

Oscar Coover, Pioneer American Trotskyist, Dies

By Art Preis

NEW YORK, May 3 — The American Trotskyist movement today mourned one of its saddest losses. Oscar Coover, beloved and devoted fighter for socialism, died early this morning at the Lenox Hill Hospital here after an illness of four months. He was 62 years old, a veteran of more than four decades in the labor and socialist struggle.

His death removes from the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party one of its founding members and one of its 18 leaders convicted in the famous Minneapolis Labor Trial who served prison sentences during World War II as the first victims of the infamous Smith Act of 1940.

Comrade Coover was stricken with spinal encephalitis last January. He fought with all the valiance of his stout heart against the encroaching paralysis. All the latest developments of medicine were used to destroy the virus that had attacked him. But his last long fight was in vain. Last night, about eight o'clock, he went into a coma and died at 2:30 a.m. this morning. He leaves a son and two daughters.

Memorial services will be held for him at 2 P.M., Sunday, May 7, at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th Street, New York City. Similar meetings are being arranged in the Twin Cities and elsewhere.

To his final conscious moments, Oscar's thoughts were with his comrades, his party, the great cause of international socialism which were all of life to him. He was eager for every bit of news about the party and its campaigns, joyful to learn of its successes in getting on the ballot in several states. Before he died, he had the gratification of hearing of the most recent revolutionary developments in Yugoslavia, which he greeted as a harbinger of that international socialist resurgence which he had fought for, but would not live to see.

He never stopped propagandizing for the cause, even when he lay in the hospital ward with his legs paralyzed. He proudly had displayed around the ward the 10-foot-long scroll of greetings and signatures sent to him from his old comrades in Minneapolis. It was at his pillow when he died.

Loyalty, dependability, unselfish service, courage, comradeship — these were the watchwords of his life and these he gave to the labor movement and to his party without stint. Whatever the task to be done, he did it, no matter how hard how great or how small. Fixing a light in the party headquarters with his skilled electrician's hands, distributing Militants, chairing a meeting, walking a

(Continued on page 3)



OSCAR COOVER, Oct. 7, 1887-May 3, 1950

\$10,000 MILITANT FUND CAMPAIGN IS LAUNCHED

By The Editors

With this issue of our paper we publicly launch the \$10,000 Militant Fund campaign to assure the regular publication of *The Militant*. Reba Aubrey has been appointed Fund Campaign Manager.

We have been impelled to launch this campaign not only for pressing financial reasons but also because of imperative political considerations.

The squeeze between high publishing costs and the income of a revolutionary socialist paper such as ours remains unrelenting. It now costs \$10,000 more a year just to print *The Militant* than the income derived from subscriptions, individual sales and bundle orders.

Since its foundation more than 21 years ago, *The Militant* has been sustained, not by commercial advertisers or rich backers, but by those to whom we must again appeal — to you who have never failed us in the past, our friends and readers and the members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party. The need for your help is pressing.

QUOTAS ACCEPTED

SWP branches with exceptional devotion and self-sacrifice have accepted the quotas assigned them (listed on page 2), after they had

Next Week:

The End of the Chrysler Strike

A full report and analysis of the settlement terms.

Workers of the World, Unite! THE MILITANT

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PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Yugoslavs Issue Appeal For Return to Leninist Principles

The New York Student Strike

— See Page 4 —

SEN. PEPPER IS DEFEATED IN PRIMARY

Claude Pepper, veteran U. S. Senator from Florida, was decisively beaten last week by a young demagogue, Rep. George Smathers, in the contest for the Democratic Senatorial nomination, which is tantamount to election in the South.

Pepper's defeat is generally held to be a setback for the Truman administration. The Republican national chairman hailed Smathers' victory in almost the same terms that he would use for the election of a Republican, and it is no secret that many Republicans in Florida registered as Democrats in order to help beat Pepper.

But most important of all, the Florida primary results are sure to encourage the Republicans to concentrate on the "McCarthyite" brand of redbaiting, smear and witch-hunt in the 1950 election campaign.

Smathers' main stress was put on the alleged "pro-communist" record and activities of Pepper. In the cold war atmosphere which the Truman administration has helped to create, it was relatively easy for Smathers to inflame the most reactionary kinds of prejudices against Pepper merely by quoting his opponent's pleas for peace with the Kremlin in 1945-46 and by proving that he had spoken during that period before organizations that were later put on the Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist.

For the Trumanites, the Florida results represented the worst possible sign. They now have good reason to fear that the witch-hunt which they started will boomerang against them next November, costing them several seats and possibly control of the next Congress.

In other primaries held on the same day, Robert A. Taft was snuffed for the GOP Senatorial nomination in Ohio, while the Democrats chose as his opponent State Auditor Joseph T. Ferguson, whose only "distinction" was his personal vote-getting machine.

In Alabama, Democratic Senator Lister Hill was also re-nominated. He had appealed to the Dixiecrats to return to the Democratic fold as the best way to block the passage of civil rights legislation.

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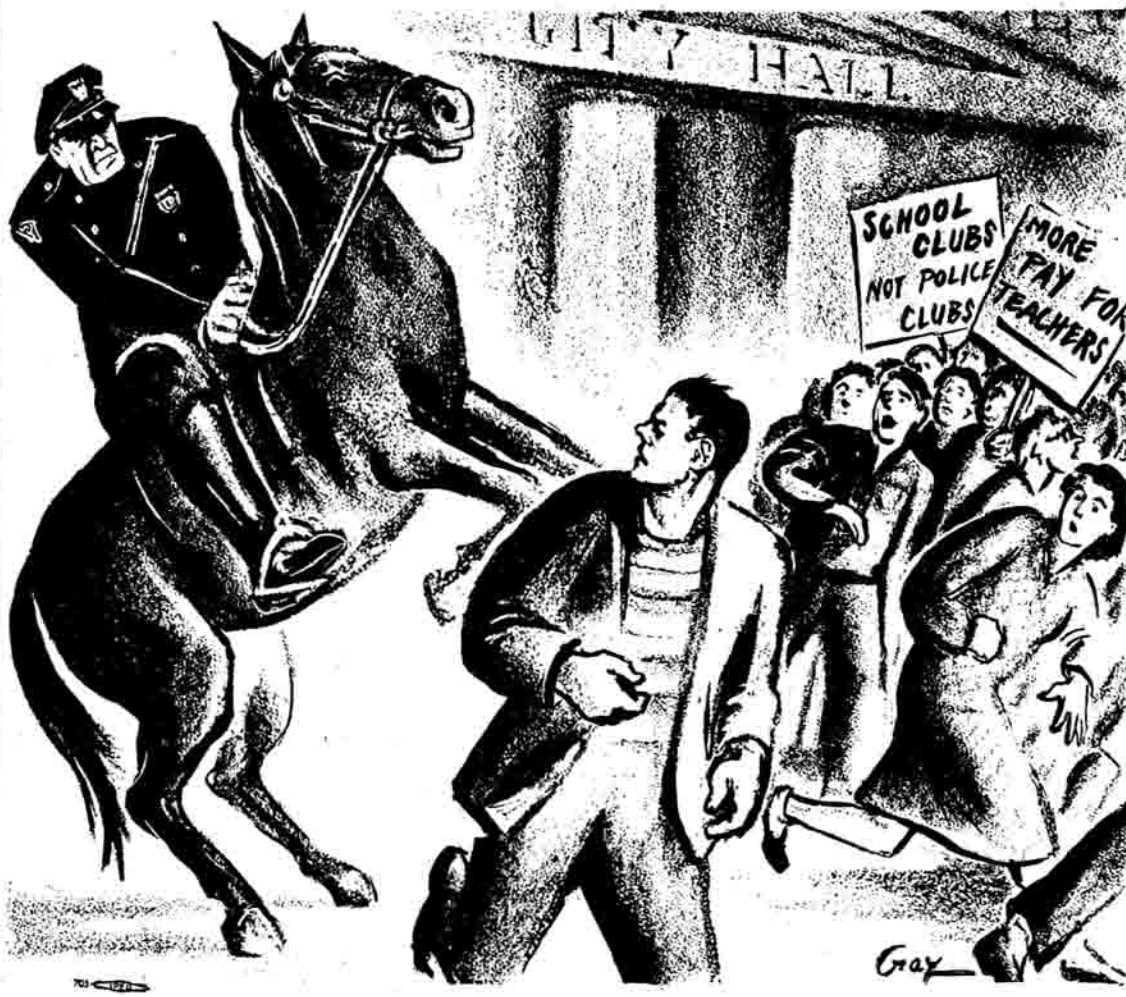
CHIEF VEHICLE

In many key centers of the country the SWP will run candidates on state and local tickets this fall. In this election campaign of major importance nationally and locally, *The Militant* will be the chief vehicle for carrying the message of revolutionary socialism to the mass of the people.

For all these reasons it is necessary to guarantee in advance that all the required material means are on hand for the regular issuance of our paper. \$10,000 will do this. The deadline for the completion of the Fund is July 15.

We are as confident that our friends and sympathizers will meet the quota assigned them under "General," as we are that the SWP branches will meet their quotas in full and on time.

