

TO THE MEMORY OF OSCAR COOVER

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Vol. XIV - No. 20

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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Truman's Supreme Court Upholds Taft-Hartley Oath

By R. Bell

Truman's Supreme Court last week struck a mortal blow at the Bill of Rights by upholding the constitutionality of the Taft-Hartley Act's "non-communist affidavit" provision. The majority opinion, written by Chief Justice Vinson, gives legal sanction to the emasculation of the first amendment which was designed to safeguard freedom of speech and assembly.

The contention of the unions involved in the test case, the CIO United Steel Workers and American Communications Association, was that the non-Communist oath abridged the freedom of speech and belief and was therefore clearly unconstitutional. This contention was summarily dismissed by the argument that the abridgment was only "limited" and not total.

DISSENTING OPINION

In his dissenting opinion, Justice Hugo L. Black wrote: "The court assures us that today's encroachment on liberty is just a small one. But not the least of the virtues of the First Amendment is its protection of each member of the smallest and most unorthodox minority. Centuries of experience testify that laws aimed at one political or religious group, however rational in their beginnings, generate hatreds and prejudices which rapidly spread beyond control."

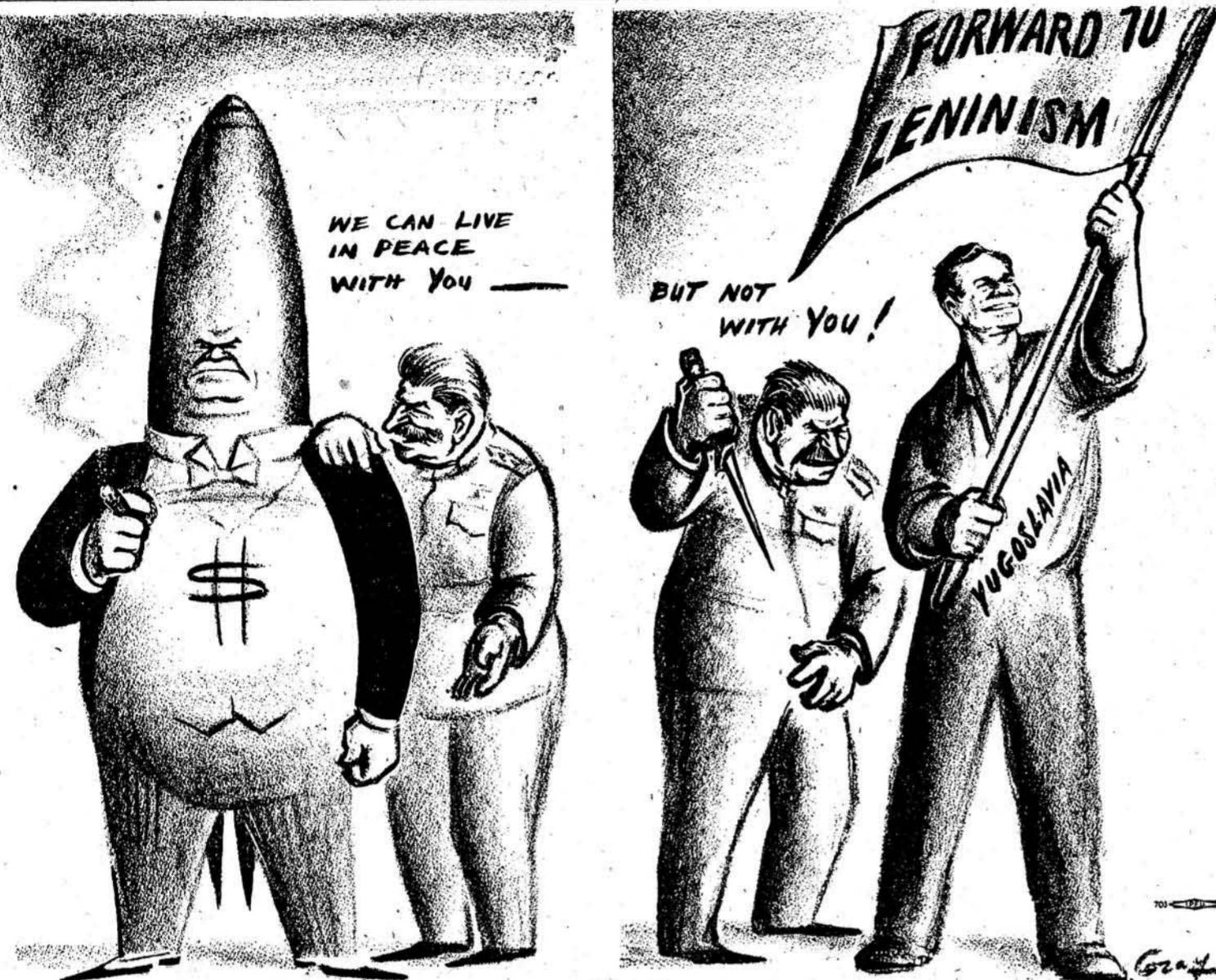
This process has already been manifested in every field of public life. Truman's "loyalty" decree, a variation of the Taft-Hartley oath, has subjected millions of government employees to prying investigation of their personal lives, thoughts and associations. Former Attorney General Clark's "subversive" lists condemn organizations without a hearing.

The Loyalty Board and Loyalty Oath have invaded our school system to stifle all semblance of academic freedom. Teachers are intimidated, scientists harassed and students hounded. A horde of finger men, stoopdoves, paid informers and provocateurs has been let loose upon the land. Labor spies are again in vogue. Thought-control, which Washington used to condemn as the hallmark of totalitarianism, now has the sanction of our most august tribunal, the Supreme Court of these United States.

EFFECTS

The ominous ramifications of the Taft-Hartley oath will have the most evil effect on the ranks of the organized labor movement. Under its provisions union members are deprived of the right to elect officials who they feel can best represent their interests regardless of political belief. Even before the oath received Supreme Court approval some union-hating

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College President Blacklists N. Y. Student Strikers

New York City school officials are collaborating with the president of the University of Maryland in blacklisting applicants who participated in the recent high school strike.

New Yorkers make up about 5% of the present enrollment at Maryland. But university president H. C. Byrd is determined that none of the student strikers shall be admitted to his institution, and is making inquiries in order to make his blacklist effective. New York Deputy Schools Superintendent said that Maryland and queries would be answered by New York principals wherever possible.

