

Cominform Rages As Yugoslavs Welcome Visitors

The Kremlin has been thrown into a frenzy by the Tito government's invitation to unionists, students and liberals of all countries to visit Yugoslavia and "see for themselves" what kind of conditions and regime exist there.

Hundreds have already visited Yugoslavia and brought back reports completely refuting the lies and slanders poured out by Moscow. Several thousand workers and students, many of them in organized "brigades," plan to take advantage of the invitation this summer.

This response to Tito's invitation has evoked a rabid outburst from Stalin's Cominform sheet, *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*. Its June 2 issue features an article that labels Yugoslavia's invitation the "Foul Propaganda Tricks Of Fascist Tito Clique."

Stalin's gangsters of the pen make it abundantly clear that they are as dead set against anyone finding out the truth about Yugo-

slavia as they are against anyone visiting inside the Kremlin-dominated countries to find out the truth about Stalin's "People's Democracy."

FRENZIED CHARGES

By inviting excursions of workers and students to Yugoslavia from France, England, the United States and other countries, says the Cominform rag, Tito "follows the footsteps of Hitler." Hitler, it says, "at one time" also arranged for "excursions" of "simple minded people" to "deceive world public opinion."

Hitler never invited trade unionists, liberals, Socialists, Trotskyists and yes—Stalinist workers—to visit, as Tito does. Hitler did invite capitalists and avowed reactionaries of all stripes. But the Kremlin never conducted a campaign against tourists to Nazi Germany such as it is waging to prevent visitors to Yugoslavia.

As a matter of fact, the biggest group of "tourists" to visit Nazi Germany were the Kremlin's military officials, diplomats and trade agents who trooped into Germany between Sept. 1939 and June 1941 during the Stalin-Hitler Pact.

"AMERICAN IDLERS"

The Cominform article raves about "the young American idlers, leading a dissipated life in Europe" who recently visited Yugoslavia. These "dissipated idlers," we learn from the June 9 Yugoslav *For the People*, included "Mr. Michael Milane, Headmaster of the College of Camden, U.S.A., who, accompanied by a party of his senior pupils, is on a tour of the countries of Europe. Mr. Milane is a member of the Central Committee of Henry Wallace's Progressive Party, and Chairman of the Progressive Party Committee for the State of Maine."

It is not "idlers," but people who have been working with the Stalinists and Communist Party members whom the Cominform most fears to see visiting Yugoslavia. It warns them that all who accept Tito's invitation to "see for themselves" become "accomplices of the butchers of the people of Yugoslavia." But "butchers of the people" don't invite labor and liberal spectators; they keep independent observers excluded by every means, as in Eastern Europe.

Stalin's agents are not limiting themselves to literary hoodlumism to halt the stream of visitors to Yugoslavia. They are also resorting to physical hoodlumism, as our report from Paris, printed below, reveals.

PARIS BRIGADE RALLY BEATS OFF CP ASSAULT

By an American in Paris

PARIS, June 10 — Last night I attended a public meeting called by the national committee to initiate the sending of youth brigades to Yugoslavia. I had been told it would be interesting and educational. It certainly was!

I arrived at the Salle de Savants at 8:30, at which time the meeting was to begin. A few dozen police were in sight, and more than 400 Stalinists were massing at the entrance. I found myself among them. They tried to force the entrance to the hall and the battle was joined. The Stalinists could not force their way in. They took to chanting in unison "Tito is an assassin," intending to disrupt the meeting with this noisy slogan.

Not wishing to be mistaken for a Stalinist, I pried my way out to the street.

DISRUPTERS DEPART

The police outside, hearing the racket and glass breaking, and seeing bloody and wounded Stalinists making their exit to the street, charged at the Stalinists, who without much zest for their dirty jobs, melted away quickly. Very few Stalinists were touched by the batons, yet they ran. No picket line would give like that.

I crossed again to the hall, and found the entrance barricaded by a pile of benches and chairs some ten feet high. One of the guards recognized me, and allowed me to

clamber over the barricade and into the hall.

Beside me stood two young workers pleading to be let in, but as they had no reference, the guard excused himself by saying: "Sorry, this is war, friends."

Inside the meeting was proceeding. The audience was sitting and standing, listening with determination and excitement, most of the young men clutching improvised weapons, which remained in their hands throughout the meeting. Many were bruised and blood-stained, but happy: The Stalinists had made several public appeals and exhorted all their party members to join this struggle, but they had not been able to break up this meeting!

CP DEFECTIONS

The height of enthusiasm was reached when the guard atop the mountain of chairs interrupted the speaker and called lustily to the audience:

"There are three Stalinists here and they ask permission to attend the meeting. What do you say?" A tremendous "Aye" boomed forth, and the three young Stalinists were greeted with a tremendous ovation as they made their way across the barricade. Someone cried out, "At last, comrades, you have come!" And the ovation was doubled.

One of the Stalinists was given the floor to speak his mind, and the contrast with the action of the Stalinists outside made a remarkable impression.

This was a very real gauge of the prostration of the Stalinist cadres and the growing strength and popularity of the revolutionary vanguard.

Workers of the World, Unite!

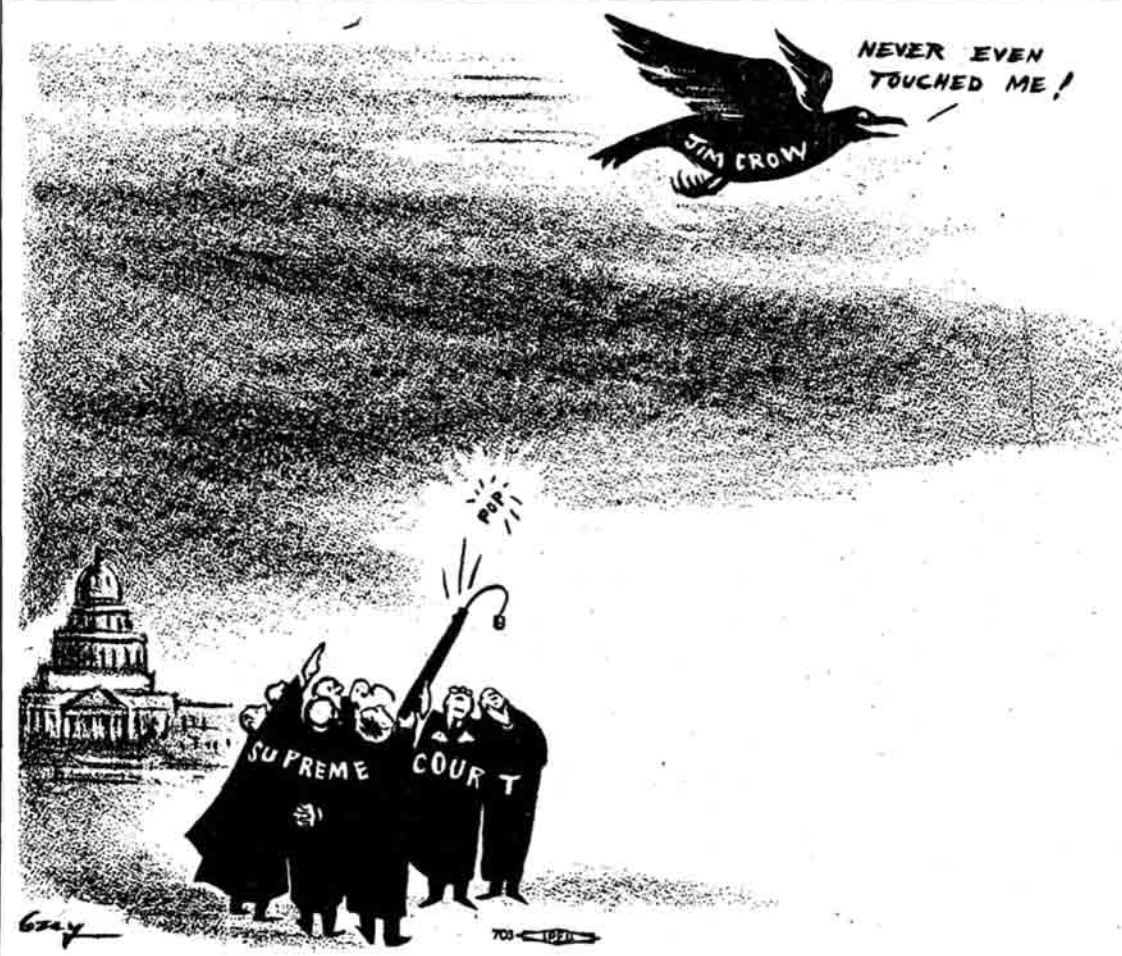
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Rent Control Sentenced To Death--After Election

Their positions on extension of federal rent control pretty well sum up the difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties. The Republicans say controls must end with expiration of the present law on this June 30. The Democrats say, "No. Wait until after the November elections — and then let's end controls!"

The Democratic majority in the Senate on June 12 voted to extend rent control only until Jan. 1, 1951, giving local communities the option of a further local extension for another six months if they asked for it before the end of the present year. A slightly different version of this bill was passed a day later by the House. It would extend rent control until Feb. 1, 1951, and give local communities that seek it an optional extension for only five months.

DIFFER ON TIMING

Both parties are out to kill federal rent control as quickly as possible and throw millions of tenants on the mercy of the rapacious landlords. They differ just a few months on timing. The Democrats feel that it's politically inexpedient for them to reveal their hand on rent control before the votes are counted in next November's congressional elections.

Up until a few weeks ago, it was generally expected that the Democrats were ready to let the Rent Control Act die by offering little more than token resistance to the Republicans who were taking the offensive for removal of all controls with the expiration of the present Act.

However, political developments in four or five states where the Democrats count heavily on support of working class tenants recently raised Democratic fears that they were losing ground with

the electorate. They concluded that it would be smarter to put the knife to the tenants after the election.

Reporting on the agreement of the majority of Senate Democrats to push for a six-month extension so as to allow rent control to expire only after the election, June 12 N. Y. Times disclosed: "At a Democratic conference last week the issue was put to party members boldly as this: pass the bill or run the risk of losing four or five Northern Senate seats in the fall election, which could mean the loss of the Senate. It was reported that half a dozen votes from the South were picked up in this way."

8 Unions Respect Guild Picket-Line In Solid N. Y. World-Telegram Strike

By Fred Newman

NEW YORK, June 14 — Publication of the New York *World-Telegram and Sun*, with a daily circulation of over 600,000, ceased yesterday when a strike was called by the New York Newspaper Guild, CIO.

