

# Capitalist Parties Equally Guilty of Killing FEPC Bill

By William E. Bohannan

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 rights, etc. There's nothing odd about a Smathers being a Trumanite. He represents Truman's real program.

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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 Weinstein, 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 Gainor, 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

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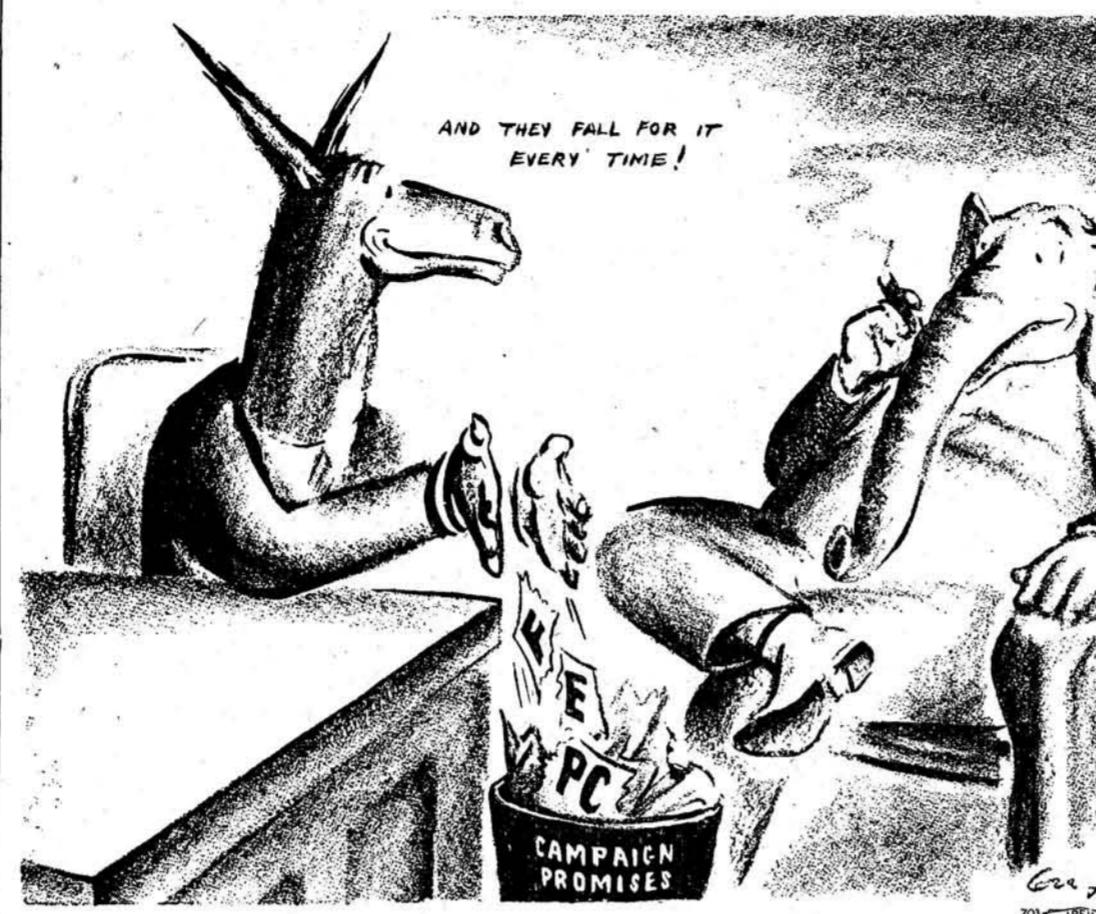
Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

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## 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 Corporation 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 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

(Continued on Page 4)

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 \$1-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 21/2% 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 percent.

**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

British militants Oskar Hippel and

Walter Haas, now prisoners of

Stalin's secret police, the Greek

Trotskyists incarcerated at Ma-

kronissos, and the Bolivian Trot-

skyists who are being hounded

following the great working class

battles in their country.

The Eighth Plenum heard the report of the International Sec-

retariat 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 revolution-

ary movement in taking advan-

tage of this new and especi-

ally favorable situation.

**YUGOSLAV RESOLUTION**

The report on the crisis of Stal-

inism and the development of the

Yugoslav revolution gave a pic-

ture of the crisis in the Stalinist

parties throughout the world,

analyzed the causes of this crisis,

discussed the developments of the

Yugoslav experience, and out-

lined the tasks for the building of

revolutionary parties under these

conditions.