Byrd claimed the student strikers were "incited by outside influences" and that while many "were just carried along in the excitement... we have to penalize them too."

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Beck-Lundeberg Goons In CIO Warehouse Raid

SAN FRANCISCO, May 1 — Strong-arm men in the pay of Dave Beck, vice-president of the AFL Teamsters International Union, last week were driven off by CIO defense squads when the AFL attempted to blockade a San Francisco warehouse under contract to Local 6 of the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Whereupon Beck moved his raiding operation across the bay to Oakland.

In Oakland, Beck's "organizers" are trying to move in on dock work, which by tradition and contract belongs to the CIO warehousemen and longshoremen. The Teamsters blockaded five Oakland and Alameda piers when the CIO refused to surrender this work.

This development is the most recent in the AFL-CIO jurisdictional battle which began two months ago when Beck, with the aid of a few renegade leaders from Local 6, organized a rival AFL Warehouse Union, Local No. 12, to raid the CIO.

Beck is claiming AFL jurisdiction over "all the maritime industry." This claim presumably includes that part of the industry now under contract to the CIO National Maritime Union, Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, as well as the West Coast ILWU. The Teamster blockade is intended to stop all cargo movement thereby giving the employers a justification for abrogating their contract with the CIO.

On the other hand, the ranks of the Stalinist-led ILWU, although highly critical of the conduct of the recent warehouse strike and of the Stalinist leadership in general, have rallied to the defense of their union. Defense squads, composed of as many as 500 men, can be mobilized at call.

Negro members of the CIO warehouse union were outstanding in militancy and numbers on the CIO defense squads. Beck's raid threatens the Negroes not only as unionists but also as Negroes. The Jim Crow policies of the Teamsters and the SUP are well known.

At the present time a court injunction obtained by the CIO and the Distributors Association of Northern California has stopped all picketing in San Francisco.

RELIES ON THUGS

In the United Grocers battle, hundreds of rank and file teamsters stood nearby, but none en-

Law Guild Repudiates Expulsion of Yugoslavs

Last week, for the first time in this country, the long-simmering struggle over the issue of Yugoslavia broke into the open inside the Wallaceite ranks and the Stalinists suffered a sharp setback. This took place at the 10th national convention of the National Lawyers Guild, an organization in which many prominent Wallaceites participate. The fight took place over the Stalinist-engineered expulsion of the Yugoslav lawyers from the International Association of Democratic Lawyers last October at Rome.

At the time the Lawyers Guild delegate to the IADL, Robert J. Silberstein, voted in favor of the expulsion which was motivated by the "evidence" in the Hungarian "treason trial" and also by the refusal of the Yugoslav delegates to repudiate the policy of their government.

The resolution to repudiate Silberstein's action and to instruct the Lawyers Guild delegates to

resent the Yugoslavs at the forthcoming meeting of the IADL this summer was introduced by O. John Rogge, Progressive Party leader and vice-president of the Guild. It was carried by a vote of 53 to 10 with 30 abstentions.

[Rogge had just returned from a European tour, where he visited both Moscow and Belgrade. At a press conference, he reiterated his support of Yugoslav independence and revealed that he had been retained since last January as counsel for all Yugoslav agencies in New York.]

Commenting on the passage of the Guild resolution, the May 8 Daily Worker darkly hinted that it was all the result of Rogge's personal behind-the-scenes machinations. Charging that "a majority of the delegates permitted themselves to be pressured" into voting for it, the Daily Worker added: "The resolution was a victory for O. John Rogge, who is an attorney for the Tito government."

These are only the opening guns in an eventual all-out Stalinist assault upon Rogge and all other Wallaceites who refuse to toe the Kremlin's anti-Yugoslav line.

The Lawyers Guild officials are reportedly seeking to minimize the seriousness of the rift. According to the May 8 Daily

Compass, "Guild officers said no lack of unity was to be inferred from the vote. They pointed out that both O. John Rogge, who introduced the resolution, and Robert J. Silberstein, who voted for the expulsion in Rome, were re-elected by acclamation as a vice-president and executive secretary respectively." This is an unduly optimistic estimate.

It is an integral part of Stal-

lered the fray. The ranks of Local 85, the San Francisco Teamsters Union, have had good relations with the CIO for years and resent Beck's tactics. That is why Beck cannot organize the mass picket lines he would like to and is practically limited to reliance on paid thugs.

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Big Business profits for the first quarter of 1950 are 6% above the boomtime take of the same period in 1949, according to figures compiled by the Associated Press from a study of 508 corporations. Biggest profit maker is General Motors which topped 1949 earnings by 55%. At the same time unemployment is increasing. Thus are the "needy" provided for under Truman's heralded "welfare state."

Now the shabby past pretenses have been dropped. American military equipment will henceforth pour into Indo-China virtually without restrictions. According to the N. Y. Times, May 9, a large part of \$75 million at President Truman's disposal until June 30" under the Atlantic Pact "would be assigned to Indo-China, most of it for military equipment" and Congress will be asked to appropriate additional scores of millions for "further aid."

NOT EVEN A FIG-LEAF

As ally and financial and military backer of French colonialism (which Truman-Acheson & Co. have publicly "disapproved" up to now), the U. S. imperialists are left even without a "nationalist" fig-leaf to cover up their reactionary role.

Indo-China has been split up by the French into three "states." Two of them, Laos and Cambodia are protectorates over which they

Senate Stages Sham Battle On FEPC Bill

Filibuster Can Be Broken; Old Parties Don't Want To

By William E. Bohannan

The sham battle over FEPC has begun again in the Senate. Having knifed effective FEPC legislation in the House, both capitalist parties will now spar and maneuver for a while before doing the same thing in the upper chamber of Congress. Neither party has any serious intention of passing a bill to outlaw discrimination in employment; each will be occupied with trying to convince the voters that the other party is the one responsible for the failure of both parties to fulfill their campaign promises on this issue.

The meeting was sponsored by the Wayne County Student League for Industrial Democracy, an off-campus organization, after the campus SLID had been denied permission to sponsor Dobbs on the campus.