After three months of fruitless negotiation, the Guild threw a picket line of 400 around the plant at 5:30 A. M. which swelled to 750 by 9 A. M. This is the Guild's first major strike in New York City in 13 years.

The Guild has 400 members of the 540 workers in the editorial, business and maintenance departments of the newspaper. Their demands are: a one-year contract; 9 out of every 10 editorial and business employees to be members of the Guild; 10% general increase or an increase in minimums from \$4 to \$10 a week to bring the top scale to \$120 a week; one hour's extra pay for night workers; arbitration of any lay-offs ascribed to economy, and improved job security clauses.

The outstanding aspect of the strike is the solid unity display-

ed by eight other unions, all AFL craft unions — five printing trades unions, drivers, electricians and machinists. Just a week ago, leaders of these unions made an agreement of mutual assistance, each agreeing to respect the picket lines of the others.

When the mass picket line was thrown around the "Telly" building and three auxiliary plants, the leaders of these AFL unions refused to "endanger the health of members" by telling them to pass through the lines. They said, "the health of our members is more important than their jobs."

The eight supporting unions are planning, at the end of the strike, to sue the *World-Telegram and Sun* for lost time. They contend they have been locked out, since they were not laid off and are losing wages through no fault of their own.

Why GM Locals Ratified Pact They Didn't Like

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, June 9 — General Motors workers have concluded the formality of ratifying the new five-year contract. In spite of prevailing dissatisfaction with the pact, fear of repeating the experience of the 100-day Chrysler strike and its meager concessions made it virtually certain that the GM ranks would not reject the agreement.

Almost all the CIO United Auto Workers local leaders who had fought against the contract in the national GM conference recommended its acceptance in their locals after warning the members of the serious pitfalls in the agreement. These officers felt that it would take time for the membership to understand the full consequences of the pact and that the main fight had been waged in Detroit.

Nevertheless a number of locals rejected the contract. They represented a small portion of the GM membership. But one cannot conclude from this that there was general acceptance of Reuther's agreement. The true picture was seen at the national conference where a forthright fight was made and a fourth of the delegates voted for rejection.

WHY THEY ACCEPTED

The willingness of the GM workers to accept this contract flowed from their insecurity, their general fear that a long strike would prevent them from meeting the payments on the cars, electrical appliances and homes that they, like so many other Americans, have contracted to buy on credit. After the debacle of the Chrysler strike with its chicken-feed concessions, GM workers were naturally reluctant to undertake a strike that might wind up in the same fashion, given the same leadership.

At the present time, when employment is high in auto, the bureaucracy was able to impose a five-year contract by shrewdly exploiting this fear of the workers. But when the boom has turned to bust, these same workers will be banging on the union doors demanding a solution to the problems brought about by layoffs and part-time work. These same GM workers who feared a long strike will demand positive actions when unemployment and (Continued on page 2)

SWP Election Convention to Be Broadcast

Key Speeches to Go on Air Over Nation-Wide Hookups

NEW YORK, June 15 — Key speeches by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party at its National Legislative Convention, to be held here July 14, 15 and 16, will be broadcast over at least two na-

tion-wide radio networks, the SWP National Office announced today.

The convention has been called to discuss and adopt the party's national platform for the congressional and state election campaigns which the SWP has already launched in a number of states.

Coast-to-coast radio facilities have been made available by the Columbia Broadcasting System and the American Broadcasting Company as a public service. The SWP is negotiating for similar arrangements with the other major networks.

The SWP convention proceedings will be heard over the ABC chain on Saturday, July 15, from 4 to 4:15 P. M., Eastern Daylight Time. CBS will broadcast convention talks on Monday, July 17, from 11:45 P. M. to 12 Midnight, EDT.

Announcement of those who will speak on the broadcasts will be made soon. It is expected that one of the speakers will be Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Chairman and the party's presidential candidate in 1948.

CONVENTION PLANS

Among the delegates and participants at the convention will be SWP candidates for Congress and state offices from Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and other key states.

The convention is expected to draft a National Election Platform stressing the fight for a Workers and Farmers Government and socialism as the only answer to capitalist war, depression, dictatorship and racial oppression. Through the campaign to be launched at the convention, the party intends to bring the message of socialism to millions during the vital election race this summer and fall.

PROGRAM STRENGTHENED

Recent events on the national and international scene have strengthened the party's belief that its socialist program will receive a wide and sympathetic hearing if it conducts a vigorous campaign, as it is planning to do.

Capitalism holds out no hope whatever of peace. Truman and Acheson have made plain that arms spending and war prepara-

Organize Groups To Hear Program Of SWP on Radio

Now is the time to start organizing listening parties for the speeches that will be broadcast from the SWP convention next month. Remember the times:

ABC NETWORK
Saturday, July 15
4-4:15 P.M. (EDT)
CBS NETWORK
Monday, July 17
11:45-12 Midnight (EDT)

tions are going to be pushed at an ever greater pace.

BROKEN PROMISES

On the domestic front, the record of the Trumanites and the Democratic Congress since January 1949 has been one of broken promises and complete betrayal of those who voted Truman back into office in November 1948.

The recent shoddy maneuvers of the Democrats on FEPC and the Rent Control Bill have given further revelations of the reactionary nature of the Democratic leaders and shown them to be no different, in any important respects, than the avowedly reactionary Republicans.

In the forthcoming election campaign, the SWP will mobilize all its resources to bring its program of socialist emancipation to the American people and to solicit their support for the only party that has waged a consistent and uncompromising battle against capitalist war and exploitation.

Mt. Spring Camp Offers Attractive July 4 Weekend

Mountain Spring Camp, situated in the foothills of the Pocono Mountains near Washington, New Jersey, opened its summer season on June 10 with a large and enthusiastic group of campers taking full advantage of the improved vacation facilities.

Most popular feature with the guests at the camp was the swimming pond, now brimming over with fresh spring water pouring into the pond at the rate of 1,000 gallons per hour. The constant flow of spring water into the pond through a pipe line from the well makes swimming a refreshing experience at the Mountain Spring Camp. Warmed by the sun, the temperature of the water ranges between 65 and 75 degrees, which makes for ideal bathing and swimming.

ADDITIONAL IMPROVEMENTS

A sandy beach has been constructed and visitors at the camp opening spent many pleasant moments acquiring a sun tan on the beach at Mountain Spring.

Advance reservations for the long Fourth of July week-end are far in excess of previous years. A full program has been arranged including movies, games, fire works and special recreation features. To ensure accommodations, reservations for the Fourth of July week-end should be made immediately.

For further information and reservations, write to Mountain Spring Camp, RD 1, Washington, New Jersey.

Monopolies Open Drive for Atomic Control

By Art Preis

America's monopoly corporations have scented the possibility of super-profits from private control of the atomic energy industry. They have launched a campaign to take it over and exploit it for their own gain.

They fired the opening shot with a widely-publicized, sensational article by David E. Lilienthal, former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, in the June 17 *Collier's* magazine. It is titled, "Free the Atom."

Lilienthal presents a clever and adroit line of argument to support his thesis that the atomic energy industry should be "freed" from "government monopoly" and turned over to "free enterprise."

His arguments ignore, of course, the two most pertinent questions: (1) Why didn't "free enterprise" develop atomic energy in the first place and (2) how "free" would the atom be in

the hands of America's avaricious private industrial monopolies?

Lilienthal points out certain facts that are of utmost significance, regardless of his use of these facts to bolster his argument for "free enterprise" control of atomic energy.

As a man who knows the possibilities of atomic development as well or better than any other, Lilienthal asserts categorically that "the time for the first industrial application of atomic knowledge is overdue." Contrary to the official government propaganda that atomic energy use in industry is remote as a practical possibility, Lilienthal admits that it is not only practical but "overdue."

This "development of the industrial atom," he states, "can provide the setting for still another American miracle of industrial growth."

But it is an "inescapable fact" that "atomic knowledge in the hands of government will be in-

tensively and successfully developed only for military purposes."

The trouble is, he says, that "all the industrial materials . . . all the plants and facilities—running into several billions of dollars—are owned by Government Monopoly. . . . There is no private investment, no risk of loss nor chance of profit by any private individual or corporation."

It is true, of course, that this government will develop atomic energy only for mass murder. But it is not true that if only the private corporations got control of atomic energy for their own profit they would develop it into a new "American miracle of industrial growth."

First of all, private industry did not and could not have developed atomic energy, because it was incapable of doing so. Only the government had the enormous resources to finance this tremendous undertaking and the means to mobilize the scientists, engi-

neers and other technicians required for the task. The government was able to achieve this task in the space of five years.

The real utilization of atomic energy for industrial purposes would mean a complete revolution in productive technology. The whole industrial system would have to be remade. Would the private vested-interests agree to scrap their present investments in now-outmoded resources and facilities?

WANT ASSURED PROFITS

It took decades for private capital, fearfully cautious where there is the slightest risk involved, to develop the radio, automobile and motion pictures. These are mere gadgets compared to atomic energy. The big financiers and investors only permit industrial advances where they are assured in advance of immediate big profits.

If the private monopolies got their hands on the atomic energy

industry would they develop it for peacetime use any more than the present government monopoly?

They would use it where they could realize the biggest immediate profits—for war production. They would be able to milk more "cost-plus" profits out of the government than they can now when they operate the industry only under government contract and lease, but do not own it.

If the government were not a capitalist government preparing for imperialist war, if the money and organization expended on piling up atom bombs had been used instead for industrial development of atomic energy, we would already be witnessing the "American miracle" of which Lilienthal speaks.

What is necessary is not to switch the atomic energy industry from government ownership to private monopoly, but to change the government from a capitalist to a Workers and Farmers Government.

Coming Soon:

"Welfare State"
Or Socialism?

By Art Preis

A hard-hitting, educational series dealing with the main political problems facing the American workers in 1950.

European Notebook

Tragedy and Tragi-Comedy in Stalinist Hungary

By Ernest Germain

Some weeks ago the Hungarian Stalinist press raised a genuine cry of alarm about the attitude of the workers toward the regime. Szabad Nep, central organ of the Stalinist "Workers Party," publicly noted for the first time that in a steel mill "the workers threatened to quit work" if the management did not set standards enabling them to earn in eight hours what they formerly earned in 14 and 16 hours of work.

This sensational admission of a strike movement under the Stalinist dictatorship is confirmed by information received directly from Hungary. The movement took place in the Manfred Weiss factory, the largest concern in Hungarian industry, which plays the same role as the Renault factories in France or the General Motors plants in the United States. The reports further state that the strike movement was severely repressed and several hundred workers deported to the Soviet Union as a result of these events.

