Inez, Pearl and Ethel Peterson sold 13 copies at City College. Three copies of the May 8 issue were also sold at a city-wide 'peace' meeting of the Young Progressives of America."

"The above sales plus what was sold by individual comrades during the week in class-rooms and at the Monday night youth class brought the total sale by the youth group on this one issue to 69 copies."

The other SWP branches in New York have also made special efforts to get The Militant into the hands of students. Downtown Branch has a weekly sales point at the New School for Social Research. Cathy, New York City Literature Agent, tells us that "the Downtown Branch sold 14 copies of the issue analyzing the upholding of the Taft-Hartley oath by the Supreme Court. Special interest was attached to this sale at the New School since Justice Frankfurter of the Supreme Court was scheduled to speak there that evening."

"The Downtown Branch also sold 10 copies of the issue on the student strike and the analysis of the Yugoslav May Day proclamation at the New School the previous week. Newsstand sales have been high, too."

"These sales of the past few weeks have given the Literature Department of the New York SWP Local a nice profit. The efforts to get our paper into the hands of the politically-awakening students are succeeding. And this is as it should be!"

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON**—For information, write P.O. Box 1842.
- BOSTON**—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St., open Tues. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month.
- BUFFALO**—Militant Forum, 656 Main St., 12:30 p.m. Phone Madison 3900. Every afternoon except Sun.
- CHICAGO**—166 W. Washington Street, 2nd fl., Phone 244-2470.
- CLEVELAND**—Every Sunday, 9 p.m., Pecks Hall, 1946 E. 52nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.)
- Detroit**—608 Linwood Ave. Phone TV 7-2727, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.
- ELINT**—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street, Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.
- LOS ANGELES**—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.
- LYNN**, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.
- MILWAUKEE**—817 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.
- MINNEAPOLIS**—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.
- NEW HAVEN**—For information write, P.O. Box No. 1018.
- NEWARK**—423 Springfield Ave.
- NEW YORK CITY (HQ.)**—116 University Place, Phone GL 5-8149.
- HARLEM**—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23, Phone MO 2-1898. Open discussion Thurs., 8 p.m.
- BROOKLYN**—Mandel's Manor, 345 Pennsylvania Ave., off Butler, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8.
- CHICAGO**—130 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-2428.
- YOUTH GROUP N. Y.**—130 W. 23rd St., meets Thurs. 8 p.m.
- OAKLAND** (Cal.)—For information, phone Templebar, 2-5163 or Templebar 2-3725, or write P. Montauk, 604-B Cypress St., Oakland 7.
- PHILADELPHIA**—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5520. Open every Friday evening.
- SAN FRANCISCO**—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FT 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.
- ST. LOUIS**—For information, phone PR 5305.
- SEATTLE**—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. & Washington, Tel. Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore.
- TOLEDO**—Address inquiries to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1502, Toledo 3.
- WORCESTER**, (Mass.)—For information write P.O. Box 854, Worcester.
- YOUNGSTOWN**—224 E. Federal St., Phone 2-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

PEACE

Peace is not a pipe dream. A new era that will never know war stands before us. It is necessary only to end the rule of America's billionaire cliques to transform our economy from a breeder of wars to a source of limitless benefit for every one. This is the promise of socialism which is even now inspiring hundreds of millions of people throughout the world.

But socialism cannot be had without a price. The price is willingness to join in the struggle for a better world, to add your weight to the thinking minority of today who will become the majority of tomorrow that will open up the bright new epoch of enduring peace.

Do your part now by getting your friends to read The Militant, America's outstanding socialist weekly. Ask them to make sure they get The Militant regularly by taking out a subscription. Use the coupon. It's a handy way to put the hopeful message of socialism in your friends' mail box week by week throughout the year.

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TROTSKY

"While Marxism teaches that class relations arise in the process of production and that these relations correspond to a certain level of productive forces; while Marxism further teaches that all forms of ideology, and, first and foremost, politics correspond to class relations, this does not at all mean that between politics, class groupings and production there exist simple mechanical relations, calculable by the four rules of arithmetic. On the contrary, the reciprocal relations are extremely complex. It is possible to interpret dialectically the course of a country's development, including its revolutionary development, only by proceeding from the action, reaction and interaction of all the material and superstructural factors, national and world-wide alike, and not through superficial juxtapositions, or through formal analogies."

—Leon Trotsky, First 5 Years of Comintern, 1919.



LENIN

'Washington Post' on the Witch-Hunt

On May 22, the Washington Post, liberal Republican newspaper, carried a long and strongly-worded editorial expressing alarm over some of the consequences of the witch-hunt.

This editorial begins by admitting that "for weeks the Capital has been seized and convulsed by a terror. It is a terror akin to the evil atmosphere of the alien and seditious laws in John Adams' Administration." Pointing to the "rising distrust, the roaring bitterness, the ranging of Americans against Americans, the assault on freedom of inquiry, the intolerance of opposition," it expresses the conviction that witch-hunts are not merely futile but could end only in "burning down the house of the American way of life."

In all this, there is of course a great deal of truth. But it is clear from the text and its conclusions that what really frightens the Post are the so-called "excesses" of the witch-hunt, "the mad-dog quality of McCarthyism," which they mistakenly believe has "probably spent its force."

These "excesses" and this "mad-dog quality" inhere in the witch-hunt itself, and by no means in single individuals. They inhere in the black-lists, the "loyalty" oaths and all the other flagrant violations of civil rights initiated by the Truman administration. What the McCarthys are doing is simply drawing mat-

ters to their inescapable conclusion.

What the liberals of the Washington Post want is to "moderate" the witch-hunt and keep it within "safe" limits. That they have no objection to curbs on civil rights — that is, to the essence of the witch-hunt — is expressed by their wholehearted approval of the recent Supreme Court decision on the Taft-Hartley anti-Communist oath and of "Judge Medina's handling of the Communist conspiracy case."