It was the second time in two weeks that a banned speaker had been forced to take to the streets. Professor Herbert Phillips, fired as a Stalinist from the University of Washington, was the first.

The top University Program Planning Commission had OK'd Dobbs for an SLID campus forum, but the dean of the school asked the commission to reconsider because Dobbs, imprisoned under the Smith Act, was a "convicted felon." The commission reconsidered the matter but decided to let Dobbs speak, so the dean vetoed the meeting.

In Act I of this obscene farce will the Senate engage in unlimited debate on the question. Non-Southern Democrats and Republicans will deliver impassioned speeches on how their hearts bleed for the Negro people and other victims of discrimination; Southern Democrats and Dixiecrats will keep trying to obstruct by filibustering and bringing up other legislation that the administration is really interested in passing.

In Act II a petition for closure will be circulated, and will get the 16 signatures that are necessary to force a vote which will decide whether or not the Senate will even formally take up the bill. A constitutional two-thirds, or 64 votes, will be needed to pass the closure motion. If somehow it should be passed, then the filibuster would really become serious, and at least one more closure motion would have to be passed before a vote on the bill itself could be taken.

THE WAY TO END FILIBUSTER

Of course the Southern filibuster could be smashed decisively—if the Truman administration really wanted to. But why should it want to as long as the old routine satisfies the labor and Negro leaders, who keep on covering up the administration's duplicity and telling the workers and Negroes to vote for the Trumanites?

The way to beat a filibuster is by wearing it out—physically and politically. Rules for debate could be enforced strictly; sessions could be round-the-clock, the "legislative day" could be stretched for as long as is necessary—weeks or months. (By strict enforcement of the rules, no Senator could speak more than twice on the same legislative day.)

Most of the Southern Senators are old men; Connally (Tex.), McKellar (Tenn.), George (Ga.), Hoey (N.C.) are in their 70's and 80's. On them the physical strain of a continuous session would be greatest of all. They could be worn down and worn out—if the administration really meant business.

POLITICAL PRESSURE

In addition, the administration could exert tremendous political pressure on the filibuster if it wanted to. It could appeal to the whole country to watch the spectacle of a handful of Southern Senators holding up the entire legislative process.

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SENATOR LUCAS

U. S. Helps to Enslave Indo-China

By John G. Wright

The first ripe fruit of State Secretary Acheson's trip to Europe has been the granting of "supplementary aid" to the French imperialists in their war against the Indo-Chinese people who have been fighting since V-J Day for their independence under the banner of the Viet Minh.

This decision, made officially by Acheson in Paris on May 8, makes the Truman administration a partner of the French colonial despots in their war against the Indo-Chinese masses.

In reality the Truman administration has all along been financing France's war of enslavement in Indo-China. Marshall-aid payments to France have just about covered the Indo-Chinese budget of the Paris government. Without this American equipment, the French and their native puppets would have long ago been driven out of Indo-China.

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Indo-China has been split up by the French into three "states." Two of them, Laos and Cambodia are protectorates over which they

exercise their sway openly; in the third, the "state of Annam" they have installed their puppet, ex-Emperor Bao Dai.

What pretense can there be here of desiring to "support nationalism and the movement toward independence in Asia," as the Truman administration has so often and so falsely claimed?

Truman extends aid to the French and their puppets at a time when they are barely able to hold on in Indo-China. C. L. Sulzberger, Times foreign correspondent, wired from Saigon on May 9 that "high French civil officials frankly concede the situation [in Indo-China] is deteriorating," despite the reported "military successes." He then adds: "An increasing number of Frenchmen are saying that if the political — as distinct from the military — situation in Indo-China is not a cent, not a gun, can be made more durable than was Chiang Kai-shek's regime in China."

The danger, however, is that Washington is actually prepared to plunge far deeper into the Indo-China adventure than was the case with Chiang Kai-shek. American workers should therefore demand that not a cent, not a gun, not a single American soldier be sent against the Indo-Chinese people. Hands off Indo-China!

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TROTSKY



LENIN

"In North America the matter is further complicated by the abominable obtuseness and caste presumption of the privileged upper strata of the working class itself, who refuse to recognize fellow-workers and fighting comrades in the Negroes. (AFL President) Gompers' policy is founded on the exploitation of such despotic prejudices, and is at the present time the most effective guarantee for the successful subjugation of white and colored workers alike. The fight against this policy must be taken up from various sides, and on various lines. One of the most important branches of this conflict consists in enlightening the proletarian consciousness by awakening the feeling of human dignity, and of revolutionary protest, amongst the black slaves of American capital. As stated above, this work can be carried out only by self-sacrificing and politically educated revolutionary Negroes."

—Leon Trotsky, Letter to Claude McKay, 1923

More Maneuvers on Labor Unity

The proposal for united labor action against the Taft-Hartley assault on the unions has made the circuit and is now no further advanced than when it started. It began with the plan advanced by John L. Lewis for a "mutual aid pact for common defense" of any single union involved in a dispute with the employers.

CIO President Philip Murray brushed aside the Lewis offer, saying "no useful purpose would be served" by concluding such a pact. As a substitute proposal the CIO Executive Board adopted the Murray labor unity plan and addressed it to the AFL and independent unions.

The Murray proposal was in two parts. The first, to establish a joint committee empowered to coordinate labor's economic, legislative and political activities. The second, to seek organic unity.

The AFL Executive Council met, considered the CIO proposal, decided that joint action would serve no useful purpose, and agreed to designate a committee to discuss organic unity. This decision is merely a reiteration of the AFL's traditional "organic unity" position in-

viting the CIO to repent and return to the "House of Labor."

It seems that nothing can shake the hide-bound AFL Executive Council out of its lethargy. These moribund fossils are content to sit around listening to their arteries harden while Big Business perfects its weapons and mobilizes its minions to tear the house of labor down around their ears.

Unless the rank and file of labor intervenes, nothing will come of the proposal for joint action in common defense against a common foe. Lewis proposes immediate joint action on the economic field. Murray demurs. He is primarily concerned with "unity" to support the spurious "friends of labor" in the November election. Green and Company move by reflex action. They dream of a return to the good old days of craft union hegemony of the American labor movement.

United action in defense of the unions against corporation assault is immediately feasible and necessary. The Lewis proposal stands as the minimum plan best adapted to meet the needs of the moment.