A Lesson in Democracy



CIO Wins Westinghouse Vote By Narrow Margin

By C. Thomas

The nation-wide chain of Westinghouse Corporation plants, hitherto constituted as a single bargaining unit, was split through the middle last week as the result of an NLRB election.

Although the newly chartered CIO International Union of Electrical Workers received a total of 27,281 votes to 22,817 for the expelled United Electrical Workers, each union won 20 plants in an election held on a plant-by-plant basis.

The election was much closer than the figures indicate with the final outcome still in doubt. In four plants, for example, including the one in East Pittsburgh with 13,000 workers, a run-off election may be necessary to determine the victor.

In East Pittsburgh, the IUE-CIO won 5,763 to 5,663 for the UE. The UE challenged 147 votes, while 170 voted for no union. If the NLRB upholds sufficient challenges it may wipe out the slim

100 majority and make another election necessary.

The outcome of the Westinghouse election came as a shock to the CIO leaders who had forecast an easy victory and predicted a ten to one CIO margin at the East Pittsburgh plant. Both unions had thrown their full resources into the Westinghouse campaign involving 55,000 workers.

THEIR FORMULA FLOPPED

When the IUE-CIO swept all five plants of the General Motors Electrical Division recently it appeared the CIO was on the way toward achieving its aim of eliminating the UE as a factor in the industry. Victory over UE in a number of important election contests seemed to indicate a powerful trend toward the CIO. The CIO chieftains were convinced they had an unbeatable formula — the prestige of the national organization plus unbridled red-baiting.

This formula was used at East Pittsburgh to the highest degree.

Top CIO organizers and a small fortune were thrown into the contest. The redbaiters let out all stops. The day before the election Philip Murray appeared as the main speaker before a Westinghouse rally. And the IUE-CIO just squeaked through by the narrow margin of 100 votes!

Small wonder that the CIO chiefs are disturbed. First, the results of the Westinghouse election mean that the UE will be around for a while. Second, they are not so confident now that their formula will work in the General Electric vote scheduled for May 25. Third, they hoped a crushing defeat for UE would set the stage for successful raiding operations against these expelled unions in which the Stalinists are more strongly entrenched.

The result of the General Electric ballot should indicate whether the Westinghouse result was an isolated phenomena or the beginning of a trend to a more critical attitude toward the CIO leadership and its red-baiting technique.

Urge World Working Class To Struggle Against Stalinism

The May Day proclamation of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party marks a great turning point in the history of the world working class movement.

For the first time since the Bolshevik revolution of October 1917, a workers' party with state power outside the Soviet Union has raised the banner of socialist internationalism. The proclamation summons the opponents of Stalinism to restore Lenin's program to its rightful place in the labor movement.

This program represents the only real alternative to the grim choice of the cold war: imperialist atom-bomb conquest or Kremlin counter-revolution. It represents powerful vindication of the struggle begun by Leon Trotsky 27 years ago against Stalin's destruction of the conquests of the first workers' state and his long line of betrayals on a world scale. The Yugoslav proclamation reads in part:

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

"The current inside the international workers' and democratic movement, which defends the just cause of our country and the struggle against the revision of Marxism and Leninism (by the Russians), is becoming more and more powerful. The number of those who are participating in this current is increasing from day to day, and we send them our fraternal greetings on the occasion of May 1.

"The numbers of workers and entire trade union organizations, spirit of Leon Trotsky, our party has conducted such a struggle. In the May Day manifesto of the Socialist Workers Party we summoned American workers to support the just cause of Yugoslavia for independence and socialism. We believe with you that your valiant resistance to Stalinism and imperialism can be the spark that will set off new victories for the forces of socialism."

(Continued on page 2)

Yugoslav May Day Manifesto Hailed By SWP Leader

NEW YORK, May 1 — James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, today sent a message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the name of the American Trotskyists hailing their May Day appeal to defend Yugoslavia and restore the socialist movement to Leninism as opposed to Stalinism and Social Democracy. The text, read at tonight's May Day meeting of the SWP here, was:

"American Trotskyists hail your May Day proclamation of international solidarity as sign of great hope for people of entire world. We are confident that workers everywhere will acclaim your appeal to defend Yugoslavia and restore revolutionary movement to Leninism as opposed to Stalinism and Social Democracy. This is the only alternative to imperialist war and enslavement and to counter-revolutionary methods of Kremlin despots.

"For over 20 years, in the spirit of Leon Trotsky, our party has conducted such a struggle. In the May Day manifesto of the Socialist Workers Party we summoned American workers to support the just cause of Yugoslavia for independence and socialism. We believe with you that your valiant resistance to Stalinism and imperialism can be the spark that will set off new victories for the forces of socialism."

O. JOHN ROGGE IS ON STALINISTS' BLACKLIST

NEW YORK, May 2 — O. John Rogge's return to this country from Yugoslavia today was being watched with considerable interest by members of the Progressive Party.

Even before he returned, the Stalinists had publicly put him on their blacklist because of the friendly remarks he had made about Yugoslavia's fight for independence.

In a speech at the University of Belgrade last month, Rogge had said, "Yugoslavia wants, to build socialism in its own way."

The Soviet Union should not interfere. Bullying, threatening and coercion, or unequal treatment of smaller nations by greater ones, are threats to peace whether done by the United States or by the Soviet Union."

Later, at a press conference in Belgrade, Rogge called for a frank public discussion of the Yugoslav-Kremlin dispute, and condemned the expulsion of the Yugoslavs from the Stalinist-dominated World Committee of Partisans for Peace.

He also termed the charge that Yugoslavia was planning to attack the Soviet Union or its neighbors as "ridiculous." Asked for his opinion of the Rajk and Kostov frameup trials in Hungary and Bulgaria, Rogge declared he could not give any opinion concerning the guilt or innocence of the defendants, but said he had "no confidence in such confessions, especially when they are won by inquisitorial methods, namely, when men are arrested and subjected to protracted questioning."

CLASH MAY ENSUE

If Rogge acts in accordance with his own remarks concerning the necessity for a public discussion of the Yugoslav issue, a clash is bound to ensue between him and the Stalinists both inside and outside the Progressive Party. At their recent plenary session, the National Committee of the Communist Party decided that an "end" would have to be put to the practice of tolerating sympathizers of the Yugoslav struggle as members of the "progressive and pro-peace" camp.

Filipinos -- Colonial Slaves Under U. S. Rule

By Li Fu-jen

The Philippine Islands present a classic picture of a colonial country pillaged and retarded in its development by imperialist despoilers in league with the native ruling class.

This archipelago in the south Pacific consists of 7,083 islands, of which only 466 have areas of one square mile or more. They are the habitat of some 20,000,000 people mostly of Malay descent, the vast majority of whom are taos (peasants) or plantation laborers.

The taos eke out a bare existence on small plots that average only three acres, while the plantation workers receive pitifully small wages as employees of the hacienderos (landlords) who own great estates and accumulate tremendous wealth which they share with the tycoons of American business. A small percentage of the agricultural workers are tenant farmers, renting garden-size plots from the hacienderos. It is in this complex

of class relationships, and the economic effects it produces, that we find the underlying causes for the civil war which now grips the Islands.

What foreign domination has done to the Islands is well illustrated by the single fact that after four centuries of Spanish rule and half a century of American overlordship, the economy is ill-developed, feeble and lopsided.

STATE OF THE ECONOMY

Although the population has about doubled in the past 30 years, there is very little industry to provide avenues of employment and help elevate the standard of living. The result is an enormous and ever-growing pressure on the land which must, somehow, be made to yield sustenance to more and more people, with a resultant increase of poverty. The land area available for food cultivation remains virtually static, because the greater part of additional lands that could be used to grow food is held in the grasp of the hacienderos.

These landowners prefer to hoard their wealth or spend it on high living rather than invest in industries. In the poverty-stricken population they see no market for industrial products — for their own needs they can buy expensive imported goods. Moreover, industrial development would draw off surplus labor from the plantation areas and the hacienderos would be confronted with demands for higher wages.

Whatever industries have been established, both before and since the war, are for the most part owned and controlled by American capital. All the factories are small and produce only light consumer goods. In relation to the economy as a whole, they are a negligible factor.

Thus today, as 50 and 100 years ago, the principal, indeed dominating, sector of the Philippine economy is still the plantation. Vast tracts are planted to profitable export crops, leading which are coconut (coconut oil and copra), cane sugar, abaca (Manila hemp) and tobacco. After rough

processing (often only baling or packaging) these crops are taken over by American export firms and shipped to the United States.

The hacienderos — high on the list of which is the Catholic Church, one of the greatest landowners in the Philippines — and their American brokers reap great fortunes from the growing and marketing of these crops. But the worker who does the field work and the worker who handles the crops in the export process live out their lives in wretched poverty.

WHAT CAN THEY SHOW?

Social conditions in the Islands are of the same blighting character that one encounters in all the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the East. There is absolutely nothing to be said for the claim of the U.S. imperialists that they did better in this respect than older colonial powers. The Yankee freebooters clamped their rule on the Philippines in 1898 after defeating the Spanish. What have they to show, in terms of

human welfare, for half a century of overlordship?