Their "solution" to the spreading witch-hunt terror is to establish an impartial and unpartisan "commission on national security" — to conduct a "safe" witch-hunt! The alarm of these liberals, their own reactionary conclusions, and their worthless "solution" are by themselves striking proof of how far and how fast the witch-hunters have already dragged this country on the road to the complete destruction of civil rights.

The bitter truth is that the immediate consequences of McCarthyism which have so shocked the liberals are only a foretaste of what lies in store unless the witch-hunt is resolutely beaten back. And no half-way measures, least of all any "unpartisan commission," can provide the slightest safeguard against the witch-hunt. What is needed is a nationwide mobilization of labor, liberal and minority groups in a solid front against the enemies of civil rights.

Czech Diplomat Quits

Stalin has been unable to contain "Titoism" within the borders of Yugoslavia. The resistance to Stalinism from the left continues to spread to other countries under the Kremlin's heel. An indication of this was given on May 16 by the resignation of Dr. Vladimir Houdek as Czechoslovakia's representative to the United Nations and his appeal to President Truman for political asylum in the U. S.

Unlike previous defections by East European diplomats and functionaries, Houdek's break with the ruling Czech regime has not been accompanied by an announcement of "conversion" to the imperialist camp. On the contrary, Houdek's press statement and messages to Truman and Stalin contain an appeal in the name of "Marxism-Leninism" against the brutal methods "applied in Eastern European countries contrary to the interests of their populations under the pressure — I have to state with the greatest regret — of the Soviet Union."

Houdek's break was taken at this time because he had reason to believe he was being recalled to Czechoslovakia as a vic-

tim of the new Kremlin-ordered purge that has already hit his associates, including Vladimir Clementis. But that does not explain why Houdek broke with Stalinism from the left rather than from the right.

Consider his position: He was picked for his UN job after the Czech purges of 1948. That means he had passed the most rigorous Stalinist loyalty tests. Apparently he stood to benefit most from the continued Stalinist rule of his country.

But the totalitarian, oppressive character of Stalinism makes that increasingly difficult even for some people who regard themselves as good Stalinists. Their own experiences compel people like Houdek to question the Stalinist system; unless they wish to capitulate to imperialism, they are led, like the Yugoslavs, to re-examine Stalinism from the beginning and eventually to recognize it as a fundamentally anti-socialist force.

Whatever course Houdek finally decides to follow, his condemnation of the crimes of Stalinism undoubtedly reflects the thinking of millions in Eastern Europe.

Barkley's Revealing Slip

Capitalist politicians are trained in double-talk. They do not often speak their true aims. But even they, so skilled in concealing sordid aims with fine-sounding words, sometimes make slips. Without meaning to, they spill the beans. Vice President Alben Barkley made such a slip last week in New Orleans.

He was speaking at an Armed Forces Day banquet — whooping it up for bigger and better war preparations. As he warmed to his subject, Barkley became more and more bellicose. Before he was aware of it, his tongue ran away with him and he blurted out some of his real thoughts.

"There seems little prospect of a peace treaty," he said, "so we must maintain armed forces ALL OVER THE WORLD and WE MAY HAVE TO OCCUPY MORE COUNTRIES BEFORE THE COLD WAR IS ENDED."

The day after he made this revealing slip, Barkley naturally tried to cover it up. He didn't deny his words. It was just that the reporters had placed a "wrong emphasis" on them. He had in mind only the possibility that other countries might ask for American troops "to help round out their defenses."

But Barkley didn't use vague, easily-misinterpreted words in his original talk. He used strong, positive expressions, like

"all over the world" and "occupy." Why should a trained, experienced politician and diplomatist have used such phrases — except that they reflected his deepest thoughts and broke through in spite of all conscious repression?

"Occupy" is not a friendly word when used in connection with militarism. It means invading and conquering another country and ruling it with foreign troops. Barkley spoke about "occupying more lands" because that is how he and the other political agents of American imperialism really consider the matter of the extension of the U. S. armed forces "all over the world."

What "more countries" does Barkley have in mind to "occupy"? The Philippines, where the people are in revolt against the U.S.-dominated "independent" puppet government? Indo-China, where French imperialism is crying for more U. S. military aid? Iran, Formosa, Malaya? Barkley did not say. But he said enough to give the game away.

Through him, the innermost thoughts of Wall Street imperialism spoke. There was nothing there of respect for the "independence" of small nations, of "peace" and "democracy" and "freedom." It was the nakedly arrogant language of an imperialist power, of a cold-blooded violator of the independence of other nations, of a would-be world conqueror.

London Confab Served War Plans, Not Peace

By Fred Hart

The results of Secretary of State Acheson's trip to Europe, climaxed last week in London by the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the 12 Atlantic Pact countries, can be summed up in a single phrase: Nothing for peace, everything for war. The sole beneficiaries have been: militarism, colonialism and the European monopolists.

The aim of American imperialism is to "link up" Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Italy, Iceland and Canada with its own colossal war machine. This project is the most ambitious and costly in the entire history of militarism. The London conference took two important steps toward realizing it in life.

First, a new central body, "the Council of Deputies," has been set up. It will remain in permanent session and constitute a top "strategy board" to be headed by an American. Second, there will be organized a "single international military force" whose chief command will likewise be headed by an American.

WHO WILL PAY?

Who is to bear the cost of this plan to convert Western Europe and Canada into an armed camp completely under U. S. domination? A major part of the load will of course fall on the backs of the American people. When this year's elections are over, the public will for the first time begin to get an inkling of how many more billions are to be poured into the already astronomic arms program of the Truman administration.

But powerful as U. S. economy is, it cannot possibly bear alone so immense a strain and therefore the American imperialists are determined to force the Canadian and West European masses to foot an increasing share of the bill.

Raymond Daniell, London correspondent of the N. Y. Times, disclosed on May 20 that at a recent meeting of the military experts "to consider minimum needs for Western defense," these were set "at several times the present

level" and that "the size of the recommended forces was sufficient to stagger the Finance Ministers when they saw the size of the bill they would have to pay."