Militarists Entrench Themselves

The House Armed Services Committee has voted to continue the draft, without a single dissenting vote. This was a major triumph for the militarists who also succeeded in jamming through Congress a whopping increase in military appropriations. Now, it is no secret that only a short while ago many members, if not the majority, of this House committee were not in favor of continuing the draft.

Their opposition reflected the moods of their respective civilian constituencies who dread the prospect of war and hate the peacetime draft. What then caused the sudden reversal in this committee's sentiments?

It will be recalled that the peacetime draft was passed amid the first war "scare" and originally palmed off as a purely "emergency measure." Since then, each time the issue of the draft — or that of military appropriations — has arisen, some new "crisis" has invariably erupted, with the public being fed every conceivable sort of scare story.

Exactly the same thing happened this time. While the public at large was being fed strange submarines lurking off our shores, the "Baltic incident" and other assorted items, something extra-special was dished up for the benefit of the Congressmen. According to columnist Rob-

ert S. Allen, the House committee was subjected to a "supercharge of high-pressure" by the Defense Secretary and the top brass, especially Rear Admiral Hillenhofer, head of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Just what the Congressmen were told remains "top secret." Allen implies they were, among other things, informed that a shooting war may start at any time now. This mind you, while Truman himself has been issuing public assurances that there is little immediate danger of war and that peace is being won through the ECA, the Atlantic Pact, etc.

It is clear that the American people are being lied to and deceived, perhaps more brazenly than ever before in history. These lies and deceptions cover up a monstrous conspiracy.

Part of this conspiracy is the aim of the Prussian-minded top brass to impose at all costs a permanent conscript army on our people. They want it and need it not so much for military reasons as for their secret political goal of perpetuating and increasing the power of their clique — up to and including the eventual installation of a military dictatorship. Large conscript armies, intrigues by militarists and dictatorships have always gone hand in hand.

Amid the wild acclaim of French workers, lining the streets, they hurled, as if in defiance, their slogans at the reviewing stand where the Stalinist leaders taken by surprise, stood uncertain how to react. "For the Algerian Constituent Assembly!" "Complete Independence for Algeria!" "Free Messali!" (Messali Hadj is the leader of the MTLD placed under house arrest by the French government.) "Hang Naegele From the Lampost!" (Naegele is the "socialist" Governor-General of Algeria, primarily responsible for the regime of terror now instituted there.) Such were the cries that resounded in the air.

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ALL LABOR MENACE

The majority opinion gives so broad an interpretation of the disputed section that no strike leader would be immune from its application. Justice Vinson argued that Congress intended the oath to protect interstate commerce "from direct interference."

"Its manifest purpose," he added, "was to bring within the terms of the statute only those persons whose beliefs strongly indicate a will to engage in political strikes and other forms of direct action, when, as officers, they direct union activities."

This is typical of the language of the Taft-Hartley oath. Vinson does not refer to overt acts. His is the language of thought-control. Persons whose "beliefs" strongly indicate a "will" to do such and so are subject to prosecution. And what does he mean by "political strikes"? The strikes led by John L. Lewis were dubbed political strikes. With government "fact-finding" boards, court injunctions and other Taft-Hartley trappings, all major strikes can be labelled "political" strikes.

"BELIEF" AND "WILL"

To make certain that no intended victim will escape the Taft-Hartley net, the Vinson opinion also proscribes "beliefs" and "will" as the basis for filing charges. The

Senate Stages A Sham Battle on FEPC Bill

(Cont. from page 1) tire governmental machinery, and to make their sentiments known.

It could arouse even the Southern people by showing that the filibuster was preventing action on such measures as social security, farm price support appropriations, federal aid to education, the omnibus rivers and harbors and flood control authorization program and other bills and appropriations due to be taken up after the FEPC issue is settled.

In other words, by a skillful combination of physical and political pressure the administration could force even the Southern Democrats and Dixiecrats into a position where they could no longer prevent the majority of the Senate from voting on a pending measure. If, it must be repeated, if the administration wanted to.

But it doesn't want to. This was made abundantly clear when Senator Lucas, Truman's floor leader, "indicated that there would be no attempt to hold the Senate in continuous session through days or weeks." (N. Y. Times, May 3)

This means the whole affair will be conducted on a gentlemanly basis, no rough stuff, the filibusters won't have to put in more than an eight-hour day, they will have plenty of time to rest and

recuperate and continue as long as they desire. All Lucas really wants are a few motions for the record.

TRUMAN'S INTENTIONS

The administration's fraud is so obvious that it distresses even the liberal Trumanites. The N. Y. Post mournfully noted on May 8 that the leaders of both parties are going "into new battle with flags drooping and defeatism rampant" and urges them not to. Furthermore, it said:

"If we were President Truman, we would raise our voice loud and continuously on the issue of FEPC during the 'grass-roots' trip he has just begun. His eloquence — or silence — will be a measure of whether this is a real fight or a sham skirmish."

Last year Truman took off for his winter vacation in Florida while the Senate was maneuvering to make it harder to enforce closure. This year he took off on his speaking tour just as the FEPC bill came up. That also is a "measure" of his intentions.

But it would not make much difference if he had stayed in Washington, or if he raises his voice loud and continuously. What counts is the orders he gave Lucas — and from what Lucas him-

self has said, we know the orders were not for a serious fight against the filibuster.

Loud and continuous pro-FEPC speeches by Truman may help the Post and the other liberals and labor leaders to round up votes for the Democrats in the fall. But they won't change the fact that Truman's only interest in FEPC is how he can exploit it for his own political purposes.

LABOR PARTY NEEDED

Workers and Negroes who want an effective FEPC bill passed and enforced had better make up their minds now that they are not going to get what they want through reliance on the capitalist parties.

The sooner they understand this, the sooner they repudiate the pro-capitalist politics of their official leaders, the sooner they will start their own party and run their own candidates for office — the sooner they will be able to abolish Jim Crow in employment.

That is one of the great and indisputable truths that the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are going to spread to the best of their ability in this year's election campaign. And everything that happens on the FEPC issue in the current Senate debate is going to confirm it.