When the Americans arrived, Manila, the capital, was a filthy, suppurating slum except for the small sections where the Spanish planters and colonial officials lived. The Americans improved on these small sections. They built fine, broad, paved boulevards and great modern hotels and apartment buildings. The businessmen erected stately mansions for themselves and the native hacienderos moved in alongside their new American partners.

Tourists gaped and marveled at the "great job" America had done in this backwater of the East. They saw nothing and were shown nothing beyond the fine boulevards and buildings. But Manila remained and is still a filthy slum. Walk or drive into the sections where the mass of the population live! Back of the modern concrete buildings that front on the Plaza Santa Cruz stand ramshackle tin and clapboard shanties, their spindly, weak-jointed

(Continued on page 4)

European Notebook

Real Situation In Spain Today

By Ernest Germain

The Three-Power conference at London will serve above all to promote a "unified strategy" in Western Europe. The Spanish question will thus inevitably be posed.

In spite of all the denials, the State Department persists in pressing in the diplomatic chancelleries for the inclusion of the Franco regime in the Atlantic Pact setup. American workers should acquaint themselves with the real situation in Franco Spain.

Spain today is in a state of complete economic prostration. Many factories lie idle for lack of raw materials. The fraud-ridden regime, the corruption of the upper government circles, the dissipation of the ruling classes devour the greater part of the social surplus product.

The budget now calls for 15 billion pesetas with a population of 28 million, whereas 23 million inhabitants in 1936 yielded 30 billion pesetas in state revenues, if we make the necessary adjustment for the lower value of the peseta today. In 1936, military and police expenditures took up only 20% of the budget. Today, this represents more than 60% of the budget (9% billion pesetas).

INTOLERABLE CONDITIONS

The position of the workers under these conditions is intolerable. The official rations are starvation rations, consisting of 100 to 150 grams of indigestible "bread." To remain alive and feed his family, a worker has to buy on the black market, which prevails everywhere and in everything. His daily wage ranges from 10 to 35 pesetas—from a common laborer to a highly skilled worker—and this for a 10 to 12 hour working day. He is not always able to buy even a kilogram [2.2 lbs.] of "bread" with this daily wage, because the price of 1 kg. of bread fluctuates from 15 to 20 pesetas on the black market.

Meat and olive oil—staple foods—are out of his reach because they cost 35 to 40 pesetas a kgm. The cheapest footwear costs a week's salary—125 to 150 pesetas. A suit of the poorest quality—300 pesetas—or 15 work-days. Is it any wonder that under these conditions the worker's noon-day meal is generally a little piece of dry bean bread and there are many who fast for a part of the week in order to provide at least something for their children?

PUBLIC HEALTH

Especially scandalous are the health and housing conditions of the Spanish people. There are at present 250,000 victims of tuberculosis in Spain, and only 8,000 sanatorium beds, according to the official figures. In Barcelona, a city of more than 2 millions, there is exactly ONE public clinic which recently, for lack of funds, cut the number of its beds from 1,000 to 300!

Corruption is rife within the Seguro Social, a government social security agency and principal Falangist propaganda argument for which certain British and American union leaders have unfortunately fallen. Seguro Social receives a compulsory contribution amounting to 4% of the wage of every worker and employee. Its budget has soared to hundreds of millions of pesetas. Poorly paid doctors are compelled to handle a minimum of 500 cases a month.

One of its regulations is that a worker has no right to aid until after he has been ill for five days. Those sick with tuberculosis are dropped from the rolls after six months treatment. The Seguro

Social has made deals with the big drug companies to buy large quantities of poorest grade medicines at cheap prices and recently has openly ordered the doctors to give preference to these drugs in their prescriptions, because "the workers tend too often to try to put one over on the physicians..."

WIDESPREAD MISERY

On the outskirts of all the big cities there are vast areas of misery where hundreds of thousands of human beings live in barracks, hovels or caves under indescribable conditions. In the Barcelona slums, it is no rarity for a dozen people to live in a single room, the children sleeping under the coats or taking turns on a mat. As for the barracks, here is how a French journalist, Michel Salomon describes them:

"...There are about 50,000 of them and more are being built every day. One type of workers' dwellings consists of caves dug at ground level... On approaching, one invariably sees the opening into a sort of tunnel which it is impossible to enter except on one's hands and knees. A cotton rag covers it modestly from the outside world... Most of the Montjuich [in Catalonia] troglodytes do not know how to use a stove and the housewives cook their meagre rations over crude brush fires or on live coals like the Bedouins..."

As for the repression, it remains as ferocious as ever. Contrary to the claims of the Franco propagandists, there are still many forced labor camps in the country. The number of prisoners reaches 130,000, of whom more than 20,000 are women. There are in addition 200,000 persons under "house arrest." Executions of leading worker militants continue without let-up. The Falangist police, relying on terror, spies and stool-pigeons, has succeeded in disorganizing the anti-fascist resistance movement. It became known recently that Miguel Angel, former general secretary of the underground Socialist Party, was a secret police spy. Through him, many leading anti-fascists were arrested.

"IN PAIN AND SORROW"

Francisco Spain, which the State Department would like to enlist in the crusade for "Western civilization," has all in all 37,500 students (out of a population of 28 million!) as against 50,000 in 1936. Half of the dailies and the magazines are published by the Church. The obscurantist atmosphere in Spain is perfectly illustrated by the following incident:

A professor of medicine on the Barcelona faculty was the target of disciplinary measures because he had recommended the use of anesthetics in child birth, thereby transgressing one of the Church's commandments: "The woman shall give birth in pain and sorrow." (Reported by M. Salomon in the Paris France-Tireur.)

American workers should exert pressure on their union leaders to launch a great mass movement against the pro-fascist Franco intrigues of the Pentagon and the State Department. That is the only practical way at the moment to speed Franco's downfall and come to the aid of the martyred Spanish workers.

Dunne Speaks at May Day Meeting

MINNEAPOLIS, April 30 — A well-attended May Day celebration was held this afternoon in the state Socialist Workers Party headquarters here, under the sponsorship of the Twin Cities party branches. The speaker was V. R. Dunne, SWP national labor secretary.

Recalling the occasion of the first May Day, Comrade Dunne reconstructed the picture of Chicago in 1886, and of the Haymarket martyrs — "the active leading spirits of the labor movement of that day."

"American workers gave the holiday of May Day to the workers of the world," the speaker said, adding, "The early trade union leaders were motivated by different concepts than the labor leaders of today!"

Pointing out that the present union leaders have become open tools of Washington, the bankers and Wall Street, Dunne declared, "But a new leadership can arise in the labor movement to change the course of history in a short time."

After the talk, the audience contributed generously to a collection for the Militant Fund.

British Troops as Strikebreakers



British soldiers unload a cargo of mutton from a strikebound Argentine vessel docked in London. More than 13,000 dockers struck following the expulsion of three dockers by the leadership of the Transport and General Workers Union.

Yugoslavs Issue Appeal For Return to Leninism

(Continued from Page 1)

making significance of these words. They embody within them the story of the monumental strides made by the Yugoslav Communists since their split with the Cominform in 1948.

WHAT EVENTS PROVED

At the time, Tito and his leading staff, notwithstanding the frenzied attacks against them, still hoped that a reconciliation could be effected with Moscow. But the events of the last two years have proved to them, as well as to countless others still retaining illusions about Stalinism, that this was no misunderstanding between friends. It was an irreconcilable conflict between forces on opposite sides of the barricades.

The blood-soaked Soviet bureaucracy, which had risen to power by exterminating the achievements and the leaders of the Russian Revolution, was and is determined to crush the Yugoslav struggle for independence and socialism. Failing to crush them by frontal attack, Stalin banked on driving the Yugoslavs into the arms of imperialism. Thereby he would once again confirm the colossal lie, so indispensable to his regime, that the masses of the world, as well as of the Soviet

Union, have no other choice but Stalinism or imperialism.

But he has failed precisely because he was dealing with the forces of a living revolution, and not with an isolated workers' group which could be slandered and framed up and its leaders murdered in ambush by GPU gunmen. For the self-same reason, the choice of Stalinism or imperialism had to be rejected by the Yugoslav Communists.

The horrible fate of capitulation to the Kremlin was only too clearly revealed in the Moscow-dominated satellite countries of Eastern Europe. It would mean the perpetuation of Yugoslavia's backwardness and poverty. It would mean the never-ending payment of tribute in sweat and slave labor to swell the privileges of the piratical Russian bureaucracy. It would mean the sale of the country by hand-picked puppets and Russian military overlords terrorizing the people with frame-up trials, purges and an omnipotent secret police.

WOULD NOT SUBMIT

The Yugoslav masses could never be prevailed upon to peacefully submit to such a fate. For almost four years, they had fought guns in hand to liberate their country from the yoke of

foreign tyranny as embodied directly in the Nazi and Fascist invaders and indirectly in the Anglo-American quisling, General Mihailovich. They battled formidable odds with indescribable heroism. They suffered a million casualties out of a population of 16 million. A social revolution was born out of the national and civil war. The leaders who had been lifted to power by the mighty tide of these events could not have capitulated to the Russian would-be master of the country without being swept aside by the revolutionary workers and peasants of Yugoslavia.