What was behind this sudden explosion of open resistance by the Hungarian workers against the Stalinist dictatorship? The editorial covering the entire front page of Szabad Nep on May 6 informs us about it in detail. The workers rose up against the system of "progressive increases in

the norms of labor," which combines the effects of the most savage capitalist speedup with those of a constant reduction in hourly wage rates.

As a result, the norms are steadily raised by adjustment to the output of "shock-workers" while the bulk of the workers are unable to fulfill the norm set and consequently see their wages fall below the average. To make their total daily wage, the workers are forced to prolong the working day and regularly put in three or four, or even more, extra hours.

EFFECTS OF SPEEDUP

These measures not only result in reducing the living standards of the working class at the very time when industrial production is in a considerable upswing; they also produce a state of fatigue and nervousness among the workers which greatly increases accidents at work and sickness. According to reports, the number of accidents in heavy industry almost doubled from 1948 to 1949.

The number of sick people absent from work is so high that at the end of last April the Stalinist party made an appeal to the doctors to engage in "socialist competition" to see who would certify the smallest number of workers as ill! This is merely an

extension into Hungary of a method applied last year in Czechoslovakia and for a long time in the Soviet Union.

The aforementioned editorial in Szabad Nep denounces the "enemies of the regime" who use "demagoguery about wages" to arouse opposition of the workers against the regime. But it is compelled to admit that what drives the workers to resistance is above all the objective situation created in the factories by the Stalinist dictatorship. "Life is sometimes (?) made intolerable for honest workers," writes Szabad Nep. "In certain factories people who do not exceed the norms are fired."

For this reason "loafing and chiseling on the job now manifest themselves on a wide scale." The Stalinist paper naturally forgets to add that the Stalinist bureaucrats around Mathias Rakosi began smashing the workers' movement by hunger and terror in 1945-47 before breaking the coalition with their capitalist allies so that all power in the industries subsequently nationalized would be concentrated in the hands of functionaries appointed by the government. It is these functionaries who "sometimes" institute a regime of terror against the workers, thus provoking a wave of working class resistance

which threatens to undermine the very foundations of the Stalinist regime in Hungary.

A PRESIDENT'S FATE

The fate of the Hungarian working class is truly tragic. On the other hand, the fate experienced at the beginning of the same month of May by the President of the Hungarian Republic, Arpad Szakasits, is tragi-comic. Within 24 hours Szakasits lost his presidential office, his deputy's seat, his (honorary) post as President of the Workers' Party, his house, his servants and his income. He has become transformed into an obscure citizen who runs the risk of dying soon in some "sanatorium" since his resignation has been officially attributed to "illness."

Arpad Szakasits is the leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party who, at the decisive moment, permitted the Stalinists to effect fusion between the SP and CP without difficulty, thus destroying the last independent workers' organization in Hungary. He had already played a prominent role in the Hungarian SP in prewar days. Together with Peyer, the leader of the extreme right wing of the Hungarian SP, today in exile, Szakasits made a deal with the dictator Horthy. According to this

deal, the Social Democratic paper could be published legally and the unions of industrial workers were legalized, in return for the reformist leadership's agreement not to tamper with the agrarian problem and not to organize the poor peasants and the agricultural laborers—the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian population.

Despite this atrocious treachery, denounced at the time by the world communist press, the Stalinist leaders around Rakosi who returned from Moscow in 1944 immediately went to work to utilize and corrupt Szakasits and actually succeeded in making him out to be a "leftist." In February 1948 they made him change his position on fusion between the SP and CP. Szakasits abruptly became a fervent champion of the very fusion he had fought in the preceding years. A few weeks later "action committees" set up in the SP held a conference which decided upon fusion after a regular party congress had reported a big majority of votes against merger with Stalinists. In reward for these good services, Szakasits received the post of President of the Republic from the Stalinist masters of Hungary.

But the old Social Democrat remained essentially what he had

always been—a petty reformist politician with some inconstant inclinations to poetry. During the Stalinist peace campaign, they entrusted him with speaking to the war veterans on the theme of peace. Didn't the administration function properly? Or did the Stalinist watchdogs get around to checking the text of his speech too late? In any case he set out to deliver a genuine declaration of pacifist faith, in the prettiest pre-World War I style of the Social Democracy, without mentioning the "American warmongers," without mentioning "the leading role of the Soviet Union in the powerful camp of the partisans of peace."

Punishment came immediately and hit him like lightning. Possibly it was not unrelated to the fact that two of his most intimate friends, Paul Justus and Zoltan Horvath, were involved in the Rajk affair, the former having been condemned to death at the time of the public trial, the latter to 15 years imprisonment at the end of April during a secret trial.

Such are the vicissitudes of ordinary workers and the highest dignitaries of the regime under the Stalinist dictatorship in Hungary.

SWP BRANCH IN FLINT REGAINS FIRST PLACE IN THE MILITANT FUND

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

Flint branch went over the top this week in the \$10,000 Militant Fund Campaign and hit 101% of its goal. The Flint comrades set the pace during the entire first part of the campaign but were nosed out last week by Pittsburgh.

Comrade Genora, Fund Campaign Manager for Flint, who just finished a two-week hospital stay, says: "Pittsburgh jumped ahead of us before I could get out of the hospital. But they had better put the ante if they want to keep first place. Here's \$23 to put us over the top and we'll round up some more dough just to make it interesting for that dark horse that slipped in ahead of us."

Pittsburgh did a bang-up job in fulfilling its \$150 quota last week and now these comrades are out to raise a fund for the Pennsylvania election campaign. Comrade El, organizer of Pittsburgh branch, writes: "Believe me, Comrade Carl has 'busted' all the buttons off his vest on the fund campaign this time. Without his having taken charge of the campaign, it would have been a very different story."

St. Paul-Minneapolis still hold third place with 69% of their \$750 quota. Grace Carlson of Minneapolis sent the following note with a \$40 payment: "We are rushing to get this in before the deadline. It always grieves us to read the same percentage in the Militant Fund story two weeks in succession."

New York Local moved into fourth place with a \$169 payment.

In addition to these top-bracket scorers, eight other branches upped their percentages this week.

Newark sent in \$14, boosting their percentage to 63.

Comrade Young of Buffalo branch sent in \$40 airmail, special delivery "in hopes it will be received for this week's score-board so we will be over the 60% mark."

A \$100 payment from San Francisco shot this branch five places up the score-board.

Chicago sent in \$26 this week, Youngstown \$65, Cleveland \$30.

Philadelphia increased from 33% to 52% with a \$57 payment. "We're starting to hit our stride now," says Comrade Alma.

A real gain was made by Seattle, from last place with 10% to 43%. Comrade Powers writes: "Don't lose hope, we'll have it all in—IN FULL AND ON TIME."

A number of contributions came in from friends and readers of The Militant, bringing the "General" quota up to 60%.

Two very old friends in Eastern Pennsylvania sent in \$5; a reader in Oregon who wishes to remain anonymous contributed \$2; B. A. of San Gabriel, Calif., renewed his Militant subscription for one year and sent \$8 for the fund; R. E. McK. of Chicago contributed \$5.

H. A. of Chicago writes that he is "well aware" that The Militant is not an ordinary paper, but that it is the one weekly in America that is wholeheartedly devoted to bringing an early close to this blood-drenched epoch of capitalism and opening up the new era of peace, plenty and progress that is possible under socialism. "After I am through reading The Militant I leave it in the street or the bus, and most of the time I see people pick it up and take it along with them. I appreciate very much the good work The Militant is doing, so enclosed you will find \$5."

The contributions this week indicate that the campaign is beginning to roll. Up to June 13, friends of The Militant and branches of the Socialist Workers Party contributed \$5,492, which is 55% of the national quota. Despite this excellent showing, however, the campaign is still 10% behind schedule. That means a concerted effort is needed by everyone to finish on schedule July 15. Let's get going!

Ranks' Needs Unheeded At ILGWU Convention

By Jack Lerman

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union celebrated its 50th anniversary with a "Golden Jubilee" convention in Atlantic City. The union's bureaucrats headed by President David Dubinsky, had reason to celebrate. But not the rank and file members.

In sharp contrast to the 1902 convention, which passed a resolution barring office-holders of the old-line capitalist parties from any convention of the union, the 50th year celebration was flooded with spokesmen for the cold war machine. Vice President Barkley, Secretary of Labor Tobin, Senator Lehman and others addressed the convention, hailing the "free enterprise system" and the Atlantic Pact.

The union leaders, who practice collaboration with the bosses, also collaborate with Wall Street's government. They send agents around Europe selling the Atlantic Pact with a union label and make pilgrimages to the Vatican. For these services they were praised by Tobin, who said their activities in Europe are "worth more than a division of striped pants diplomats."

How happy these bureaucrats feel—their position in the union assured, their relations with the employers "friendly," their praises sung in the capitalist press, their backs patted in Washington. But the rank and file workers have different sentiments.

WHAT MEMBERS FEEL

They see their wages going down. They see the speedup increasing. They see shorter work seasons. That is why the great majority of them don't feel in a celebration mood.

The General Executive Board's own report on the dress industry stated that wages have dropped from \$1.40 to \$1.37 an hour since 1948. Because some shops have had no wage decreases, this means that others got cuts of more than 3c an hour. In one plant known to this writer, the Pinto Sportswear Co. in Brooklyn, the employer cut the wages of over 200 operators on an average of \$10 a week just this year.

The convention approved a resolution calling for severance pay for workers when their shops go out of business. But in his report Dubinsky showed his willingness to extend the piecework and section-work system, which have resulted in making the garment in-

dusty one of the worst speedup industries in the country.

WRONG PROGRAM

Instead of mapping out a program to solve the problems worrying the ILGWU members, the convention voted against the 30-hour week and against genuine independent political action. Instead of preparing to fight the employers who are cutting away at wage and working conditions, the convention approved the removal of officers of Los Angeles locals for "being members or followers of the Communist Party" (although it rejected a proposal to change the constitution to bar CP members and sympathizers from union office).

The Communist Party, which was a great force in the union 25 years ago, has been cut to ribbons and has lost most of its following in the union today. This is the result of the Stalinist policy of dual unionism in the late '20s and early '30s, and of the zigzags and betrayals since then. In great part the Social Democratic leadership owes its present complete grip on the union to these false and stupid policies of the Stalinists.