European Notebook

Algerian Workers Fight for Freedom

By Ernest Germain

On the eve of May 1 the Sunday edition of *L'Humanité*, leading daily of the French Communist Party, carried, among the many directives for the next day's demonstration, a tiny notice at the bottom of the page addressed to the North African workers. They were called upon to participate in the demonstration in the ranks of their corresponding unions, that is to say, disperse themselves all along the line of march. This is a tiny instance of the Stalinist conception of how to promote the "unity of French and North African workers."

THEIR CONDITIONS
It was indeed a memorable May 1. It is necessary to know the indescribable misery of the Algerian masses in France to fully grasp the significance of this demonstration. Driven from their native land by rapacious colonialism, subjected in France to mendacious official propaganda, shamefully exploited by inhuman employers, penned up six and seven to a single room in a lodging house where a single bed is used in relays to snatch a few hours' sleep, covered with filth by a cynical press under the thumb of the trusts, viewed with suspicion by all right-thinking citizens, far removed from any spark of the celebrated "French culture," held the captives of ignorance and degradation, bounded by all of the administrations, brutalized by all the police — these quasi "sub-proletarian" masses are the most dispossessed — the outcasts of capitalist society in France.

But now marching across the pavements of proletarian Paris, like an army of the rising colonial revolution, they had won, through the miracle of action and collective organization, the feeling of their own strength, the consciousness of their dignity as human beings and the conviction of their coming emancipation, the hope of their certain victory. Oh, hypocritical pharisees and disillusioned skeptics, all you who rail against "Bolshevik combat organization," you shall never be able to understand this miracle! And you, our brothers in America, black workers, shunted aside and trampled underfoot like the Algerian workers in France, think well over this example which fills the old socialist watchword with so much hope for you — "Alone we are nothing. United together we are everything!"

A POLITICAL ACT
The MTLD demonstration was not only an action of enormous symbolic significance. It was simultaneously a well-timed political act of vital importance to the unfolding situation in Algeria. In fact, for several weeks, the colonial administration had been busy preparing a provocation on a grand scale. Mysterious dis-

pates have appeared in the streets, they hurled, as if in defiance, their slogans at the reviewing stand where the Stalinist leaders taken by surprise, stood uncertain how to react. "For the Algerian Constituent Assembly!" "Complete Independence for Algeria!" "Free Messali!" (Messali Hadj is the leader of the MTLD placed under house arrest by the French government.) "Hang Naegele From the Lampost!" (Naegele is the "socialist" Governor-General of Algeria, primarily responsible for the regime of terror now instituted there.) Such were the cries that resounded in the air.

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A LABOR DIPLOMAT ON THE YUGOSLAV QUESTION

By C. Thomas

Progressive developments in Yugoslavia since the split with Moscow are having a profound impact on the world labor movement. "Where do you stand on Yugoslavia?" is a question that those who pass as labor leaders, liberals and progressives, are more and more being called upon to answer. This is especially true of the American "labor statesmen" touring the continent as agents of the State Department trying to sell the European workers a shoddy bill of goods.

A N. Y. Times dispatch from Paris discloses that Irving Brown, European representative of the American Federation of Labor, felt called upon to answer the \$64 question. In an interview published in *Le Figaro*, Brown is quoted as giving the support of labor in the United States against Soviet intervention in Yugoslavia.

The article also quotes Brown as saying that the unions in the United States are "against the restoration of the old regime of the exploitation of workers in Yugoslavia," and that he is interested in "making an on-the-spot examination of the economic situation of the people of Yugoslavia."

These cautious formulations, couched in the language of diplomacy, are an indication of the dilemma posed by the Yugoslav events. The labor lackeys of American imperialism and their European counterparts have confronted the workers with the choice of two alternatives: Either Stalinist totalitarianism or capitalist "democracy." With Yugoslavia proclaiming its independence of both and proceeding to demonstrate its determination to carry forward its struggle for national independence and socialism, another alternative is forcefully posed as an attractive and realistic possibility.

Profound Effect All Over Europe

The break of the Yugoslav Communist Party with the Kremlin, its rejection and condemnation of Stalinism, its call for a return to Leninist concepts in the struggle for socialism, is having a profound effect upon the thinking of the European masses. The workers are assessing these events in the light of their own rich experience.

The people of Europe have acquired no love for Uncle Sam since the "liberation." They see the United States as the main prop of reaction on the continent. To the workers of Europe, American "democracy" has become synonymous with capitalist tyranny and exploitation.

It was in the hope of ending, once for all, the hated system of capitalism that the European masses flocked into the Communist Party in the concluding days of the war. They sought a radical solution to endless war, agonizing poverty and frightful oppression by taking what they thought was the road to socialist salvation. The monstrous Stalinist betrayal of their hopes and aspirations is permeating the consciousness of ever-broadening layers of European workers.

The Yugoslav events are hastening this process at an accelerated pace. In this charged political atmosphere, Wall Street's labor missionaries are finding it increasingly difficult to peddle their poisonous nostrums. That is why an Irving Brown, camp follower of David Dubinsky's protege, Jay Lovestone, dusts off a few dimly remembered phrases from his radical past to gain a hearing from the class conscious workers of Europe.

Workers Should Send Elected Representatives

The Yugoslavs have welcomed visiting delegations from other countries who came to inspect, examine, observe, and report what they saw to their own people. Youth brigades are invited to visit the country to live, labor and fraternize with Yugoslav workers. No attempt is made to commit visitors to support of the regime prior to their entry.

This practice is in the best tradition of the early days of the Russian revolution when thousands of workers from all parts of the world visited the Soviet Union and returned to report what they saw. These reports provided an eloquent refutation of the calculated slander and defamation of the young Soviet Republic. It was only with the advent of Stalinism that an impregnable wall was erected along the Soviet borders, penetrated only by handicapped apologists selected in advance for their adherence to Stalinist mythology.

It is good that Irving Brown and his cohorts want to go to Yugoslavia to see for themselves the progress being made by the people of that country. But theirs is a jaundiced eye. The workers have good reason to distrust the time-serving flunkies of the American State Department. It would be much better for the workers themselves, trade unionists, students, working farmers, to elect their own trusted representatives to visit Yugoslavia and bring back a truthful report of what they had seen.

FLINT SWP IS SETTING PACE IN FUND CAMPAIGN

By Reba Aubrey

Fund Campaign Manager

Contributions to the Militant Fund campaign from friends and readers of The Militant and members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party, amounted to \$304 this week, making a total of \$1,439 toward the \$10,000 goal.