The heroic struggles of the war years have had their parallel in the magnificent resistance to the Kremlin — and to imperialism — since 1948. Stalin has stopped at nothing. He has staged frame-up trials in all the capitals of Eastern Europe. He has tried to provoke civil war in Yugoslavia. He has harried the country with border incidents. He has erected a blockade to strangle Yugoslavia economically. He has been frantically seeking an agreement with imperialism at the expense of Yugoslavia. But with each new blow the people — and their leadership — have become firmer and more adamant in their resistance.

CLEARER UNDERSTANDING

And with the fight, there has developed a clearer understanding of the nature and role of Stalinism. When the break took place in 1948, hosannas were still being sung to Stalin as the "great leader" whose "principles" were being distorted by his agents in the Cominform. Two years later Stalin's portrait was conspicuously absent from last week's May Day demonstration in Belgrade. In the recent election campaign, the Yugoslav leaders were explaining to the masses in great meetings, as only the Trotskyists have done up to now, that the privileges of the bureaucracy were at the root of Stalinist degeneration and counter-revolution. They repeated over and over again that Yugoslavia would avoid the same fate only by the development of Socialist democracy.

Yugoslavia's exclusion from Stalin's "iron curtain" bloc has not inclined the Tito leadership into the camp of imperialism. Despite great pressure, they have repelled all proposals for political concessions. We sell our goods, Tito has reiterated, not our principles; we will tighten our belts before we permit world capitalism to re-introduce the hated old order in Yugoslavia.

A DRAMATIC SIGN

The Yugoslav May Day Manifesto calling on the masses of all countries to return to Leninism is the most dramatic sign of this revolutionary development. The Yugoslavs are notifying the world that their fate is tied to that of the international working class; that they remain as relentless opponents of world imperialism as of the Kremlin autocracy.

Above all, the Yugoslav manifesto indicates that the final crisis of world Stalinism is at hand. The epoch of working class defeats is coming to an end. The "spark" the gallant Yugoslavs have ignited will in truth give new hope to revolutionists the world over. It will speed their struggles towards "new victories for the forces of socialism."

Militant Fund Campaign Is Off to A Good Start

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

The campaign for a \$10,000 fund to help publish The Militant is off to a good start. Branches of the Socialist Workers Party, already notified of our intention to launch this campaign, have responded in typical Trotskyist fashion. They understand that a paper like The Militant, which has no big advertisers such as back the capitalist press, depends on the support of its readers to keep it rolling off the press regularly throughout the year. Already, \$1,135.20 has been received. The campaign is scheduled to run until July 15.

Flint Branch shifted into high gear as soon as they heard about the campaign. They didn't wait for the announcement in The Militant, but immediately passed the hat and sent the proceeds by the next mail. This fast start put Flint deservedly in the lead with 66% of its \$175 quota. Comrade Genora writes: "We want to collect and send in our quota in record time in this campaign in the event of a strike in GM. The comrades are in complete agreement on this action and their cooperation is a remarkable demonstration of Trotskyist determination."

Other branches have likewise expressed determination to waste no time in seeing that The Militant gets that folding stuff which pays such big dividends in carrying the message of socialism to the American workers.

Comrade Carl, chairman of the Militant Fund Campaign in Pittsburgh, says, "We hope to raise the balance soon." Pittsburgh has already reached 30%.

Both Twin Cities branches have been heard from. Grace Carlson, Minneapolis organizer, expresses the prevailing opinion there: "We are very hopeful about completing the pledges so as to make our quota — and are equally as confident that we will be able to send

the money in on time. The Minnesota comrades are properly concerned over the financial plight of The Militant and are eager to do their share to help."

Our St. Paul friends share this sentiment. P. Mertens writes: "We are sure we will be able to make it, IN FULL AND ON TIME."

The following friends of The Militant, learning of the campaign, wasted no time waiting for our first release in the paper.

W.E.B. of Portland, Oregon, hastened to make a \$5 pledge and then rang the 80% bell with a \$4 payment.

And C.H., Empire, Oregon, pledged \$40 and sent two \$10 postal notes to show he really means business.

A group of Militant readers clubbed together to make up a \$100 kitty and started it off right by sending in \$15.

Militant Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint	\$ 175	\$116	66
Newark	350	109	31
Pittsburgh	150	45	30
St. Paul-Minneapolis	750	152	20
Toledo	50	10	20
New York	2,500	452	18
Chicago	350	60	17
Worcester	30	5	17
Buffalo	400	31	8
Los Angeles	1,300	100	8
Boston	175	10	6
Philadelphia	300	1	0
Akron	75	0	0
Allentown	40	0	0
Cleveland	250	0	0
Connecticut	50	0	0
Detroit	800	0	0
Lynn	50	0	0
Milwaukee	200	0	0
St. Louis	50	0	0
San Francisco	700	0	0
Oakland	100	0	0
Seattle	150	0	0
West Virginia	25	0	0
Youngstown	350	0	0
General	630	44	7
Total through May 2	\$10,000	\$1,135	11

THE MILITANT ARMY

Report Brisk Sales Of May Day Issue In New York City

Cathy Dee, Literature Agent of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party, reports highly successful sales of the special May Day edition of The Militant. The total score was some 1,170 copies.

"The response was beyond all expectations," she says, "with individual orders ranging up to 10 copies for distribution among friends, relatives and shop mates."

"A group of trade unionists took 100 copies, the Youth branch 77 and the Brooklyn branch 50. In Harlem, the East Side, Brownsville, Bedford-Stuyvesant and at New York University and City College 231 copies were sold."

"The Harlem branch handled 300 copies and the Downtown branch 150."

"At the May Day parade we sold 103 copies despite the rain." After reading a copy of The Militant he bought at the parade, one worker came down to the headquarters of the New York local and bought \$3 worth of literature on the differences between Stalinism and Trotskyism.

One observer at the Stalinist parade remarked that he likes to read The Militant because "it's put out by the only party with a consistent program."

The "Open Letter to Members of the Communist Party" explaining why the Yugoslav people should be supported in their struggle against Stalin and against world imperialism sold briskly at the parade.

Three newsstands sold out their consignments completely. "The distribution of the May Day issue in New York was an inspiring achievement and a guide for future occasions," Cathy concludes.

H. O. of Philadelphia reports that the Gotham hosiery workers "were tremendously moved by your April 17 article about their wage cut which was a journalistic 'scoop.'"

"Two of us distributed that issue of The Militant at the gate, and the first workers we approached didn't seem too friendly. 'Is this a union paper?' they asked."

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"We said it wasn't, that it reflected the views of the Socialist Workers Party, and explained what the paper stands for."

"It's about time we listened to the radicals," said one worker. "We won't forget that you were the only ones to back us," several others said when they saw the article."

"No one refused a paper, and if someone hesitated, others urged him to take a copy. Men on their way home stopped and sat down on the steps to read the whole paper."

"It wasn't just the hosiery article that appealed to them. The whole issue gave a well-rounded outlook on the problems and interests of the working people. Yesterday I learned that someone had cut out Art Preis' article with the headline, Sound Labor Unity Depends on Action by Rank-and-File, and posted it on a plant bulletin board."

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P.O. Box 1342.
BOSTON—Worker's Educational Center, 10 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-8:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month.
BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 825 Mah. St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3900. Every afternoon except Sun.
CHICAGO—166 W. Washington Street, Rm. 312-314. Tel. Dearborn 2-4767.
CLEVELAND—Every Sunday, 9 p.m., Peck Hall, 1446 E. 8th St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.).
DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TR 7-6267. Mon. through Sat., 12-4 p.m.
FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2490. Open House Saturday evenings.
LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 8th St. Phone Vanderveer 8061.
LYNN (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.
MILWAUKEE—317 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Branch Hopkins 2-5857.
MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.
NEW HAVEN—For information write, P.O. Box No. 1018.
NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone 2-1888. Mon. through Sat., 12-4 p.m.
NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Place. Phone GR 5-8149. Open discussion, Thurs., 8 p.m.
BROOKLYN—Mandala Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., off Sutter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8.
CLEVELAND—120 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-2485.
YOUTH GROUP N. Y.—130 W. 23rd St., meets Thurs., 8 p.m.
OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information, phone TEMaple 2-3153 or TEMaple 3-3733, or write P. Montauk, 906-B Cypress St., Oakland 7.
PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open every Friday evening.
SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.
ST. LOUIS—For information, phone FR 5305.
SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. 4th Washington. Tel. Main 5278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meetings Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore.
TOLEDO—Address inquiries to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1502, Toledo 3.
WORCESTER (Mass.)—For information write P.O. Box 93, Worcester.
YOUNGSTOWN—234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri. Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

Your First Issue?

If this is the first time you have ever read The Militant, you now have an idea of the kind of newspaper we publish. It is a weekly that pulls no punches in fighting for socialism.

There is no other paper like it in this country. It fights only on the side of the workers and all the oppressed minorities — for their interests, their rights, their future.

If you want to have an analysis of the current developments and problems in the American and world labor struggles, you ought to read The Militant regularly. The most convenient way is by subscribing.