The convention was used to slander the N. Y. Cloakmakers Strike of '26, which was led by the left wing and was hard fought for

26 weeks until it was sold out by the international leadership of Sigman and Dubinsky, who expelled whole locals of the union as well as elected officials. In the union-made movie, With These Hands, which was first shown at the convention, the cloakmakers strike is falsely referred to as a call to revolution by the CP.

PIONEERS' EXAMPLE

The pioneers of the ILGWU were immigrant workers—the man who had to carry his sewing machine on his back when he went looking for work, the woman who had to slave with her children all hours of the day and night making coats.

The ILGWU was built by such immigrant workers who engaged in many militant struggles against sweatshop conditions (Waistmakers general strike of 1908, Cloakmakers strike of 1910). For the most part the leadership and ideology of these workers were Socialist. Class-consciousness and class struggle, not class collaboration, guided them in their heroic battles to destroy the sweatshop and open shop system.

It is their fighting, self-sacrificing example that the ILGWU will have to return to today if it intends to protect the conditions of its members against speedup, wage cuts and a shortage of work.

Why GM Workers Ratified Pact

(Continued from Page 1)

reduced hours catch them in the mesh of credit obligations anyway. These workers will not idly wait for the five-year contract to run its course.

The new agreement is a great boon to GM's speedup production program. One of its big problems has been the number of older workers protected on their jobs by seniority provisions. Young men are needed for the speedup. In the pension program General Motors can retire workers at the age of 65 at the minimum cost of a cent an hour. But what is not widely known is that the company, starting Jan. 1, 1952, has an option to retire workers at the age of 60.

By this means a steady flow of young men to the production lines is assured. Without this, faster speedup would be far more difficult to put over. Thus GM is guaranteed that it will more than make up for the four cents an

hour it pays its workers for technological improvements.

Anticipating protests over speedup, the union bureaucracy guaranteed to cooperate in these "technological improvements," a more polite expression than speedup. Every militant knows that Paragraph 101, which deals with this, means that the leadership has no intention of protecting working standards. While the old contract gave little or no protection, the corporation moved with caution because it knew it had to meet the GM workers in negotiations each year.

THE SPEEDUP ISSUE

The new pact means that a serious fight against speed-up, if carried on within the context of the agreement, can only be sporadic, similar to guerrilla warfare. GM is highly decentralized. Almost every plant in the Chevrolet division is duplicated. The executives boast that this is one lesson they learned when the 1937 sitdown in Chevrolet motor division shut down all Chevrolet plants. A strike in one plant today could curtail production but not stop it entirely in a division.

GM workers can strike over production standards, but they must overcome two big obstacles. A successful strike must be large enough to effect a shutdown of production. And then, they must hurdle the infamous waiver clause that has been written into the contract. In this clause the union bureaucracy ceded to the corporation the right to bargain on any issue now foreseen or unforeseen for the next five years.

Under the waiver clause, a Chevrolet local can strike against an increase in production quotas

in the rod department one week, the pistons the next and the valves the third, but it cannot take any action looking toward the solution of the general problem of all three departments at the same time. The company is permitted to wage unremitting war against the local union on work standards, but the local union cannot receive the aid of the International during the next five years for a permanent solution to speedup.

After ten years of impotence in fighting this important issue, during which time Reuther has been in continuous leadership of the UAW's GM Department, the union finds itself in a position with a striking resemblance to that of the pre-1937 company-union Work Councils. At that time, when "bargaining committees" would complain of work standards and line speedup, the

'New Leader' on GM Pact—Acute Case of Stalinophobia

Stalinophobic delirium in its most acute form is displayed in the comments of the Social-Democratic New Leader on the General Motors five-year contract with the auto workers. Hailing the pact as evidence of the "stability" of U. S. capitalism, the New Leader advocates a similar "five-year truce" in coal, steel and rails" because it "may produce a purge of Soviet economists who have been predicting a post-war depression in America."

No matter to them how this speedup pact hurts American workers—so long as it might hurt the Stalinists!

Witch-Hunt Victim



Surrounded by friends and supporters, screen writer Dalton Trumbo prepares to board a Los Angeles train for New York. One of the Hollywood Ten, he has started a one-year prison term for refusing to answer questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee concerning his personal political opinions and affiliations.

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Newark	350	219	63
Buffalo	400	247	62
San Francisco	700	426	61
Lynn	50	30	60
Chicago	350	196	56
Youngstown	350	195	56
Philadelphia	300	157	52
West Virginia	25	13	52
Boston	175	84	48
Toledo	50	22	45
Cleveland	250	110	44
Connecticut	35	15	43
Milwaukee	150	64	43
Seattle	150	65	43
Los Angeles	1,300	521	40
Worcester	30	10	33
St. Louis	50	15	30
Akron	75	20	27
Oakland	100	25	25
Detroit	800	120	15
Allentown	40	5	12
General	695	420	60
Total through June 13	\$10,000	\$5,492	55

THE MILITANT ARMY



"Last Sunday, three of us — Paul, Bill K. and myself — decided to see what kind of a reception The Militant would get in a Yugoslav neighborhood," writes Winifred Nelson, Literature Agent of the St. Paul branch of the Socialist Workers Party. "So we took the 20 copies remaining of our bundle of the May 29 issue, which had very good material on the Yugoslav question, and drove out to South St. Paul."

"We spent about an hour and a half of concentrated work in the Serbo-Croatian community and sold 14 copies of The Militant, two six-month subscriptions and gave four papers away."

"We thought it was a very good experience — one that shows that The Militant certainly has something to offer workers new to politics, particularly that it has important news about Yugoslavia that the daily press does not carry."

"The greatest difficulty we encountered was language. Most of the turn-downs came from people who couldn't read English. Contrariwise, one of the men who took a sub made sure first that the paper was in English. He said his wife subscribed to a Serbian paper and that he couldn't read it."

Literature Agent Marj Deck of Los Angeles reports a brisk sale at a meeting of the Laborers' Union. Shirley D. and Ruth sold out 16 Militants and 26 pamphlets including The Struggle for Negro Equality. Build a Labor Party

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Now, The Coming American Revolution and The Socialist Workers Party — What It Is and What It Stands For.

The Oakland comrades sold 27 Militants at various trade union meetings and 16 on the campus of the University of California last month, according to Literature Agent Lillian Russell. A bundle of 250 Militants was "well received" by workers at the Dodge Plant.

We continue to get reports of exceedingly poor delivery of The Militant through the mails. Excessive delay and irregularity are the main complaints. Subscribers say that sometimes issues printed weeks apart are delivered within a day or so of each other. It seems that the Post Office is so gummed up by the "economy" measures entailed by Congress that you can't even count on the delay being consistent.

The Post Office snarl is drawing complaints from many business firms that find they have to switch to expensive telegrams and telephone calls for routine transactions. Their own government — the government of the richest and most powerful country on earth — can't even guarantee prompt delivery of a penny postcard. Yet these are the same people that boast about the "efficiency" of capitalism!

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BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 655 Main St., 2nd fl., Phone Madison 3900. Every afternoon except Sun.

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TROTSKY

"Disarmament is not a means against war, since, as the experience of Germany itself shows, episodic disarmament is only a stage on the road to new rearmament. The possibility of new and very rapid rearmament is inherent in modern industrial technique. 'General' disarmament, even if it could be realized, would only mean the strengthening of the military superiority of the more powerful industrial countries. 'Fifty percent disarmament' is not the road to complete disarmament but to absolute 100% rearmament. To present disarmament as 'the only means to prevent war' is to mislead the workers for the sake of a common front with petty-bourgeois pacifists."

—Leon Trotsky, War and the Fourth International, 1934.



LENIN

The Stalinist "Peace" Campaign

The Stalinists are whooping up another of their "peace" campaigns. They have drafted a two-point "World Peace Pledge" and announced they will seek five million signers to this pledge in the United States. It calls for "unconditional prohibition of the atomic weapon" with "strict international control" and vows to "regard as a war criminal that government which first uses the atomic weapon."

No doubt a lot of sincere people will sign this pledge to express their opposition to war. But they will be deluding themselves if they think that by doing so they are thereby helping to halt war.

There is no notion more misleading than "disarmament" as the way to prevent war. Arms are but the means for waging war, not its cause. If the cause for war did not exist, there would be no arms and armies in the first place.

That cause is, and has been for a long time, the capitalist drive for world markets, new fields for profitable capital investment, sources of raw materials and cheap labor. Truman might sign a thousand "disarmament" pacts with Stalin or anyone else — but that would not solve the inherent contradictions of the American profit system. It would not halt capitalism's compulsion to save itself from internal crisis and collapse by eliminating all rivals and competitors, grabbing all markets and controlling all economic resources, and forcing all peoples to pay tribute to Wall Street.

But what if Washington ignores the disarmament petitions? Will the Stalinists then drive for ten million signatures? The modern mass production system can provide enough wastepaper baskets to accommodate all the petitions the Stalinists can muster.

Besides, the imperialists themselves are not averse to "disarmament" talk, when they think it expedient. It helps them to pose as "peace-lovers" who are driven to war only because the "enemy" is an "aggressor" who refuses to agree to "real" "fool-proof" "unconditional prohibition" and "strict international control" of atomic and other war weapons. In the final analysis, pacifism is an aid to the imperialist war-makers, not a hindrance. It disorients the people, misleads them as to the true cause of imperialism war. When the pacifists' vapid schemes for "peace by petition" and "disarmament" collapse, they will have left as the bombs descend only the cold comfort of being able—but not out loud—to dub the "government which first uses the atomic weapon" as a "war criminal."

Accomplices of the war criminals are those, like the Stalinists, who spread pacifist illusions and disorient the real fight against war — the fight for international socialism that will end capitalist wars by ending capitalism.

GM President Praises "The Boys"

Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, on June 8 told the National Press Club in Washington why his corporation is so tickled with the five-year no-reopening contract signed by President Walter Reuther of the CIO United Automobile Workers.

That contract was hailed by Reuther as "revolutionary" because it allows for an annual four-cent an hour increase in wage rates for five years as an "improvement factor." Wilson described it merely as "unique."

What is particularly "unique" about the contract, Wilson explained, is that "both parties completely accept the principle of progress" in boosting output. Translated into their real meaning, Wilson's words reveal that Reuther and his lieutenants have agreed to help push the speed-up in GM in return for their 4-cent per hour "improvement factor." For this, said Wilson, "the boys deserve a lot of credit."