At the conclusion of the dis-

cussion, the Plenum adopted a

(Continued on page 2)

# Washington Puts Squeeze On Yugoslavia

## Yugoslavs Need U.S. Labor's Help

An Editorial

### 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.

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 "Titoism."

### 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.

(Continued on page 2)

# 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.

**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 Gefman, 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 Literate 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 Engineer Stacy of the Coast Guard reported that he had twice requested officials of the literate company to move two munitions-filled barges from the pier, at which two other barges were being loaded, to lessen the concentration of explosives in the area. This request was ignored.

What the company wanted was speed, since it was being paid by the ton, while it paid the longshoremen by the hour. The more tons handled in an hour, the bigger 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 dangers 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 Lukacs, Hungarian Marxist philosopher and historian of art. Lukacs 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 between 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, Lukacs in his turn has been attacked and faced discard. Rudas, a subaltern Stalinist scribbler in Budapest, has charged him with "under-estimating Russian literature and devoting himself too exclusively to Shakespeare, Goethe and Balzac!" This is a mortal sin which must fatally lead to Lukacs'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

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 Kardej, 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 narrow-mindedness, they consider to be useful to definite political tactics and socio-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 what progress the Yugoslav leaders have already made on the road toward Leninism?

## 8th Plenum Held By Fourth Int'l

(Continued from Page 1) 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 repression.

# U. S. Squeeze on Yugoslavia

(Continued from Page 1)

Yugoslav 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.

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."

## 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 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 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.

## MILITANT FUND SCOREBOARD

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	233	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

## 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 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 Act 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-awakened students are succeeding. And this is as it should be!

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.

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## Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P.O. Box 1342.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 15 Spring St., Tues. 5-9 p.m., Sat. last Sat. of month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 625 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3600. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO—106 W. Washington Street, Rm. 312-314. Tel. Dearborn 2-4767.

CLEVELAND—116 W. 8th St. (off Pease Hall), 1946 E. 8th St. (off Pease Pk. Ave.).

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone 7-6267, Mon. through Sat. 12-5 p.m.

FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2486. Open House Saturday evening.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 322, 124 W. 8th St. Phone Vandyke 8061.

LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed., 7:30-9:30 p.m.

MINNEAPOLIS—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone 2-3237.

MINONAVILLE—104 W. 3rd St. Phone 2-1868. Open discussion Thurs., 8 p.m.

NEW HAVEN—For information write P.O. Box 1342.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave.

NEW YORK CITY (Harr.)—116 University Place, Phone GR 5-2149.

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"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 sedition 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.

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 imperialists 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. Schuman.

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 allows 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 fear 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 fiasco as did all the previous attempts, notably those of the German militarists under Hitler and of the French diplomats first under Briand and today under Schuman.

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### 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.

# London Confab Served War Plans, Not Peace

## 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, Washington, 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 Petain's Vichy French 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, 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 rebaptized 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 beach-head in Indo-China. A "modus vivendi" was agreed upon after full agreement was found to be impossible and Ho returned to Indo-China.

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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.

## 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 cooperation 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 Bravete (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... Sun day, 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 monéy..."

"The situation has been examined, and when I return from Texas, the talks will become more objective. But the atmosphere here is excellent... Bravete 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 pegged 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 Bravete. General Revers

## 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 constrain 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 "peaceloving," 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 (UPI 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.

# THE MILITANT

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## 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?

In addition, contributions were received from the CIO United

## Japanese Students Protest



Thousands of Japanese students gather outside Hibiya Park, Tokyo, to protest attacks on academic freedom by Dr. Walter C. Eells, 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 Kutcher 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. Kutcher Civil Rights Committee. The funds will be used to defray the expenses of the suit filed by Kutcher 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 Kutcher 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 "taraulin muster" for an "ad" in the Kutcher souvenir journal.

The Negro Labor Committee, Frank R. Crosswaith, chairman, purchased space in the journal and wrote: "Mr. Kutcher 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

## 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 domination 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 Maze who heads a committee sent to Toledo by Walter Reuther to investigate the union leadership here. Maze'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 on the floor.

About half of the meeting supported the opposition, judging by workers themselves.

Senate Kills FEPC Bill

(Continued from page 1)

he or anyone else in the Senate made.) But it is virtually unanimous 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.

### 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 and 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