Clip the coupon below and mail it in today. Send only \$1 for a six month subscription or \$2 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

Name
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State Zone

Voices Gratitude For Story About Hosiery Workers

Editor: I want to congratulate you for the wonderful article you printed in your paper on April 17 about the 35% cut that we Gotham hosiery workers had to take. This is the first paper that really and actually printed the truth about our cut. If the other papers printed only half the truth that you print, it would be a pleasure to read them. Thank God that we have at least one paper that backs us and prints the truth.

M. G., Philadelphia, Pa.

Part of the reference to me, stated above, is in quotes. This implies your correspondent had heard a direct quote. He sure as hell did not get it from me, nor did he have the decency to contact me to confirm his story had he heard it from someone else.

At no time have I ever made such a statement to Walter Reuther, or anyone else! It appears to me that this story truly reflects the fact that your policies are as equally vicious and unscrupulous as the capitalist press whom you occasionally condemn as organs of big business. Whose organ are you? I insist on a retraction of the paragraph in reference to myself. I further request that you demonstrate an attempt to correct this lie by instructing your correspondent from Detroit to

Ken Morris Denies Making Statement Attributed to Him

Editors: I was recently handed a copy of your April 24, 1950, issue of The Militant. On the first page, under the heading "Ranks Raise Questions on UAW Strike Tactics," you make the following statement:

"Ken Morris, Reutherite President of Briggs Local 212, is reported to have made a personal trip to the scene of Chrysler negotiations in order to tell Reuther he had better get something at Chrysler 'or we'll all be thrown out of office.'"

This statement is absolutely NOT TRUE, and in my opinion was a deliberate lie built into falsification by your Detroit correspondent as a basis for preparing a story to justify the message you hope to get across to your readers.

Part of the reference to me, stated above, is in quotes. This implies your correspondent had heard a direct quote. He sure as hell did not get it from me, nor did he have the decency to contact me to confirm his story had he heard it from someone else.

At no time have I ever made such a statement to Walter Reuther, or anyone else! It appears to me that this story truly reflects the fact that your policies are as equally vicious and unscrupulous as the capitalist press whom you occasionally condemn as organs of big business. Whose organ are you? I insist on a retraction of the paragraph in reference to myself. I further request that you demonstrate an attempt to correct this lie by instructing your correspondent from Detroit to

contact the undersigned and declare the basis for submitting his falsehood which found refuge in your paper.

Sincerely,
Ken Morris, President
Local 212, UAW-CIO
Detroit, Mich.

ED. NOTE — Unfortunately, the Militant staff had no opportunity before going to press to verify the specific "quote" incorporated in the article on the UAW by our Detroit correspondent. In view of the denial by Ken Morris of the remarks attributed to him by our correspondent, we regret having permitted the disputed statement to appear in print without prior substantiation.

However, this does not affect the validity of the conclusions in the article on the defeat of numerous Reuther supporters in recent elections and the fear of incumbent Reutherite officials that their personal fate is linked with the outcome of the Chrysler strike.

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TROTSKY

"The October revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But due to the lag of the world revolution, due to the fatigue and, to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its peoples a new oppressive and parasitic caste, whose leader is Stalin. The former Bolshevik party was turned into an apparatus of the caste. The world organization which the Communist International once was is today a pliant tool of the Moscow oligarchy, Soviets of Workers and Peasants have long perished. They have been replaced by degenerate Commissars, Secretaries and GPU agents."

— Leon Trotsky, Letter to Workers of USSR, 1940.



LENIN

Lattimore's Reminder About Budenz

Louis F. Budenz is now being deliberately elevated by nation-wide newspaper chains to the status of a "national hero." Budenz owes all this not to any outstanding contributions in arts or sciences or human thought but exclusively to his position as Informer No. 1 for the vilest of witch-hunters and the most rabid of reactionaries from the Un-American Committee down to Senator McCarthy.

Budenz did not attain his present eminence by accident. He served a long apprenticeship in the very same circles he now denounces. For ten years — 1935 to 1945 — Budenz served the Stalinists unquestioningly. By his own admission, Budenz acted as finger-man and informer for Stalin's secret police. His specialty was hounding, baiting, and spying on Trotskyists.

Before the Senate Committee last week Prof. Owen Lattimore recalled that Budenz did anything and everything demanded of him, including taking part in the conspiracy to murder Leon Trotsky. For three years Budenz served as one of the key figures in this criminal conspiracy staged on U.S. soil. Budenz was instrumental in supplying the GPU with the woman — intermediary who enabled the

assassin to worm his way into Trotsky's household.

These and other sordid revelations were made by Budenz himself in his book, *This Is My Story*. Budenz claimed then, as he still does, that he was just an innocent dupe. Remarkably enough this "victim of illusions" rose rapidly in Stalinist ranks, quickly becoming a member of the National Committee and serving as managing editor of the *Daily Worker* in the period of Stalin's pact with Hitler.

Long after his break with the Stalinists, he continued to peddle the Kremlin's lie of Trotskyists being "agents of Hitler." He also continued to uphold the Moscow frame-ups and in the very same book in 1947 which was supposedly a pledge of his "spiritual regeneration," he repeated after an article written at the time by the novelist Rebecca West, the infamous GPU lie that Hitler used Trotskyists as jailers and persecutors of Catholics.

Budenz who stooped as low as any human being could in the Kremlin's service, is displaying just as much zeal in the service of his present task-masters and apparently is attaining even dizzier success.

The May Day Celebrations

May Day had its origin in the historic and militant struggle of the American working class for the eight hour day. The world Socialist movement later proclaimed May 1 as an international workers holiday. The laboring classes rallied under Karl Marx's unifying slogan to declare war to the death on their capitalist exploiters: "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains." This is the revolutionary tradition, the true spirit, the real meaning of May Day. It is this meaning, spirit and tradition that the exploiters, their tools, agents and time-servers are bent on perverting, defiling and twisting to serve their own ends.

The governors of 40 states this year issued "Loyalty Day" proclamations contrived to besmirch the memory of those American working class fighters who saw their leaders framed up and hung in a struggle that inspired the commemoration of May Day and commanded the militant solidarity of their comrades abroad. The "Loyalty Day" parade in New York City was typical. It was a demonstration of unbridled warmongering calculated to fan the flame of national jingoism in preparation for war.

With an assorted contingent of Tammany politicians, legionnaires, strikebreakers, priests and labor skates as its spon-

sors, the "Loyalty" parade was an obscene caricature of the origin, history and tradition of May Day. Appropriately enough, the sponsors selected a Broadway musical-comedy warbler as "Queen" of the parade.

Almost as far removed from the genuine spirit of May Day was the Stalinist-sponsored parade whose dispirited contingents marched under the "we can do business with capitalism" slogans reflecting the current needs of the Kremlin's foreign policy. It has long been Stalinist practice to exclude those who refuse to march under Communist Party slogans and banners. This perversion of the united working class front has reduced participation to Stalinist members and sympathizers. The result was evident in the smallest parade in years.

Capitalist reaction and counter-revolutionary Stalinism are doing their utmost to extinguish the flame of international working class solidarity and revolutionary struggle symbolized in the celebration of May Day.

In contrast, the Socialist Workers Party in meetings throughout the country is keeping alive the true May Day spirit and tradition by paying homage to our martyred dead and pledging anew to carry through to victory the glorious struggle begun by the early pioneers of the revolutionary socialist movement.

How Stalin Sabotaged Yugoslav Civil War

This is the second installment of the expose of the Kremlin's counter-revolutionary role in the national liberation and civil war that raged in Yugoslavia during the last war. They are based on two articles written by Moshe Pyade, member of the Political Bureau of the Yugoslav CP and active leader in the civil war of that country. Pyade's articles appeared first in the Yugoslav paper, *Borba*, March 22 and March 26.

Last week's article described the growing indignation of the Partisans at Stalin's refusal to send them assistance in their most difficult hours. Tito and others on his leading staff were beginning to learn the reason for this apparently bewildering behavior. Stalin was conspiring with King Peter's government-in-exile.

In May 1942, Tito, expressing his followers' uneasiness over the Kremlin's attitude, again wired Moscow for aid. "From all corners," he said, "the fighters and the people are asking me why the Soviet Union is not sending aid."

The Kremlin replied with an open affront. In August 1942, the Soviet government elevated the royal legation in Moscow to the status of an embassy. Tito reacted with an indignant wire to Moscow on Aug. 11:

HOW STALIN REPLIED

"The promotion of the representative of the Yugoslav government in Moscow to the rank of ambassador has created a feeling of uneasiness among all the patriots in Yugoslavia and particularly among the fighters. Especially because it has occurred at the very time when the traitor Yugoslav government is openly collaborating with the occupier. It rewards all the butchers who have shed the people's blood and against whom we are now engaged in the same life-and-death struggle as against the Occupation. Your action adds great difficulties to our national liberation struggle."

The Russians have proposed to send their top officers to your General Staff for the organization of direct liaison with you, for the formation of your squadrons in Russia, to send you aid, for joint radio broadcasts. Have rejected proposal. We desire first

the campaign being carried on by radio and press against the Yugoslav army under your command cease; that they call upon the partisans to stop attacking the detachments of your army; that the partisans be placed under your command. Only after this is done can there be any question of discussions looking towards future cooperation."