He explained more specifically why "the boys" deserve a "lot of credit." With that kind of cooperation from the UAW leaders, he said, "General Motors expects to exceed the average gains in productivity rate achieved by American industry in the last fifty years."

He pointed out that the annual wage rise of 4 cents an hour is 2½% of the average rate paid under the old contract.

Each additional 4-cents added annually will therefore be less than 2½% of the cumulative wage. But General Motors expects, with the cooperation of the Reutherite leaders, to get a lot more than a 2½% annual increase in man-hour output from the workers. Wilson explained:

"Many people think it (the 4-cent raise) was arrived at based on what we expect or can achieve in General Motors. That is not so. The 2½ per cent annual improvement factor is somewhat less than the nation's manufacturers have been able to achieve in the last fifty years. . . . Of course, we hope to do better ourselves."

Thus Wilson discloses the "improvement factor" will be "somewhat less" for workers' wages than for GM's production per man-hour in the next five years. How much less, he did not say. But there is talk that GM this year expects to clean up a net profit of a billion dollars, 55% higher than its world record take in 1949.

There is one "improvement factor" that Reuther's contract doesn't reckon with. General Motors, as Wilson shows, is going to produce the same or greater amount with fewer workers. This means that a lot of GM workers are going to be "improved" right out of their jobs. There's nothing "revolutionary" about that. Capitalism has been doing that for a long time — but not always with the open cooperation of union leaders.

Help The Militant Fund

With the government piling up the war debt and going in for deficit spending, the inflationary pressure continues and costs keep going up. This aggravates the financial problems of a working class paper like *The Militant*, which needs \$10,000 in addition to its regular income to be able to appear regularly every week for the rest of the year.

We don't like to follow the government's bad example and go in for deficit spending. Piling up debt is an unhealthy sign — in fact, it's one of the reasons we say capitalism is on the skids. Up to now we've been paying our obligations cash on the line and we want to continue.

We can't and won't do what the capitalist newspapers do when they need more money. We're not a "good risk" to the bankers and can't borrow. We're fighting the corporations tooth and nail, so we won't take advertising subsidies, even if we could get them.

We just have to depend, as in the past, on the support of the people — the work-

ers — who read *The Militant*, who like what it says and want to see its message continue to be published and circulated to an ever broader public. It is to the workers who make up the bulk of our readers that we must appeal for aid in raising the \$10,000 special fund.

The next few months are especially important because of the congressional election campaign. We want to use this period as a special opportunity to advance the ideas and program of socialism.

Most of the \$10,000 fund is being raised by the branches of the Socialist Workers Party through contributions of members and friends. But there are many readers, we are sure, who have not been approached through the SWP and who would like to contribute their share to help the only paper that speaks for international socialism.

We invite and urge you to send your contributions to the fund. The address is: *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

The Kremlin's Problems In the Asiatic Countries

By Michel Pablo

While Stalinism is declining in the capitalist countries of Europe and America, and in the buffer zone of Eastern Europe, it is undergoing a new upsurge in the Asiatic lands thanks above all to the impact of the victory in China and to its exploitation of the revolutionary tide still rising in the colonial areas.

The question is: To what extent can we identify the revolutionary movements of peasants and workers shaking the continent of Asia, even though led by the Communist Parties, with a pure and simple extension of Stalinism, i.e. with the control of the Kremlin bureaucracy?

Is the victory of Mao Tse-tung, for example, nothing but a victory for Stalinism?

Actually what counts in the present Asiatic situation is that certain Communist Parties, having assumed leadership of the mass anti-imperialist movements, have been lifted to power by these masses, without the intervention of the Red Army or Soviet aid as was the case in Eastern Europe (except for Yugoslavia). The taking of power by the Communist Parties, as leaders of powerful revolutionary mass movements, is a fact which will influence their further evolution as much as their relations with the Kremlin.

THEIR OWN BASE

These parties rest on their own base, won by hard struggle. They are rooted in the masses with whom they have scored a first victory over imperialism. Their leadership and their cadres, steel-ed in the armed popular struggle, cannot easily be assimilated with the ordinary type of Stalinist functionary, the vassalized bureaucrats heading the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries.

The course they have followed was, at least in part, imposed on them by the extraordinary conditions brought on by the war in Asia and its consequences, by the tremendous upsurge of the masses, by the crumbling of the positions held by imperialism and the native reactionary classes, that is, by a set of conditions which have in one way or another carried these Communist Parties further than they intended, and unquestionably much further than the Kremlin cared to see them go.

Swept along by the dynamics of the anti-imperialist revolution, these parties have experienced an entirely independent development, analogous to that of the Yugoslav CP, uncovering new ways of action and thinking through the needs of their own struggle, while becoming more and more aware of their own strength. This development is obvious in the case of the Chinese CP which, starting with 1940, seems to be following its own course on the levels of action and thought. It never aligns itself completely with the positions of the Kremlin, and is beginning to elaborate theory on the basis of its own experiences.

For example, neither the Chinese CP's conception of the "new democracy," on the level of political orientation, nor its conception of the armed partisan struggle on the military plane, can be considered mere mechanical transplantations of the Kremlin stand, but represent on the contrary the beginnings of the party's own thinking on these matters.

TWO INTERPRETATIONS

The victory in China is no longer interpreted the same way in Moscow as in Peking. While the Kremlin constantly stresses the decisive role played by the Soviet Union and "the great Stalin" who alone made possible the Chinese victory, Lu Chao-tzi, for example, honorary president of the Federation of Chinese Trade Unions, in a programmatic speech delivered to the trade union conference of Asia and Oceania, speaks only of "the road of Mao Tse-tung," which "should be taken by the peoples of the many colonial and semi-colonial countries in the struggle for national independence and a People's Democracy." He goes on to theorize about this road in four postulates derived from the Chinese experience, without once mentioning Stalin's name.

As to the relations now taking shape between the USSR and New China, a first hint is given by the recent Sino-Soviet treaty, concluded after two months of haggling in Moscow. The Kremlin is obliged to treat Mao Tse-tung as a partner and not as a satellite. Even where the secret clauses in the treaty prolong the economic exploitation of China by the USSR, the open conflict, which Moscow and Peking sought to avoid for the present by mutual concessions, will be unavoidable in the near future.

To achieve a modus vivendi with Mao's China in the Stalinist

world, the Kremlin will have to elevate Peking to the standing of a partner and co-leader in the movement it influences. But to do this, to have to do this, already opens the door for a differentiation within Stalinism, which up to now has been regarded as the monolithic and exclusive domination by the Soviet bureaucracy over all the Communist Parties.

CHINESE "TITOISM"?

Those who already speak of a possible Chinese "Titoism" are not wrong so far as the long-range consequences of a consolidation of Mao Tse-tung's regime are concerned. However, the mechanism of a Chinese "Titoism" cannot be the same as in Yugoslavia. If the analogies with the latter are striking and fundamental, the differences are no less substantial. As in Yugoslavia, the Communist Party in China is linked with a genuine mass revolutionary power which has brought it to power. There lies the fundamental similarity, the deepest source of any possible "Titoism" in all such cases. Nevertheless, the social forces unleashed by the Yugoslav movement and by the Chinese movement are different.

The Yugoslav CP has benefited much more from the Chinese CP from the homogeneity of the revolutionary movement which bore it to power. In Yugoslavia, the party contains a solid proletarian nucleus around which are grouped masses of poor peasant origin, as well as intellectuals of a fairly advanced and broad cultural and Marxist level. The movement it leads and on which it is based has proportionately somewhat the same composition, while the fundamentally hostile social layers are nearly non-existent.

In China, the proletarian nucleus in the party and the mass movement it heads is submerged in a mass of peasant, petty-bourgeois and even bourgeois elements — much vaster, more heterogeneous and vacillating. Moreover, the relation of the urban population to the peasant population, and of industry to agriculture, is more favorable in Yugoslavia than in China.

In Yugoslavia the bourgeoisie is practically wiped out and the cultural and economic level is

considerably higher than in China. In China, especially in the South, the bourgeoisie is still all powerful; especially in the economic sense, and the possibility for the immense peasant economy, still subject to conditions of capitalist exploitation, being economically dominated by the state sector, are still very remote.

That means there is a different alignment of social forces, and thereby also a different dynamic of development in Yugoslavia than in China. This must be kept in mind in any examination of the perspectives of evolution in China.

VIET NAM AND JAPAN

Besides, China, there is another country in Asia which merits special attention—Viet Nam, where the powerful revolutionary movement contains within itself possibilities of independent development. There was no lack of commentaries on Ho Chi Minh's recent action in asking and getting recognition from Tito, without Moscow's knowledge, but indirectly backed by the Chinese on whom he depends for the present.

As regards the Japanese Communist Party, which has undergone an important post-war growth, it would be well worth while not to forget the Nosaka incident and the way in which it was "settled." For the first time a Stalinist leader publicly attacked by the Cominform, agency of the Kremlin, was upheld subsequently by the whole Political Bureau of his party, was not expelled as a traitor. What is more, he retains his position in the leading party body (from which he again receives congratulations) by means of a very modified and cleverly phrased "self-criticism." On the contrary, it was K. Nakamishi, believed to be the author of the article appearing in the Cominform organ attacking Nosaka, who immediately took up the defense of the Cominform position in the Japanese CP, who was expelled as a provocateur.

At a further stage, the rotten compromise between the Kremlin and the Japanese CP can give way to an even more serious crisis.

(The fourth and final article in this series will be printed next week.)

BOLIVIA'S 2nd GENERAL STRIKE IN ONE YEAR

By J. Gomez

Another general strike took place in Bolivia last month. Close to 100 workers were killed and the blood of over 400 others was spilled by the puppet government of the feudal oligarchy and imperialist interests.

In contrast to last year's general strike, which was a political protest against the massacre of hundreds of striking tin miners, the present strike's origin was economic. Its beginning can be traced to the devaluation of the Bolivian currency which, for all practical purposes, had the effect of a 30% cut in the already low living standards of the Bolivian masses.

HOW STRIKE DEVELOPED

After all their pleas to the government to adjust their economic conditions had failed, the workers had to utilize the only means left at their disposal: the strike. The bank employees were the first to go out. The government not only declared their strike illegal but outlawed their union, and the workers were forced to return to their jobs without any benefit.

Following them, the Teachers Confederation went out on strike on May 15. This too was declared illegal and the government proclaimed a "general state of emergency" all over the country under the pretext that the strike movement was a political "plot" to overthrow the government. With the military forces thus given full power to break the strike, the General Confederation of Labor of Bolivia, after its appeals for the government to modify its barbaric attitude had gone unheeded, declared a general strike on May 16.