One of the main tasks of the new "top strategy board" set up by the London conference is "to divide up the program's cost among the member countries," blandly acknowledged the N. Y. Times on May 21.

This vast militarization at home and abroad can be achieved only at the expense of mass living standards. The old Hitlerite slogan of "guns not butter" has thus been taken over by the American imperialists on a scale never dreamed of by the master strategists of German fascism.

SANCTION COLONIALISM

The second main product of Acheson's trip to Europe has been the official sanctioning and backing by the Truman administration of the policy of colonialism. French imperialist enslavers will get American funds and arms to help them subjugate the Indo-Chinese people, now fighting for their independence. That this policy is not limited to Indo-China, but applies to the whole of Southeast Asia was made amply clear by Acheson himself.

He made the following public statement in London: "During our talks in London, Mr. Bevin, Mr. Schuman and I reviewed the entire Southeast situation and we expressed our firm intention of encouraging and supporting the new governments in that area." The meaning of these words is clear enough. As part payment for their acceptance of American dictation and domination, the Western imperialists have received Washington's open backing of colonialism.

The third "triumph" of Acheson has been presented to the world not under an American but under a French label. It is the so-called Schuman plan to "integrate" the iron, steel and coal industries of France and Germany, with other countries "invited" to join. The setting up of such a giant monopoly has long been the dream of both the French and German imperialists,

with each side "planning" to achieve it under its own domination.

Washington has given its blessing to this "French plan," secure in the knowledge that the overwhelming financial, military and diplomatic preponderance of the American monopolists assures them the decisive role in any European cartel of this sort. In the projected set-up, the French can only be the junior clerks of Wall Street, while the German capitalists play the role of errand boys to both. The British monopolists, who will find themselves squeezed to the wall by such a combination, have been forced to give their grudging "consent" to the projected establishment of this Franco-German iron-steel cartel.

Meanwhile a bitter behind-the-scenes struggle continues between the rival gangs of monopolists and the actual consummation of the "French plan" itself is far from assured. A lasting integration of the basic industries of Europe can be achieved in one way and one way only — and that is, through the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

FACE FAILURE

Foreign Minister Bevin, one of the misleaders of British labor, hailed the London conference as marking the birth of "a great Atlantic brotherhood." Actually, it marks only a new stage in the frantic efforts of American imperialism to "organize Europe" in preparation for World War III. The editors of the N. Y. Times, the most authoritative mouthpiece of U. S. billionaires, comment with rare candor: "A feat of organization unparalleled in world history faces us all."

They know only too well that all previous capitalist attempts to "unify" Europe ended up in failure. The attempt to "organize" Europe under the heel of American militarism will suffer the same fate as did all the previous attempts, notably those of the German militarists under the Kaiser and next under Hitler and of the French diplomats first under Briand and today under Schuman.

A SCANDAL THAT ROCKED FRANCE -- AND MADE FACES RED IN PENTAGON

By Charles Hanley

Time and again during the last half-century France has been shaken by grave scandals, revealing the utter corruption of the capitalist regime. The recent "scandal of the generals," or the Peyre-Revers-Mast affair — actually, the scandal of the whole "Fourth Republic" — is among the worst and most sensational. In passing it also casts some glaring light on the negotiations involving the Atlantic Pact and on the types of individuals in charge of French-U. S. military collaboration. This aspect of the Peyre-Revers-Mast affair is particularly embarrassing to the big brass at Washington.

The gist of this scandal is as follows. Monsieur Roger Peyre — convicted for fraud before the war, member of Doriot's fascist party (PPF) under the German occupation and former agent of the Gestapo — turns out to have been in the last few years one of the masters of France, more powerful than cabinet ministers and generals. This seems incredible, nevertheless the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry which investigated the affair (rather hastily) has made it clear that Peyre was the virtual director for some time of top-level negotiations between the French and American general staffs, as well as of many important internal affairs of the French Republic.

PEYRE'S POSITION

He knew the big state secrets; he served as intermediary between the French government and its General Staff. Reformist and Catholic cabinet members alike flattered him, and Gaullist politicians also solicited his favors. One thing was not cleared up, however (because the Commission of Inquiry deliberately tried to black out certain facts): Just how did Peyre get all this power? Was it because he represented a certain capitalist gang (the "societe Henri Rossi")? And what connection was there between his financial transactions and those of the generals Revers and Mast?

At all events, the American big brass seem to have accepted this former criminal and Gestapo agent as the real boss of the French army. Together with him they arranged, for example, the journey to the U. S. of General Revers, French Commander-in-Chief, for top-level talks with

General Bradley on military co-operation between the two countries. Here are some extracts from one of Revers' letters sent on April 2, 1949 from Washington to his boss Peyre, disclosing his complete subservience to Peyre: "You certainly must have received the news from Bravelet (Revers' aide), but I want to write you personally. I met here with a perfect welcome; arrangements, car, facilities of all sorts, escort and police guard. . . Much more than that — the Pentagon shows me much personal trust. . . Sunday, in New York, I saw your (Peyre's) friend 'Chapuisat. He received your letter, and will forward to me what he wants you to get. Perhaps I'll ask him for some money. . ."

"The situation has been examined, and when I return from Texas, the talks will become more objective. But the atmosphere here is excellent. . . Bravelet must have told you that for local reasons, and all the more so if I have to go to the Far East, the question of my fifth star must be settled along with that of the Presidency of the Committee of the chiefs of the general staffs. This is a question of efficiency. . . In any case, believe me, I have taken note of all the efficient and discreet work that has been done here, and for this I am very grateful to you. All my homage to Madame Peyre, and to you my friendship and even much more. (Signed) Revers."

The French daily press published this letter which proves that Peyre, the former Gestapo agent, prepared the negotiations between the military heads of France and the U. S., that the French Commander-in-Chief not only kept him informed but reported personally about the Washington talks and begged him for his fifth star and for promotion to the presidency of the combined staffs committee! But that is not all.