It is obvious from this message, as Pyade pointed out, that none of the obstacles which prevented Stalin from aiding the partisans existed as far as Mikhailovitch was concerned. Nor was Moscow concerned that Mikhailovitch was collaborating with the Nazis and the fascists or that he was committing terrible atrocities against the partisans. The interests of the Moscow bureaucracy conflicted with the struggles and aspirations of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Yugoslavia. Therefore sacrifice them—as Stalin had done many times before from Spain to China.

[Two years later, at the close of 1944, the Moscow radio was to repeat its shameful silence towards the Stalinist-led Greek partisans of Elias who were fighting their own quistlings and the British imperialists. Stalin collaborated without hesitation with the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries everywhere against the revolutionary masses. Their unbounded loyalty to Stalin was no consideration, except to facilitate their betrayal.]

In the autumn of 1944, Stalin's counter-revolutionary conspiracy was uncovered in all its wretched details. It was dug out of the archives of the London government which had been forwarded to the Tito regime. The following coded message had been sent by Slobodan Yovanovitch, then president of the emigre government in London, to Mikhailovitch, its minister of war operating in Yugoslavia:

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Later during the most trying moment of the fifth offensive of the enemy which followed right on the heels of the fourth, Tito wired Moscow on June 12: "Now we are eating our horses. There is no bread. Our situation is difficult and we will not overcome it without the heaviest sacrifices. The enemy is making extreme efforts to destroy us but he will not succeed. We implore you to assist us in this our most trying test."

Pyade sums up the Yugoslav experience with Stalinism during the war. "In this difficult situation, apart from pretty words and compliments, we received no aid at all. But even without aid from anyone—none came from Moscow and what we got from the British then was inadequate—we emerged victorious from the fifth offensive. And we were strong enough, when Italy capitulated, a capitulation our allies carefully hid from us until our own intelligence informed us of it, to disarm Italian divisions quartered in Yugoslavia and provide arms for hundreds of thousands of our fighters."

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Even the editors of the reactionary Toledo Blade were taken aback at the tone of the Spicer management; they know that this kind of approach only tends to stiffen the workers' ranks. A hard fight seems to be in prospect at Spicer.

TOLEDO UAW LOCAL PREPARES FOR BITTER SHOWDOWN FIGHT

TOLEDO, May 1 — There is a temporary cessation of hostilities between UAW Local 12 and the corporations in this community, with the announcement today of a second strike settlement in the long-drawn out conflict that began six months ago over the pension issue.

Previously, the union had settled with Acklin Stamping Co. after a 3-day strike for a pension plan similar to that of other CIO unions. Yesterday the Plaskon workers settled their 90-day strike for a wage increase and a health-and-welfare plan estimated to total about 10c. an hour. No pension was won at Plaskon.

The area-wide pension plan which the union demanded from 125 companies in this area appears to be a dead duck. It is no longer mentioned in union propaganda and did not figure in the two settlements made so far.

OUTSTANDING FEATURES

In assessing the results of the struggle up to now, the outstanding features are: (1) The union remains intact despite the combined assault upon it by virtually all the forces of the banks, the corporations and newspapers in this city; (2) the union has retreated from its original position; (3) the meager gains have cost a heavy price.

The weakness of the one-at-a-

time strategy now places the union in the position where it must face the larger corporations such as Overland, Spicer, Auto-lite and Champion with a somewhat depleted treasury and a 90-day strike behind it. Many workers are critical of this strategy which forces the union to drain its resources during long strikes while the profit-bloated companies sit on their money bags.

The spotlight now shifts to the Spicer Company, one of the toughest and most arrogant outfits in the country. Spicer has already notified the union that it will not renew the present contract when it expires at the end of this month unless the workers are ready to surrender important gains. This was accompanied by a threat to cease operations altogether in Toledo.

Even the editors of the reactionary Toledo Blade were taken aback at the tone of the Spicer management; they know that this kind of approach only tends to stiffen the workers' ranks. A hard fight seems to be in prospect at Spicer.

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Oscar Coover, Pioneer Member of SWP, Dies

(Cont. from page 1)

picket line or going to prison — whatever the party needed of him, he did willingly and gladly.

Oscar typified the revolutionary American worker, bred of the American soil, speaking the American vernacular, steeped in American traditions, with the sharp wit and native militancy characteristic of the best American fighters. He was an advanced exemplar of the worker-Bolsheviks who will one of these days rise up by the thousands and millions to storm the citadels of American capitalism.

A UNION MAN

He was born on Oct. 7, 1887, in Republic, Missouri. He went to grammar school and two years of high school in Springfield, Mo. At the age of 17, he left school and went to work in a railroad shop, where he learned the trade of electrician. He worked on a number of lines — the St. Louis & San Francisco, the Missouri-Pacific, the Chicago and Great Western — from 1904 until 1924.

He was a union man to the marrow of his bones. On his death-bed he showed his paid-up cards in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the International Alliance of

Theatrical Stage Employees which he had joined respectively in 1906 and 1907. One of his proudest recollections was the fraternal aid he gave the great Minneapolis truck drivers' organizing strikes in 1934 when he participated as a volunteer picket dispatcher.

From 1916 to 1922 he was an active organizer of the railroad workers in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area to which he had moved before the war. In 1922, he played an outstanding role in the famous Railroad Shopmen's strike as secretary of the Chicago & Great Western, Pullman, Burlington and Northwestern strike committee in the Twin Cities.

He had the distinction of being personally named in the injunction issued by Attorney-General Dougherty that finally broke the strike. In the strike committee, Comrade Coover fought for a policy of mass resistance to the strikebreaking injunction, but his position was defeated by a narrow margin. The railroad barons never forgot it. In 1924, they cooked up a charge against him, fired him and had him blacklisted forever from the industry. Thereafter, he worked at his trade as a stagehand and on construction jobs.

Had he wanted to, Comrade Coover could have "made his

mark" with the railroad companies. He was highly skilled in his craft and had early risen to the position of chief electrician in the Minneapolis yards of the Chicago and Great Western. But he consciously chose another path, a path that led him to unemployment and hardship — and to the deep love of his fellow workers and comrades in the labor movement.

During his early years he belonged briefly to the Socialist Party. But he did not get the chance to learn the full meaning of Marxism. He dropped out in 1907. He was a first class union man, but he still had illusions about capitalist politics. Shortly before he died, he told his son, Oscar, Jr., that one of the few things he was ashamed of was that he voted in 1916 for Woodrow Wilson to "keep us out of war."

CONVERTED TO MARXISM

It was around this time he met Karl Skoglund, who was later to become the president of famous Minneapolis Drivers Local 544. They became lifelong friends. It was Karl who brought Oscar to Marxian socialism. In 1920, he joined the Communist Party. It was a token of the man that he

chose to enter the revolutionary movement in the midst of terrible persecutions, in the days of the Palmer Red-raids, when in one night more than 5,000 radicals were arrested. To the day of his death, he did not diverge for one moment from the principles and program of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism.

Throughout the Twenties he was an active, militant member of the Communist Party, when it still represented international revolutionary principles. He fought class collaboration and bureaucraticism in the unions. In 1924, after 12 years as a delegate to the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, he was expelled for his communist beliefs. He was subsequently reelected to that body and to the Building Trades Council in 1928.

That year became a great turning point in his life. For five years, from 1922 to 1928, he had been on the District Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Minneapolis. But true to the principles of Leninism, when the Stalinist degeneration set in, he joined with Vincent Dunne and others to demand that Leon Trotsky be heard in the Third International. They were expelled. They formed the first group of

The Social Significance Of the Student Strike

By George Breitman

It would be a great mistake to underestimate the social and political significance of the high school student strikes and demonstrations in New York last week. It was an authentic mass movement and upsurge, involving some 40,000 students. Although confined to New York, it was highly symptomatic of the class tensions and developing mass radicalization of this country. In fact, when the definitive social history of American capitalism in our generation is written, it may well rank with such previous explosive events as the Harlem outbreak of 1943 and the GI demobilization demonstrations of 1945-46.

Why did it happen? The capitalist commentators are having a hard time finding a satisfactory explanation. The adjectives "extraordinary" and "unprecedented" sprinkled through their press express their mystification; while "unwarranted" and "disgraceful" are the most moderate words expressing their mortification and concern. Few people pay serious attention to O'Dwyer & Co.'s contentions about "subversive" forces.

The explanation with the widest circulation is the hooky angle—what kid wouldn't grab hold of a good chance to cut school in the spring, etc.? Without denying that this was a contributing element, it does not explain very much, however. For surely there are other and less "socially disapproved" methods of playing hooky.

Why They Were So Determined

It is important to bear in mind that the participants in genuine mass movements cannot always articulate their desires and grievances fully, especially at the beginning. Not every Negro who played an active role in the Harlem events of 1943 could have explained precisely why, but the social reason was clear: This was their way of expressing resentment against the continuation of Jim Crow at a time when Negroes were being drafted on a segregated basis to fight in "a war for democracy." It is something like that with the students too.

Why do they attach so much importance to their dances and commencement exercises? Because they feel that for most of them, these are the last "free" and pleasant days of their lives, that in a few months they will be graduated and have to take up the hard and insecure lot of a worker.