Flint Branch holds top place on the scoreboard with 66%. "The threat of strike hanging over our heads," writes Comrade Genora, "has spurred us on to pay up all our bills and pledges even though it may entail a little extra personal sacrifice. An extra hard push makes a good start and then it really isn't half so hard once the ball gets rolling. And we have learned that genuine team work

Students and the Press

By Albert Parker

The capitalist press definitely did not like the New York high school student strikes and demonstrations for teachers' wage raises and the resumption of extra-curricular school activities.

The reactionary papers wanted the students disciplined. "For rioting students and their ring-leaders, large old-fashioned doses of 'strap-oil' administered by parents would make fitting punishment," wrote the editors of the Scripps-Howard World Telegram and Sun.

The conservative N. Y. Times was more restrained and even pretended to see the other side of the question: "To the extent that the mass demonstrations... have been an expression of loyalty, appreciation and affection for their teachers they may be viewed in a favorable light. On the other hand, there were surely better ways in which such support could have been shown rather than to desert classrooms en masse, create disorder, damage some property and divert the services of our too-small police force from other important tasks. We believe that these demonstrations have not helped the cause of the teacher." And naturally the Times urges the students to discontinue all such demonstrations.

The liberal press, as personified by the N. Y. Post, professed sympathy for the students and devoted most of its editorials on the subject to chiding the O'Dwyer administration for losing its head and getting panicky when there was really nothing to worry about. At the height of the demonstrations, however, it counselled the students to "cease and desist" because they had already "dramatically made their point" and because "somebody may get hurt" — which was in essence the advice of the conservative press too.

Max Lerner, Post columnist, said he felt "cheered" by the demonstrations, but he couldn't refrain from reading a lecture to the students as well as to the O'Dwyer administration: "There are no barricades being built and mounted by the high school students of New York, and the sooner the City Fathers forget their Never-never-land nightmares the better for everyone. Also the sooner the students forget the foolish talk of the so-called 'brutality' of the police, the better. The whole mentality of fearing the 'Reds' on the one hand, and raising the specter of the 'Cossacks' on the

other, has no place in the American school-system."

The next day the Post had to devote its entire letters column to indignant accounts by students of what happened during the demonstrations. The following is an example: "At our back there were many students being urged in by the police, directly at our heads were the mounted policemen, charging into the crowd, horses' hoofs looking fierce and terrifying to the frightened crowd. The panic which followed was one of the most horrible experiences I have ever undergone and I know that I shall have nightmares of those screaming, horrified faces and forms, running and stumbling to escape. When the horror subsided, men circulated among us, trying to tell us we were being led by Communists. We were being led by OURSELVES."

O'Dwyer raves, rants and lies about the "subversive" forces behind the demonstrations and sends out his cops to break them up; the students express anger and resentment against the treatment they got from the mounted cops — and Lerner puts them both on the same level! This surely deserves to be preserved as a classic example of "liberalism."

But the labor press was just as bad as the liberal press, and in some cases worse. One of the few union papers that even mentioned the student strike — *The Pilot*, the personal organ of Joseph Curran published by the CIO National Maritime Union — claimed it was all Russian-inspired. The "kids," "small fry" — in the contemptuous words of the Pilot editorial — were acting "under the organized leadership of a certain teachers outfit and a certain 'youth' group of adult plotters."

By this time even O'Dwyer had retreated on his "subversive" charges and was trying to gloss over the demonstrations as a "lark." But not the bureaucrats of the NMU. Their specialty is red-baiting. They are in office today solely because of their proficiency at this reactionary technique, and they like to keep in practice at it even on matters that are not strictly within their jurisdiction. Like most union bureaucrats they are instinctively hostile to mass action of any kind, and they strive to discredit it, no matter where it comes from.

Hoover on the UN

By Paul G. Stevens

In a speech before the American Newspaper Publishers Association on April 27, Herbert Hoover bluntly proposed that Washington take the initiative to "reorganize the United Nations without the Communist nations." The former president was merely voicing what is on the mind of the entire ruling class in America. They have for some time sought to shed the "One World" fiction — which proved so useful in recruiting cannon fodder during World War II — and to replace the dream house of the UN by a structure more manageable for U. S. imperialism.

The Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact were merely pointers on this road. The Truman administration has carried out these preliminary steps. If it doesn't rush into public print with the same kind of conclusion as Hoover, it is only because its labor and liberal ties require that the party in power exercise more subtlety than the long unpopular Republican elder statesman. That there is no basic disagreement between them, however, is evident from President Truman's message to Hoover congratulating him on the "moral mobilization against Communism," which the same speech called for.

Only the liberals and the labor skates appear to have been frightened by Hoover's plain talk. It means "the abandonment of all hope for peace in our age," they wail; it means "to admit that our civilization has failed," etc., etc. This is, to be sure, absolutely true. But the failure of capitalism and its "democracy" has been revealed time and again in our generation. The "peace frolic" of the League of Nations could not have prevented World War II. What reason was there to assume that the UN would be any less of a "thieves' kitchen" than the League, or a more reliable instrument for peace?

But despite their present protestations, it can be safely predicted that when the fateful "reorganization" of the UN is undertaken, the liberals

will be in their allotted places, voting for it with both hands in company with Hoover and the reactionaries. Their whole record in the recent past alone — from the Truman Doctrine to the North Atlantic Pact — assures it. They are merely straining at a gnat after swallowing a camel.

Hoover's "plan," coupled with his complaint to the effect that the "new generosity" policy is ruining America, really means this: The game of pretense at "democracy," "humanitarianism," etc., has run its course. America has been shell-shocked — now the other capitalist nations must come across with definite commitments. They must line up firmly in a Wall Street-run "UN" or "New United Front" which could deal "realistically" with the "other half of the two worlds," and which "could much more effectively keep their conspiring agents and bribees out of all our borders and out of our laboratories."

Hoover's proposal of a "reorganized UN" is really part of the American capitalists' scheme to entrench their domination over all of the rest of the capitalist world, as a step toward World War III and world domination.

The technique for the attainment of this objective was developed by Hoover as long ago as the notorious "Hoover Relief Mission," in Europe after World War I. It is: line up with our policies — or starve!