When this former thief and Nazi informer wanted a top-secret document of the French General Staff — "On the Reorganization of National Defense" — it was sent him by Commander Bravelet. General Revers wrote out for him a report on his personal activities. This same French Commander-in-Chief did not even go to see the Minister of Defense Paul Ramadier (a reformist) without first asking Peyre's permission and begging the latter, in passing, to tell him what had transpired at a Cabinet meeting

on the question of military reorganization. Incidentally, Revers himself happens to be a former aide of the fascist Admiral Darlan. He was nevertheless nominated Commander-in-Chief by the "socialist" Minister Ramadier to succeed General de Lattre de Tassigny who had been too "independent."

A CROOK'S REWARD

Whenever Peyre showed up at Army Headquarters he used to be immediately received without having to fill out the customary application, and the guards always gave him the military salute Revers obtained for him the Legion of Honor, although after the war Peyre had been sentenced to "national indignity."

When the whole scandal began to break in September 1949 Defense Minister Ramadier desperately tried to suppress the truth, but did not quite succeed. More and more sensational and damning facts have come to light in the subsequent investigation and still others were uncovered by the French press, in February and March 1950.

And what happened to Peyre? — First he was arrested by the French police and his highly important secret documents confiscated. Then, shortly afterwards, he was released by order of the government, and all his precious documents returned. Peyre then departed for Brazil, where he still is "for a rest." The police made no photostat copies of the Peyre documents and destroyed copies of other important papers connected with the Peyre affair and especially with Peyre's Indo-Chinese deals.

As for Gen. Revers, he had to resign as army chief; the French government then wanted to appoint him as liaison officer in the Atlantic general staff. But the Pentagon seems either to have lost confidence in the lackey of Peyre or feels that this appointment would be too embarrassing for Washington. At any rate, the nomination of Revers was not confirmed. Some French papers say it was vetoed by the Pentagon.

But the fact remains that one year ago Roger Peyre and his agents were persona grata in Washington and moreover that the Pentagon reached military arrangements entangling millions of people through negotiations with the shadiest and most corrupt elements to be found in Europe.

INDO-CHINA AND U. S. COLONIALISM

By Paul G. Stevens

One of the most important decisions reached by the Big Three Western powers at their cold war conference in London was the establishment of an "aid program" for Southeast Asia, the lion's share of which is to go to the French and their puppet Bao Dai government in Indo-China. Naturally the funds for this new "Truman Doctrine," as it is being described by the newspapers, are to be furnished by U. S. taxpayers. American workers ought therefore to acquaint themselves with the aim of this "doctrine" and how it will affect the millions of people in Asia.

In the European Truman Doctrine, Greece figured as the key country. In Asia, it is Indo-China. In Greece, the Truman Doctrine meant the suppression of the ELAS (National Liberation Army) that sprung up against the Nazi wartime occupation. In Indo-China, it means the ruthless destruction of the Viet Minh (National Front) which arose during the war to combat the Japanese occupation. In Greece, following Churchill's lead, picked the discredited King George and his royalist party as the protagonists of the struggle to "hold the line for democracy." In Indo-China, Truman and Acheson, accepting the French imperialist policy, have selected for the same role the former emperor, Bao Dai, who in the past served in a similar capacity not only Pétain's Vichy France but also the Japanese Mikado. In Greece the main enemy was the leader of the ELAS armies, General Markos, who although indisputably a Communist Party leader, was continually at odds with Stalin before his final purge and disappearance. In Indo-China the main attack is directed against Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Viet Minh, whose relations with the Kremlin, despite the formal recognition recently granted by the USSR, have also been rather dubious.

Aimed at Genuine Independence Movements

In Asia, as in Europe, the main aim proclaimed for the "Truman Doctrine" is that of stopping "Communist expansion" or "Soviet imperialism," these two terms being used interchangeably. Ironically enough, not only is the "defense of the democratic way of life" entrusted by Washington to regimes whose main props are discredited reactionary monarchies, but the main butts of attack are genuinely popular independence movements. Moreover, far from fostering them, the Kremlin has from the beginning done everything to betray these independent movements, and to hamstring them in every way, before attempting to utilize them for its own reactionary foreign aims. Stalin's treachery in Greece was surreptitious. In Indo-China, it has been much more patent.

As the war reached its final crisis towards the end of 1944, a mass insurrection swept Indo-China. The movement led by Ho Chi Minh soon had control of most of the country. The new Republic of Viet Nam in 1945 was so strong that Emperor Bao Dai abdicated and virtually no open or organized opposition existed in the country. But Moscow, pledged to the counter-revolutionary Yalta and Potsdam agreements, did not make the slightest move to recognize the Ho Chi Minh government. It left the fate of the new regime entirely in the hands of the French.

The French capitalists, in an extremely unstable position at home — until the end of 1947 they could not form any government except in coalition with the Stalinist party — began a series of stratagems to reestablish their colonial rule. They reorganized the French Empire as the "French Union" — with a promise of "limited" sovereignty for the colonies that were in insurrection. The French Stalinists backed the "French Union" policy to the hilt and through Moscow brought pressure on Ho Chi Minh to accept it.

Early in 1946, Ho Chi Minh was thus prevailed upon to permit a French expeditionary force under General LeClerc to enter Indo-China. A "convention" within the framework of the "French Union" was signed. In March Ho Chi Minh was invited to Paris for negotiations. The negotiations were dragged out until September, a delay which gave the French troops time to establish a firm beachhead in Indo-China. A "modus vivendi" was agreed upon after full agreement was found to be impossible and Ho returned to Indo-China.

How the War Began

Two months later, in November 1946, the French, flaunting all these "conventions" and the "modus vivendi," opened full-fledged war on the Ho Chi Minh government with the bombardment of the port of Haiphong. This war has now been going on for four years, and despite the 140,000 French troops and the expenditure of \$500,000,000 annually on this war, three-fourths of the country is admittedly still in Viet Minh hands. Throughout this war, and particularly while the Stalinists were in the French coalition government, their record has been one of cynical betrayal of the Indo-Chinese cause.