They don't suffer from the same illusions as pre-depression students about the "unlimited opportunities" awaiting them after graduation. They know that it is hard, and getting ever harder, for young people to find a decent job. They know that some of them are going to be conscripted, and that all of them may soon be engulfed in a new world war that may spell the end of civilization. In short, it is an awareness of their social problems (even though unexpressed in those terms), a realization of the uncertainties of post-graduate life in the era of the H-Bomb, that strengthens them in the determination not to be

The Source of Their Proletarian Methods

Instead of being inspired and led by radicals, the New York strike was organized around the schoolroom unit, in some cases around the sports unit. The recognized leaders in these spheres, especially in the senior classes, supplied the initiative and direction. The idea seems to have originated in the vocational and technical high schools—that is, among the children of workers who were being trained to be workers, which helps to explain a great deal about the character of the subsequent events.

First they decided to stop the other students from entering school in the morning and to hold demonstrations in the front of the schools. Word of this spread to other schools, and the same happened there. In one school the principal addressed the demonstrators, informing them that he did not have the power to settle their grievances and urging them to sign some petitions, mail them to the mayor and return to class.

But some of the student leaders, showing a wisdom about petitions that many adults lack, suggested it might be better to march or ride down to City Hall and tell the mayor in person what was bothering them. Within a day their example was being followed all over the city. The treatment they received at City Hall shocked and exasperated them so much that they kept trying it over and over until the end of the week.

The most revealing thing about their protest,

A Sign of Continuing Mass Radicalization

The mass struggles of the Thirties made a deep and lasting impression on other sections of the population. The militancy and working class methods of these struggles were reproduced in the March-On-Washington Movement of 1941, the GI demonstrations of 1945-46, the telephone strike of 1947, involving sections of the white-collar workers who used to be regarded as "middle class" and dismissed as "unorganizable." They also represented living proof that the process of mass radicalization was taking place beneath the surface.

And now in the New York student strike we have the latest evidence that that process, preparing the way for the abolition of capitalism, is still making headway despite the sweep of reaction that has served to somewhat obscure the over-all development for the last three or four years.

There was good reason, therefore, for the concern expressed by the capitalist authorities and papers. For in one swift stroke the strike revealed how deeply rooted is the discontent which capitalist rule is generating, even at the pinnacle of its "prosperity," and the rebelliousness which important sections of the population are capable of displaying. That this spirit should manifest itself among the youth is indeed an ill omen for the capitalists. For if they can't deceive teenagers and keep them in line at home, how can

To begin with, there is absolutely no reason why we should not accept the explanations of the students themselves: 1. They think their teachers should have an adequate wage. 2. And more important to them, they don't want to be deprived of the extra-curricular activities that were discontinued after the teachers decided not to conduct them on their own after-school time.

A visitor from Europe expressed bewilderment to this writer about the second demand. He could not understand how it could give rise to so turbulent a movement, and wondered if perhaps it was a "case of schoolboy idealism." But anyone who has gone to public school here during the last 20 or 30 years should not find it so hard to understand. The after-school athletic activities, commencement exercises, annual proms, boat races, concerts, trips to museums, senior day dances and so on are and traditionally have been high points in the lives of high school students. Some of the newspapers printed letters from students describing themselves as "broken-hearted." "If you can't remember when you were a high school student, let me remind you that the things which you may consider trivial mean a great deal to us," wrote one girl. "We want a commencement, a prom and all the other activities that the last term of high school should bring."

deprived of any of the schoolday pleasures which they had been banking on and to which they feel themselves entitled.

O'Dwyer, his school superintendent and Board of Education president tried to incite the students against their teachers, to persuade them it was the teachers' fault that extra-curricular activities were curtailed. Isn't it significant they did not fall for this? Doesn't it indicate a high level of social awareness on their part, flowing from their understanding (or intuition) that in a short while they too will be wage-earners (or trying to be like their teachers)? Their protest is a way of saying: "Before long I will be working for a living like these teachers; why shouldn't they have decent wages such as I want?" The dog-eat-dog spirit with which the capitalists try to inoculate their wage slaves doesn't seem to have infected these students.

Despite O'Dwyer's lies, this was a really spontaneous movement. That doesn't mean that it didn't have its leaders once it got under way, or that it wholly lacked organization. But it was unlike the student strikes of the Thirties in more ways than one: Those earlier strikes were organized and led by radicals, around explicitly political slogans (against war, etc.); they centered mainly in the colleges; and while they sometimes got considerable support from the student body, they never achieved the breadth and depth of last week's high school strike.

however, was that the students resorted to traditionally proletarian methods for carrying it out: student strikes; picket lines to keep the student body together and outside before school began; mass meetings, speeches, resolutions and petitions; parades, marches and central demonstrations at City Hall and Foley Square; slogan shouting and chanting; placards, often painted with lipstick; audacious and defiant behavior in the face of police brutality; an attempted sit-down on the steps of City Hall. And when the cops mauled them around, some did not hesitate to use defensive measures against the cops—hurling books, apples, oranges, and so on.

Capitalist war and depression, and the class struggles induced and sharpened by them, have wrought a wondrous transformation in the thinking, habits and consciousness of the American working class during the last decade and a half. James P. Cannon brilliantly described, analyzed and explained this change in his speech to the 1946 convention of the Socialist Workers Party (printed in the pamphlet, *The Coming American Revolution*, Pioneer Publishers). As compared with workers in other countries, the American workers are still politically backward, lacking a political party of their own; but in union consciousness, in union loyalty, in militancy when it comes to defending their own living standards, no one surpasses them anywhere.

they possibly have success in their schemes to dominate the whole world?

The labor leaders have reason to be perturbed too. For it was manifestly their duty to come to the aid of the underpaid teachers; they did not do so because of their subservience to the capitalist politician O'Dwyer, whom they apologized for, lied about and helped to elect just last year. The action of the students exposed and underscored how miserably and abjectly the labor leaders had failed in their duty; the contrast between the schoolchildren and the labor "statesmen" will certainly not be lost on all the rank and file members of the unions.

Revolutionary socialists alone are neither mystified, frightened nor repelled by the implications of the student strike. On the contrary, we welcome the mass action of the students, hail it and defend it against all its enemies and traitors. For it is only by mass action, extended to the political field and based on a sound political program, that the American working class and its allies among the rest of the population will be able to solve their problems and fulfill their aspirations. For us the student strike is added proof that the capitalist system is constantly replenishing the supply of those who will dig its grave. Let us hasten the day by intensifying our efforts to introduce to the younger generation the socialist program which will bring confidence, direction and success to their efforts.

More Married Than Single Women Workers

According to statistics disclosed by Roy Reel, director of the Commerce Department's Bureau of the Census, there has been a marked shift in the relation between the number of married and single women in the labor force since the beginning of World War II.

There are today 8,700,000 married women working as against 5,700,000 single women. This constitutes a drastic reversal of the pre-war pattern.

New York Street Scene



A mounted policeman rides into a crowd of New York high school students as they demonstrate outside City Hall for teachers' wage raises that will permit resumption of extra-curricular student activities. An estimated 40,000 students participated in rallies despite the brutal pushing around they got from the police.

THOUSANDS IN PROTEST AT WAYNE UNIVERSITY

DETROIT, April 30 — Denied the use of Wayne University for a meeting, and refused at the last minute a church previously promised, several thousand students engaged last week in a mass demonstration the like of which has not been seen here for many years.

One of the largest civil rights rallies in Detroit's history, it was called only four hours earlier by leaflet, and reflected the growing indignation against the Wayne administration's denial of elementary democratic rights to political speakers.

DEFY OFFICIALS

Milling around the Student Center, the Science Building and structures in the campus vicinity, leaning out of windows, standing on rooftops, on university property, on sidewalks and tying up traffic in the streets—the students defied the school officials and voiced their right to hear speakers of their own choice.

So large an assembly could not be easily dispersed by the police or the "Gas House Gang"—the fascist-minded school hoodlums.

Unions Take Ads In Jim Kutcher Souvenir Booklet

NEW YORK—The New York chapter of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee reports that close to \$1,000 has been contributed by labor organizations and individual supporters for space in the Kutcher Souvenir Journal which will be published in connection with the Benefit Dance and Entertainment to be held on June 16.

James Kutcher, who lost both legs in the recent war, has filed suit in Washington to compel his reinstatement to the VA job he held until he was discharged as "subversive" for holding membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

A number of important AFL unions have recently joined the long list of labor organizations to aid in forwarding the work of the Kutcher Committee. Last week the committee received a \$100 contribution from the office of David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

In addition, the New York Joint Board of the ILGWU has informed the committee of their endorsement and their decision to make a contribution of \$100 for legal expenses.

The United Hebrew Trades, also affiliated with the AFL, has gone on record in support of Kutcher's fight for reinstatement.

HOW TO HELP

The New York chapter intends to concentrate in this next period on raising its quota in the fund drive for court expenses. With six weeks to go before the Benefit Dance, the committee hopes to double the amount of contributions to the Souvenir Journal.

Those who wish to help should get in touch with the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, 19 West 10th St., New York City.

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N.Y. Students Got A Real Education

By Albert Parker

New York high school students were given a real education last week. It was a short course but an intensive and unforgettable one that will undoubtedly better equip them for the realities of post-graduate life than anything provided in the regular classes.