Whether Hoover's "new plan" is actually put in effect immediately or not, the trend of this plan is the flesh and blood of American capitalism. Any defense of the present United Nations set-up against this trend can only aid in sowing illusions of the same kind that have already resulted in the death and ruin of two world wars.

The only effective way to fight war, to undermine Stalinism, is to fight for the overthrow of capitalism. Only a Workers and Farmers Government in Washington will aid in establishing one world and that can only be the socialist world.

OHIO LABOR TO BACK DEMOCRATIC NONENTIY AGAINST TAFT IN FALL

TOLEDO, May 4 — Nationwide interest will be focused on Ohio this fall as Senator Taft seeks re-election to his seat in Congress. He won the Republican nomination in this week's primaries. His Democratic opponent is State Auditor Joseph Ferguson.

The Republicans and their wealthy backers are reported to be flooding the state with funds to re-elect the co-author of the Taft-Hartley Act. The main force behind Ferguson will be the combined strength of the unions' political committees. Both the CIO and AFL are planning unprecedented activities to unseat Taft.

LABOR'S POLICY

The outstanding feature of the coming election campaign is the false policy of the labor leaders. They did not endorse any of the Democratic primary candidates, and none of them could be remotely considered "labor" candidates. But their entire strategy is based on supporting the Democratic nominee, no matter what he represents.

Ferguson is a political nonentity so far as issues are concerned. His chief claim to distinction is a vote-gathering machine all over the state. This machine alone made him the victor in the primaries.

The anti-Taft campaign conducted by the labor leaders, therefore, has an entirely negative approach and can only wind up with negative results. A golden opportunity was presented to run an independent labor candidate against the hated Taft. Such a campaign could bring out the



SENATOR TAFT

just after Truman was elected. According to them, all labor's hopes were about to be realized with Truman in the White House and a firm Democratic majority in Congress. However, the record shows that the present administration, including the Democratic Congress, has kept none of its campaign promises of 1948 and is not even making any effort to keep them.

NO VICTORY FOR LABOR
But the horse-and-buggy Gompers policy of rewarding "friends," a policy that has been proved thoroughly bankrupt, keeps the union leaders tied to the two party system and support of Democratic Party candidates. All this activity might under certain circumstances lead to Taft's defeat but it won't lead to a victory for labor.

It is well to recall the extravagant statements made by CIO leaders at the 1948 convention

It is high time for the ranks of labor to intervene and demand that the union leaders cut their ties with the Democratic Party and get busy along the lines of running independent candidates and building a Labor Party. The Ohio events confirm once again that this is the only road to a political solution of labor's problems.

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Toledo Hoodlums Prevent Holding Of May Day Rally

TOLEDO, May 2 — Misled veterans, belonging to reactionary ex-servicemen's organizations such as the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars stopped a scheduled Stalinist May Day meeting here last night.

Carrying small American flags and singing "God Bless America" and the Star Spangled Banner about 40 veterans formed a picket line in front of the hall and intimidated people from going in. The owner of the hall then refused to open the building and the meeting had to be called off. Some 50 people, it was estimated had gathered to attend the meeting.

These veterans were undoubtedly inspired to perform this act because of the failure to spread the protests over the Peekskill events of last summer to sufficiently wide circles. The recent role of some veterans in denying freedom of speech and assembly (what they were supposed to have been fighting to preserve) stands in sharp contrast to what other veterans did immediately following the conclusion of the war.

Then, veterans were the most militant pickets in the inspiring wave of strikes conducted by the unions. Today, with the labor leaders leading the workers to one retreat after another, the other part of the veterans raises its head: the fascist-minded element.

BAD PRECEDENT

Primarily, the fault belongs to Truman who launched the witch-hunt in the U. S. as part of his cold war against the Soviet Union. The alliance of the labor leaders with the Truman administration prevents them from conducting a struggle to maintain and extend civil rights, including those rights for which the war was allegedly conducted. Thus the workers, veterans included, are prevented from protecting their own interests through the false policies of the present leaders.

This incident in Toledo has passed with only a mild editorial protest in the daily paper. No one has reported the FBI — the highly touted protector of law and order — rushing in to defend the constitutional guarantees of freedom of assembly and speech. No one has been arrested for infringing upon these rights. But a bad precedent has been set and will most likely encourage the reactionary elements unless the workers intercede.

The technique for the attainment of this objective was developed by Hoover as long ago as the notorious "Hoover Relief Mission," in Europe after World War I. It is: line up with our policies — or starve!

Whether Hoover's "new plan" is actually put in effect immediately or not, the trend of this plan is the flesh and blood of American capitalism. Any defense of the present United Nations set-up against this trend can only aid in sowing illusions of the same kind that have already resulted in the death and ruin of two world wars.

The only effective way to fight war, to undermine Stalinism, is to fight for the overthrow of capitalism. Only a Workers and Farmers Government in Washington will aid in establishing one world and that can only be the socialist world.

Mexican Students Hear Discussion Of Kutcher Case

MEXICO, D. F. — The story of James Kutcher, the legless victim of the government purge in the U. S., was recounted here at an excellently attended meeting in the Coahuila Building at Mexico City College. The meeting was held under the sponsorship of the Political Affairs Club of Mexico City College and the Mexico City Chapter of the American Veterans Committee. (The AVC is not a campus organization, although composed mainly of students at the college.)