Thus, in September 1945, the CP members in the Chamber of Deputies voted for the military budget which provided the initial funds to set up LeClerc's expeditionary force. In January 1946, the Stalinist Minister of Armaments Charles Tillon was the spokesman for the government in rejecting a demand for a 20% reduction in the military budget. His party helped the majority to reject this demand. On Dec. 20, 1946 the 182 Stalinist deputies joined in a unanimous vote of "felicitations" to General LeClerc and his expeditionary forces. On Dec. 23, 1946, AFTER the open launching of the war at Haiphong, the Stalinists still voted in Parliament for a supplementary budget for the expeditionary force. On March 21, 1947, the Stalinist cabinet ministers not only voted for still another supplement to the military budget, but participated in a vote of confidence in the French government then conducting the massacres in Indo-China and other colonies.

Stalin's Betrayals Expose U. S. Lies

This record of the French Stalinists, against which not a word was ever breathed by the Kremlin or any of its agents in the various Communist Parties throughout the world, is sufficient not only to stigmatize their betrayal but also to characterize the lying propaganda of Washington.

The Ho Chi Minh government, as was again demonstrated by its attitude toward Yugoslavia (see last week's Militant), is far from being a Kremlin tool in the cold war. Whatever its shortcomings, the Viet Minh is first and foremost a genuine expression of the struggle of millions of colonial people for freedom. As such, it no doubt stands in danger of Stalinist betrayal, after the recent recognition accorded by Moscow no less than in the past. But the main assault against Indo-China's masses is being directed by Washington today. American workers have the duty to intervene and stop the Truman administration from saddling the colonial yoke upon Indo-China again.

New York

Meeting and Movie on Yugoslavia

See:

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speak on

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Looking for Work

By I. London

Trying to get on at Chrysler after the strike. The rumor is out that they are going to put on about 200 men. The first morning 5 or 6 hundred men line up, starting before the sun is up, waiting for the employment office to open. The NO HELP WANTED sign is still outside the office. The men wait around all day, while a few are hired. Next day, the long lines continue and the hiring speeds up, and the stories begin going around. The men are anxious to get the latest dope on what the company wants, so they can perhaps fit in, grab the harder-to-get job, perhaps fake their experiences or their references. So they flock around each man as he comes out:

"Did you get hired?" "What they say?" "What jobs they hiring for?" And then comes the first bad news — one fellow comes out: "You know, something funny there. I thought sure I was hired until I told him my age, and then he turned me down. 'Maybe we'll call you in a couple of days,' stuff like that. Christ, I couldn't be too old for a job here, I'm only 38. I was young enough to fight in the last war." The rumor continues — the employment man doesn't say, but no one is hired who's over 35. Some of the older men dejectedly leave the line, but many hang on — some even over 40 hang on for two-three days, figuring they were too young to stop eating maybe, but not one of them is hired.

One fellow says, "Cripes, I've run out of my compensation already, and just try to get relief in California, unless you've been here three years."

I guess I'm supposed to live on air till I'm 65, or something."

"It's about time the unions started fighting for the 30 hour week. You know, if all the 15 million union men who are working went on 30 hours tomorrow, wouldn't it take care of all the 5-6 million unemployed?"

Lot of the men are dejected, some are angry, but all of them just wait around patiently.

Finally, I get in. I start filling an application. My attention is called to a man arguing at the counter. He doesn't want to take the first No for an answer. "I'm exactly 35," he says. The employment man doesn't call him a liar, but he looks like he doesn't believe it — the man looks about 45, almost all gray. "No, we can't use your experience. Nothing today." The man argues, "But look at all these references. They all liked my work." "Nothing today, nothing today. Sorry." The man wants to continue arguing, but the personnel man turns his back on him and turns to me. The man goes out, looking like a wet rag.

I go through all the rigmarole — "I was born in 1917" (I've jacked it up a couple of years; I've been out of work for 11 months, and I'm getting pretty desperate). Experience, satisfactory. References, satisfactory. He's reaching in the drawer for the slip to send me over to Medical. I'm in! He takes out his hand — empty. Maybe he doesn't like my curly hair, or something (there's a few gray ones mixed in). "Maybe we'll send you a wire in a few days." "Good-bye." Maybe we'll try Ford's tomorrow.

Lehman's Spring Planting

By Ruth Johnson

Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York went to Cleveland recently to plant some election propaganda at the convention of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. The Democratic Party will need a heavy crop of votes, come November.

Alert to the delegates' concern over the unemployment crisis that has brought misery to six million American workers, Lehman scattered campaign half-truths with a lavish hand. He spoke indignantly about evil people who, for selfish reasons like to see the jobless line up by the thousands at every factory gate.

"There are those in this country who do not believe in jobs for all," Lehman declared, promptly falsifying the picture by adding that these people are "happily no longer great in number." The truth is that their number is exactly the same as the number of employers and capitalist politicians.

These individuals, Lehman explained, "prefer jobs for some." They think the women of America should go back to the kitchen. They would consign our elder citizens to the poorhouse."

The Senator admitted the reason for such brutal thinking: "They like the prospect of a floating pool of unemployed so that they can frighten the workers into working harder for less wages and

hold the threat of layoffs over the heads of unions and their union leaders."

Lehman hoped his calculated "frankness" would make the delegates conclude that all the wicked people are in the ranks of his opponents, the Republican Party. He dared not name the culprits, for the most prominent among them today is none other than the chief of Lehman's party — Harry S. Truman.

A few months ago, Truman granted an exclusive interview to N. Y. Times correspondent Arthur Krock. This was Truman's opinion on Feb. 15:

"A certain amount of unemployment, say from three to five millions, is supportable." In fact, according to Truman, it's dandy: "It is a good thing that job-seeking should go on at all times; this is healthy for the economic body."

Lehman didn't contradict his boss in February. This millionaire banker who speaks in liberal language is himself a living part of the "economic body" — capitalism — which thrives on unemployment, job-competition, speed-up of the workers and union-busting. Neither he nor his party has any intention of creating "jobs for all."