On the basis of the limited information so far available to us, it seems that the strike was broken again. The workers returned to their jobs in a disorganized manner, and now the government has ordered all the unions to hold elections in the month of July and eliminate from their leadership all the "Communist" and "nazi-fascist" elements, as they call the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement).

The feudal oligarchy of Bolivia has only one answer to movements or struggles against economic and political injustices — and that is to suppress them brutally as "communist" plots, etc. The main propaganda theme

Yugoslavia Today

By Vivienne Goonewardene

I: The Heritage of Backwardness

[The author recently visited Yugoslavia as a representative of the Ceylon trade union movement.]

The center of attention today in the world working class movement for socialism is Yugoslavia, and therefore the processes of development in Yugoslavia are very significant for the international revolutionary movement. Today there is a powerful blast of propaganda directed against Yugoslavia by the Kremlin apparatus and its Communist Party servitors all over the world. If the genuinely revolutionary forces do not rally to the defense of Yugoslavia, one of the greatest perspectives opened up for the world working class since the Russian Revolution of October 1917 will be choked out by the falsifiers and revisionists in the Kremlin.

Just as the action of the Yugoslav government in opening the frontiers to anyone who wishes to find out the truth about the happenings in Yugoslavia will give the lie to these distortions and slanders by the Soviet bureaucracy, the active solidarity of the working masses of every country with the Yugoslav masses who are building socialism will enable the revolutionary movement to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and march forward from the isolation it was reduced to by the Kremlin. A brief resume of pre-war and pre-revolutionary Yugoslavia will facilitate the understanding of the immensity of the tasks achieved by the workers and peasants of that country.

Yugoslavia was an agricultural colony of big industrial countries. Foreign capitalists raped Yugoslavia of her natural wealth, her raw materials. While she possessed all the basic raw materials she needed for the development of industry, her industry remained underdeveloped. Though she possessed agricultural raw materials enough to feed her population, her per capita income was almost the lowest in Europe. The poverty and low living standards of the masses resulted in a high rate of infant and maternal mortality (second only to backward eastern colonial countries) and a very low average life expectancy.

Economy Was Exploited by Foreign Capital

Foreign capital dominated Yugoslav economy in industry and banking, and exploited both the riches of the country and the sweat of the people. As some of the Yugoslavs told us: "We who possessed the largest resources of bauxite (second in the world) had to ship it away to foreign countries and were forced to buy back our own bauxite, processed into aluminum finished goods, at exorbitant prices." This was true about every sphere of economic life.

Industrial development was deliberately held back, the potential electrical energy of the country remained untapped, her oil undrilled, and agriculture, which occupied three-fourths of the population, was primitive and uneconomic. The big landowners did not capitalize agriculture as it was not profitable, and the peasants were crushed under a load of debts and mortgages, living in appalling conditions of backwardness and misery.

The Serbian bourgeoisie ruled the country by oppressing and exploiting the other nationalities. To add to the general degradation of life came the fascist invasion during the war, with the attendant plunder and devastation by the Bulgarians, Italians and Germans, who despoiled the country of its material wealth and equipment, destroyed her communications, razed over 500,000 habitations and butchered 1,400,000 of the population. Playing upon the national aspirations of the oppressed nationalities, the fascist hordes overran the country, assisted in the rear by the Serbian and Croatian reactionary bourgeoisie and their agents, the Chetniks, Ustashe and Domobrovs.

The resistance war was thus not merely a national liberation war against the fascist invaders, but a revolutionary war for emancipation from the capitalist oppression at home. This is the essence of the Yugoslav overturn, a historical struggle that makes imperative the support of the working masses of every country who are struggling toward the same end.

The results of this social overturn we see when we visit Yugoslavia. The stupendous reconstruction and construction cannot be achieved unless under a socialist planned economy. To embark on a program of planned production the basic economic task of nationalization is a prerequisite. And by the nationalization of the basic means of production, transport, mines, factories, banks, and the state control of all foreign trade which are the economic conditions necessary to liquidate Balkan backwardness and raise the living standards of the masses — the conditions that are essential to build socialism have been created.

Reconstruction on a Vast Scale

The vast programs of industrialization and electrification which would eradicate poverty have been embarked upon, and the utilization of every human, every material source available to augment the national income, the ceaseless technical experimentation to increase the productivity of labor, indicate that the objective is to give economic and cultural freedom to the men and women who work at the means of production, and not to fatten a small section of capitalist exploiters. For in this era of capitalist decay a very common phenomenon in the capitalist world is the destruction of productive forces in order to maintain private profit!

We saw many factories in Yugoslavia — hydraulic machine factories, precision tool factories, textile factories, cement and tobacco factories, etc. Our stay was too short to see all the vast industrial processes that were changing the face of Yugoslavia and enabling it to rely more and more on its own technical and material resources. The May Day parade exhibited products of many spheres of industry — agricultural machine factories, electrical enterprises producing motors, generators, irrigation pumps, oil drillers, railway coach works, truck and shipbuilding industries, sound and film equipment industry, pre-fab factories, plastic, textile and tobacco factories. In short, every aspect of light and heavy industry that old capitalist Yugoslavia had always obtained from abroad.

Iron, oil, lead, bauxite, coal — all the basic requirements of heavy industry were being ceaselessly mined and exploited. Large and small hydro-electrical stations were being constructed in every republic of Yugoslavia to supply the necessary power for industry and agriculture. Already the production of electrical energy had increased 115% over that of 1939. The output of coal, iron and steel was 2½ times more than that of 1939. Industrialization was certainly altering the relation between industry and agriculture, to the advantage of the former.

Could Yugoslavia recover so amazingly, changing herself from an under-developed country to an industrialized economy, if it was under the heel of foreign or native capitalism?

(Continued next week)

Revolutionary Socialist Party Set Up At Trotskyist Conference in Sweden

STOCKHOLM — The Founding Congress of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Swedish Trotskyist organization, took place in Stockholm April 30 and May 1.

The Congress heard and discussed a report on the political situation and the building of the revolutionary party, a report on trade union work. It also received messages from the Secretariat of the Fourth International and from the Danish Trotskyists represented at this conference.

The new party has sections in Stockholm, Ludvika, Umea, Hudiksvall, and other workers' centers.

FIRST MEETING

The party held its first public meeting on a square in Stockholm

May 1. A thousand persons responded to its call and participated in this meeting. Many important Swedish and Danish papers, as well as the official Swedish news agency, announced the launching of the new party. The Revolutionary Socialist Party has also begun the publication of a new paper, *Internationalett*, presenting the Trotskyist viewpoint on the main problems facing the Swedish workers and elaborating the revolutionary program for solving them. Two issues of the paper have already been issued.

NAACP and Politics

By Jean Blake

The most important problem facing the delegates to the 41st annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Boston this month is what kind of political action program to adopt.

So long as the largest, oldest and most authoritative organization representing the Negro people in the United States continues to condemn the Democratic and Republican Parties in words but support them at the polls, no significant change in their contemptuous treatment of the aspirations of the Negro voters can be expected.

Only a complete break with both capitalist parties and the proposal of a new course of political action can inspire the Negro electorate after its disillusioning experiences with the parties in power.

The delegates to the Boston NAACP conference can and should intervene by smashing the labor-Negro coalition with the Democratic Party which prevents the working people from building their own independent political force, a Labor Party.

The groundwork for such a party has already been laid by the development of joint legislative programs and collaboration of the NAACP and organized labor. The common enemy is clear — the Democratic and Republican Parties which combine to defeat the demands for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and for civil rights and social legislation.

The need for a new, independent Labor Party has been demonstrated negatively time and again by the failure of the "reward your friends and punish your enemies" politics of both labor and the NAACP.

The readiness of Negro and working class voters to back a Labor Party programmatically was indicated in the last presidential election when Truman, demagogically running on a platform pledging civil rights legislation and repeal of Taft-Hartley, upset all predictions by receiving an overwhelming majority of the votes.

The fate of the Wallace movement, which also supported civil rights legislation, only illustrates the need for a party broadly based on the labor movement.

Many Negro leaders will agree readily and

have said privately for some time that a Labor Party is needed in this country and there is no doubt where the Negro voters would go if there were one. But there is no such party on the political scene, they observe, and certainly the Negroes cannot be expected to form a Labor Party.

Obviously neither the Negroes nor anyone else can form a Labor Party without the labor movement. But true representatives of the Negro people should say what is, should admit their years of bargaining with capitalist politicians have been fruitless. They should speak out with the truth: "We can rely only on ourselves and our allies in the labor movement who need and want the same things. No more support to Democrats or Republicans. We must have a Labor Party."

Some who feel acutely the need for a Labor Party alternative to their liberal "friends" in the Democratic and Republican parties hesitate to speak out for fear that taking a position in advance of the official labor movement may isolate the Negro people from their closest allies and leave them exposed to victimization.

This type of objection misses the significance of the strategic position of the Negroes today as an integral part of the American working class which the labor bureaucracy cannot afford to ignore, and as a minority in the United States struggling for democratic rights in solidarity with colonial and colored people throughout the world, a fact which gives pause to the reactionary policies of the Truman administration seeking to maintain world capitalist rule.

A call for a Labor Party by the NAACP would provide powerful support to those tendencies in the labor movement, by no means few, who have long recognized the need but have been dormant or pessimistic. The representatives of 15,000,000 Negro people constitute a force to be reckoned with. Advocates of a Labor Party would take heart and be encouraged to deepen their struggle.

The NAACP conference can take a gigantic step forward in the struggle of the Negro people for equality and simultaneously stimulate the advancement of the American working class by striking a clear political course toward a Labor Party.

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What Role for NAACP--'Broad' Or 'Narrow'?

By Albert Parker

The national conference of the NAACP, beginning in Boston on June 20, will be asked by its Rochester, N. Y. branch to take a long step backward. The Rochester proposal concerns the NAACP's

legislative program, but it really puts forward a conception of the organization that would affect its activities in almost every field.

As presented by Walter W. Post in the June issue of *The Crisis*, the Rochester branch wants the NAACP "to adopt a strictly non-partisan position in the legislative field, excepting only proposed legislation that deal specifically with the subject of civil rights or specifically with the advancement of the Negro as a distinct minority group."