Before last week's experience

they had already learned that the acts of the government have a direct effect on their own lives and conditions. They knew that the O'Dwyer administration's refusal to grant decent wages to the teachers was the reason why the students' cherished extra-curricular social, athletic and cultural activities had been curtailed.

Having been taught in school that this is a democracy in which people have the right and duty to present their grievances, they decided to put into practice some of the principles they had heard praised by their teachers. When they set out to do this, however, they were given some new lessons in the nature of the capitalist state.

NATURE OF THE STATE

They had been told that the state is an impartial body dispensing justice in the interests of the people as a whole. But when this doctrine was put to a test, it didn't work out as expected. Instead, they were given convincing proof that the state, as revolutionary socialists have pointed out since Marx, is the executive committee of the ruling class, having at its disposal a body of armed men who carry out the orders of the ruling minority.

Attempting to exercise the Bill of Rights—the rights of assembly, free speech and petition—they were confronted with cops who pushed them around, mauled them, spurred their horses at them, drove them off the streets, barred them from the subways, sprayed them with water, cursed them and generally treated them as if they were law-breakers and criminals.

ROLE OF "THE LAW"

On the first day of the demonstrations, the students were friendly to the cops, believing them to be guardians of the law. In addition to demands for wage raises for the teachers, they shouted: "And for the police too!" But when the cops got orders to get tough the next day, the students had their eyes opened wide and painfully.

So they changed their slogans accordingly. "They're 'the finest'—that money can buy!" they jeered, reflecting the realization that so many striking workers have had on the picket line—that

A Student Who Was "Awfully Timid and Tiny"

According to his mother, Roosevelt Lewis, 17-year old Brooklyn student at George Westinghouse Vocational High School, decided to go to a movie during the student strike. "But he's awfully timid and tiny," his mother explained. "He was called a sissy because he didn't want to go along to City Hall with the other boys. So he went." It was Roosevelt Lewis who was charged by the police with overturning a sedan in Foley Square during the student demonstrations.

"the law" is not impartial and that it never hesitates to violate its own statutes in the interests of the powers-that-be.

From their own experience, the students were shown that their democratic rights are not automatically recognized and preserved merely because the Bill of Rights is kept "on the books," to use the phrase employed by Truman the night before the demonstrations began. As countless workers, Negroes and victims of the current witch-hunt have learned the hard way, it was demonstrated to them that vigilant, constant and militant action by the people themselves is needed to enforce the freedoms proclaimed in the Bill of Rights.

LESSON ON REDBAITING

Also provided for the education of the students was a test-tube lesson in the nature, aims and mechanics of that widely used political technique for combatting popular causes—redbaiting. Instead of meeting with the students and receiving their petitions, O'Dwyer not only barricaded City Hall and his home with cops but issued a demand for a probe to uncover the "subversives" who had allegedly "fomented" the demonstrations.

It was a pure case of the police mind at work. He just couldn't believe that the students have enough intelligence and initiative to act on their own in a matter that intimately concerns them. The idea that he himself was the chief "fomentor"—by denying adequate wages for the teachers and refusing to meet the students—this probably never occurred to the Democratic machine politician in City Hall.

At any rate, he quickly seized on redbaiting as the best cover for himself and the most expedient means for diverting attention from the real issues. (In this respect, of course, he was only imitating his colleagues in the White House, Congress and State Department, who do the same thing on a national and global scale.)

The next time many of these youth read or hear about people or organizations that are labeled and condemned as "subversive," they are going to think it over at least twice and will take care not to jump to conclusions. For they were given an unmistakable dose of the same poison, and will be able to figure out its reactionary purpose and consequences.

POLITICS AND PRESS

These were only a few of the lessons that the students could draw from last week's events. There were many others: They were able to get a glimpse of the corrupt and double-dealing nature of capitalist politics, which many of them will remember in postgraduate life.

The articles in the press about their protest illustrated the bias and hostility of most of the newspapers toward progressive

Redbaited as Well as Mauled

O'Dwyer wasn't the only one who tried to smear the student strike by redbaiting. Superintendent of Schools Jansen, for example, got hysterical over a leaflet pledging solidarity with the striking students that was issued by the International Socialist Youth (youth branch of the Socialist Workers Party). Jansen waved it wildly as "evidence" of the "subversive" character of the strike.

A high judicial official also threw in his two cents of smear. Speaking against the "shameful disorders," Federal Judge John Clark Knox said, "It is disheartening to think of the joy that the photographs of yesterday's riots will bring to the inmates of the Kremlin." And it wasn't the mayor's arrogance or the cops' brutality in pushing school-children around that he was speaking against—but the teen-age targets of that arrogance and brutality.

struggles, and should teach them to guard against believing something merely "because it is in the papers."

Their demonstration did not force O'Dwyer to increase his insulting wage "offer" at this time, but it will undoubtedly prove to have a decisive effect on the continuation of the teachers' wage fight; and as this fact sinks in, they will be confirmed in their instinctive understanding that mass action is the most effective method for voicing and publicizing grievances.

And finally, the fact that the demonstration was disapproved and even condemned by the "official" student organizations will surely convince many militant students not that their own action was wrong but that they need new leaders and new organizations that will truly express their needs and interests.

SET SPLENDID EXAMPLE

Toward the end of the demonstrations, the N. Y. Post editorially expressed regret that the whole affair had "scarred a lot of young minds." At bottom, this was a regret that it had exposed a lot of lies about the true nature of capitalist democracy which both liberal and reactionary defenders of the capitalist system strive to perpetuate.

In our opinion, it would be a good thing if a lot more people were "scarred" in the same way and if more people—especially adults—would conduct themselves with the same courage, independence and militancy that were exhibited by the New York boys and girls who went into battle for a righteous cause, armed only with schoolbooks, lunches and an ardent, instinctive belief in the necessity and possibility of achieving justice.

Filipinos -- Still Colonial Slaves

(Continued from page 1)

supporting posts resting in the slime of the noisome Pasig River. Great slum areas cover the districts of Tondo, Ermita, Binondo, Malate and Singalong. Here you encounter unpaved streets devoid of sidewalks, with open ditches and stagnant pools serving for sewage disposal. Houses are flimsy, dilapidated shacks, mostly without electric light, much less indoor plumbing. Flies buzz in black hordes, carrying sickness and death. When it rains, the streets become veritable quagmires. Over everything hangs a nauseating miasma.

That's Manila as I saw it on the eve of the Pacific war. And that's how it is today, according to recent horrific exposures in the Philippine press. Yes, American imperialism did a great job in Manila. It made life much more comfortable for its own agents and its Filipino stooges and partners and was so proud of the job that it even christened the city "Pearl of the Orient."

There are only two other cities of any size, Cebu on the Island of the same name and Iloilo on the island of Panay. Here conditions are as bad as in Manila. And except for slight touches of modernism added by American business, they

look as they did more than half a century ago when the Spanish exploiters sat on their shaded verandas and counted over the shekels, brought in by the plantation crops.

VILLAGE CONDITIONS

These are the cities. But go out to the barrios (villages) and you will encounter in more widespread fashion the blight of imperialism and landlordism. Barrio homes are just aggregations of miserable nipa huts huddled around a plaza. Narrow unpaved alleysways pass for streets. There's no modern sanitary system. Kerosene lamps and the arching tropical moon furnish the only illumination by night. Filth and stink everywhere. Disease. Lack of doctors and nurses. High infant mortality rate. Short life expectancy. Poor or non-existent educational facilities. High rate of illiteracy. Dismal, blighting poverty.

In recent years things have grown worse, if worse they could be. War with its destruction and chaos disrupted the already weak fabric of the economy and, deepened the miseries of the people. Today all the elements of acute economic and social crisis are present. Falling exports to contracting markets have caused a

chronic deficit in foreign trade, and a consequent drain of foreign currency reserves which are now down to the danger point. This has undermined the peso.

If not for the fact that the peso is firmly pegged to the U.S. dollar, a runaway inflation similar to that seen in China in the last days of the Kuomintang regime would long since have set in. Losing confidence in the peso, the people early this year started hoarding silver. Subsidiary coinage virtually disappeared from circulation and brought on a paralysis of retail trade.

FIERCE REPRESSION

With the growth and deepening of poverty the government tax collections, on the federal, provincial and barrio levels, have dropped catastrophically. While government officials, high and low, graft and thief, and corruption has burst into public scandal, thousands of school teachers go unpaid. Wallowing in a sea of misery, the exploiters, native and foreign, live their accustomed lives of comfort and luxury.

With discontent blazing into civil war, the government knows only repression. Police stage nocturnal raids on homes and small

shops in Manila in search of silver hoarders. Uniformed gangsters descend on the barrios to drag defaulting taxpayers to jail. "Subversives" are hunted down. And in case the Quirino clique should prove unable to handle the situation, the U.S. Army is kept lurking in the background.

Between the Filipino people and victory in their fight for long-overdue social change, there stands but one effective force—American imperialism. The Filipino ruling class and its government are but a tiny clique with no real forces of their own. If not for the weapons flowing from U.S. arsenals to the colonial puppets in Manila, the people would quickly vanquish the hated hacendados, overthrow the Quirino government and take the destiny of the Philippines into their own hands.

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