By their actions — and their lack of actions — the Democratic and Republican Parties alike prove that their talk about full employment is the seed of bitter fraud.

Yugoslavs and the U. S.

By John F. Petrone

The United States is ripe for the growth of a revolutionary communist party free of Kremlin domination, said the newspaper Glas, organ of the People's Front of Serbia, one of the six Yugoslav republics, on May 6.

Glas noted that unemployment in the U. S. is high, and maintained "that the plight of the American working class is growing worse from year to year and that the weakness of the Russian-influenced American Communist Party is enabling American monopolists to contend that the capitalist system is sound." (N. Y. Herald-Tribune, May 7.)

These statements about American capitalism are certainly a far cry from the false picture that the Stalinists are trying to spread about a Yugoslavia that is the subservient tool of Wall Street. Despite the pressure of Washington, the Yugoslavs have not relaxed their hostility to capitalism or ceased to affirm the necessity for building revolutionary parties to abolish it.

The Glas article marked the first direct attack by the Yugoslavs on the American Communist Party, according to the Herald-Tribune correspondent. The American CP, acting as an "obedient agency" of the Cominform, is trying to picture the "unsocialistic and aggressive action of the Soviet Union" as "peace-loving," said Glas, but its "anti-imperialist tirades" fail to "sound convincing" to the American workers.

Glas declared that the influence of the Stalinists in the U. S. would continue to wane as long as they follow a policy "without principles" and in effect called on them to back the Yugoslav government if they want to regain any "authority" in the eyes of the American public.

This aspect of the Glas article is one more example of the change in Yugoslav political thinking since their split with the Kremlin two years ago. At that time the Yugoslav leaders claimed

that they had no important differences with the world Stalinist movement outside of the specific dispute resulting in their expulsion from the Cominform.

But their experiences since 1948 have led them to re-examine the role of the Stalinist parties in such countries as France and the U. S., as well as Eastern Europe, and to reject — from the left — many of the practices and central strategic and tactical concepts which the Yugoslavs themselves used to share.

Another and more recent example of this shift was the statement made by Marshal Tito in an interview with a British correspondent (UP dispatch, May 21). Asked when he thought the Soviet Union had first embarked on the "wrong path," he said it had begun "even before the last war."

For examples, he mentioned the Soviet Union's attitude toward Germany in the days before Hitler and the "question of Poland after the German invasion." The dispatch does not explain exactly what is meant by the first example, but it makes clear that the second is a reference to Stalin's invasion of Poland in accord with Hitler, which Stalinists throughout the world defended at that time and still defend.

According to the dispatch, Tito said his disapproval of Russian policies dated back to the days before World War II. Whether or not that is correct, it was not until after the 1948 split that he and the other Yugoslav leaders began to express disapproval of such policies publicly, and increasingly from the left.

The rapid development of this criticism is one of the most progressive features of the Yugoslav situation, for it serves as the impetus for the re-examination of Kremlin policies by Stalinists in other countries as well as for the adoption of a truly Leninist program which alone can save Yugoslavia.

Younger RR Strikers Active in Toledo Area

TOLEDO, May 16—The brief railroad strike gave the workers in this city an opportunity to show an inspiring example of union solidarity and militancy. Toledo, the third largest rail center in the U.S., has approximately 12,000 railroad workers, representing all the crafts.

The calling of the strike was the signal for setting up militant picket lines in which not only the

firemen participated but also all the other rail unions. These other unions supported the strike completely, even the engineers whose president, Johnston, ordered his members to go through the picket lines. Out of about 400 engineers between Cleveland and Elkhart, Indiana, only 7 or 8 obeyed the orders to scab.

Important repercussions from Johnston's scabbing and organized pressure on the engineers to dishonor themselves are expected at the forthcoming BLE convention.

YOUNG MEMBERS ACTIVE

For the first time the younger workers, mostly ex-GI's, played a role in union affairs on the railroads. They came to meetings, picketed and took part in all the activities around the strike. This is a good sign for the future as up to now only the older workers had been active in union affairs.

Of course, the older workers did their strike duties too, but the addition of the young blood made a big difference. It indicated the reaching of union consciousness by the new generation.

Perhaps the most important development, overshadowing the issues in the strike themselves, was the determination of all the crafts to stick together and to win. Many workers voiced the demand that all the crafts should present common demands and act in union. Without doubt a step was taken towards the unity of all the rail unions.

The workers now have their eyes on the coming fight of the trainmen for the 40-hour week. If the short and inconclusive firemen's strike, just called off, can be used as a key to future developments, there is sure to be a strong sentiment for a unified struggle of all the unions to help the trainmen win.

Correction

The Militant regrets typographical errors affecting statistics in two of its articles last week. The number of Yugoslav-Americans in Pennsylvania is close to 200,000 and not 400,000 as reported. And the breakdown of the \$825 profits per employee received by GM during the first three months of this year should have read \$486 for the company's coffers and \$339 for various taxes.

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THE MILITANT

Union Leaders Plead for Posts In State Dept.

David Dubinsky, head of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union, has proposed that a trade union spokesman be named as an Assistant Secretary of State and that one also be designated as a permanent and full member of the U. S. delegation to the United Nations.

President Jacob S. Potofsky of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers declared it "would not hurt if our country once in a while sent to a foreign country a representative of labor." He hinted at the hope of even an ambassadorship or two. "Our ambassadors need not be only men of wealth," he said.

Potofsky complained that "labor has been kept out of foreign policy far too long — labor, like the rest of the country has been kept in the dark about the facts."

But that hasn't prevented union leaders like Dubinsky and Potofsky from supporting every major policy of American imperialism, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic military alliance, and the cold war.

Potofsky now states, however, that labor "should participate in the determination of foreign policy before — not after — it is made."

WHAT WOULD CHANGE?

How will getting the post of an Assistant Secretary of State for some aspiring union bureaucrat, or an ambassadorship to some country like Uruguay give labor any real voice in U. S. foreign affairs? Assistant Secretaries of State — even ambassadors — don't make America's foreign policy. They are mere flunkies and agents of the real policy-makers — the top capitalist circles in Wall Street.