At present, for example, the NAACP supports legislation to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, adopt a national health bill, etc. This is wrong says Post, because (1) the NAACP has a hard enough time getting its civil rights program enacted, and (2) it can increase "its effectiveness, its influence and its financial resources if it eliminates from its program those issues that are bound to alienate or antagonize many citizens."

FALSE APPRAISAL

In his short article Post twice uses those words — "alienate and antagonize." According to him, the NAACP's support of non-civil rights measures is responsible for its declining membership, financial difficulties and political ineffectiveness. He claims a great many "sincere" people who are now repelled from the NAACP would flock to it if it would abandon support of Taft-Hartley repeal, national health legislation, etc.

Of course the hidebound reactionaries of the National Association of Manufacturers and the American Medical Association would be delighted to have the NAACP withdraw its support of legislation which they oppose, but their delight would in no way solve the organizational, financial or political problems of the NAACP. For the few hundred reactionaries who might be drawn closer to the NAACP by such a move, hundreds of thousands of Negroes would really be "alienated and antagonized."

To begin with the NAACP must decide where it is going to look for its main support — to a handful of white philanthropists or to the masses of the Negro people? (It is interesting to note, as Post admits, that the Rochester branch is "unique in that it has more white than Negro members" and that its executive committee is evidently made up of industrial executives, clergymen and middle class professionals. Perhaps a dog-outfit can be built with such a leadership and with such ideas as Post presents, but not the kind of fighting mass organization that

the NAACP must be if it is to achieve its civil rights goals.)

Should the NAACP be "broad" or "narrow"? The Rochester branch wants it narrow; it advocates a form of isolationism, which would separate the Negro people from their real allies in the labor and liberal movements and would render the NAACP innocuous, tame and inoffensive to the worst enemies of the Negro masses.

THE REAL NEEDS

This conception clashes with the real needs and perspectives of the NAACP. Instead of becoming more "narrow" and "isolationist," it has to become more and more closely linked with the labor movement, without whose active collaboration the Negro people will be unable to put a finish to the Jim Crow system. (The present leaders of the NAACP have plenty of faults, but it is to their credit that they recognize the basic identity of Negro and labor interests.)

Instead of watering down its program in order to appease conservative elements in the population, the NAACP must widen, strengthen and "radicalize" its program if it hopes to capture the imagination and loyalty of the oppressed and exploited, both Negro and white.

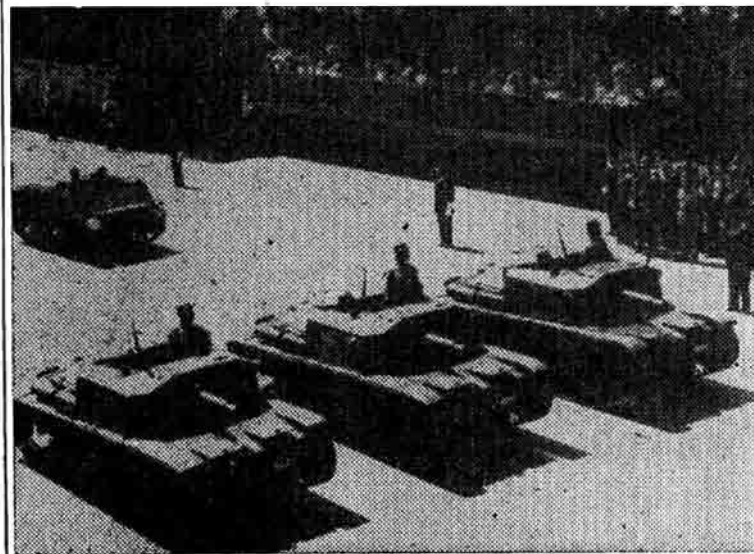
Instead of continuing or extending its spurious "non-partisan" political program, the NAACP should frankly recognize that the capitalist parties are political enemies of the Negro struggle for equality, and express its readiness to join with the labor unions, farm organizations, students, etc., in the formation of a new party — a Labor Party.

THE WAY TO GROW

If the NAACP takes the "broad" road, it can certainly expect to "alienate and antagonize" some people and groups (including some members of the Rochester executive committee). But what of it? The struggle for equality is not a popularity contest. Besides, every member who drops out because the NAACP follows a more militant policy will be replaced by ten or a hundred others who will be stimulated and attracted by evidence that the NAACP intends to put up a real fight against all anti-Negro forces on every field where they show acceptance of the Rochester

proposal would mean suicide — a slow and painful suicide — for the NAACP. The way to success and growth for the NAACP is by doing the very opposite of what the Rochester branch proposes, especially in the field of political action.

U. S. Arms in Italy



These medium tanks were among the first received by Italy under the terms of the North Atlantic Pact. Landed after protests from dockers, the tanks were put on display by Italian Defense Minister Randolfo Pacciardi. Instruments of destruction are becoming the major export of U. S. capitalism.

Hearing Held On Dispute in Toledo UAW

TOLEDO, June 10 — The internal fight in the Toledo UAW was highlighted this week by a special two-day meeting held here by the union's International Board. The board meeting, the first held in this city for 12 years, was called to give both sides a chance to appear and state their cases.

Very likely Walter Reuther decided to bring the board directly into the situation because the Ford Local 600 Executive Board had entered the picture by hearing representatives of the anti-Gosser group several days before. Since the Ford Executive Board, representing the largest local in the international, has a majority of anti-Reutherites on it, Reuther probably is anxious to prevent this body from taking a leading part in the conflict.

The International Board spent two days hearing both sides in the controversy. The anti-Gosser forces listed 28 allegations against his leadership of the local UAW, none of them actual charges. It is up to the board to decide whether or not these allegations constitute sufficient material for formal charges to be placed against Gosser.

NOT PUBLIC

None of the board's proceedings were made public but it is presumed that the allegations consisted mostly of charges of bureaucratic practices, acts of physical violence by Gosser's supporters and financial mismanagement of the union's funds. It is believed that spokesmen for the opposition made strong representations to the board around the question of union democracy and demanded that the board do something to protect everyone's rights.

Administration supporters appeared before the board to demand the removal of Local 12 Financial Secretary Randolph Gray and settlement of a dispute with a group of girls from the dues office who have been on strike against the local. The girls filed a list of over 50 grievances against the administration of the local and Gosser. Gray has not functioned for about a month after he reported a threat against his personal safety.

ACTIONS SO FAR

The International Board meeting moved to Detroit after the Toledo sessions. So far, it has taken the following actions: Orville Beemer, UAW-PAC Ohio Director, who is awaiting trial for assault and battery against Spicer Unit Chairman Schick, has been suspended pending a hearing before the board; Gray has been removed as Financial Secretary of Local 12 and his duties handed over to International Secretary-Treasurer Mazey; the striking girls have been ordered back to work Monday. An announcement of any action to be taken against Gosser is expected in a few days.

Two more incidents of violence took place before the board arrived to hold its hearings. In one, a Gosser supporter, Charles (Snick) Gross is charged with assault and battery against Clayton Rusch, former PAC Director in Toledo who has been out of the union for about two years.

In the other case Charles Ballard, 2-B Regional Director of the UAW, has been found guilty of a "breach of the peace." Ballard seized a picket sign from one of the striking girls who charged he waved it around as though he intended to strike her with it. Rumors persist in union circles that at least two International representatives have broken with the Gosser leadership recently. However, these have not been confirmed at this time.

It is too early to evaluate fully the results of the International Board sessions as they are still meeting at this writing. After the board's decisions are known, the opposition will be able to chart its future course more precisely.

[Since the receipt of the above article from Toledo, the UAW International Executive Board has completed its hearings on the Toledo situation, and has released a statement to the public declaring that "the Board found that the allegations made against Vice-President Gosser were reckless and irresponsible, based on rumor, gossip and hearsay, and unsubstantiated by supporting evidence." The Board statement also condemned Gosser's opponents inside the Toledo CIO as "a minority political caucus" acting in "complete disregard of their union and the welfare of its membership." This means that Gosser will continue to get Reuther's support against his opponents in Toledo.]

THE LOT OF A 'LUCKY' FARM WORKER IN CALIF.

By Fred Johnson

About 100 miles north of Los Angeles, at the Southern tip of the San Joaquin Valley lies the DiGiorgio "farm" — 10,000 acres of rich fruit land. The sales value of the

crops from this "farm" approach \$5 million in a single year. The owner bought the land when it was desert, for \$90 an acre and improved it at a cost of \$275 an acre.

Today, the land is worth over \$2,000 an acre. In addition to this "farm" the owner has thousands of acres in Florida and elsewhere in California. He has a controlling interest in the major fruit exchanges in the nation, and assorted other holdings and enterprises. In 1948 he cleared \$247,000 after taxes.

About 900 hands are employed on a year-round basis on this "farm" and twice that many are required during the peak season. One of these 900 is the father of four children, three boys and a girl, ranging from 7 to 14 years of age. He and his wife came to California in the late Thirties from Arkansas. They had a very difficult time of it until the war when there was a shortage of labor in the Valley. The wages were not good even then but work was plentiful, and they managed to make a down payment on a shack in the nearby town of Arvin.

WHAT THEY EARN

The father works as an irrigator at 70 to 80 cents per hour, from 9 to 10 hours per day, 7 days a week with no overtime pay. When the irrigating is done he works at pruning. If he is lucky he works for 6 to 7 months out of the year even though he is considered one of the year-round employees. The mother works in a packing shed on a piece work basis, 13 to 14 hours a day, for which she earns \$12 or \$13. She works at this steadily 7 days a week for about three months. Near the end of this period she

makes slightly less (\$9 or \$10 a day).

The combined income of father and mother for the year amounts to slightly over \$2000. This is not enough to provide the family with food and clothing, make the payments on the house, and pay for upkeep and gasoline for the car (an indispensable necessity). So whenever there is an opportunity, the children are encouraged to leave school and work in the fields, thinning or picking cotton in order to supplement the family income.

If the periods of unemployment are not too long, and the children do not in the fields, the family can usually make it through the winter without going on county relief, their only resource when unemployed, since farm workers are not entitled to unemployment compensation. This bare subsistence level is maintained at the expense of the children's education, health and development. Any emergency, sickness or pregnancy would mean that the family would lose its home.

CONSIDERED LUCKY

Compared to their neighbors and fellow workers this family is extremely fortunate. Other families who have younger children or oldersters to support go hungry for some time every winter.

This case is a classic example of the permanent disaster which is traditional in California, although it is not "typical," since the growers' need for cheap labor has resulted in very diverse conditions among the agricultural workers.