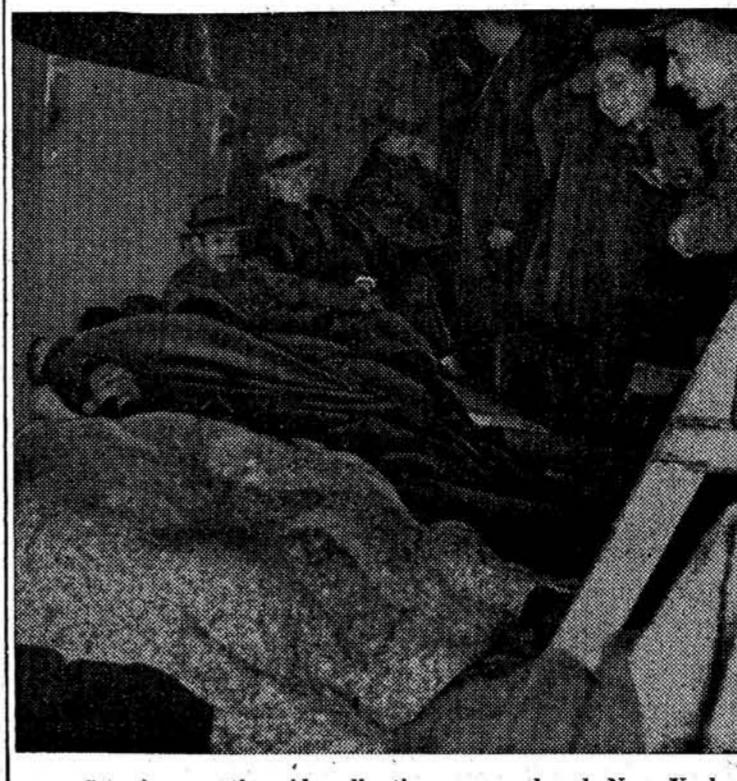
The speaker was George Weissman of the New York City Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

He answered many questions about the issues in the case afterward.

The dean of the college agreed to let the hall be used for the meeting with great reluctance. Afterwards, the campus paper, under his influence, carried a report that was not too favorable toward the meeting. Nothing directly against the case, but containing such remarks as that the picture given by the speaker about the present state of civil liberties in the United States is hardly credible, etc.

The meeting was discussed favorably in several of the social science classes the next day. It succeeded in spreading word about the Kutcher case to many who had not heard about it before. Most of the student body at Mexico City College come from the U. S.

Shades of the Depression



Camping on the sidewalk, these unemployed New Yorkers hope to get jobs as city laborers. More than 3,000 men lined up outside the personnel office to apply for 110 jobs paying from \$1,290 to \$2,040 yearly. Some waited all night.

New Chrysler Contract Shows Meager Results

DETROIT, May 8 — The 100-day Chrysler strike ended May 6 with limited gains for the workers. The rank and file Chrysler workers fought hard and deserved far more than they got.

The union won a pension plan similar to the Ford agreement with the exception that maximum benefits start at 65 if the worker has 25 years of employment. The maximum benefit is \$100 a month including social security. The principle of service credits determined by the number of hours worked is included in this agreement. Straight seniority therefore does not operate.

The plan is funded, but the corporation is not obligated to contribute a fixed sum per employee per hour worked. The union estimates it will cost the company 7c. per employee. The administration of the plan is in the hands of a joint board consisting of equal representation from the company, the union and an outside umpire who has the deciding vote in case of deadlock.

There are also partial hospital medical and insurance benefits. Chrysler will contribute \$1.50 a month toward hospitalization. This does not include members of employees' families.

WHEN WORKERS LEAVE

The workers lose all pension and insurance rights if they quit or are fired. Unless the rank and file at Gotham work out a militant program, win the support of the other hosiery workers in the area, and regain control of the union for the membership, the hosiery manufacturers will succeed in their plans to return the industry to the sweatshop days. A program for rebuilding the strength of the union should include the following points:

1. Stop the policy of accepting the manufacturers' demands without resistance.
2. Remove the union bureaucrats that go along with this cowardly policy.
3. Get the union itself to immediately start a full-scale drive to organize the large number of unorganized shops that have sprung up in the Philadelphia area and in the South. (Quite signing sweetheart agreements.)
4. Fight for the union to take leadership in demanding independent labor political action and the formation of a Labor Party.

POLITICAL ACTION

More than most unions, the hosiery workers can see the consequences of labor's support to the capitalist parties. Thanks to the labor leaders' fear of breaking with Truman, his allies the Southern Democrats have been allowed to retain the South as a haven for runaway unorganized hosiery mills. Organization efforts have been stymied by the bipartisan Taft-Hartley Act and the failure to enact civil rights measures that would break the reign of terror which keeps the political control of the South in the hands of anti-union elements. Labor Party action is a dollar-and-cents matter for the hosiery workers.

DANGEROUS RESULT

The most dangerous result of

the leadership's appeasement of the employers has been the membership's growing loss of confidence in the union. The lack of confidence in the present leadership is certainly justified, but that should not be permitted to lead to apathy or the feeling that nothing can be done through the union.

UTILIZING THIS PROVISION

Utilizing this provision, the Gotham company has been able to victimize some of the most militant sections of the union membership, men with high seniority, who participated in the recent protest stoppage against the rate cuts.

THE CHRYSLER AGREEMENT

The Chrysler agreement incorporates the thoroughly rotten principle of putting a ceiling on the living standards of the older worker. As one man stated in the Chrysler Local 7 meeting, "I'm 55 years old and have worked for Chrysler for 25 years. If we were supposed to get 7c. an hour, I'll be losing 7c. an hour for the next ten years." That is the dominant mark of this pension plan.

THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE CHRYSLER CORPORATION

The financial position of the Chrysler Corporation can improve when social security benefits rise or if workers quit or are fired; but for the worker, his pension benefits can only get less — in no case more — for the next five years! It thus differs greatly from the miners welfare fund.

CONTRACT STILL ROTTEN

The primary grievance of the Chrysler workers was their poor contract. The agreement that finally was signed is nothing to write home about. As one old timer said while listening to the dreary contract report at the Local 7 meeting, "Why continue reading? It sounds just like the old one."

THE FEW CONTRACT IMPROVEMENTS

The few contract improvements are along the following lines:

Some of the seniority provisions are improved a mile; discharged employees have the right to see a steward before leaving the plant. This section includes a number of protective loopholes for the company.

THE REUTHER LEADERSHIP

The Reuther leadership lost its demand for a union shop, settling for a voluntary check-off. The new contract provides for a piddling step in vacation payments. Chrysler workers with three years seniority but less than five years will receive an increase of \$31.00 in vacation benefits. All other workers will receive the old rate.

THE WAGE INEQUALITY

Some wage inequities were

eliminated.

An area differential between the Detroit Chrysler plants and the Indiana plants has been reduced from 9c. to 6c., but a

differential still remains.

This is

very important to the union be-

cause the corporation is

constantly shifting operations to

plants where cheaper rates pre-

val.

THE GAINS ARE PICAYUNE