A dozen labor spokesmen in the State Department or two dozen assorted ambassadors would not halt the cold war or American imperialism's military preparations, remove the American military bases from all over the world or stop the U. S. drive for world conquest. The union leaders like Dubinsky and Potofsky support these policies whole-heartedly. Even if they could, they would change nothing essential to these policies.

WHY SO ANXIOUS

Why then are they so anxious for official posts in foreign affairs? They've been touring around in Western Europe, telling the workers there that the Marshall Plan and the military alliance and the H-Bomb diplomacy are really "labor's" policy. The skeptical and suspicious European workers say, "Yeah? If you have so much to do with it, how come you don't even hold a government post, you don't even have an official job in the State Department?" It's embarrassing.

So these Trumanite union leaders want to show they do have more voice in U. S. foreign affairs. An official post or two might do the trick. And Wall Street's government might find it useful too. It might give American imperialism's policies a better "labor" cover. Who would suspect a government that appoints a union bureaucrat as an Assistant Secretary of State of being imperialistic?

Japanese Students Protest



Thousands of Japanese students gather outside Hibiya Park, Tokyo, to protest attacks on academic freedom by Dr. Walter C. Bells, head of General MacArthur's higher education branch. Several students carried placards reading, "Expel the Imperialists from Japan."

TOP BAND AT KUTCHER DANCE IN N.Y. JUNE 16

NEW YORK — The New York chapter of the Kutchler Civil Rights Committee has booked the Wilbur DeParis Orchestra for its benefit dance and entertainment to be held on Friday evening, June 16.

Featuring Sidney DeParis on the trumpet, the Wilbur DeParis band has just returned from a Chicago engagement. They had previously been the main drawing card at Childs Paramount where they played for over a year.

Joanne Jordan, sultry voiced night club songstress, di Falco and Leah, sensational dancing stars, are among the entertainers already announced to appear at the benefit dance.

The benefit dance and entertainment will climax the fund-raising campaign of the N. Y. Kutchler Civil Rights Committee. The funds will be used to defray the expenses of the suit filed by Kutchler in the Federal District Court for reinstatement to the VA job from which the legless veteran was purged because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

TARPAULIN MUSTER

Contributions to aid the work of the Kutchler Committee have been coming in from all sections of the labor movement. The crew of the CIO National Maritime Union ship, S.S. Exter, adopted a resolution of support and forwarded \$104 collected in a "tarpaulin muster" for an "ad" in the Kutchler souvenir journal.

The Negro Labor Committee, Frank R. Crosswain, chairman, purchased space in the journal and wrote: "Mr. Kutchler is deserving of the support of every progressive American individual and organization devoted to the principles of justice."

In addition, contributions were received from the CIO United

Philadelphia Defense Squads Urged Against Racist Gangs

PHILADELPHIA — A call for the formation of neighborhood defense committees, as the only solution to the rampant attacks on Negro and other minority groups by fascist-minded bands in this area,

was issued today by Clyde Turner and Herbert Lewin, senatorial and gubernatorial candidates respectively of the Militant (Socialist) Workers Party.

"The recent attacks against minority groups in this city, and the growth of the Nationalist Action League, in Oxford, Pa. and at the University of Pennsylvania, are warning signs that fascist and race-hating groups are becoming bolder," they pointed out. "The Peekslikt attacks on Paul Robeson's concerts last year could be duplicated locally upon members of minority groups, if the people of Philadelphia do not act to check these local vermin."

"Events have shown that we cannot depend upon the police or state officials to protect us. The failure of the Philadelphia police to add a single Negro in the recent appointments, and the failure of state authorities to prosecute civil rights law viola-

tors in Oxford, indicate that the sympathies of the authorities are more with the attackers than with the victims.

ORGANIZATION NEEDED

"Just as the New Jersey veteran last year successfully called upon his friends, rather than the police, to defend his home against Ku Klux Klan intimidation, so it is necessary for the Philadelphia community, as a whole, to organize for self-defense."

"The Militant (Socialist) Workers Party, urges that neighborhood self-defense committees be organized locally on a 'stand-by' basis, which could include white workers as well as Negroes, to prepare a warm welcome for future fascist-minded attacks. These committees would be in the best traditions of American self-reliance. Moreover, they are the only means by which the rising tide of racism and fascism can be stemmed."

A FALSE ARGUMENT

Their arguments will go something like this: "Closure needed only 12 more votes. Six of the Senators who were absent from the May 19 vote are supporters of FEPC, so all we need are six more votes. If we defeat six or seven of the present Senators and replace them with people who will vote

Revolt Against Gosser Flares In Toledo CIO

TOLEDO, May 20 — Sensational developments in the CIO movement in this area rocked the entire community this last week. A large section of the right wing leadership split away from the 13-year dom-

ination of UAW-CIO Vice President Richard Gosser, charging that he was guilty of bureaucratic machine rule, threats of physical violence and financial dealings that cannot stand the light of day.

Randolph Gray, financial secretary of UAW Local 12, and Richard Lazette, president of the CIO Industrial Union Council, denounced the Gosser-led regime and called for its removal from office. Many other leading unionists, including former members of Gosser's staff and officers of various locals and units of Local 12, also announced their opposition to the group that has held power in the CIO here for more than a decade.

As charges and counter-charges filled the air, both sides rallied their supporters in the shops to attend the monthly meeting of Local 12 last night. A turbulent session before an overflow crowd of a few thousand that jammed every inch of the hall resulted. However, nothing was settled here as the leadership was able to take almost all the available time for itself and the real issues were not put to the membership for its decision.

MAZEY'S APPROACH

The principal speaker at the meeting was UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey who heads a committee sent to Toledo by Walter Reuther to investigate the union leadership here. Mazey's report indicated that dependence upon the international union leaders to settle the inter-union fight will only result in burying the real issues.