The industry requires large amounts of labor for short periods of time and the corporation farmers demand that there be a large mobile pool of workers willing to work for low wages when they are needed and then disappear or at least stay out of the way when the work is finished. The history of California agriculture is a history of attempts to maintain such a labor force. For more than half a century the large farming interests have imported cheap labor, first from China, then the Philippines, Japan, Mexico, Puerto Rico and elsewhere. Each group has left its mark, and today the workers are no less diverse than the crops they produce. Strictly speaking, there is no typical farm or typical farm worker but the dominant social features remain the same.

FACTORIES IN FIELDS

The wide range of climatic and soil conditions in California have made for an agricultural diversity unique in all the world. Two hundred and fourteen different crops are produced commercially within the state. The value of the land, the size of the farms and the techniques vary widely, but whether it be peas at Calipat, grapes at Napa, lettuce at Salinas, cantaloupes in the Imperial Valley or cotton in the San Joaquin, the important economic features remain the same. Agriculture in California is dominated by modern, large-scale, industrial farming — by "factories in the fields."

In the face of this concentrated power and complete domination of capital, the agricultural worker is helpless without a modern industrial union organization. The past and current struggles of California agricultural workers for organization and the problems arising from this struggle will be dealt with in our next article.

The Court's Decisions

By William E. Bohannon

It was to be expected that the capitalist press would go all-out to give the impression that the Supreme Court has "banned" segregation. After all, that was one of the chief purposes of the court's rulings in the Sweatt, McLaurin and Henderson cases — to make the people (the Negro people especially) think that even if Congress and the White House won't do much about civil rights, at least the Supreme Court will.

But it was disappointing and pitiful to see most of the Negro press and the Negro leaders taking the same line as the capitalist papers. Because they know better (or ought to know better) than to believe that the Supreme Court decisions were really big victories for the Negro people. The plain unvarnished truth is that segregation definitely has not been banned for the overwhelming majority of the people who have suffered from it in the past.

The fundamental point in the three cases was the request made by the NAACP and the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity for the court to revoke and outlaw the white supremacist "separate but equal" doctrine that is the cornerstone of the Jim Crow system. When the court refused to do this, it was not banning but sanctioning the continuation of segregation. And that fact far outweighs the subsidiary concessions the court made to Sweatt, McLaurin and Henderson.

It is good that a few hundred or a few thousand Negroes may be able to enter certain Southern colleges. But it must not be forgotten for a minute that the same court ruling in effect authorized the continuation of Jim Crow conditions for hundreds of thousands and millions of Negro primary and high school students. This is like giving a starving man a crumb while withholding the loaf of bread that rightfully belongs to him. If that is to be counted as a victory, it is an extremely limited and not, as so many people foolishly or maliciously contend, a tremendous victory.

The court decisions had a political motive, and the political consequences refuted the claim that they represent a big step forward for Negroes.

On the very same day that the court acted, Truman's majority leader Lucas announced he had changed his mind and would not bring up the motion for closure on FEPC for a second test in the Senate. This was such an obvious double-cross that Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, and A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, felt it necessary to jointly denounce Lucas' action as "a flagrant repudiation of all the promises made on civil rights by the administration" and a "clear indication that the administration has run out on FEPC."

Later, Lucas retreated and promised a second test after all. But this incident showed that Truman feels he doesn't have to produce much in Congress this year. As long as the Negro leaders are going to shout themselves hoarse with praises for his Supreme Court, he figures he has enough of a "record" on civil rights to enable him to solicit Negro votes as successfully as he did in 1948. His interest in the civil rights fight never extended beyond that consideration anyhow.

Thus the cheers and exaggerations about the court decisions are not only wrong in principle — they are also harmful in practice. In the first place, they tend to soften the pressure on the capitalist politicians for legislative action against Jim Crow; and in the second place, they tend to spread the dangerous illusion that the fight for equality can be won without unceasing militancy and vigilance on the part of the Negro and labor rank and file.

Most of the Negro leaders, who went out on a limb for Truman in 1948, feel that they too — along with Truman — have been taken "off the hook" by the court decisions, and that is probably why they are playing them up so big. But they were not elected, and they are not paid, to sing the masses to sleep with hallelujahs about the black-robed lawyers on the Supreme Court. The least the rank and file have a right to expect from their leaders is the truth; and the truth is not what they are getting about the Supreme Court.

Changes in the Purge

By James Kutcher

A nationally known union leader told me a few weeks after the 1948 elections that I shouldn't lose hope about my fight to be restored to my job with the Veterans Administration because "now President Truman's loyalty program is going to be changed — for the better." I haven't lost hope or patience, although not for the reason advanced by the union leader. And now, a year and a half later, his prediction is coming true — in part. The "loyalty" program is certainly changing. But not for the better.

In its original form the "loyalty" program seems to have expired with the latest developments in the Remington-Lee-Commerce Department cases. Both Remington and Lee were cleared of "subversive" charges by Truman's Loyalty Board. But that didn't halt the demands for their heads. Secretary of Commerce Sawyer was told by some Senators to get rid of them or face an "investigation" of his department, such as the State Department is undergoing. Buckling under almost eagerly, Sawyer asked Remington and Lee to resign. When they refused, he started proceedings to kick them out. Among the other charges, none of which allegedly "reflected on their loyalty," they were told that they faced dismissal because they had been spending too much time away from their work answering questions put to them by congressional committees, grand juries and the like!

When Remington was later indicted on the charge of having perjured himself when he denied ever having been a member of the Communist Party, he decided to resign from his job in order to devote himself fully to winning exoneration on the perjury count. The thing that struck me about his letter of resignation was the statement that in addition to clearing himself, he intended to "vindicate" the "loyalty" program. Whether or not he succeeds in obtaining the first of these objectives when he comes up for trial, I think he has undertaken a hopeless task in the second. Nobody can "vindicate" a program when people who have been cleared as innocent by its administrators lose their jobs anyhow. (That's entirely aside from the question of why anybody

would want to vindicate something that had victimized him.)

While the purge he initiated changes for the worse, President Truman himself continues to act and talk as innocently as a lamb. Recently the head of the Veterans of Foreign Wars complained that Truman's new Secretary of the Air Force had been associated with the United World Federalists, which is not on the "subversive" blacklist. Truman went out of his way to publish his reply: "All this howl about organizations a fellow belongs to gives me a pain in the neck. I'd be willing to bet my right eye that you yourself and I have joined some organizations that we wish we hadn't. It hasn't hurt me any and I don't think it has hurt you any."

Sounds tolerant, doesn't it? You would never think that a man who could write that had launched a purge based on nothing but the "organizations a fellow belongs to" or associates with or merely sympathizes with. That's because Truman is a master of liberal hocus-pocus, especially when his own methods are being employed against himself or his lieutenants. When dealing with this kind of liberal, the wisest procedure is to keep your eyes on his hands rather than his mouth, and to use both your own hands to guard your pockets.

Because the march of time is stamping out illusions about Trumanite "reforms" in the witch-hunt, more and more hopes are being put in the Supreme Court as the last refuge and the real defender of civil rights. To me, these hopes don't seem well-founded when we review the court's recent blows at the Bill of Rights in the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit and "contempt" cases. But the court will soon show who is right. Before adjourning this month, it agreed that next fall it would hear the appeal of Dorothy Bailey, who was discharged from a government job on the grounds of "doubtful loyalty." In my opinion defenders of civil rights may well get the same kind of rebuff from the court that they got from Truman unless they organize for a fight based on the premise that they will not yield up their precious liberties to anyone.

Court Rubberstamps Trumanite Politics

By Ruth Johnson

If anything good can be said about recent Supreme Court decisions, it is only this: they are surely undermining the myth that the court is an impartial agency for upholding the constitutional rights of the people.

Like every agency of the government, the Supreme Court has always functioned in the interests of the ruling class. Because its job is to interpret the Constitution and decide on the legality of measures undertaken by other branches of the government, apparatus, it has long enjoyed a false reputation for impartiality and non-partisanship.

But on one important issue after another — labor's rights, civil liberties, Negro equality — the court showed itself during its recently finished term to be just another political instrument merely of the ruling class but of the Truman administration.

TAFT-HARTLEY OATH

To retain labor support, the administration has had to denounce the Taft-Hartley Act and promise to repeal it. But it is well known that both the White House and most of the labor bureaucrats have no real objection to the T-H non-Communist oath which in effect drastically limits the rights of union members to elect leaders of their own choice. In fact, when and if the T-H Act is repealed, it is likely that the administration, with the union bureaucracy's tacit

consent, will seek to retain the oath provision in any new labor law.

The oath came before the court twice, and twice by a tie vote it was upheld. The clear provisions of the Bill of Rights can always be twisted and logic can always be flouted and tortured by political appointees in black robes whose paramount consideration is not constitutionality but the aims and needs of the "Fair Deal."

Another device for sanctioning violations of civil rights is refusal to consider constitutional issues raised in various cases, and in recent months the court has made increasing use of this method of rubber-stamping Trumanite politics.

"REFUSAL TO REVIEW"

A typical example was the case of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo, two of the ten Hollywood writers, convicted for "contempt of Congress" for not answering questions of the inquisitorial House Un-American Committee. An appellate court had ruled that neither the right of free speech nor the "right to be silent" is absolute, and that in any case Congress has the power to "abridge either freedom."

Faced with this clearly constitutional issue, the Supreme Court showed its skill at evasion. The First Article of the Bill of Rights says Congress shall make no law "abridging the freedom of speech. . . But the Supreme Court, supposedly the watchdog of the

Constitution, neither barked nor bit. Its slogan became: "We ain't talking." Apparently the "right to remain silent" (known as "refusal to review" when employed by the courts) is absolute only for judges.

UPHOLD JIM CROW

There is also almost a perfect parallel between the Truman administration's demagogic maneuvers with Negro rights and the court's handling of several pleas for justice by Negroes. What distinguishes both these arms of the capitalist government is a "liberal" attitude designed to cover up the essence of their approach — which is to deny the Negro people's demands for the abolition of the Jim Crow system.

As other articles in *The Militant* have already shown, the slight concessions offered by the court in the Sweatt, McLaurin and Henderson cases pale into insignificance in the light of the court's back-handed retention of the "separate but equal" doctrine which insures the continuation of the Jim Crow status quo in most fields of Negro life. Even supporters of the "Welfare State" have commented on the obviously political purpose of these decisions — to relieve the administration of its embarrassment over the FEPC debacle.

There may still be a formal "separation of powers" between the court and the president. But in a political sense it is almost impossible to tell them apart.