He dealt with the sidelights of the dispute such as the strike of 11 girls who work in the dues office of the local but never came to grips with the real question of what kind of leadership the union has had up to now and what kind it needs to meet the six month-old assault of the corporations, banks and newspapers in this community.

Gosser also made a long report to the membership dealing with relatively unimportant issues and liberally garnished with attacks upon his opponents. The other side was able only to ask a few questions, the chairman keeping them strictly on whatever motion was on the floor.

About half of the meeting supported the opposition, judging by

the boing and applause that greeted the various speakers. These opponents of the regime came principally from Champion Spark Plug, Toledo Scale, DeVilbiss, Spicer Toledo Pipe Threading Machine and other units. Some of these have been in the opposition for a long time, while others have joined more recently.

Taking advantage of the union struggle for their own ends, the capitalist press of Toledo and Detroit has been running long articles every day set off by box car headlines. However, the most authoritative spokesmen for the opposition have publicly stated they want no help from this quarter. Attempts by the right wingers to tie their opponents to the millionaire cabal in Toledo which is led by publisher Paul Block, Jr., and the Blade will fall flat.

MAIN PROBLEM

The main problem that faces the opposition now is to work out a program that will differentiate it from the present leadership and to organize themselves for a struggle based upon such a program. Failure to do this will give the ranks of the union the impression that this is just a clique fight among union politicians in which they have no stake.

The ground swell of opposition encompassing thousands of workers brought into union life on an active basis means that the old policies are being questioned all up and down the line. The ground is fertile for the sowing of new ideas among these workers who ultimately decide the fate of the union. The program of the opposition should be elaborated along the lines of union democracy, wage increases, against speed-up, independent labor political action and a complete break with the rotting Democratic Party, the 30-hour week and other demands.

The strategy of the opposition should be pointed towards the working masses to settle all problems and not, as some of the former right wingers now opposing the administration are doing, appealing to Reuther, Mazey and Murray to solve their problems. The issues in this struggle cannot be decided by the courts, grand jury investigations or small conferences held in hotel rooms. They can only be decided by the workers themselves.

Senate Kills FEPC Bill

(Continued from page 1)

he or anyone else in the Senate has made.) But it is virtually unanimously agreed that nothing will come out of it. All Lucas really hopes to achieve is an increase in the number of Democrats voting for closure so as to make their record look a little better during the 1950 election campaign.

The Republicans are hoping to pick up some election support around the FEPC issue on the ground that after all the Democrats are the majority party and so must bear major responsibility for its defeat. The Democrats, on the other hand, are counting above all on the labor, liberal and Negro leaders to cover up the Democrats' tracks, as they did in 1948.

Thus the Americans for Democratic Action, liberal pro-Trumanite group, has solemnly demanded that the two parties produce enough votes for closure when it comes up again, or "expose themselves to the charge and fact of double-dealing." Apparently the ADA doesn't think anybody has already exposed himself as a double-dealer so far.

CIO President Philip Murray also made a statement, denouncing the "unholy legislative alliance" of Republicans and Southern Democrats. Murray is going to campaign for a Democratic victory this fall on the pretext that the election of a Democratic Congress will bring passage of FEPC, defeat of Taft-Hartleyism, etc.

A FALSE ARGUMENT

Their arguments will go something like this: "Closure needed only 12 more votes. Six of the Senators who were absent from the May 19 vote are supporters of FEPC, so all we need are six more votes. If we defeat six or seven of the present Senators and replace them with people who will vote

favorably, then FEPC will surely be passed in the next Congress."

But that's a lie. Even if closure is enforced, that won't mean the passage of an effective FEPC bill. For most of the Republicans who voted for closure, including Taft, favor a "voluntary," that is, a toothless FEPC. And even the darling of the liberals, Humphrey of Minnesota, has worked out a "compromise" that would greatly limit the principle of no discrimination in employment.

Over and over again, it is being proved that it is stupid to rely on any capitalist politician, including the liberals. A few months ago, Henry Lee Moon, public relations director of the NAACP, said that what the South needs is the election of more "decent candidates" like Pepper of Florida, Graham of North Carolina, and Kefauver of Tennessee.

But on May 19 Kefauver voted against closure, and both Pepper and Graham, who have already announced their opposition to a "compulsory" FEPC, did not even show up to vote for closure. We will wait with interest to hear what further remarks Lee and the other NAACP leaders have to make about their "decent" capitalist politicians.

"1,000 YEARS"

Instead of listening to new alibis for repeated sellouts, the workers and Negro people ought to ponder the remark made by Lucas — that the Senate cannot break the present closure rule in 1,000 years.

There is a large element of truth in that statement, especially if you interpret it to mean that the capitalist politicians have no intention during the next 1,000 years of conducting the kind of fight-to-the-finish that could really overcome the filibustering opposition to civil rights legislation. Properly understood, this state-

ment proves that the workers and Negroes and all other supporters of FEPC should quit kidding themselves. The so-called democratic process in Congress has been effectively flouted and stymied, and no matter what the capitalist politicians say while they are seeking votes, they don't propose to do anything serious about it.

Democracy and capitalism are becoming more and more incompatible. You can't have both — you will either have to choose reactionary capitalism and its mockery of the democratic process or revolutionary socialism which will fulfill the aspirations and enforce the rule of the majority. That is the choice which the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are offering in the 1950 election.

McAlister Coleman Dies in New York

NEW YORK — McAlister Coleman, veteran labor journalist, author and participant in the Socialist movement in this country, died here on May 19 after a long illness. As a young reporter for the old Morning Sun he covered the great 1910 strike of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. That strike and the tragedy of the Triangle Shirtwaist fire in 1911 made him rebel against capitalism and he enrolled in the Socialist Party, in whose ranks he remained until the day he died.

In the 20's he edited The Illinois Miner, publication of the United Mine Workers. He helped publicize the early activities of the CIO, especially the 1936-7 rubber strike in Akron, O.

His politics remained reformist, but McAlister Coleman never lost his faith in the cause of socialism.